GUIDE TO THE SD9 JIVARO FILE

[The SD9 Jivaro file includes data on the Jivaran-speaking Aguaruna, Bracamoro, Jivaro and Palta tribes, who live in the tropical rain forest on the eastern slopes of the Ecuadorean Andes. While hunting and fishing form an important part of their subsistence base, they depend primarily on horticulture, done largely by the women. They live in communities formed by a single extended families with an independent family head, all living in a single dwelling. Residence is matrilocal and polygyny is common. They are famous for their shrunken headhunting trophies.

The Jivaro file contains 34 sources, four of which (5, 25, 29, 30) are translations from the Spanish, four (6, 12, 13, 22) are translations from the French, and three (26, 28 and 33) are translations from the German. While there are a large number of sources in the file, according to most recent investigators the quality of the earlier sources is very questionable. Probably the only reliable material is contained in the publications of Stirling (2: Stirling) and Harner (32: Harner and 34: Harner). For a general characterization of the material see 34: Harner, and Category 114. As a result, the Jivaro file is of restricted utility to researchers. However, carefully used, much information can be gleaned from the sources and sources, and 2, 32, and 34 seem generally reliable. Since part of the file was processed before the publication of the Outline of World Cultures, many of the file slips do not have the OWC alphanumeric codes. The file was proccessed between 1950 and 1974.]

1: Karsten--1 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101 (1928-29)

"The large virgin forests in the Eastern Province of the Ecuadorian republic and the Peruvian Provincia de Loreto are inhabited by various Indian tribes some of which are now half-civilized and Christians in name, some again complete savages and independent of the whites. Among the former the Napo Indians, living on the upper and middle course of the river Napo, and the Canelos Indians, living along the banks of the small river Bobonaza, an affluent of the Pastaza, as well as the Cocama Indians on the Marañon, are the most important, whereas among the tribes still living in a state of nature there are the little known Avishiris in the region of the Rio Curaray, the Zaparos on the Rio Tigre, and the different tribes of the great Jibaro nation.

The last mentioned, who in their own language call themselves Shuāra--of which the name Jibaro seems to be but a Spanish corruption--are probably one of the most numerous tribes in South America east of the Andes. They inhabit a very large area, limited approximately by the Ecuadorian Andes in the west, the river Tigre in the east, and the Marañon in the south. Formerly, I believe, the Pastaza was roughly the eastern limit of the Jibaro territory, but at present there is at least one tribe between this river and the river Tigre. Similarly, in the north there is a Jibaro tribe on the Rio Copataza, a small northern affluent of the upper Pastaza. South of the Marañon, just opposite the mouth of the Rio Santiago, there is in our days the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Aguaruna, but these Aguarunas seem to have originally formed part

of the great Huambiza tribe on the Morona, north of the upper Marañon. The Aguarunas are thus the only Jibaro tribe living in Peru. The regions round the rivers Upano-Santiago, Morona, and their affluents, as well as the geographically little known primeval forests between the Morona and the Pastaza, are populated by numerous tribes of the same great Indian race."

1: Karsten--2-3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"The different Jibaro tribes generally take their names from the small affluents of the main rivers, on the banks of which they have fixed their homes. This fact explains the great number of Indian names that [3] we meet in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. Thus on the eastern slopes of the Ecuadorian Andes, in the regions round the river Santiago and its tributaries, we find such tribes as the Arapicos, the Chirapas, the Upanos, the Pautes, the Santiagos, the Gualaquizas. On the Morona, there are the Cusulimas, the Huambizas, etc.; on the Pastaza, the Copatazas, the Achuares, the Antipas, and so forth.

All these tribes belong to the Jibaro race and are consequently closely related to each other anthropologically as well as in their language, customs, and beliefs. There is no larger group of Indians of which the Jibaros form a part. Both anthropologically and linguistically they form a group of their own, in their physical and their mental characteristics greatly differing from the tribes surrounding them. Their culture is certainly one of the most important and interesting native cultures at present existing in the whole of South America."

1: Karsten--940 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaro tribes I include, as a particular sub-tribe, the Canelos Indians, and this may seem to require a special explanation. The village of Canelos is the greatest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in the Ecuadorian Oriente. The Indians living in this region are not pure Jibaros, as they are erroneously described by Rivet, and do not form a homogeneous group. They are a mixed race, formed partly by Indians of Jibaro origin, partly by Quichua-speaking Indians from the Sierra, partly by Zàparos from the Rio Curaray and the Rio Tigre. Among the Jibaros who in former times moved into Canelos and subjected themselves to the influence of the Catholic missionaries three important families or clans are particularly mentioned, namely, the Gayas, the Tanchimas, and the Cuhis. These as well as other Jibaro families have fused with the other tribes, thus giving rise to the peculiar native race known under the name of Canelos Indians. Their anthropological affinity with the mountain Indians shows itself especially in their strong build of body, whereas their close relationship with the Jibaros proper is made manifest in their whole material and intellectual culture. It is owing to this fact that I treat them here in connection with the Jibaros. On the other hand, in many of their customs and beliefs they have also been influenced by their relatives in the Sierra, with whom moreover they have a com-

mon lan-[10] guage. Their language consequently is Quichua, although some of them also speak or understand the Jibaro language. The native words and phrases I use in this book when describing the culture of the Canelos Indians are therefore Quichua, just as those used by me with reference to the Jibaros proper belong to the Jibaro language.

The Canelos Indians number about 2000 individuals. They live partly in the mission of Canelos, partly in the village Pacayacu, situated two days journey by canoe farther down the river. Besides this, among the Canelos Indians are generally reckoned the Indians of Sarayacu, a village situated three days journey southwards from Pacayacu. These Indians, however, as is shown by their physical appearance, originally belonged to a different native race.

All the so-called Canelos Indians are now Christians in name, being under the influence of the Catholic monks of the Dominican Order, but as usual they have preserved many of their ancient customs and beliefs. Formerly, when the Indians of Canelos were at war with the wild Jibaros, they adopted their savage methods of fighting their enemies, and even head-feasts are said to have been celebrated in secret. And although witchcraft certainly plays a great role among the Jibaros, the wizards of Canelos are supposed to outdo even their heathen colleagues in this mysterious art."

2: Stirling--1-2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 101

"The greatest confusion exists regarding the naming of various Jivaro subdivisions. They refer to themselves as 'Shuara', thus differentiating themselves from other tribes. As is later stated in [2] more detail, they live in rather widely separated household groups with very little consciousness of any sort of political unity. Such groupings as exist are continually shifting location, separating, amalgamating, or being exterminated. For centuries travelers by the score have attached different appellations to such groups. Frequently they have been designated by the name of the river on which they lived, but the rivers have had as many different names applied to them as have the Indian groups. Thus we find such general names as Pastazas, Moronas, Santiagos, etc., while lesser groups are frequently called by the names of the affluent streams on which they reside. Thus the Jivaros living on the four principal tributaries of the Santiago are called the Upanos, the Pauteños, the Gualaquizas, and the Zamoras. These are further subdivided into the names of the lesser tributaries. Obviously such designations have no ethnologic significance."

4: Up de Graff--192-193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 101, 361, 721

"A few words about this tribe will not come amiss, as they played such an important part in our personal history during our search for the Inca gold, and are, indeed, one of the only six known head-hunting tribes of the Amazon zone, grouped under the common name Jívaros, the others (all their enemies) being the Huambizas or Pantecunas, the Aguarunas, the Muratos and the Zaparos. To form an estimate of the relative strengths of these peoples is more than I dare attempt; their migratory habits and their custom of living in small scattered settlements hidden in the dense jungle makes it an impossible task. Indeed, one of the main points of their policy is to conceal from one another not only their whereabouts but also their fighting strength, even going so far as never to use the same trail twice, if possible, in approaching their homes. For these reasons an air of complete mystery surrounds the whole region, [193] and the casual white invader stands no chance of obtaining accurate statistics."

5: Reyes and Teran--118-119 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 101, 361

"The native tribes are grouped more by language divisions than by ethnic differences, and the Pastaza river is the dividing line. Those who speak Quechua live to the north of this line, while those speaking Jivaro live to the south. Neither group lives in settlements,[191] as it is their custom to live in isolation in the depths of the forest, even though they do not keep entirely away from the settlements of the whites, with whom they maintain commercial relations through trading gold or some other native product for trinkets, in which they manifest particular interest."

5: Reyes and Teran--120-121 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 101

"In addition to the above mentioned groupings, those of the Záparos on the Tigre, the Aucas on the Curaray, and the Muratas on the lower Pastaza also are worth noting. In neither their numbers nor their personalities, however, do these groups stand out like the Quechuas and Jivaros. [121] Of all the aboriginal groups of the Oriente, the Jivaros are the most industrious and intelligent, although they resist civilization because of their repugnance to enter into social relations with the whites, whom they consider as objects of pity, subject to multiple needs, and above all, lacking in the sagacity and endurance required for the life of the forest."

8: Dickey--201
116, 101

(1936) 1936

Jivaro

"On various tributaries of the Morona, Pastaza, Santiago, and Tigre rivers of Ecuador, live tribes generically known as Jivaros, Jiveros, Jiberos, or Jeberos. The Indians themselves are unacquainted with the appellation. They call themselves variously Huambisis, Aguarunas, Paloras, etc. , these being the names of small rivers in the territory they inhabit. Perhaps the rivers are named for the tribes, maybe the tribes are named for the rivers. In any event the name, Jivaro, or its cognates, which possibly had its origin in the local name for rubber (jebe) is, according to the interested persons themselves, a misnomer."

The old writers called them Xivaros or Xibaros. This orthography was employed in 1651 by Padre Laureano de la Cruz in his account, Nuevo descubrimiento del Amazonas (1), by Padre Manuel Rodriquez (2) in 1684, by Padre Samuel Fritz (3) in his map published in 1707, by Padre Francisco [334] Javier Weigel in his map drawn in 1769, during his detention at Lisbon after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish possessions [335] (4).

1. This account is found in Vol. I, p. 147, of Varones Ilustres de la Orden Seráfica en el Ecuador, by P. Fr. Francisco Maria Compte, 2nd edition, 2 vol., Quito, 1895.

2. Padre Manuel Rodriquez. El Marañon y Amazonas, Madrid, 1684, Book III, ch. XIII, p. 205.

3. A copy of the original of this map was brought back by La Condamine and is in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. A smaller engraved copy was published in Quito in 1707. It is found also in Vol. VIII of Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères, Missions d'Amérique, new edition, Toulouse, 1810.

4. The map of Padre Weigel is reproduced in the beginning of the book Historia de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en el Marañon español by Padre Jose Chantre y Herrera, Madrid, 1901.

La Condamine (5), Maldonado (6), Coleti (7), Requena y Herrera (8) in the map that he made in 1779 concerning the regions of the upper Amazon, Lapie (9), and Mollien (10)

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5. La Condamine. Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale, Paris, 1745, in 8°, page 38.

6. Carta de la Provincia de Quito y de sus adyacentes, obra póstuma de Don Pedro Maldonado, sacada a luz por orden y a expensas de Su Majestad, 1750.

7. G. D. Coleti. Dizionario storico-geografico dell' América meridionale, Venezia, 1771, 2 vol. in-4°.

8. This map accompanies a Descripción del Gobierno de Maynas y misiones en el establecidas por el Coronel Don Francisco Requena y Herrera, Gobernador de Maynas, Comandante general de su provincia y de la de Quijos y Macas, 1785, (Archives of Quito). It was published in Quito in 1903 by order of Dr. Luis Cordero, then president of the Republic of Ecuador.

9. Annales des Voyages, Vol. XVI, 1811, in-8°. See Lapie's map at the end of the volume.

10. G. Mollien. Voyage dans la République de Colombie en 1823, Paris, 1824, 2 vol. See his map in vol. II.

also adopted it. The Italians, Rev. Father Louis Pozzi (11) and Colini (12), wrote Givari. Some explorers of the same nationality have proposed Xivari (13) or Chivari (14). One also finds in other accounts Givaros (15), Zibaros (16), Jivaras (17), Jiviras (18),

11. R. P. Louis Pozzi. "Excursion militaire chez les sauvages du Maragnon, mission de Gualaquiza, details ethnographiques sur la tribu des Givari." (Annales de la propagation de la foi, Sept. 1871, n° 258, page 353.)

12. G. A. Colini. "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari." Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma (anno CCLXXX, 1882-1883).

13. Gaetano Osculati. Esplorazione delle Regioni Equatoriali lungo il Napo el il fiume delle Amazzoni, 1st ed., Milan, 1850. Note on page 29.

14. Colini, op. cit., note 2, page 4.

15. Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza. Viaje practicado desde el Callao hasta las misiones de las dos tribus de infieles Záparos y Givaros, Lima, 1849.

16. G. A. Colini. "Collezione Etnografica degli indigeni dell'alto Amazzoni acquistata dal Museo preistorico-etnografico di Roma." (Bolletino della Società Geografica italiana. Rome, April-May, 1883) Note 2 on page 17.

17. & 18. For footnotes 17 and 18 see next page. (Jivaro-4)

Hibaros (19), Xebaros (20), [336] Jevaros (21), and Xebros (22).

17. Clements R. Markham. "A list of the Tribes in the Valley of the Amazon, including those on the banks of the main Stream, and of all its tributaries." (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. Vol. III, New Series, 1865, p. 140.)

18. William Bollaert. "On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador" (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, vol. II. 1863, p. 112.

19. Daniel G. Brinton. "Studies in South American Languages," in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1892, vol. XXX, Philadelphia, p. 59. ---The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America. New York, 1891, p. 282-284.

20. Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa. Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional, 4 vol. Madrid, 1748. 1 part, Vol. II, p. 530.

21. Antonio Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto, in Northern Peru" (The anthropological Review, v. 1, 1863, p. 33). (translated from Spanish by W. Bollaert).

22. John Lubbock, "Note on the Macas Indians" (The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. III, 1874, no 1 page 29).

Marcoy (1), Markham (2) then Bollaert (3) identified the Jíbaros and the Jeveros (Jeberos or Xeberos) as the same group, and many authors after them, Brinton (4) in particular, have admitted this synonymy, which to my mind is not legitimate. (This confusion seems to arise from the finding of Xiberos instead of Xeberos in a "Description abrégée du fleuve Maragnon et des missions établies aux environs de ce fleuve, tirée d'un memoire espagnol du Père Samuel Fritz," published in vol. VIII of the Lettres Edifiantes, op. cit. p. 232. But this translation abounds in errors in the orthography of geographic names: For example, in it one finds Sogrona written instead of Logroño.) In fact, Father Fritz, Father Weigel and Father Requena separate very clearly on their maps the territories inhabited by these two tribes; Hervás (5) distinguishes the languages

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1. P. Marcoy. "Voyage de l'océan Atlantique à travers l'Amérique du Sud (1848-1860)" (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, page 169).
2. Markham, op. cit., p. 166.
3. Bollaert, op. cit., p. 115.
4. Brinton, op. cit.
5. Don Lorenzo Hervas. Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas. Vol. I. Lenguas y naciones americanas, p. 263-264, Madrid, 1800.

spoken by each of them; Velasco (6) in his list of the Indian tribes of the Ecuadorian Oriente classes the Jíbaros and the Jeberos separately; Maldonado, Villavicencio (7) in their maps place the first tribe well to the North of the village which bears the name of the second tribe. Closer to our day, Raimondi (8), Orton (9) and Ordinaire (10) describe successively the one and then the other tribe.

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6. Don Juan de Velasco. Historia del Reino de Quito (written in 1789), 3 vol., Quito, 1844, vol. III, Historia Moderna, p. 251-252.

7. Carta Corográfica de la República del Ecuador by Manuel Villavicencio, 1858. Printed by F. Mayer and Co., New York.

8. Antonio Raimondi. "Apuntes sobre la provincia litoral de Loreto" in Geografía del Perú by Mateo Paz Soldan. Paris, 1862, vol. I, p. 664 and p. 666.

9. James Orton. The Andes and the Amazons or across the continent of South America, p. 471. New York, 1875, 3 ed.

10. Olivier Ordinaire. "Les Sauvages du Pérou" (Revue d'Ethnographie, vol. VI, 1887, p. 265.)

12: Rivet--336-337 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

I believe that there is reason for reserving the name of Jeberos for a tribe characterized by a special language, which lives between the Apena river and the Cahuapanas river, on the right bank of the Amazon. As for the Indians with whom we are dealing, we must give them the name of [337] Jibaros. The "j" should be pronounced like the Spanish j. Since South Americans make very little difference between the pronunciation of "b" and "v" they often write Jívaro. As the Spanish dictionary gives the spelling Jíbaro, a word which means "country fellow, peasant, savage", it is this last spelling which should be adopted.

This point settled, it is useful to call attention to the fact that, in the time following the first attempts at conquest of the eastern regions by the Spanish, the word "Jíbaro" was very comprehensive; a synonym of the word "Yumbo", it was applied to all Indian peoples still unsubdued and not converted (1).

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1. Federico Gonzalez Suarez. Prehistoria Americana. Ligeras reflexiones sobre las razas indígenas que poblaban antiguamente el territorio actual de la República del Ecuador. Quito, 1904, p. 37.

The list of Jibaro tribes is very long and varies considerable with different authors; this abundance and this confusion are due to the fact that each Jibaro group, no matter how small, takes a special name from the name of the river which passes near his habitual abode. The result is that there are as many tribes as small streams of water in the three basins of the Santiago, Morona and Pastaza. Moreover, certain explorers have extended the domain of the Jíbaro race too far. For instance, Paul Marcoy reports that the Panos, who live on the banks of the small Sarayacu River, a left-hand tributary of the Ucayali, are probably native to the regions washed by the Morona and must have come to settle first at the mouth [350] of the Huallaga River, before occupying the region where the lucky explorer arrived just in time to see that last Pano of pure race and preserve his features for us. The hybrid descendants of these Panos are probably the Remos, the Amahuacas and the Sensis on the right bank of the Ucayali, the Cacibos, the Conibos, the Sepibos and the Schetibos on the left bank. Doubtless, he is attempting to derive the word "Pano" from the word "Upano", but it seems to be only a coincidence, and I have not been able to recognize in the customs of the Panos, as described by Marcoy the special customs of their supposed ancestors, the Jibaros (1). I

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1. Marcoy, op. cit., (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, pages 59, 161, 185 and 186).

have already enumerated the arguments which have made me eliminate the Jeberos from the Jíbaro family; for the same reasons, I think that the Aguanos, encountered by Herndon on the banks of the Huallaga River, should not be included in it (2).

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2. Lieut. W. M. Lewis Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon (with a map). Washington, 1854, in-8°. Velasco makes the Aguanos a separate nation with a special language. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 252.

12: Rivet--352-353 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 101

We already know that the very general names of Pastazas (V_1) (1), Moronas (V), and

1. A- "Informe de P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno de Alacáno," op. cit.

B- José Felix Barriero. Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, 1863, vol. II, page 112.

C- Castrucci, op. cit.

Co- Cordero, op. cit.

D- Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas, op. cit.

M- Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit.

Ma- Maldonado, map cited.

MM. - Marcel Monnier. Des Andes au Para-Equateur, Pérou, Amazone. Paris, 1890 (with a map).

P- Proaño, op. cit.

Pr- Prieto, op. cit.

R - Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto," etc., op. cit.

S - Bulletin Salésien.

V- Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 175 and 251.

V_1- Manuel Villavicencio. Geografia de la República del Ecuador. New York, 1858, page 169, and map cited.

Santiagos (VI) are applied to the tribes living along the three principal fluvial arteries.

The Upanos (V_1), the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (V_1), the Gualaquizas (V_1), and the Zamoras (V_1) inhabit the banks of the four principal affluents of the Santiago, and the Yaguarzongos (V) are mingled with the Zamoras (V_1). [353]

The name of Logroños (V_1) was formerly applied to the tribes who lived in the vicinity of the unhappy town which they destroyed, just as that of Canelos (V), the Macas(V) include all the Jibaros in the regions which have for centers the small villages of the same name.

Let us now take successively each of the great basins.

Basin of the Pastaza. The Cubillines (V) lived formerly in the cordillera of Cubillin, the origin of the Upano, the Palora and the Llusino; the Huamboyas (V) or Huambogas (B) inhabited the chain of mountains located more to the east, between the sources of the Palora and the Llusino, north of the Sangay volcano; the Paloras (V) along the Palora river. The Achuales (V_1), Uchuales (M), Achmiles (B), or Achuelos (M.M) constitute a great tribe, which occupies the whole right bank of the Pastaza from the Achual River to the confluence with the Bobonaza. It was these people who annihilated Andoas. The Maxumbaras (C), found a little above this confluence, must be a part of the Achuales.

The Pindos (V_1) have been visited and studied by Reiss and Stübel, later by Simson, on the banks of the stream of Pintuc or Pindo. Downstream from this tribe, the Copatasas (V_1) wander between the Copataza River and the Pastaza, and the Capahuaris (V) in all the territory between the Bobonaza to the N.E. and the Copataza to the S.W; the Jíbaros of the Pingullu (D), on the banks of the watercourse with the same name, seem to belong to this last group.

Finally, the Muratos (V) and Machines (C) occupy all the region sprinkled with lakes, which extends between the Pastaza on the east, the Morona on the west, and the Marañon on the south; to the north, they go up to the southern limits of the Achuales (1). They are found for ten days' journey up the Pastaza River. Thanks to the information furnished

1. Markham wrongly included the Muratos with the Záparos. Markham, op. cit., p.176.

by Father Castrucci, Colonel Proaño, Raimondi, Luccioli (2) and Marcel Monnier, we are thus able to localize this important tribe which extends as far as the left bank of the Pastaza. The Guazagas (V) [354] are a section of this tribe, living on the banks of the Huasaga River, a right-hand tributary of the Pastaza.

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2. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

Basin of the Morona. The Chirapas (V_1), or Chiriapos (P) live between the Palora and the Miazal and extend along the upper course of this last river, while the Miazales (P) occupy all the lower course.

The Chihuandos (D), to the south of the Chirapas, occupy the mountainous region where the tributaries of the right bank of the Aincicaimi and Maembaimi Rivers have their sources and the banks of these rivers themselves; the Cherembos (P), still more to the south, live between the Upano and the Mutiacahi and on the sources of the latter, 17 kilometers east of Macas. The Cangaimes (Co) wander along the banks of the Cusulima or Kangaimi, and on the banks of the Mangosisa, are the Mangosisas (P), of which one tribe, the Patucas(R) (doubtless the Batucos of von Hassel (1)), inhabits the extreme lower part of the course, almost at its confluence with the Cusulima. Farther down, one finds successively the Kanduaschis or Kandoashis (D) at the sources of a small left-hand tributary of the Morona, the Cetuchi, doubtless the Siduchi of Wolf, then the Ayulis (P) on the upper Morona, the Ayuli River and the lower course of the Cusulima, and finally the Tigüirmas (P) a little below these last. It is probable that these three peoples

1. Jorge M. von Hassel. "Las Tribus salvajes de la región amazónica del Perú" (Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, vol. XVII, 3rd part, 1905, pages 27-73).

are parts of the Muratos and Machines.

On the right bank of the Morona, the great tribe of the Huambizas (R) or Guambizas (B) occupies all the space between this river to the east, the Marañon to the south and the Santiago to the west; their northern limit is probably a line passing to the south of the Zhuizha River, for according to a Dominican missionary, in the region of this stream, between the Santiago and the Morona, the country is completely uninhabited (2). The Mayas (D) are without doubt a tribe of the Huambizas, established on the banks of the Amaya.

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2. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas, levantado en 1890," by Rev. Father Delgado, in: Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, page 416.

Basin of the Santiago. This basin is one of the most complex.

The Zuñas (V) and the Pairas (V) formerly lived in the regions [355] where today the small settlements of Zuña and Paira are found on the way from Riobamba to Macas, and the Copuenos (V) and Aguayos (V) a little downstream, on the Upano (1).

On the left bank of the same river, we find the Yuquipas (V) on the tributary of the same name to the east of Macas; the Nazangoras (P) along the Upano opposite the mouth of the Tutanagoza, and to the south of this tribe, the Chiguasas (A) on the little river of the same name. As for the Turumbisas (V), perhaps they ought to be considered as the residents of the neighboring river, the Tundumbisa.

On the right bank of the Upano, the Jurumbaini (B) lived about three hours distance from Macas, the length of the small stream of Jurumbay or Jurumbaino; the Arapicos (D), Agapicos (V_1) or Alapicos (V_1) on the little river of the same name; the Guambinimas (B) in the area delimited by the Zhungaimi River, Tutanagoza River and Arapicos River; the Tutamagosas (B) or Tutanangoras (P) on the Tutanagoza.

On the Paute River I have already mentioned the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (V_1); then come the Chupiansas (S) along the Chupiansa, and the Mendes (B) in the territory bathed by the little rivers of Tayuzha and Zazhapasa.

1. "Informe sobre las provincias de Quijos, Avila, Canelos y Macas, por el Gobernador de Macas Don Josseph de Basabe y Urquieta" (May 1, 1754), in Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. I, page 61.

12: Rivet--355 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

In the basin of the Zamora are the Bombasicaros (V) on the Bambuscara, a tributary on the right bank; on the left bank, south of Gualaquiza, the Pachicosas (S) or Paricosas (Co), above the Chuchumbleza River; on the right bank of the latter, the Chuchumblezas (S); on the right bank of the Bomboiza, the Naranzas (S); between the Cuchipamba and Cuyes Rivers, the Jíbaros of Tuledu (S), then the Indanzas (S) and the Yunganzas (S) on the two little rivers of the same name.

On the Santiago proper we find, on the left bank, the Xbaros of Mayalico (Pr) on the banks of the Zhuizha river, and the Benerizas (V), on the Beneriza river; on the right bank, the Iranbisas (V) and the Iranasas (V) on the little rivers of the same names; then, near the Marañon, on the extreme lower course of the Santiago and between that and the Morona, live the Patócumas (S) [Patocumos (S), Patucumas (Co), Pafocamas (Pr)]. The name of Patucumayas (D) is evidently applied to the two united tribes of Patocumas and Mayas, the location of which I have described before. I think that both should be included with the Huambizas. [356]

To the east of the mouth of the Santiago lives the great tribe of the Antipas (R)[Nantipas (Pr)], who extend up into the Cordillera of Condor. Like the Huambizas, they spread southward on the right bank of the Marañon, where the traveller Luccioli has reported out their presence between the Nieva River and the mouth of the Santiago (1).

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1. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

12: Rivet--356 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

Then, there is one last important tribe, the Aguarunas (R) [Ahuarunes (Ma)] whose habitat is exclusively on the right bank of the Marañon. According to Raimondi and Luccioli, they should be located to the south of the Pongo de Manseriche, in the vast territory between the Nieva River and the Potro River. Wertheman reports that previously they lived at the mouth of the Chuchunga (1); they must therefore have emigrated from the west to the east.

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1. Arthur Wertheman. "Aufnahme der Flüsse Paranapura und Cahuapanas im Departamento de Amazonas der Republik Peru" (with a map) (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, 15th vol. 1880, page 211).

12: Rivet--356 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

These are the principal Jíbaro peoples whose location may be determined at present without too many chances of error. It suffices to compare it with the list given by Velasco in order to understand how incomplete is the work that I have attempted. It was impossible to locate on the map in a precise manner many of the tribes reported by modern travellers or missionaries. Such are the Oyocamas (A), the Achuras (D), the Zhomos (D), the Mexipuras (A), and the Jambas mentioned by M. Fabre (1), who all belong to the Macas group, the Jíbaros of Chiceni (Co) who live on the Zamora (2), the Tambos or Tumbas (B), the Chiguavidas (B), and the Jíbaros of Suinde (Pr).

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1. Hamy, op. cit., note 2, page 46.
2. "Informe del Ilm. Sr. D. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 293.

20: Dyott--159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 101, 551

"The whole question of names is one of tremendous interest, and the Jivaros differ from every other Indian tribe with whom I am familiar in the Amazon country in one most important respect: they group themselves with other tribes under a distinct tribal name--the name of Shuaro. Tribes outside this group frequently label their neighbours with nicknames, but it never occurs to them to band together under a distinct name of their own. The tribes known to the whites as Jivaros, Huambisas, Antipas and Aguarunas, are all Shuaros, and recognize themselves as such."

22: Hamy--386-387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 101

"In 1741, Father Samuel Fritz published a general map, incorrect without doubt, but much less incomplete than that of Pagan; and on this map one can read, under a form little different from that which is used at present, the true name of the large Indian family of the territories of Cuenca and of Chachapoyas.

Fritz named these savages Xibaros...; la Condamine..., Lapie..., [387] Mollien ..., etc., have preserved this designation. They are now called Jivaros or Jeberos."

22: Hamy--387-388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 101, 175

"By comparing the various documents, one finds that the Jivaro family, localized especially in the north of Maranon, between the Pastassa and Chinchipe rivers, includes nevertheless, four tribes to the south of the river, in Peruvian territory: the Muratos, the Uambisas, the Aguarunas and the Antipas. The first of these tribes is not yet clearly defined on the map. The second appears to occupy the area opposite the mouth of the Huambisa or Yurumbisa river. Mr. Herndon encountered the Aguarunas, whom he named Aguanos, at Santa-Cruz on the Huallaga river, a little above the point where this river joins with the Maranon. The expedition of the bishop of Chachapoyas discovered other Aguarunas on the Maranon itself, between the mouth of the Nieva river and the celebrated Pongo of Manseriche. Paz Soldan and Mr. Raimondy show us on the river, above the same [388] Pongo, the Antipas neighbors of the Aguarunas, with whom they are at continual war...."

22: Hamy--388 [2] (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 101

"The information which we have condensed (in the preceding pages) will suffice as a description of a map as yet vague of the present extension of the Jivaro family. Co-ordinated with other geographic descriptions collected in the neighboring valleys or mountains, they permit us already to fill in our atlas a gap of considerable extent."

22: Hamy--390-391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 101, 175

"Humboldt and Orbigny have already included in the Guarani peoples the Omaguas of Ucayali and of Marañon, brothers of the Umaüas of Brazil. First of all the name of the Jivaros recall in a striking manner that of one of the large affluents of the Amazon, the Javari river. Along the banks of this river live the Mayorunas. Near the Japura river, another tributary of the great river, are the Marahunos. On the Ouanari, affluent of the right bank of the Oyapoc, live the Maraones. These three names are closely related to that of the Moronas of the Morona river. In the eighteenth century on the same Japura river, there were the Achuaris whose ethnic appellation scarcely distinguishes them from that of the Jivaro Achuales. The Muratos recall the Muras of the Purus river. The name of the Uambisas fits perfectly into the most frequently used forms of the Guaranis, of whom the tribes [illegible] Ua were formerly so numerous. It is the same for the Catapasas which one can relate to the Catapuyas, the Catahaichis, the Cataxos, the Catakinos, etc. The Pastassas seem to have taken their name from the Carib Pastuzzos of the Atlantic coast, between Chiriqui and Goajira. The Gualaquisas have a name akin to that of these Gualachos who have inhabited the islands of the river of Coronda below Santa-Fe. Finally the Upanos derive their [391] origin from the ancient Panos of the Javari river. It is known that these are the same Upanos who, chased into part of the basin of the Morona by hostile neighbors who were nevertheless of the same race, descended into the pampa of the Sacramento, where the Franciscans found them established and where several recent travelers, among whom we have noted especially

22: Hamy--390-391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 101, 175

Mr. Paul Marcoy..., have encountered their miserable remnants.

It should be added that the general term by which the great Indian race of the East is designated, the word Guarani, finds itself scarcely changed in the name of the principal tribe of Peruvian Jivaros, the Aguarunas, of whom we have, with Herndon and Paz Soldan, localized the two tribes...."

26: Brüning--46 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101, 175

The Aguaruna, Antipa, Huambisa, and Murato Indians are the component tribes that make up the Jibaro people, according to Bastian. The Jibaro people were never completely subjugated by the Incas, just as they put up a firm resistance against the later Spanish attempts at conquest. What the old historians report concerning the Jibaros may still be said of the Aguarunas of today: they are just as proud, brave freedom-loving, and, at the same time, hospitable as the old Jibaro people are said to have been.

The Aguarunas keep up a friendship with the Antipas, but they are hostile to the Huambisa Indians who live along the banks of the Santiago River. I have noticed that they regard it as an insult if they are called Huambisa.

26: Brüning--48-49 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101

The white men call Aguaruna those Indians who live on the right side of the Marañón River; the Indians to the left are called Antipa. Both names may be found on Raimondi's map (number seven), but with this difference: the inscription at the left side of the Marañón River reads: "Jíbaros y Antipas." The Indians under discussion call themselves now, all of them, Aguaruna, [49] even those on the left bank of the Marañón River. I received this information in Numpatkai as an answer to a direct question. Moreover, I have been unable to discover either physical or any other distinguishing characteristics between the Indians of the two river banks. It may well be that the Indians use the name "Aguaruna" to distinguish their own race from that of the white men. The Indians of the two banks of the upper Marañón entertain friendly relations with each other, and they speak the same language, which is identical with that of the Huambisa and Morato

26: Brüning--49 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101

The name "Aguaruna" is not derived from the language of the Indians thus named. "Aguaruna" is composed of the Spanish word agua (i.e., water) and the Quichua word runa, which means "people," "men". Aguaruna, i.e., Watermen, Waterpeople. This name, at any rate, was given to them by the white men who first came into contact with them. The name indicates that these Indians habitually live in the proximity of water. To explain that the name if composed of Spanish and Quichua elements, it may be pointed out that whoever gave the name to the Indians may have come from the mountain area where Quichua is still partly spoken and where such two-language words occur frequently. For example, the Quichua word Ahua-runa may mean "weavers" because the men there do the weaving.

I have tried in vain to find out which name the Indians derive from their own language. During my research in this direction I have heard the word Yánum on several occasions, but it turned out that this term means "man belonging to the tribe", "fellow countryman," or something similar.

28: Tessman--338 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 101

The name Chíwaro derives perhaps from the Kandoschi language, for they call the Chíwaro šuara. This may have been the basis for jívaro (Spanish), since the form šiwora also occurs (Beuchat). The Chiwaros themselves do not have a name of their own for the entire tribe. Each sub-tribe has a name of its own.

Aside from the Spanish version Jivaro one can also find Jibaro (often spelled Xivaro and Xibaro in ancient times), furthermore: Givari, Xivari, Chivari (Italian writers!), Givaro, Zibaro, Jivara, Jivira, and Hibaro.

28: Tessman--342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 101, 131

"The Chiwaros are divided into several sub-tribes, three of which are important: the Chiwaro-Aguarunas, the Chiwaro-Makas, and the Chiwaro-Atschual. The fourth division, the Chiwaro-Uambisa, is smaller; it may be a tribe mixed of Aguaruna and Makas Indians.

The Aguarunas live farthest to the south, in general along the right bank of the Marañon in the large bend which this river makes when it leaves the Cordillera. My infpr-mation concerning the Chiwaros are based, if not indicated otherwise, on the Aguaruna tribe which I have studied. The Chiwaros show an inclination toward group formations. There could be mentioned, for instance, the Nantipa (or Antipa) along the left bank of the Marañon, but this is nothing but a special group which, due to continuous warlike entanglements, separated from the main group under the leadership of a chieftain (nantipa).

Along the middle course of the Santiago live the Uambisa (also Bambisa, Guambisa, Huambiza); along the upper Santiago and probably also along the Morona River there are the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, who are probably the nucleus of the tribe and the original bearers of the name Chiwaro. Along the upper Morpna a part has separated from the main group, but this part does not deserve the designation of sub tribe, etc.
The Aguarunas call the Uambisas uampís or šiwá, while the Chiwaro-Makas Indians are called uákis by the Aguarunas.

28: Tessman--342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-2
116, 101, 131

The third large sub-tribe is that of the Atschual (or Achuaros, Aisuari); they live chiefly along the right bank of the middle Pastaza, especially along its tributary Huasaga. They call the Chiwaro-Makas Indians šuer and the Uambisa and Aguaruna Indians patukma."

28: Tessman--343 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 101

The Andoas are called andóa, the Kandoshis (of whom only the Muratos were known) are called kandóas, the Ketschuas ohúna or moéxen (the latter refers to the inhabitants of the highlands); the whites are called wíakutš or apa-tše, which, according to Karsten, means "papa," though the Peruvians interpret it as "Apache" (Indian tribe) and, in a metaphoric sense, "roughneck." "conqueror."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro Souls

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THE Jívaro proper (*untsuri huara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jívaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jívaro behavior.[2]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956–57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jívaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jívaro proper.[4]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jívaro: the Río Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Sepa; the Río Chiguaza; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jívaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UtitI Ahaiu*, *Kugull*, and *Unta Akačn* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Mašu* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintač* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HwayA*, *Tugi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[Continuation of footnotes, see category 116, pp. 270-272]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jívaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jívaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[18] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jívaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*ahutan*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jívaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri Iuara* comprise the Jívaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jívaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *Iuara*, does not mean "Jívaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri Iuara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jívaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*ahuara Iuara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jívaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri Iuara* or Jívaro proper. The other Jívaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achual), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ĉ Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following ĉ or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following ĉ or i plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish ñ when i is adjacent)

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175 At the time of the conquest of Perú by the Spanish, the empire of the Incas extended from Chile to the Rio Mayo north of Pasto. It was only in a few places, however, that this nation ever eager to conquer, succeeded in subjugating the tribes of their dominion living on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. The nature of the country, the climate, and the nomadic way of life of the Indians set up almost insuperable difficulties for them. In the northern part of the empire, however, which had been subjugated only a short time and which now forms the republic of Ecuador, contacts had already been made with the Jívaro and Mâca Indians living on the tributaries of the Amazonas. The Spaniards sought to extend their conquests in this direction too, when they had taken over the legacy of the dynasty destroyed by them. The small bands of conquistadores were not satisfied with the tremendous stretches of land that had fallen to them with comparatively little effort; they wanted to subjugate more and more new territories, to capture new riches. Soon after the founding of Quito they made an alliance with the Mâcas, which was followed in a short time by a large number of expeditions. It sounds almost unbelievable when we hear that after just a few years a number of rather large cities were founded and rapidly began to flourish. Merely in the region of interest to us here the cities of Mendoza on the Rio Palora, Sevilla del Oro on the Rio Upano, and Logroño on the Rio Paute were founded in the year 1552. The wealth of gold and the ease of acquisition drew large numbers of settlers; monasteries were endowed and churches built, and the district of Mâcas was soon considered one of the richest and most prosperous of the great Peruvian empire.

● 101 175 Three Indian tribes, of which only one exists today, are mentioned as inhabitants of the extensive forests on the eastern slope of the Cordillera between the Pastaza and Paute rivers. They are the Mâcas, Huamboyas, and Jívaros. The first two seem not to have been very large; the Jívaros formed, and still form today, a large nation, which, to be sure, is made up of many individual tribes living in enmity for the most part, but which nevertheless /326/ join together against a common enemy and can order up a considerable number of fighters.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

INTRODUCTION

101 •

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 175
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri huarā* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained uncon- [135]
quered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 175
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the mar- 648
kets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers [727]
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of 124
first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that [122]
it must be done with sophistication involving constant re-
phrasing of the same questions in different contexts with
various interpreters and informants and supplemented by as
much participant observation as possible. It seems likely that [122]
at least as many errors in ethnographic research can be com-
mitted by the fieldworker who is under the delusion that he
is "fluent" in the language, and who fails to check his results
through interpreters, as by the researcher who recognizes his
linguistic limitations and uses trained interpreters with sensible
caution and patience.

The research providing the present data was conducted for 101 •
a total of fourteen field months in 1956–57, 1964 and 1969,
primarily in the following river valleys occupied by the
Jivaro: the Río Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Can-
gaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and the Río
Upano and its tributaries. Except where otherwise stated, the [121]
ethnographic data presented here refer to the culture of those
Jivaro who in 1956–57 were not yet in regular first-hand
contact with Ecuadorians or other whites.

The 1956–57 field investigation was sponsored by the 122
Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc.,
of New York, with supplementary grants from the Depart-
ment of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology
of the University of California, Berkeley, the American
Museum of Natural History, and the American Anthro-
pological Association (Smith, Kline and French Laboratories
contract). The organization and study of the collected data
upon my return from the field was facilitated by a Univer-
sity Fellowship in Anthropology from the University of
California and by a summer grant from the Social Science
Research Council.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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101
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MAP 1 /p. 11/

Jivaroan and neighboring tribes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter I

THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

175
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> I say truly to Your Highnesses that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.
>
> *Captain Hernando de Benavente —on the Jívaro in a letter to the Royal Audiencia of Spain, March 25, 1550*[1]

• 101
13

Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untsuri huarā*, the Jívaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *achuarā huarā* and the *tsuomu huarā*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful
101 conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

It is not known how long the Jivaro have dwelt in the forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists[1] to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg[2] has suggested that Jivaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jivaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Rio Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. ± 440 years and 1041 A.D. ± 160 years.[3] However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jivaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Iplamain," was discovered southeast of the mestizo village of Huambi in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Yaunchu," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra[4] in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of the Rio Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric populations

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

194 residing in the Jivaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jivaro[1], the Achuara (Achuara, Achual); the Huambisa, the Aguaruna, and the "Mayna"[2] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jivaro, or *untsuri huara*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simply as the "Jivaro," "Jibaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*huara*) does not simply mean "Jivaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apach*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri huara*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jivaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*achuara huara*) to the east. An alternative term, *wandya huara* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jivaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsunsu huara*) refer to the Jivaro proper as "*pakar huara*" or "*yakina huara*,"[3] while the Aguaruna call them the "*paraka tirap*."[4] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jivaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

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131 The Jivaro population, numbering an estimated 5,850
133 persons in 1956–57,[5] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pungó

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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MAP 1
Distribution of the Jivaro, by ancient band, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
133 more of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
• 101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

More of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguaza region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[12] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jívaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jívaroans.[13] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
649 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
[101] the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
[161] lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguasa region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
[619] all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambinimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the *investigator's original* fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 ous journey of two or more days on foot, still discourages white penetration into the eastern interior.

Cases of contact between the interior Jívaro and whites are all very recent and highly localized in their occurrence. The largest intrusion was made by the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation in the early 1940's as part of an ill-fated oil exploration project. The company constructed a small airstrip near the Río Pangui in the easternmost part of the Jívaro territory, but within a few years abandoned the site altogether when explorations failed to reveal economically exploitable oil deposits in the region. The project involved relatively limited interaction with the Jívaro.

177 In 1945, a North American evangelist missionary belonging
797 to the Gospel Missionary Union established a small outpost on the middle Río Macuma. The mission has a small airstrip supplied by single-engine plane since 1946. A subsidiary airstrip was built on the upper Río Cangaimi at the end of 1954.[26] At the time of the investigator's first fieldwork, the Macuma mission was beginning to exert some significant influence on the Jívaro families residing at the mission, but such contacts were still limited to the immediate locality, without any noticeable effect on the culture of the other Jívaro inhabiting the vast interior region east of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The Salesians had also founded a mission on the lower Río Yaupi, with similar localized effects.

• 101 Localities within the interior Jívaro territory which had
177 been least touched by white contact in 1956–57 are the ones from which the data are primarily drawn for the present study. These areas include: the upper Río Cangaimi; the upper Río Cusuimi; the upper Río Mangosiza; and the region between the Río Chiguasa and the headwaters of the Río Yuquipa and the Río Macuma (see Map 2). The last region is west of the northern end of the Cutucú mountain barrier

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguasa region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*achuarā huarā*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguasa and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsamta huarā*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[36]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri huarā* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E. 4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's many more Jívaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jívaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jívaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jívaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the eld-
[123] erly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jívaro coming back from Peru." The Jívaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jívaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge 164
its actual demographic effects.

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus 16
are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift [721] that has occurred during the past half-century from large- [682] scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to 101
have expanded. 628

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 628 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 439 [411] [441] The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro [464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu- 177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of 184 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied 43 feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
184 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *nimwá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

/p. 77/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jívaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *niawá ẖuarā* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jívaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kanaim ẖuarā* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri ẖuarā* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jívaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jívaro society.

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The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jívaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

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A household tends to have a typical composition of: one

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huara*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

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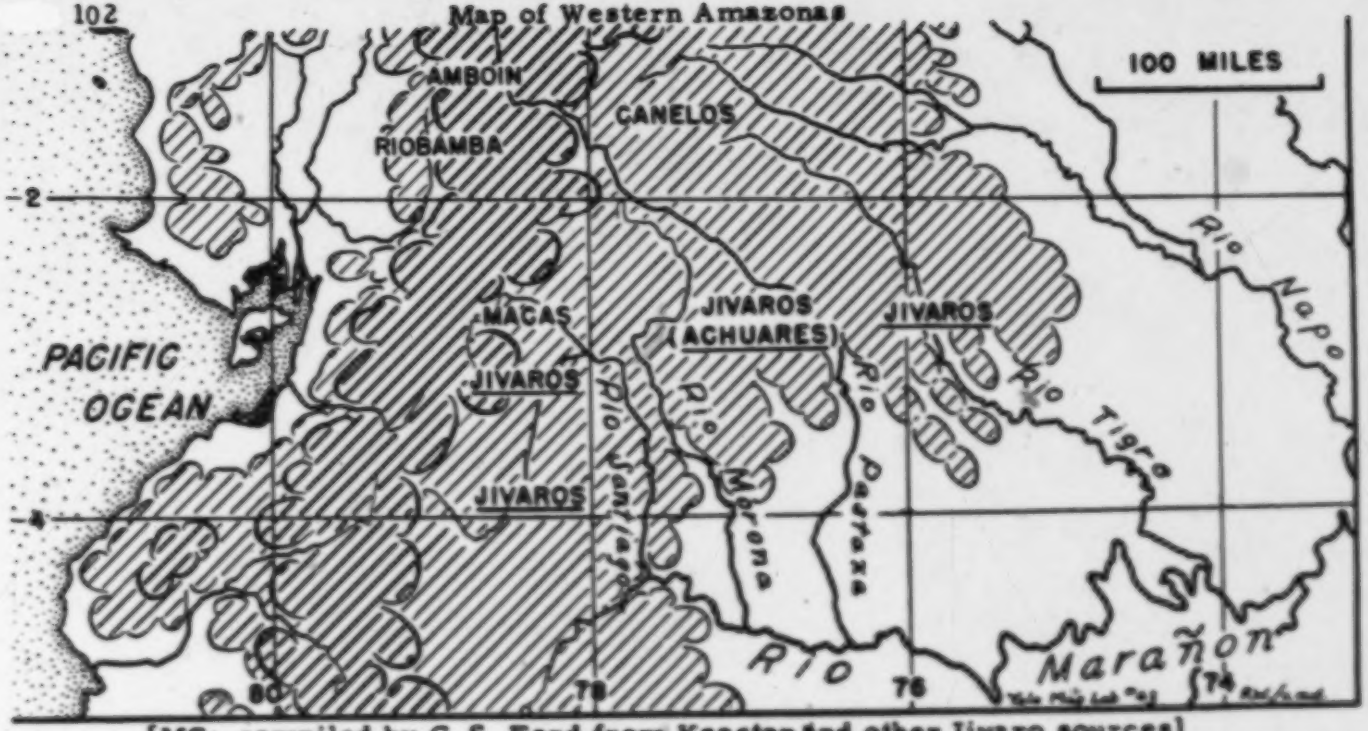
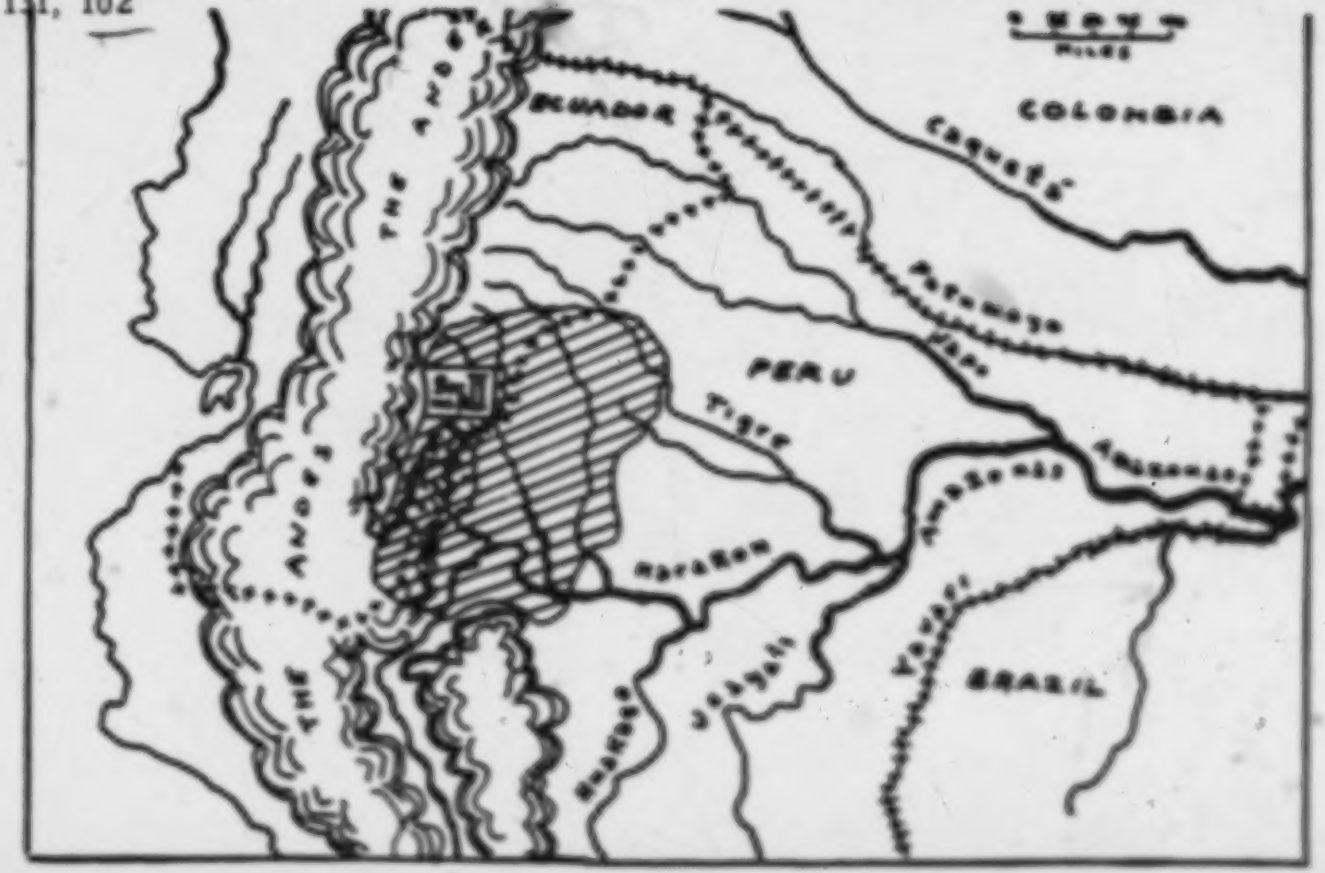
Map of Western Amazonas



[MC: compiled by C.S. Ford from Karsten and other Jivaro sources]

31; Danielsson--85 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 131, 102



MAP I

34:Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9 -

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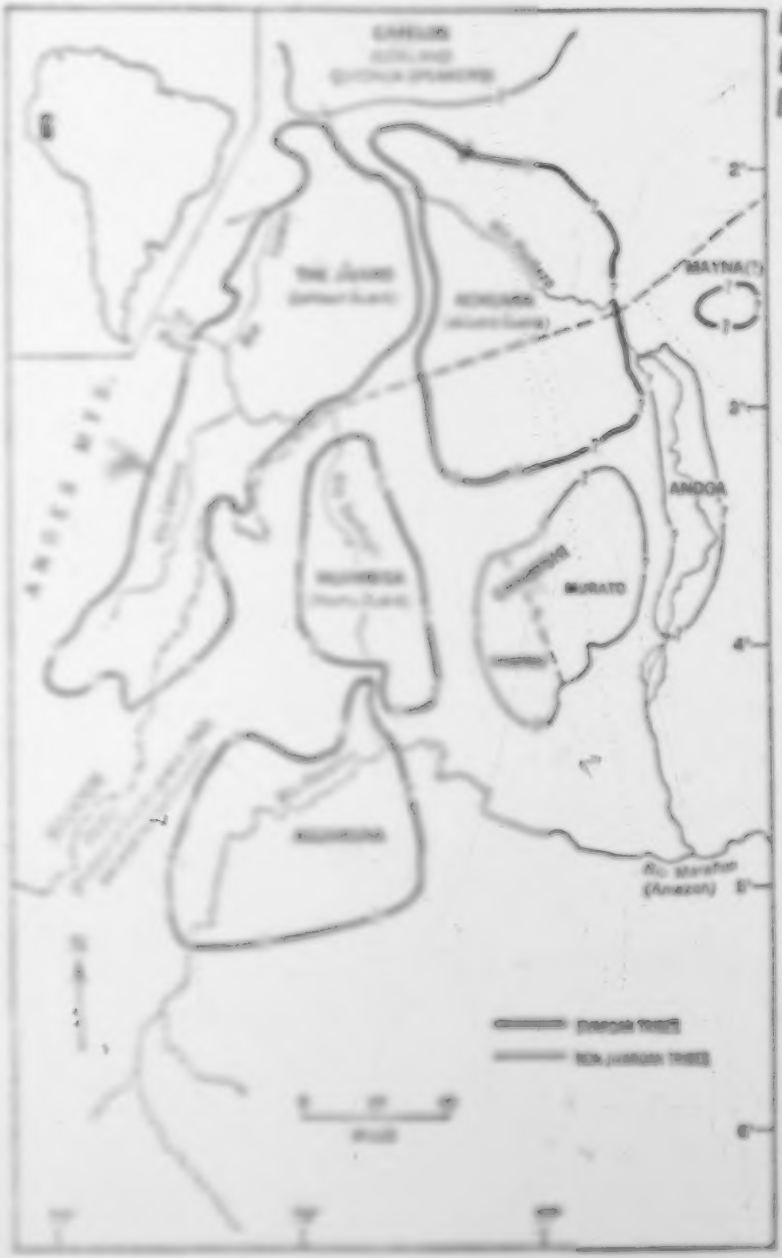

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Jivaroan and neighboring tribes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or manner land, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

2: Stirling--2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
M6, 103, 171

"There are, however, certain fairly stable large geographic groupings which appear to feel a certain unity, and to which general group names have been attached. The Jivaros proper are those which dwell in the basins of the Zamora and Upano Rivers and on the upper Pastaza. The Antipas live on the right bank of the Santiago from the Zamora to the Alto Marañon. The Aguarunas live on the right bank of the Marañon between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers. The Huambisas occupy the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers, including all of the territory west to the left bank of the Santiago, from the Cordillera of Cutucu to the Marañon. The Achuales occupy the territory between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers from Lake Puralina north to Andoas.

The Jivaros scattered over this vast territory of approximately 25,000 square miles are of similar appearance physically; they speak a single language and their customs, beliefs, and material culture are closely interrelated. With this, however, their unity ends. The scores of small independent groups, living for the most part on the headwaters of the tributary streams, are constantly at war, one group with another."

22: Hamy--388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 103, 175

"The Jivaro north of the river, located in consequence in the republic of Ecuador, are very much more numerous. Villavicencio speaks of 13 or 14 tribes which he calls the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, the Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, the Pindos, the Agapicos, the Achuales, etc. But several of these groups of Indians are sections of tribes, rather than the tribes themselves. They take their names from the rivers on whose banks they live or from the designations imposed by the Spaniards. And that explains why the list of Villavicencio, incomplete as it is..., added to that of Mateo Paz Soldan, surpasses the number formerly assigned by Velasco to the Jivaro dialects.... Whatever they are, the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, are grouped in the neighborhood of water courses which run into and form the Santiago river. The Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Pindos, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, occupy the bassin of the Morona river. The other Jivaro are scattered in the basin of the Pastassa, along this river and its affluents."

26: Brüning--52 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 103

It is the rule that a settlement consists of only one house. Two houses, as I had seen them, for instance, in S. Antonio, are rarely found together. The various houses form, however, larger or smaller groups, separated from each other by forest and yet connected with each other by narrow footpaths. One such group has a definite name.

26: Brüning--54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574, 103

I paid my first visit to two houses, close together in S. Antonio on the Muchingis River. The name S. Antonio was given to this settlement in honor of its Curaca Antonio by one of the most important rubber collectors, who lived in Nazaret, which is some 800 meters distant from the mouth of the Muchingis River. I do not know how the Indians themselves call "S. Antonio." I regard this random changing of place names a great nuisance. The same rubber collector had in most instances given new names to almost all the Indian settlements along the upper Marañón, and he had chosen the names from the names of his own family and had prefixed them with a San. This is also customary in other regions of Peru. You will not find the name of the Muchingis River on any map or elsewhere. This river is called Imaza or Chuchunga on Raimondi's map (number seven). Another of its names is Chiriaco, which means: Cold Water. I prefer the name Muchingis since, as the very same rubber collector informed me, it is used by the Indians who live along its banks.

31: Danielsson--86 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 622, 103

"There is no permanent chief for the different geographical groups. (Each cluster of houses is named after the rivulets where they are situated, as for instance the Patucas, the Yurupazas, the Yaupis.) The family head is the highest authority and his power is limited to the members of his house. Only in time of war are chiefs appointed for larger units, but their power is provisional and confined to the war-period only."

Jivaro Souls

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THE Jivaro proper (Indians) tribes of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-rooted belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[2]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935, Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[4]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for two and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sopa; the Rio Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cuyaimi; the Rio Mangosiza, and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Baños on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *Wakampit*, *Tsakempit*, *Uwit Akaia*, *Kapalit*, and *Uwa Akaia* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Mata* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hinat* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Kampit*, *Tapi*, and *Nasa*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[1] [illegible] of footnotes, see [illegible] 116, [illegible]
[illegible] Conclusion]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or western band, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilometers).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of irregular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the *uwisi entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jivaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *niawá huará* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jivaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kapaim huará* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huará* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jivaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jivaro society.

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The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jivaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next, but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

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A household tends to have a typical composition of: one

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1: Karsten--317 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 104, 727 (1928-29)

"The general name for a feast among the Jiboros is Nambéra, which word, however, particularly signifies a drinking-feast. The victory-feast is, therefore, sometimes called Nambéra teantea.(1) The technical name for this feast is Kineupani, from ein(i)eu, 'folk,' 'people,' and the word 'pani', which also seems to mean 'feast', but is only used in this and a couple of other words.(2) 'To celebrate a feast' means ihiámbrama, whereas the verbal substantive ihiámbratinyu signifies the person who makes the feast, or in whose honour it is held. The principal person at the victory-feast--that is, the slayer--is also entitled mangértoma ('the one who has killed'). As a host at the feast he is called heindinyu."

"1. The word hista, which is now most frequently used for a feast (teantea hista, etc.), is borrowed from Spanish (fiesta).

2. Kusúpari, 'the feast of the men,' and Tawápani, 'the feast of the dogs.'"

Mammals

bayúca	small rodent in the shape of a little pig.
kuhukín	small mammal of the size of a small cat; instead of a coat of fur it has flexible quills.
bhuŝam	a bat
ungumíng	large rodent; the whites call it ronsoco.
ŝápo	doe
yagué	dog
pamáu	tapir; the whites call it satŝavaca
pakum	a monkey, called cotomono by the whites.
wáki	a monkey; the Europeans call it maquisapa.
ráke (n)	a white monkey.
cai;	called mahŝ by the whites.
chuŝ	the tail of animals

Birds

atáŝu	a hen
ayum	a cock
cuyo	a turkey
onç (e)	a sort of turkey with colorful feathers.
ûunc (e)	a sort of turkey with darkbrown feathers.
tûiva	trumpeter
kuyokúyo	a large duck with black and white feathers.
tûumi	black bird with red tail.
tûiŝ	green parrot with blue head and neck, a black dot on each cheek.
tûgó	large green parrot, the head of somewhat blueish color, on top a little yellow, and a touch of yellow on the sides. The whites call it catalina.
ŝîŝi	small green parrot with ash-colored head and eyes of the same color.
tacûm (p)	a blue guacamayo (ara) with yellow chest and body.
kîua	small love bird, perequito.
kavau	a large green parrot.
pangen	a partridge
pivi	crested or tufted hen with a crest of feathers.

papájum	a sort of small seagull.
ushangá	taken or dicotedó.
Jímbi	a sort of swallow.
ununumaná	a white heron.
atáñ	white-yellow wild duck.
ungúng, unñ(g)n	a brown heron
mako	a sort of crested hen.
pangwána	a sort of partridge.
cóca	tufted hen (Opisthocomus hoazin). [76]

Fish, Amphibious Animals, Insects, etc.

báñap	a ray with one sting.
Jíñi	a large beetle larva.
wambíñ	general name for butterflies.
bánka	general name for fish.
dápu (bint)	air-bladder of the fish.
mitúñe	a mosquito.

téti	a mosquito.
mántše	green grasshopper.
nápi	snake.
zíhin	spider.
toíka	carabid, } both of them used for ear decorations.
wáwa	brilliant beetle, } both of them used for ear decorations.
teuma	louse.
yantána	a crocodile.
kungwím	a terrestrial turtle.
yotóg	a large ant, called isula by the whites.
kúpitso	balsamiferous ant
kangálhute	fish with lance.

Plants

pandap	banana.
samó	ripe banana.
pagáta	sweet sugarcane.
uhúts	cotton
wáwa	Ochroma (Bombacea).

sikút (a)	vanilla.
intši	sweet potato.
tangana (Quichua)	a sort of bamboo (caña brava).
ipáko	Achote (?), ruku.
zángu	tobacco.
jima	ají, Spanish chewing pepper.
sa	Indian corn
dúse	maní, groundnut.
míka	bean
máma	yuka, nonpoisonous Manihot.
táng (u)	Schiringa (?) tree.
tšingose	tree-fern.
tšiña	logwood.
tšiña nua	a fine logwood.
átsu	gregarious palm.
satíka	pumamaqui, gregarious tree, growing on cultivated but later neglected soil.
máté	a tree from which a fiber (chambira) is obtained.
tšimút	a tree from which the túntui are made.

kumái	chambira, the fiber of which is used as string.
tsápe	ivory-palm which the whites call tagua.
tuntuám	palm the shoots of which are edible.
uyáy	another palm with edible shoots.
ñihipi	a sort of rush the roots of which are used against insect bites.
múmi	tree, stick.
sásta	any flower.
nluka	the leaf.
ngági	the root.
tímu	liana, narcotic used for fishing purposes.
náktém	narcotic liana, used by the Aguaruna Indians in order to discover the auspicious time for a raid.
pthungái	a sort of black resin and the tree from which it is obtained.
náum	a tree from which the resin pengái is obtained; blowguns are covered with pengái.
sapáta	is the nut of the avila; used against toothaches.
otuntu	a brew, used internally and externally against snake bites.
másu	plant used as a narcotic for fishing purposes. barbazco.
miske	plant with a mint fragrance. The brew is used against abdominal pain. [77]

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-7
116, 104

tšihígab	unrefined copal resin.
ašanga	small kernels used against diarrhea.
tšipa	a resin.
wapay	a bean obtained from a liana that has the shape of a doe-eye.
kapihona	a large tree with smooth yellow bark.
antšimuntše	fruit of the passion-flower.
wambokiš	the fruit of a small inga species.
wintši	the flower whichis called papagayo by the whites.
yamakáy	a tree the leaves of which are used for the brown-dyeing of fabrics.
yanamúk	little berries used to blacken the teeth.
angpangban	leaves used against snake bite.
kúñakip	leaves used against snake bite.
maikua	medicinal plant. Given to children for purgation purposes, even if the children are not sick.
piú	leaves used to blacken the teeth.
núpiš	leaves with gallnuts on them; used for decoration.
hingai	gallnuts.
na (h) ahaip	a yellow fruit with a thick rind.

çeáç	poison for the blowgun arrows. It is boiled to a sirupy thickness.
sua	fruit used for blackening the body.

Relationship Terms and Parts of the Body.

áĩšman	man. Also used to hail a fellow.
nua	woman (or wife ?)
apabá	father
yatsón	brother
nuasá	sister
se	brother-in-law
nukúa	mother
nukutši	grandmother
utšuts	small child
vinuatkám	married
hámšin	pregnant woman
tuji	a person with skin trouble.
waktsánghen	goodlooking young man
náki	lazy fellow
yánum	fellow-countryman ?

mántšu	chest or breast
ámbo	abdomen
ananlái	heart
nampa	blood
ñihe	flesh
ehúntš (e)	bones
nuápg	skin
tšingun	elbow
kuts	ear
day	tooth
wino	lip
ináku	leg
nijai	forehead
nuji	nose
nantšik	nail
ináso	chin
nangán	heel
intše	hair
akáhik	lock of hair which hangs into the forehead of men.

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tšikmónday	nasal mucus
ija	faeces
iki	fart
kata	penis
tsuki	vulva
hahay	pain, sickness
uhutkata	coughing

Clothing, Ornaments

itípe	loincloth of a man
taratse	clothing for women
kamus	barkcloth, which is said to be worn along the upper Senepa.
kahist	a piece of bamboo [78] which is worn in the ear by some of the Antipa Indians.
akiáta	ear pendants
akíte wáwa	ear pendants made out of the wings of a decorative beetle.
akíte toika	ear pendants made out of the wings of a carabid.
atsehokta	head decoration made of monkey fur.
tawas	head decoration made of feathers.

dúsip (e)	black seed used for ornamental purposes.
paikko	a band worn around the arm by married women.
poékta	necklace made of small porcelain buttons.
timás	comb
yuskna(gi)	red berries which are worn on bands over the shoulders.
dúpik	bands made of black seeds; they are worn on the chest and back.
mika	a bundle of various fruits, worn as ornament by women.
aua pain tómate	a roller with which the black paint is applied on the body.

Musical Instruments.

pingui	flute made of bamboo.
tungui	small flute made of the bone of a doe.
tuntul	a hollow tree trunk used as a signal instrument.
tambón	small drum.
mákitá	a bundle of small nuts worn by dancers around the ankles.

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-12
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Weapons.

ahahú	gun
yápa	revolver
nánki	spear with iron point.
ángõs	spear made of chonta wood.
šikit	fishing spear
õm	blowgun.
omgomió	sight of the blowgun.
hápik	cane with a piece of wool at one end, used for cleaning the blowgun.
mati (Quichua)	the hollow fruit of Crescentia Cujete (tutuma), used as a storage vessel for the arrow wool.
wambõš (Quichua)	a sort of vegetarian wool (ceiba) which is wound around the arrows.
tonta	a piece of bamboo used as a quiver.
tšipati	straw in the tónta, to prevent arrows from falling out.
çençak	arrow.
páni	jaw-bone of a fish used to make the notches on the arrow-points.
cincuk(i)	two palm trees from which arrows are obtained by splitting process.
kunguk(i)	

útši	arrow poison, brought from the Ucayali.
çeál	poison prepared by the Aguaruna Indians themselves.
ampi	poison in general.
komgbína	defense tower.
wampatš	net for shooting purposes.

House and Utensils.

hõa	house
tañiš	wall
wáiti	door
hjía	roof
peáka	bed
kután	seat of a low piece of wood.
itšínak	pot for cooking use.
pinínga	vessel for drinking purposes.
ikosmo	grave in the house.

koçóm	cigarette
wái	stick
tsangína	basket (without lid) for women. [79]
tokópe	basket (with cover) for men.
pungámo	stand for smoking meat.
ts(i)kít(a)	spinning spindle
sémpi	spinning whorl.
uhúts	yarn
ikángamo	bobbin with yarn.
múmi payánko	the two thick staffs over which the warp is extended.
itsúve kamantsá	a thin stick to which the two ends of the warp are attached.
múmi payánko	a thick stick that separates the warp.
tsikít (a)	stick with which the woof is introduced into the warp.
katsúi	a wedge-shaped piece of wood with which the woof is fastened.
itsívay	the "broadholder"
yúnwa	weaver's beld, worn on the back in order to hold the woven material straight.
nijamánsi	the yuka extract from which the beverage is obtained by infusion with water.

rampúki intoxicated.

Celestial Bodies, Geographical Names, Mineralogical Terms.

ítsa	sun
nántu	moon
llaga	stars
náse	wind
rúmi itáue	rain
ipamát	thunder
pánki	rainbow
ítsa nagumgám	clock
hínta	path
múha	cordillera
tsitsíham	river ?
anit	mountain, ascent ?
paka	descent ?
pikáui	descent ?
ínça	gorge

amóhine	the rise of rivers
mahanó amóhine	the Marañón River has risen.
wáintse	rapids
pánki	the devil of the Marañón, a spook.
kámatak	sandy desert ?
káya	stone
káyam	sand
wig	kitchen salt
núñga	soil of the earth
yúmi	water
ji	fire
so	foam of the water
áha tongitéк	cultivated field.

Boating on the River

káno	canoe
kanét (a)	oar

papángo	raft
wampu (d)	life-buoy
tangana (Quichua)	a long bamboo stick with which the canoe is propelled.
katingmí	go over to the other side of the river!
tavangíta	go to the river bank!
ingingíta	go away from the river bank!
viandá	let's row!
stubadáda	push the canoe by means of the tangana !
vay vay stubadáda	push the canoe quickly by means of the tangana !
hákasta	wait for me !
wáma	onward !
wimi	let's go !
sintsa	make haste !
isia	quick !
tsupínghe	drenched to the skin.

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-18
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Words Concerning Time, Adjectives, etc.

ayú	Yes
maktí	no
húhu	this
ahóimi ?	now
yamáitai ?	now [80]
kašuímí	tomorrow or the morning?
unduhí	much, plenty
imátški	little, few
huungágmai	large
zizíkai	cold
atóšte	far
siánge	warm
tikihútš	near
kajö (a)	strong
kihíñue	of heavy weight
takáptíñue	of light weight

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pōinge	pleasant, delicious, excellent
yahautoi	
tunāu	unpleasant
takamát	taciturn
suhingigai	the breaking of a rope.
atšikta !	grip it, seize it !
amāsta	give me in exchange, sell me !
māma amásta	sell me yuka !
tšitsasmi	talk to me !
eneme	bring me !
sūsta	accept it from me !
wānda	drink!
yūmi wánda	drink water !
wikmita	hewing, cutting
ahākda	hewing with the axe.
sepikta	cutting with the knife.
minie	come here !
minime	I am coming.
ikimseta	sit down !

azaue	there is nothing, you have nothing.
ávay	there is
azávai	have you ?
kakoi	to die
walmpa huhu	what do you call this ?
(vi) yaica	my name is
(ámoy) yaitpa	what is your name ?
hcse yaita ?	what is his name ?
(digità) yaita	his name is...
makájate ?	do you love me ? do you want me?
yiami	I want to know it.
makitia	I do not want.
makápate	to measure
pimpiahe	I am tired.
huavame	Where are you going ?
voyahay yuámi	Let us eat !
máma yuate	I eat yuka.
atásu yuata	You eat chicken.
yantána yuám	Is crocodile edible ?

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yantána kánga yuávi	the crocodile eats fish
kungwím papaya yuávi	the turtle eats papaw.
hákasta hótimi	speak slowly !
nampúákmi	dancing or to dance
nansumámi	
puhámok	Good day !
puhúmata	So long ! Au revoir !
huhúš	one
hímaš	two
apátsem	three
kampátu	four
kvášti	five
unzuhí	ten
huna kanán	one day ?
yusa, yus, kapánto	red
álte, mínga	green
samáue	yellow

mokóce, mukúei (a)	blue
kauíte, núah	black
pohúpkin	white

A Song

Ha ha ha hi
Ha ha ha ha hi

Máita máita butão butíahi
Huika huika takumaeahi
Máita butíahi takumaeahi.

28: Tessman--365 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 104

	Aguaruna	Atschual
1. tongue	inēi	anāi
2. tooth	njāi	nāyi
3. eye	hī	←
4. ear	kuwíš	kuíš
5. head	mōk	mōk
6. hand	wuē	ūē
7. water	yúmi	←
8. fire	hī	←
9. sun	itsā	←
10. moon	nántu	nándō
11. earth (soil)	núnka	núnga
12. stone	káya	←
13. house (dwelling)	hīna	hīa
14. pot for cooking	itšínek	kirōtšingan
15. canoe	kánu	←
16. man	aíšmõ	aíšmaṅ
17. woman	nōa	←
18. fowl, chicken	atášu	←
19. dog	yahūa	←

20. jaguar	yahũa	←
21. tapir	pámõ	pamã
22. cayman, alligator	yantáno	yandána
23. stick	nómi	númi
24. manihot	máma	←
25. Indian corn	ša	←
26. plantain		pándam
27. tobacco	sãnku	←
28. one	tikídji	skítsik
29. two	hima	himẽr
30. three	kampátu	kombátam
31. white	tšamá	wuiyákuti ?
32. black	mokúðia ?	šuwuínjõ
33. red	kapántu	kiyákau ?
good (in connection with people)	poinkě	puẽnger
bad (in connection with people)	poinkendjo	inãbtjo
good (in relation to things)	múlji	
bad (in relation to things)	múyi	

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ORTHOGRAPHY

104 The Jívaro orthography used here assigns these approximate values to the following phonemes:

VOWELS

a Spanish *a*
e English *i* in sit
i Spanish *i* (nasalized when immediately preceding or following n); when immediately preceding a consonant, it is reiterated immediately following the consonant, except in the case of *r* or *s*)
u Spanish *u*

CONSONANTS

č Spanish *ch*
g Spanish *g* (restricted to a few Spanish loan words)
h English *h*
k English *k* (sounded like English *g* when immediately following m, n, or ŋ)
m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
n Spanish *n*
ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (sounded like an English *b* when immediately following m, n, or ŋ)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

TABLE I

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KINSHIP: ELEMENTARY TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TERMS OF ADDRESS

Key to abbreviations

Br	brother	Gs	grandson
Da	daughter	Hu	husband
Fa	father	Mo	mother
Gc	grandchild	Si	sister
Gd	granddaughter	So	son
Gp	grandparent	Wi	wife

The abbreviations also represent the possessive form; thus, MoBrDaSo is mother's brother's daughter's son.

[178]

O a formerly more common term
N a recently innovated term
A a term recently borrowed from the Achuara

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MALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

FaFa, MoFa *apači* also GpBr (*apači* O; *apáčiru* O; *apačiči* N)

FaMo, MoMo *nukuči* also GpSi (*nukuči* O; *nukučiči* N)

Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu *apa* (*apawa; apači; apawači; apa* N A)

Mo, MoSi, MoBrWi, FaSi, FaBrWi *nuku* (*nukuači; nukuá*); if *ego* marries a daughter of MoBrWi, FaSi, or FaBrWi, *tsatsa* (*nukuá*) is substituted for *nuku* with regard to the bride's mother.

FaSiHu, MoBr, WiFa *ači* (*ači*)

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *yači yatsuči*—younger to older brother; *umpá*—older to younger)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *umai* (*makú; umači* N; *umaimi* O; *umaimiči* O; *umáčiru*)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu, WiBr *sai* (*saikma*)

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 reported by Danielsson (1949, p. 88) whose Jívaro families, and
161 apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 46 persons,
with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur
361 among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence,
but Danielsson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielsson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yurupaza, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141) of Jívaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jívaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. A comparison of the SIL Jívaro house count with the census figures for the Jívaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yurupaza neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielsson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

000 2. Murdock, 1949, p. 60.

3. In the Jívaro language *kakaram* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is
[104] being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakaram* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

[178] 4. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jívaro culture antedates ca. 1910, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The in-
[171] vestigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jívaro *amigii* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jívaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kumpa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jívaro without the implication of personal obligation.

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro.

2. Sollmann, 1957, pp. 381, 394.

3. Castaneda, 1968; and Harner, 1973.

5: Reyes and Teran--120 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 105

"The Jivaros, are characterized by the boldness with which they defend their liberty and independence. They live in the forest areas drained by the Pastaza, Morona and Santiago rivers as far up as Guadalquiza, and no one has succeeded in conquering or subduing them. Their constant occupation is war, which little by little is decimating their numbers. Their customs are distinctive and constitute the most curious folklore, exploited by writers and travelers alike. Sorcery, superstitions, fiestas, dreams, all are woven into the warp of life in the Jivaro country."

5: Reyes and Teran--120 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 105

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7:Farabee --115-123 (1907) 1922 Jivaro
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JIVARAN STOCK

Distribution of Tribes. -- This group of Indians, commonly known as the Jivaro, occupies a large territory on the eastern slope of the Andes Mountains in Ecuador between the Chinchipa, Altomaranan, and Pastaza Rivers. A small space between the Marona and the lower Pastaza is inhabited by the Murato. There are nine tribes speaking dialects of the Jivaran language, and having similar cultures: Huambesa, Tamora, Cuanduasi, Ashira, Andoa, Copotaza, Arapeca, Chargaime, and Upano. The first five of these tribes are friendly among themselves, and are enemies of the other four tribes. A line drawn west from Andoa would divide these two hostile factions. I was unable to visit the Jivaro in their own country to make personal observations, but was fortunate in finding at Iquitos, Peru, Sr. F. T. Muniz, who lived and traveled for some years among this people, and who gave me much information regarding them.

Early in the Seventeenth Century, the missionaries came into contact with some of the tribes, and established stations. The old Spanish town of Macas is reported to have had at one time several thousand Jivaro, but today the town has disappeared and the inhabitants are scattered among the Upano, who speak a dialect of the same language. The more remote tribes have had little contact with the Whites, and they continue to practise their old customs and to live their old tribal life. Their number has been reduced, until at the present time there are not more than eight or ten thousand remaining.

Home Life. -- There is no chief over the whole group, but each tribe has its own headman. In time of war, a war-chief is selected who has absolute authority. They have no villages, but live in large oval-shaped communal houses, which may be seventy-five feet long and forty feet wide, containing several families. A family living in the large house may have a small house at a clearing some distance away where they live while cultivating their fields. The houses are built of poles and have thatched roofs, the walls continuing to the ground, without windows or other openings except two [116] doors, one at either end of the house, one of which is for the use of women and the other for men. Each woman has her own little section of the women's end of the house, with her fireplace made of three short logs with ends together. At the other end of the house the men are grouped, each having his own stool and couch. The men in the house spend their time manufacturing blowguns, poisoned darts, quivers, lances, and round shields of wood or tapir skin. Here they make and keep the great signal drum. The men sit on stools, but the women must sit on the floor. They have no hammocks, but sleep on couches built on raised platforms around the walls. The women take care of the dogs, and keep them tied day and night to the foot of their couches. They make coarse pottery by the common coiling method, and also make baskets, nets, mats, and ropes as needed.

Food Supply. -- They are an agricultural people, depending less upon hunting and fishing than many of the neighboring tribes. They grow corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, and

plantains. They depend to some extent upon hunting and fishing. They use no bow and arrows, but depend upon other devices. They are more expert at using the blowgun than any of the surrounding tribes.

The blowgun is made of two pieces of chonta palm, carved, polished, wrapped with strips of bark, and covered with pitch. The guns are about seven feet long, one and a half inches in diameter at the mouthpiece, and taper to three-quarters of an inch at the muzzle. The mouthpiece is made of bone which is inserted in the end of the gun. The Yagua blowgun mouthpiece is spool-shaped with a depression for the lips, while the Jivaro mouthpiece has a bone which is put into the mouth when blown.

The poisoned arrows are made of strips of chonta palm with a wisp of silk-cotton on one end to fill the bore and catch the breath. They are carried in a quiver which is fastened to a small joint of bamboo filled with curari poison, into which the points are dipped before being used. Blowguns are used here as bows and arrows are used among the other tribes, for killing birds and monkeys. The flight of the arrow is noiseless, and when it strikes the animal the shock is so slight that no attention is paid to it. The poison acts so quickly that the animal soon becomes dizzy and falls to the ground. The blowgun is the most effective weapon for all small game. [117]

They use traps, snares, and pitfalls for catching the larger animals. For catching fish they use large nets with nut sinkers and balsa floats. They also poison the pools

with the roots of bebasco (Jacquinia armillaris). When the poison is used in large quantities the water is turned a whitish color, killing all the fish, which float on the surface where they are picked up from canoes.

Certain animals are taboo. The deer and sloth are supposed to be the dwelling places of the evil spirits, and are not eaten. The tapir is not considered good for women to eat. The men grow tobacco, and use it to smoke and drink.

Fire Making. -- They make fire by the common method of twirling a stick between the palms. They have an interesting tradition of how they first obtained fire. In the beginning they cooked their eggs in the sun, and warmed their food under their arms. A Jivaro man, Takia, first learned to make fire by rubbing two sticks together, but he kept the fire to himself, and would not allow his people to use it or to know how to make it, so they attempted to steal it from him. At that time the Jivaro resembled men but could fly like birds. Several men went to Takia's house to try to get the fire, but Takia kept his door ajar, and when one put his head in, he closed the door, and killed him. The snake said that he would try another method, so he wet his wings, and went to the path where Takia's wife would find him in the early morning. She took pity on him, carried him into the house, and placed him near the fire. When he was warm and dry, he took a fire brand with his tail, and flew away to the top of a dead tree where he obtained some dry bark in which he wrapped the fire, and carried it to his own house. There he built

a fire, and gave it to his people, so they were no longer compelled to ripen their food under their arms. Takia scolded his wife, but the Jivaro have had fire ever since, and know how to make it by rubbing together two pieces of silk-cotton wood.

Dress and Ornamentation. --Men wear either a kilt-like cotton garment reaching the knees, or a loose sleeveless bark shirt. These garments are sometimes painted in geometric designs, or decorated by sewing on strings of monkey teeth, beads, or feathers. The leaders of the dance wear a beautiful ceremonial hat or crown made of feathers. The men also wear a back ornament made of bird bones, which is suspended from a band over the forehead. The [118] mummified head or war trophy is worn suspended over this ornament of bird bones. The women wear a skirt of cotton or bark which reaches a little below the knees, and a cotton cloak thrown over one shoulder and fastened under the arm. The children run about naked until the approach of puberty.

Both men and women wear necklaces of the teeth of various animals, and seeds of various kinds and colors. In their ears the men wear sticks of chonta palm about six inches long and one inch thick, from which are suspended feathers and wings of beetles. The nose and lips are not perforated. They paint their faces, hands, and feet black with 'wito' (Genipa Americana), for protection against the flies and the sun. The hair is worn long behind, and cut square across the front. The men wear a loop of hair in front of their ears, wrapped and decorated with feathers.

Marriage. -- Polygamy is common among the Jivaro. A man has the first right to marry his cousin, and may also take her younger sister when she reaches the age of puberty. He is not compelled to marry his cousin, as he may prefer to steal a wife from an enemy tribe. The consent of the girl's father is necessary, before the marriage can take place, and if he is willing, he gives a great feast inviting all the members of the large household. The feast and marriage ceremony are in charge of the medicine man. When all are ready, the medicine man takes food and serves it to the bride, saying, 'This is the way you must serve your husband.' He offers her corn, cassava bread, sweet potatoes, and plantains, and each time repeats the same injunction. Then he brings a servant whom the bridegroom has secured, and says, 'You must always be ready to serve your husband without his asking.' This concludes the ceremony proper, and the rest of the night is spent in feasting and dancing.

The Jivaro often make raids upon their enemies for the purpose of carrying off young women for wives or servants. It has been reported that the Jivaro practise the couvade, but my informant was positive that they do not now, and probably never did.

When a man goes to visit a friend at his house, he steps inside the door, and stands at one side. A woman brings him a seat, and announces him. His host washes, combs his hair, paints his face, and dresses; when ready, he advances, greets the visitor, and sits down in front of him. The visitor talks in a high voice for fifteen [119] or twenty minutes without interruption, giving an account of what he has seen, and what he

has done since their last meeting. The host occasionally gives assent by saying, 'And this is the way you have done it.' When the visitor has concluded, the host takes his turn for about the same period, then they stop and begin talking about other things in a quiet tone. When a woman enters a house she is taken at once to the women's apartment without any ceremony.

The Dead. -- When a man dies he is left in his bed, all of his possessions are placed about him, together with food and drink. The house and fields are deserted, and no one ever goes back to the house or takes anything from the fields.

Religion. -- The Jivaro do not have a well developed religious belief. Iguanchi, their chief spirit, takes account of all the important acts of life, but he is not worshipped in any sense, although he is considered a good and friendly spirit. It is unfortunate that the early missionaries applied the name of this good spirit to the Devil and manufactured a new name for God. The Jivaro have never willingly accepted religious teaching, and many times have driven the missionaries out of the country. They despise the Zaparo, because they have accepted Christian teaching, and are more under the influence of the Whites. The Zaparo, on the other hand, call the Jivaro 'ancas,' or savages, and are greatly afraid of them.

Medicine Men. -- No one dies a natural death. Disease and death are caused by the influence of an enemy medicine man, and hence the disease must be overcome by a friendly medicine man. The medicine man uses both herbs and magic combined. He

selects his herbs, performs his incantations over them, moving his head from side to side, and then gives them to the patient. He then soaks tobacco in water, takes the fluid in the hollow of his hands, and sniffs it into his nostrils. He continues his incantations, and calls upon the evil spirit to come out of the man, saying 'If you, the evil one, have caused this sickness, come and take it away.' He asks the patient if he feels better; if he does not, then he calls upon the animals in the same language. If the patient is not better by this time he gathers other herbs and repeats the process, then he sucks from the seat of the pain and exhibits a piece of bone, chonta, or a small spider which he has sucked out. If the patient gets well, he makes lavish presents to the medicine [120] man, but if he dies, his friends may kill the medicine man or some member of his family, and a vendetta may be started in this way. When a medicine man is sent for, he first makes inquiry, and if he thinks a person may not recover he finds some excuse for not administering unto him.

Mummified Heads. -- The Jivaro are considered war-like people, and as stated above, they are divided into two hostile groups, which have been traditional enemies for generations and live in a chronic state of warfare. There are continual raids made from one tribe to another, killing the men, and carrying off the women. They are sometimes called head hunters and cannibals, because they cut off the heads of the enemy, and carry them home to be preserved as trophies (plate 20). They are not cannibals, as they never eat any portion of the body.

The tsantsa, or mummified head, is their greatest trophy. When one makes a raid to secure a head the chances are even that he will lose his own, hence it is considered a great honor to take the head of one of the traditional enemy. If the head is that of a chief, some noted warrior, or other important individual, the honor is greater, and a great feast must be given to which all the friendly tribes are invited. To give such a feast it is necessary to clear a field and grow cassava, corn, and plantains, for food and drink for the great throng that will attend. This requires several months or possibly two or three years, hence it is necessary to preserve the head in order to have it present at the feast, as evidence of the hero's prowess.

The hero must plant his fields, but near the time of the feast his friends may assist him in hunting and fishing, and preserving meat, while the women of the house assist his wife in making great quantities of drink to be stored in large earthen jars.

The man must also undergo a fast, or rather submit to taboos. He paints his body with black lines, lives alone, and shows his bravery by going without weapons. He must not kill game with a spear, or eat the flesh of certain animals. He confines himself almost entirely to fruits, vegetables, and fish caught in the net. When the time for the feast arrives, the head-man takes charge. When the dance is ready to begin, the hero, carrying the tsantsa on the top of a staff, comes through the house, and presents it to the Master of Ceremonies, who dips the head first into a decoction of [121] tobacco, then in chicha, and again in clear water. He afterwards pours a little of each of these

beverages into the mouth of the hero, who is seated on a low stool. This ceremony ends the fast for the hero, and frees him from further obligations. The tobacco juice he has taken serves as a violent emetic, but he soon recovers, goes to the river for a bath, and returns to take part in the dance. The Master of Ceremonies carries the head towards the dancers, falls on his knees many times, and ends by making an address complimentary to the courage of the hero, in which he says, 'Brave Jivaro, you have avenged an injury.' He then sets up the staff, with the head on it, in the dance ground; and the men, with the hero's wife, clasp hands and dance around the head, hurling ridicule and derisive epithets at it, as they advance and retreat. At the same time the other women dance in a great circle on the outside of the men.

The dance at the feast of the head is the only opportunity that a woman ever has to dance with the men. It is her greatest honor. After this dance is over, the hero takes the head and hangs it on the principal pillar of the house, where it remains indefinitely. It may eventually be thrown into the river of disposed of at will. In some tribes it is kept and worn on anniversary occasions over the bird-bone back ornament. This ends the ceremonies connected with the head, but the dance continues day and night until the supplies are exhausted.

At midnight on the last day of the dance, a large number of young peccaries, which have been kept fat for the occasion, are brought out, killed by the Master of Ceremonies, and divided among the guests to furnish food for their journey home. This signifies the end of the dance, and is the farewell salutation. Preparations are now made for the

departure, and then all join in a final dance which ends at daybreak. They have been eating, drinking, and dancing for days, and all are so tired that they soon camp and take a long sleep.

When the enemy is killed, his head is cut off with a bamboo knife, and carried home where it is hung up for three or four days until decomposition begins. An incision is made at the edge of the hair and carried over the top of the head to the back of the neck, and the skull is removed. The skin is cleaned of flesh, and boiled in an infusion of herbs containing astringents and preserva- [122] tives. The skin is then sewn up, and shrunken by putting hot sand and hot stones inside. As the skin shrinks it is manipulated to keep it in the desired form. Finally the head is greased and smoked for a long time over a fire made of roots of a certain palm tree. To keep the lips in position while the skin is drying, three small chonta palm sticks are thrust through them below, and cotton strings woven in and out over the lips. These sticks are replaced with cotton cord when the head is completely cured; a transverse cord is attached to the three suspended cords, and hanging from it there are usually several single cords about fifteen inches long, decorated with feathers or beetle wings. These cords are not records, or quipus, but are used for ornamental purposes only. The ears are perforated, and have various decorations of feathers, beads, and beetle wings suspended.

When the skin is sewn up, a short stick is placed inside, attached to a string through a hole in the top of the head. This is used for suspension of the head over the ornament

of bird bones, when it is worn. The head is reduced to about one-eighth its normal size as is shown in the photograph (plate 20), and is very dark brown in color on account of the smoke. It has been said that these heads resemble the originals to such an extent that they may be recognized. A woman is said to have recognized the head of her son, but in all such cases of recognition the fact is known that the head has been taken, and that it is kept in a certain house, so it would be very easy to identify it. There is so little resemblance to the original head that anyone seeing a head for the first time is likely to doubt the story of its origin.

Some tribes preserve the heads of their friends as well as those of their enemies, but women's heads are never preserved.

Every boy is trained to be a warrior. He learns the manufacture and use of weapons, and the taking of the head. He kills a sloth, reduces and preserves its head in the same way that the warriors preserve the heads of their slain enemies.

For protection against the raids of their enemies they make sharp points of chonta palm and set them in the ground about the fields, so as to impale the enemy as he approaches. They also dig pitfalls in the trails, plant lances below, and cover the pit with leaves and bark. These pits are usually dug near the place where a log crosses the trail.

Dances. -- In ordinary dances, the men and women dance around a circle, not together but at the same time, all singing with a flute accompaniment. There is a

special dance which the men dance in pairs. Each is armed with a lance, each in turn makes a short address in which he glorifies himself, then dances in front of the others with his lance ready to strike, and ends by making a feint at his opponent; the others then go through the same performance. In the love dance, a man dances in a circle, blowing a flute, while a woman follows him about.

The drum is never used to furnish music for the dance, but only for purposes of communication. It is made of a log, five feet long and one foot in diameter, with a hole burned out in the middle leaving a lip which gives only a single tone (figure 15)."

"The Jívaro, (Chiwaro, Siwaro, Jíbaro, Givari, Xivari, Chivari, Givaro, Zíbaro, Jivara, Hibaro, Jivira etc.) --not to be confused with the Cahuapanan-speaking Chébero of the lower Huallaga River or the Hibitoan-speaking Hibito--comprise a linguistically isolated group in the Montaña of Ecuador north of the Marañón River (map 1, No. 3; map 5). There were fromerly three, possibly four, main divisions: the Jívaro proper, the Malacata, the Palta and perhaps the now extinct Bracamoro. The Palta, aboriginally a Highland type tribe, has been assimilated into the Quechua-speaking population of Highland Ecuador, and is described by Murra in the Handbook, Volume 2, page 881.

The Jívaro proper are typical of the Montaña except in emphasis. They have little that is directly traceable to the Highland. They practice the rain forest type of farming, hunting, and fishing, but once kept a few llamas and guinea pigs. The principal weapons were formerly the bow and arrow, which were later superceded by the blowgun, spear and atlatl. Men's dress is typical of the Montaña; womens' robes pinned over the shoulder may be of Andean origin. Canoes, baskets, and ceramics are of Tropical Forest types but men's weaving on a vertical loom is unique in the region. The extended, patrilineal family occupying a single large house is a Montaña feature, especially of the late post-Contact period. [618]But Jívaro preoccupation with warfare is an extreme development of a pattern common to neighboring tribes, and the shrunken head complex, though not unique, is outstanding in its importance and persistence. Crisis rites are distinctive

only in the boys' and girls' feast or tobacco ceremony, and in disposal of the dead in hollow logs placed inside houses. The shamanistic complex includes the concept of spirit helpers and magic 'darts' as the cause of disease.

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The Jívaro proper probably now occupy the same territory that they held in aboriginal times (lat. 2° -5° S., long. 77° -79° W., map 5). There are four principal divisions, each split into innumerable communities or jivarías, named after rivers: (1) the Antipa, on the right bank of the Santiago River from the Zamora to the Alto Marañón River; (2) the Aguaruna, on the right bank of the Marañón between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers (lat. 5° S., long. 78° W.); (3) Huambiza, on the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers and the left bank of the Santiago River from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañón; and (4) the Achuale (Achuare), between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers, from Lake Puralina to Andoas (Stirling, 1938; pp. 2-4).

The Palta and Malacata were probably Jívaro living in the Highland near Loja (lat. 4° S., long. 79° W.) and speaking closely related languages Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 3:213). For their Jivaro affiliations, Verneau and Rivet (1912-22, p. 37) cite Benavente's expedition (Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 4: 30). Benavente crossed the Paute and Minas de Santa Barbola Rivers, the latter probably a tributary of the former, and entered what

was presumed to be Jívaro territory, where the Indians spoke the same language as the Malacata.

The Bracamoro (Pacamuru, 'tailed Indians') were the Jívaro of the Zamoro River, but the name was also applied to Indians of unknown speech in the region of Jaén de los Bracamoros.

Many attempts have been made to conquer the Jívaro because of the placer gold in their territory but none succeeded. Two Inca Emperors, Topa Inca and his son, Huayna Capac, both failed to subdue either the Jívaro or the Bracamoro. The latter, who were nearest Spanish posts in the Highland were, however, conquered in 1542 and the city of Jaén founded in 1549. The same year, the Benavente expedition visited the Jívaro proper. Trips by Juan de Salinas, beginning in 1557, led to the founding of several colonies, but the Jívaro destroyed them in 1599. The Bracamoro subsequently disappeared from the literature, probably having been assimilated, but the Jívaro proper retained their independence. During the next century, military and missionary conquests failed. It was not until 1767 that the Jesuits gained a foothold among the Jívaro, but they were expelled the same year, and the Franciscans carried on the work from 1790 to 1803. Missionizing subsequently became mainly a subterfuge for treasure seeking until 1850, when it was resumed with greater sincerity. The Jesuits returned in 1869 but there was an uprising in 1873 and the Jesuits were again expelled in 1886. The remainder of the

century brought [619] more travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions, but none had a lasting influence. During the present century, Protestant missionaries have entered the field. But the Jívaro remain unsubdued and only partially acculturated, though many speak Quechua. They showed aggression against the Whites as late as 1915, 1925, and 1928 (Stirling, 1938, pp. 3-28).

POPULATION

On the basis of a partial census of 1580, Stirling (1938; pp. 36-37) placed the aboriginal population at about 30,000. Modern estimates range from Rivet's 20,000 and Karsten's 15,000 to 20,000 to Tessmann's 10,000 to 12,000.

SOURCES

The Jívaro have probably received more attention than any other South American tribe; the scientific literature on them is enormous. Nevertheless, many aspects of Jívaro culture are imperfectly known.

Old missionary and explorers' accounts contain only fragments of information. (See p. 511 and Stirling, 1938, for a bibliography of these.) Ethnological studies tend to *treat only limited aspects of the culture* or to reflect strong theoretical views of the authors. Karsten's many publications, which are summarized in his comprehensive work (1935), were based on 3 years of field work, though he only twice spent more than 8 days in a single village. His theoretical interest in religion is very manifest, and it is

frequently impossible to distinguish his own or his informant's views from his first-hand observations. Nonetheless, it is the main source on social and religious culture. Rivet's studies are compilations of older sources; he never visited the Jívaro. Up de Graf's (1923) work is designed for popular appeal. Tessmann (1930) adds only a few fragments of information from an Aguaruna informant. Stirling (1938) is the first to recognize the importance of change in the historic period; he also adds new detailed data on blowguns, perparation of shrunken heads, shamanism, weaving, and warfare.

Present needs include adequate studies of technology (which are now only partially available), clarification of social structure and function and of marriage practice through a genealocical approach, verification of the patterns of religion and shamanism, analysis of property rights, and study of agricultural methods. There is also abundant opportunity for investigation of local variations in this large and widely distributed tribe.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

Jívaro crops of the 16th century were 'seeds' maize, and a root, doubtless manioc. Fish, deer,, tapir, wild fruits, cacao, nuts, and curassow supplemented the diet. Recently, however, the Jívaro have eaten neither deer nor tapir, fearing the spirits in them. [620]

FARMING. --Present-century crops appear in table 1 (p. 516). They are cultivated with much ritual (Karsten, 1935) in fields located around the communities. Nonfood crops include cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, bixa, and barbasco (Stirling, 1938).

AGRICULTURAL RITES: --Karsten (1920 a, 1935) reports certain agricultural rites of the Jívaro. When planting manioc to be consumed during a tobacco feast in her honor, a woman and her companions squat near the cuttings and chant an incantation. Then they address Nungui, the Earth Goddess, who is symbolized by a stone of curious shape. The first manioc cutting is painted red, and the woman to be honored places it against her groin. Each woman who plants the cuttings sits on a manioc tuber. After the field has been planted, a ceremonial digging stick is stuck into the ground and the people pray to Nungui.

The female owner of a field may not paint herself with genipa, or wear a bracelet around the forearm.

When planting banana trees, men observe various tabooes and pray to Shakaema, the husband of the Earth Goddess.

For 5 successive nights after planting their fields, Jívaro women dance and chant, asking the Earth Goddess to make their manioc grow. They also practice a magic ceremony to expel rodents which attack the crops. Tubers gnawed by these rodents are covered

with ashes and thrown into the forest. The people chant an incantation, requesting the rats not to harm the young plants.

HUNTING AND FISHING. --Aboriginal hunting weapons were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the atlatl. The blowgun has replaced the bow for hunting small game; and spears, thrown without the aid of the atlatl, are used for large game. Firearms are becoming more general (Stirling, 1938). Other devices include deadfalls, spring noose traps, and pitfalls with stakes in their bottoms (Tessmann, 1930). Stirling describes a communal peccary hunt carried on with the aid of dogs; the game is speared from trees or is driven into the water and pursued in canoes. Karsten (1935) gives no data on hunting methods but describes magic: Pepper is put in the eyes of hunters and their dogs to improve their vision; men take tobacco and paint their bodies red for strength; they do the same to their dogs; they keep animal trophies to insure future success; dogs are prevented from eating the bones of game; many charms are used; and hunting dogs are subjected to an elaborate ceremony involving manioc planting, fasting, drinking guayusa, and feasting.

Fish are caught by hand, drugged with barbasco and Clibadium, speared, harpooned, and taken with hooks, with traps placed under rapids, and with both hand nets and large casting nets. The antiquity of the hook is uncertain; bone hooks preceded iron. The Aguaruna catch fish ascending creeks in weirs (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13:79). [621]

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS. --The aboriginal Jívaro were unusual among Montaña

tribes in keeping a few llama and guinea pigs. It is doubtful whether the dog was native. Chickens and pigs were introduced by the Spaniards and, according to Karsten, were sacrificed in many ceremonies.

FOOD PREPARATION. --Food is ground on a flat wooden slab and in a mortar. It is seasoned with capsicum pepper and with both a natural and a prepared salt.

HOUSES AND COMMUNITIES

The Jívaro community is and always has consisted of a single large house (jivaría), usually located for defense on a steep hill at the head of some stream. It is moved at least every 6 years as new farm land is needed.

The house is elliptical, about 40 feet (13 m.) by 80 feet (26 m.) and has a thatched, gabled roof supported by interior posts and a side wall 8 to 10 feet (2.4 to 3 m.) high, made of strong, closely-spaced staves so as to be impervious to attack (pl. 60, bottom). One end of the house is occupied by men, the other by women. Furniture comprises sleeping platforms (fig. 91), storage platforms, hooks, and footstools. The Aguaruna were ascribed palm-fiber hammocks (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13: 81).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Prior to missionary influence, nakedness was common although two garments seem to have been native: a wrap-around skirt for men (pl. 62, top, right) and a full-length robe

for women. The latter is pinned over the right shoulder, the left shoulder remaining bare (pl. 62, bottom, right). These clothes are generally of brown cotton, but poor people may dress in bark cloth (Stirling, 1938). Some individuals also use ponchos (Tessmann, 1930). [622]

A variety of fashions of coiffure are shown by Stirling (1938, pls. 3-10). Ornaments include fur and feather headdresses, ear pins, women's lower lip labrets, tatto, red bixa and black (genipa) paint applied with a roller stamp, blackened teeth, wrist and leg bands, and elaborate bead collars and chest bands. Status and other special badges include hunters' ornaments made of tayo bird femora, warriors' girdles with human hair attached, face paint, head rings, and women's upper arm bands.

TRANSPORTATION

Goods are transported in hexagonally-woven baskets held by tumplines. Babies are carried in bands (pl. 60, top, left).

Dugout canoes of some size and excellence seem to be aboriginal, but they have never been adequately described.

MANUFACTURES

BASKETRY. --Hexagonally-woven carrying baskets and mats are mentioned, but basketry techniques have not been analyzed.

SPINNING AND WEAVING. --Men do all spinning, weaving, and knitting. Astrocaryum

fibers are used to knit bags with an eyed needle and to make fish nets. Cultivated cotton is spun with a kind of drop spindle, the cotton being fed from an elevated container. Belts and clothing are woven on a nearly vertical loom set in a frame. The warp is wrapped continuously around the upper and lower bars, producing a cylindrical piece of cloth. Women color textiles with brown vegetable dyes (Stirling, 1938).

POTTERY. --Women are potters. They use a coil technique (pl. 62) and make cooking vessels, bowls, and large chicha jars. Some vessels have incised zigzag decorations. Others are fired, then colored red with copal (Stirling, 1938) or urucú (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) (pl. 52, h). Some bowl interiors are decorated with white geometric designs representing mythical figures. Aguaruna bowl interiors are painted red-and-black-on-white and are varnished with caraña. Some bowls have rattling pebbles inside a double bottom.

SKIN WORK. --Several fur products are made, including head bands and bags. Preparation of shrunken heads (p. 625) also involves techniques of skin and hair preservation.

METALLURGY. --The Jívaro have remained very indifferent to the considerable placer gold in their territory. Of Highland metal objects, they acquired only a few copper axes.

FIRE MAKING. --Fire is made with the drill and activated with a feather fan.

WEAPONS. --Weapons of warfare reported in 1540 were lances and round shields; in

1571, spears, spear throwers, round shields of tapir hide and wood, and copper axes; and, in 1582, throwing spears, thrusting [623] lances, and stones (for slings?). The bow and arrow and spear were used in 1582 for hunting.

During the late 17th century, the bow and spear thrower were abandoned, and the blowgun and hand-thrown spear became the principal hunting weapons. In the present century, blowguns, spears (pl. 62), and firearms are used for hunting. Spears are often tipped with iron, but heads of human bone or chonta palm wood are preferred, the latter for their magical potency. The shield is now made of hide or of a single piece of wood to resemble three concentric, superimposed circular slabs.

SOCIOPOLITICAL GROUPS

The sociopolitical unit from pre-Columbian times to the present day has been the household, which formerly consisted of 80 to 300 persons and occupied a single dwelling (jivaría), but today has only 30 to 40 persons. Each house stands in a more or less isolated, defendable site, one-half to several leagues from its neighbor.

The group occupying the jivaría is described as patrilineal, but no analysis of its composition or structure is available. Karsten's assertion (1935) that, after a period of matrilocal residence, a newly married couple established its own house scarcely fits the picture of a patrilineal household which would require ultimate residence in the groom's father's house.

Each community is independent, having its own headman, but a half a dozen friendly

jivarías may unite temporarily for warfare. After the 16th-century rebellions against the encomenderos, large numbers of jivarías formed alliances against the Spaniards.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILDBIRTH. --Jívaro women know vegetable abortives. During child birth, a mother is isolated lest she contaminate other people. Afterward, both parents are subjected to food taboos and to various restrictions on their activities in order to protect the infant, but the father does not remain in bed. Unlike many neighboring tribes, the Jívaro do not kill one of twins. They practice infanticide only on deformed babies (Karsten, 1920 a).

PUBERTY. --Tessmann (1930) denies that the Jívaro have menstrual observances, but Karsten (1920 a, pp. 13-28) describes measures to protect menstruating women from spirits which seek to make her pregnant and a tobacco ceremony designed to give a girl strength after her first menses and to reinvigorate an older woman. The ceremony begins with a crop fertility ceremony and the slaughter of specially raised pigs and chickens, after which the girl takes tobacco juice to cause vomiting and to produce visions. He also describes a feast to initiate boys into manhood (Karsten, 1935, pp. 237-242), but there appears to be no secret cult. [624]

MARRIAGE. --A man may marry his cross-cousin and his sister's daughter (Karsten,

1935, p. 186). Polygyny is common, especially because of high male mortality in warfare. Stirling describes marriage by purchase, often of pre-pubescent girls (1938), but Karsten states that bride service to the girl's father is given during several years of matrilocal residence in lieu of a price. The levirate is required.

DEATH. --Archeology indicates some former urn burial in Jívaro territory (Stirling, 1938), though recently only the Aguaruna have practiced this method (Tessmann, 1930). In the historic period, an ordinary person was placed in a hollow-log coffin in a special hut; a chief's coffin was left in his dwelling, which was abandoned. The deceased was supplied with food and drink for 2 years, at the end of which he was supposed to become an animal or bird (Stirling, 1938). Some children, however, were buried in urns, and occasionally adults were given earth burial (Karsten, 1935, p. 460). Among all Jívaro, missionary influence has made earth burial more frequent.

WARFARE

The Jívaro differ from other Montaña tribes neither in the causes, methods, nor weapons of warfare but in their extreme zeal for war. Excited to rebellion during their 16th-century reduction on Spanish encomiendas, the Jívaro became formidable foes who have never been truly conquered to the present day. But their more absorbing military efforts have always been directed toward other Jívaro communities. The desire to avenge the death of members of their own household or to retaliate against imagined sorcery, to-

together with social prestige attached to military success, has, despite intervillage kinship bonds, pitted communities against one another in unending reprisals. Peace, concluded through the ceremony of burying the lance, may readily be broken by serving formal notice on the foe. The chronic danger of attack accounts for the elaborate rites by which peaceful visitors must approach and be received into a village.

Warfare is directed by a special chief of considerable though temporary authority. It begins with a dance of excitation while a shaman drinking cayapi invokes supernatural assistance. The aggressors attempt a surprise attack, using spears but never blowguns. Around their village the defenders have placed lances and firearms, both automatically released by bent poles, and barricades, pitfalls, and trenches filled with sharp stakes. If worsted, the villagers call for help with their signal drums and barricade themselves in their houses, shooting through loop holes. The victors shrink the heads taken from their foe and go home to celebrate a victory dance. The shrunken heads are proof that the ancestors have been avenged.

SHRUNKEN HEADS. --Shrunken heads (tsantsas) are now most typical of but not peculiar to the Jívaro (pl. 63). The skin is cut and removed from the skull, the lips are everted and pinned or sewed together, and the whole head skin is boiled with a plant which somewhat shrinks it and fixes the hair. It is further reduced by placing hot stones and

sand inside it; then it is smoked, polished, and kept in a jar. When victim's heads cannot be taken, sloth or other animal tsantsas may be substituted.

Many fraudulent shrunken heads, made from unclaimed dead in city morgues, are on the market and in museums. They generally lack one or more of the following characteristics of genuine Jívaro tsantsas: Lips sewn or pinned, the forehead compressed laterally, nostrils dilated, all facial hair except eyebrows removed (mustaches frequently reveal falsified tsantsas), the skin smoked-blackened and polished, and little ornamentation except the lip threads. The Jívaro, moreover, never preserve the whole body. (See Stirling, 1938)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ART. --The principal Jívaro art products are carved spear handles, feathered head ornaments, and mythological paintings on pots and other objects.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. --Jívaro musical instruments include: Hollow-log signal drums used singly (fig. 92; pl. 62); two-headed skin drums played both by dancers and by shamans; transverse and longitudinal flutes; musical bows; snail-shell trumpets; and jangles of shell and other materials attached to belts and leg bands. The Aguaruna make primitive two-string violins in imitation of Spanish models. Panpipes are merely children's toys.

DRINKS AND NARCOTICS. --Chicha is made by fermenting manioc and other plants.

Narcotics include tobacco, cayapi, Datura, and guayusa. Tobacco, the most important, was formerly taken only for magical purposes but is now generally smoked for enjoyment. Karsten (1935) describes the use of tobacco in boys' initiation rites, in women's tobacco ceremonies, in curing, in general magic, and in vision seeking. It is smoked as cigars, or else the juice is drunk or blown up the nose. Placed in the eye, it is thought to counteract bad dreams; painted on the body, it gives protection.[626]

Cayapi is used by shamans or by people wishing to contact ghosts or to provoke divinatory visions.

Datura is drunk or taken as an enema through a straw by warriors desiring to gain power and to foretell the future.

Guayusa is a purgative and emetic and is believed to give strength.

SHAMANISM

The Jívaro shaman seems to have a greater variety of functions than his colleague among other Montaña tribes, though the incomparably richer material on the Jívaro (Stirling, 1938) may be responsible for this impression. He assists in warfare, makes rain, manufactures love potions, gives miscellaneous advice when under the influence of guayusa, causes disease, and cures illness by both herbal and supernatural means.

A neophyte shaman is instructed for 1 month, dieting for 5 days and taking five drugs,

including tobacco juice, cayapi, and three others, one of which may be Datura. He learns to control several disease-causing spirits: the spirit of the blowgun; the ray fish, most dangerous of all; snakes; a doorlike spirit causing barrenness; the woodpecker and toucan, which cause stomach trouble; the night bird, which brings various ills; and insects, which cause skin troubles.

To cause sickness, a shaman blows one of the spirits he controls into his victim by means of tobacco smoke (Stirling, 1938) or, with the aid of his spirits, he sends a magical 'thorn' or 'dart' (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) into him. A water monster may also cause illness. To cure, a shaman sings, plays his drum, takes Datura, tobacco, and cayapi, and sucks out the 'thorn.' Shamans may also reveal the identity of a sorcerer. Some shamans may turn into jaguars to attack people.

RELIGION

Jívaro religion is based on the concept of a supernatural essence (tsarutama) that gives power to both objects and spirits. This essence is in the Rain God, who inhabits mountain peaks, in various animals including the Anaconda God, who lives in rapids, in demons, in the sun, the moon, the earth mother (whose importance is repeatedly stressed by Karsten), and, among plants, especially manifest in the chonta palm. It is in many fetishes, such as shrunken heads, fur balls taken from animal stomachs, certain brown stones, seeds, and jaguar teeth (Stirling, 1938). Though feared, these various spirits

and demons are the object of no organized cults. The supereme God, Cumbanama, is remote and has no interest in human affairs.

Karsten mentions an ancestor cult, which seems to be linked with ideas of reincarnation. Recorded beliefs about life after death, however, are too varied and conflicting to reveal a clear pattern of ancestor wor-[627]ship. Souls of warriors become, according to the qualities of the deceased man, either ferocious animals, such as jaguars, or inocuous animals, and children become birds. Shamans turn into dangerous monkeys, bears and deer (Stirling, 1938). Karsten also describes a belief in transmigration of souls to plants as well as to animals. Potential danger from one's ancestors motivates vengeance of their death, but it is not clear that they are propitiated to procure their direct intervention in worldly affairs. No formal ancestor cult with secret initiation, like that of the Tucano tribes, is indicated.

There is some hint of a guardian spirit concept in Karsten's statement (1935) that animals, birds, and other spirits seen under the influence of narcotics help the dreamer in various ways. These spirits, called the 'old ones,' seem to have some connection with the concept of reincarnation.

• Karsten describes five ceremonies which employ magic. These, mentioned above, are the victory celebration and the ceremonies for the benefit of children, young men, women,

and dogs. It is curious that pigs and chickens, both post-Columbian elements, have a prominent role in these rites.

MYTHOLOGY

Despite the continued vitality of Jívaro culture, mythology is being forgotten.

The creation myth recounts that Cupara (Compadre?) and his wife were parents of the Sun. They created Sun's wife, Moon, of mud. Among the children of the Sun and Moon were Manioc and various animals, including the Sloth, which was the first Jívaro. Ensuing adventures of the parents and children account for a large portion of Jívaro culture (Stirling, 1938).

The myth of the star brothers is very similar to the Tupí tale of twins. A jaguar killed his Jívaro wife, but his mother secretly reared his two sons, who became stars. When adults, they killed the jaguar to avenge their mother then returned to the sky by means of an arrow chain (Karsten, 1935, pp. 523-526). Other tales recount the flood, the theft of fire by Hummingbird, and the acquisition of salt, potter's clay, and pumpkins (Karsten, 1935).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Karsten, 1920 a, b, 1921, 1935; Relaciones geográficas de Indias, 1881-97; Rivet, 1924; Stirling, 1938; Tessmann, 1930; Up de Graf, 1923; Verneau and Rivet, 1912-22; Villanueva, 1902-03."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of foundation and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved swapping the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is a characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the system of crop fairy (**nagual**) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of unconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

34 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 499 287 some less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 297 499 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jivaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jivaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jivaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jivaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1915.

1: Karsten, Rafael. The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas: The Life and Culture of the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador and Peru. Societas Scieniarum Fennica: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Vol. VII, No. 1. Helsingfors: Centraltryckeriet, 1935.

Pp. xvi, 598; illustrations; index; folded map.

Yale: F12 F12.F69.v.7.

CSF: Karsten spent three full years among the Jivaro (between 1917 and 1928) and almost a complete summary of all that he has published on the Jivaro to date is contained in this monograph. He learned the native language passingly well according to his own statement and became quite intimate with many of the Indians. He is very careful about including many details which other ethnographers have sometimes missed. On the whole a very competent and thorough piece of work....by far the best work on the Jivaro.)

2: Stirling, Matthew Williams. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 117: Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1938.

Pp. xi, 148; 1 map; 37 plates; 6 text figures; foreword; bibliography; index.

Yale: A52.72.v.117.

[KS: This source presents for the first time in English most of the known early source material. The translations are the work of Marion Stirling. The author while a member of the Latin-American expedition gathered the ethnographic material for this book from Jivaros on the Paute, Upano, Yaupe, Chinganasa, and Alto Marañon Rivers.
Field work: 1930-31.]

3: Simson, Alfred. Notes on the Jívaros and Canelos Indians. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. IX, pp. 385-392. London, 1880.

Yale: Nk10. R81. v. 9.

[KS: These notes were chiefly taken during a very short stay at a Jívaro settlement on the borders of the River Pintuc (or Pindo). The author gives a brief and and interesting summary of that portion of the tribe inhabiting this region.]

4: Up de Graff, Fritz W. Head Hunters of the Amazon: Seven Years of Exploration and Adventure. New York: Duffield and Company, 1923.

Pp. xviii, 337; foreword by Kermit Roosevelt; 16 photographs; sketch map.

Yale: PY. 68.

[KS: The author spent seven years of exploration and adventure in the forests of the Upper Amazon basin. The material in the book on the Jivaro has been excerpted. There is an exceptionally good account of a war raid, victory ceremonial, and the technique of head-shrinking.
Field Work: 1897.]

5: Reyes, Oscar E. and Francisco Teran. Historia y geografía del Oriente ecuatoriano. Quito: Talleres Gráficos de Educación, 1939.

Pp. 134.

Yale: Cwe. Sn16. 939.

[JKM: Only material clearly relevant to the environment and location of the Jivaro has been excerpted, i.e., data on meteorology, topography, etc. Data on the rest of eastern Ecuador has been ignored. Translated by George Barker.]

6: Flornoy, Bertrand. Contribution à l'étude de la langue Jivaro ou Šuor. Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n. s., Vol. XXX, pp. 333-341. Paris, 1938.

Yale: C2.040.II.29-30

[MC: Only the introduction and kinship terms have been excerpted from this brief discussion of the Jivaro language, which includes five pages of French-Jivaro vocabulary and two pages of phrases and invocations. Field dates: August - October 1936]

Translation: Margaret Coughlin

7: Farabee, William Curtis. Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. X. Cambridge: The Museum, Harvard University, 1922.

Pp. xiv, 194; pls.; tables; biblio.; index; 1 folded map.

Yale: C52.12.v.10.

[JKM: Farabee did not visit the Jivaro himself, but received his information from Sr. F. T. Muniz who had lived and travelled among the people. The article is filed in category 105. Myths and vocabulary have been omitted as they are covered more fully in 1: Karsten. Only pp. 115-123, a part of the section (115-135) dealing with the Jivaro, have been excerpted.]

8: Dickey, Herbert Spencer. The Head Shrinkers of Ecuador. The Masterkey, Vol. X, pp. 201-203. Los Angeles, California: The Southwest Museum, 1936.

Yale: C52.320m.v.10.

[KS: Dr. Dickey spent the greater part of nineteen years among the Jivaro. The material in this article on head-shrinking was gathered during an expedition sponsored by the Adventurer's Club of Los Angeles in 1936.]

9: Bennett, Wendell C. New Ethnological Specimens: Natural History. Vol. XXXIII, pp. 660-661. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1933.

2 illus.

Yale: S9.202.33

[KS: Mr. Bennett gives a brief description of a small collection of ethnological specimens from the Jivaro Indians which was donated to the American Museum by Mr. Harry W. Smith, who spent some time in that country.]

10: Anthony, Harold E. The Jivaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Natural History, Vol. XXI, pp. 147-160. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1921.

14 photographs

[KS: The author was Associate Curator (1920-21) of the Western Hemisphere, and leader of the American Museum's expedition to Ecuador, 1920-21. This article is a brief summary of Jivaro culture. Field work: 1920-21.]

II: Mead, Charles William. Shrunken Heads and How They are made. Natural History, Vol. XXI, pp. 160-161. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1921.

Illustrations.

Yale: 99.202.v.21.

[KS: This brief article describes the method of shrinking human heads. The author is assistant curator of Peruvian Archaeology, American Museum.]

12: Rivet, Paul. Les Indiens Jîbaros: Étude géographique, historique et ethnographique. L'Anthropologie, Vol. XVIII, pp. 333-368, 583-618. Paris: Masson et Cie., 1907.

Yale: Nk10.An86.v.18.

[KS: This monograph is largely concerned with an evaluation of missionary and other reports concerning the Jivaro, tempered with the writer's own findings. After a general location of the tribal groups, Rivet relates how attempts at subjugation and conversion failed miserably from early in the 16th century to the present day.
The article is a typical product of factual ethnographic reporting in the early part of this century. Theoretical analyses are shallow, and the reader has a feeling that much has been left unsaid and unnoticed. Field work: 1907-08. Translation secured from Matthew Stirling, Smithsonian Institution.]

13: Rivet, Paul. Les Indiens Jíbaros: Étude géographique, historique et ethnographique. L'Anthropologie, Vol. XIX, pp. 68-87, 235-259. Paris: Masson et Cie., 1908.

Yale: Nk10.An86.v.19.

[KS: This is a continuation of Rivet's article which was processed as bibliography number 12 of the Jivaro tribe. This section was given a separate bibliography number because publication of these sections occurred in the periodical in the year immediately succeeding that in which the first sections of the work appeared.]

14: Meyers, Harry. The Jibaro Anthropometry. New Mexico Anthropologist, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 85-86. Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1937.

One chart

Yale: L. SOC. 120. NM. 1. 3. 15. 6.

[KS: An anthropometric table taken from a series of two hundred measurements. A compass and sliding calipers were the instruments used.]

15: Orchard, William C. Jivaro Dance Regalia. Indian Notes, Vol. II, pp. 214-219. New York, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1925.

3 illus.

Yale: C52.41.2

[KS: A good description of the Jivaro dance regalia which is in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.]

16: Skinner, Alanson. A Remarkable Shrunken Head from Ecuador. Year Book of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 71-73. Milwaukee: 1922.

2 photographs.

Yale: S9.191, v.1.

[KS: A brief note describing a shrunken head with white, curly hair which was presented to the Milwaukee Public Museum by Lewis B. Ager.]

17. Anonymous. Shrunken Human Heads. Field Museum News, Vol. IX, No. 2, p. 2. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1938.

1 illustration.

Yale: 917.033. v. 9.

[NB: Four shrunken heads are on exhibition in the Hall of South American Archaeology and Ethnology (Hall 9) in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. One may be a white woman, another the head of a man of possible European extraction.]

18: Hermesseen, J. L. A Journey on the Rio Zamora, Ecuador. The Geographical Review, Vol. IV, pp. 434-449. New York: The American Geographical Society, 1917.

1 map, 1 chart, 5 photographs

Yale: E10. G112. v.4

[KS: The author surveyed the territory around the upper Rio Zamora and the basin of Loja. The section of the article which deals with descriptions of the culture of the Jivaro has been excerpted for the files. This article has been translated into Spanish and published in 1941 in Revista Geographica Americana--volume 16].

19: Métraux, Alfred. The Jivaro. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143: Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. III, pp. 617-627. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948.

2 text figures.

Tale: A32, 72, No. 143 and CT1, 20g.

[N.B: Métraux's article in the Handbook of South American Indians (1948) is an excellent cultural summary. The entire text will be found in category 105.]

20: Dyott, George Miller. On the Trail of the Unknown in the Wilds of Ecuador and the Amazon. London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 1926.

Pp. 288; 28 photographs; 1 map; index.

Yale: Ecuador Ehea. 926D.

[KS: The author is a traveller and explorer. All material relevant to the Jivaro has been excerpted. Character sketches of some Jivaro highlight interesting phases of the culture.]

21. Dover, F. J. Among the Jivaro Indians: A Story of Shrunken Heads. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XV, no. 4, pp. 359-361. Bombay: Anthropological Society of Bombay, 1934.

Yale: D75.v.15.

[KS: A brief article of secondary interest by a globe cyclist.]

22: Hamy, E. T. Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jivaros. Revue d'Anthropologie, Vol. II, pp. 385-397. Paris: C. Reinwald, 1873.

Yale: Nk10. R315. v. 2.

[KS: A brief article on the historical reconstruction of the Jivaro people. Inferences are made as to origins, migrations, contacts and culture history from the evidence of anthropometry and language.]

Translator: Margaret Coughlin

23: Turner, G. E. S. Counterfeit 'Tsantsas' in the Pitt Rivers Museum. Man, Vol. XLIV, pp. 57-58. London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1944.

1 Pl.

Yale: Nk10. + M31. v. 44-45.

[KS: An interesting description of counterfeit shrunken heads which have appeared in private and public collections.]

24: Wright, Harry Bernard. A Frequent Variation of the Maxillary Central Incisors, with Some Observations on Dental Caries among the Jivaro (Shuara) Indians of Ecuador. Proceedings of the Eighth American Scientific Congress, Vol. II, pp. 237-240. Washington, 1942.

2 plates; 2 charts.

Yale: Latin America. A59. 31. 1940(2.

[KS: This excellent article reports the results of a comparative study of the teeth of the Jivaro. Two groups were selected, confined only to the males of varying ages from pre-adolescence to adulthood, selected at random. Field work: 1938].

25: Vigna, Juan. Bosquejo Sobre los Indios Shuaras o Jîbaros. America Indigena, Vol. V, pp. 35-49. Mexico: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1945.

1 photograph.

Yale: C51.O318

[KS: Juan Vigna, Provicario of the Salesian Missions in Ecuador, is the author of this popular article which gives a general description of Jivaro history, politic-family organization, language, superstitions, dwellings, dress, customs, morality, ceremonies, funerals and burials. Translator: Elinor Stewart.]

26: Brüning, Hans M. Reisen im Gebiet der Aguaruna. Baessler-Archiv, Vol. XII, pp. 46-85. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1928.

7 photographs; 7 text figures.

Yale: NK10.+B14.v.12-13.

[AMN: The author of this article was prevented from proofreading it by his death on June 2nd, 1928. He was born in 1846. In 1875 he went to Peru as an engineer. He lived in Peru for almost 50 years. His archaeological collections were bought by the Peruvian Government and set up in a museum in Chiclayo. This museum is named after Brüning. Duplicate specimens from this museum may also be found in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg.]

[KS: This source has been reprocessed from the manuscript translation made earlier by A. M. Nagler. The text figures have been reproduced for the files.]

27. Bollaert, William. On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador, with an Account of the Jivaro Indians. Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, n. s., Vol. II, pp. 112-118. London: John Murray, 1863.

Yale: D8.15. v. 2.

[KS: Translations by Bollaert of mid-nineteenth century accounts of Jivaro history and techniques of head shrinking.]

28; Tessman, Günter. Die Indianer Nordost-Perus: Grundlegende Forschungen für eine Systematische Kulturkunde. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter und Co., 1930.

Pp. xi, 856; foreword; colored plates; photographs; sketches; cartograms; charts; appendix; index.

Yale: C71.145.

[KS: A brief summary of the Jivaro founded principally on work of other authors. There are a few personal observations. A list of cartograms and plates will be found in category 126. Through an error, the author's name appears as Tessman on all category slips of this file; it should be Tessmann. Translation: Alois M. Nagler.]

29: Vité, Felice. Entre los Indios Jíbaros, cazadores de cabezas. Revista Geografica Americana. Vol.IV. pp.15-22. Buenos Aires. 1935.

10 photographs.

Tale: Latin America E10, R134, v.4.

[KS: The author was a member of the Italian Expedition which was sent to the Amazon to study and film the life of the Jívaro. The article is brief and does not contain much new evidence.
Field Work: 1934- Translation: Elinor Stewart.]

30: Franco, Modesto Chávez. El Mundo y Las Revistas: Algo más sobre los jíbaros y las tchantchas. Revista Geografica Americana, Vol. IV, pp. 140-142. Buenos Aires, 1935.

Yale: Latin America E10. R324. v. 4.

[WPM: This source, reprinted in "Revista Geografica Americana" from the "Revista Municipal" of Guayaquil, contains descriptions of some shrunken heads and several anecdotes concerning them. It also has a description of a Jivaro ceremony involving the reception of a warrior who has acquired a head. The author is the director of the Museo de Guayaquil. Translator: Elinor Stewart]

31: Danielsson, Bengt. Some Attraction and Repulsion Patterns among Jibaro Indians: A Study in Sociometric Anthropology. Sociometry: A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations, Vol. XII, pp. 83-105. Beacon: Beacon House, Inc., 1949.

Yale: Nml0. Sol6. v. 12.

[KS: A sociometric study of the Jivaro. There are many explanatory charts and tables.]

32: Harner, Michael J. Jívaro Souls. American Anthropologist, Vol. 64, No. 2, pp. 258-72. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1962.

Bibliography.

HRAF copy

[This is a technically sophisticated analysis of a complex system of soul beliefs, and of their functional interrelations with other cultural, social and psychological variables. Specifically, there are two basic themes in the article: (1) a precise description and analysis of soul beliefs and associated supernatural traits, showing that they form a logically integrated system; and (2) a functional interpretation of the relations of this system to two outstanding behavioral patterns of the Jívaro - internecine killing and the taking and shrinking of human heads. The belief system provides the cultural nexus - not a causal explanation - of these practices, and the total constitutes an internally consistent cultural complex of major significance in Jívaro society. In view of this it should be noted that apparently nearly all of Harner's data was obtained from interviews, not personal observations, and no concrete or quantified data are presented - the article being written at a generalized level. The author does include a comparison and

32: Harner, Michael J.

critique of pertinent data from the earlier major sources on the Jívaro. Footnotes appearing at the end of the article may be found in category 116, pp. 270-72. --Analyst]

Field date: 1956-1957
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

33:Reiss, W. Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern /A Visit among the Jivaro Indians/. Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 7, pp. 325-337. Berlin, 1880.

Yale: E10 G414v 7. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-17/.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Shelton Hicock.

/This is an account of the author's visit to the Jivaro Indians living in the vicinity of Mácas, Ecuador, during the latter part of the 19th century. Although the author was not a trained anthropologist, his observations of Jivaro life would in most cases do justice to a ethnologist. The data recorded pertain to culture history, geography, house types and furniture, clothing and ornament, personal cleanliness, housekeeping, physical appearance, polygny, warfare, weapons, head shrinking and associated ceremonials, and relations with neighboring tribes. The source concludes with the author's suggestions as to ways and means of inducing greater cultural receptivity to "Western civilization" among the Jivaro./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1966, 1968

34: Harner. Michael J. The Jívaro: people of the sacred waterfalls. Garden City. Anchor Books. Anchor Press/Doubleday. 1973.

6. 234 p.: 24 figures on 17 plates: 5 text figures: 2 maps: bibliography. notes. index.

HRAF copy.

[This general work on the Jivaro Indians focuses on the specific and prominent aspects of the culture such as he headhunting and the drug use, showing the socio-economic integration of these aspects with the rest of the culture, notably with the religious system. Data include history and culture change material which the author made a special effort to secure. Kindred tribes such as Aguaruna, Huambisa and Achuare have been marked for this source as Jivaro, though they are treated in the source as alien tribes, being traditional enemies of the Jivaro.]

Field date: 1956-1957, 1964, 1969
Analyst: Dubravka Schmalzbauer

Evaluation: Ethnologist 4, 5
Processed in 1974

Anonymous. A Jivaro War Trophy: Human Head artificially shrunken by the Jivaro Indians. Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Vol. XI, pp. 196-197. Buffalo, New York, 1915.

Illus.

S9.110.11.3.

[KS: A brief description of a Jivaro shrunken head. It does not contain any information that is not to be found in other sources in the files.]

Barton, D.R. The Indoor Explorer. Natural History, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 64-66. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1937.

1 illustration.

Yale: S9.099.v.39.

[KS: This article contains a description of head shrinking. Details of the technique are covered more fully in other sources in the files].

Beuchat, H., and Paul Rivet. La langue Jîbaro ou Siwora. Anthropos, Vol. IV, pp. 805-822, 1053-1064, Vol. V, pp. 1109-1124. St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wein, 1909-1910.

Linguistic charts.

Yale: Nk10 ≠ An89. v. 4.

[KS: This article contains grammatical notes and a comparison of the language with the languages of neighboring peoples.]

Blomberg, Rolf. From a Journey to the Jibaro Indians in Ecuador. Ethnos, Vol. II, pp. 123-129. Stockholm: The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, 1937.

7 photographs.

Yale: NK10, Et7, v. 1-2.

[KS: The author made a three months journey to the Jivaro to make films and collect zoological material. The article is brief and does not contain any data that are not discussed in more detail in other sources in the files].

Farabee, William Curtis. Mummified Jivaro Heads. The Museum Journal, Vol. X, pp. 178-183. Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1919.

3 plates.

Yale: A53p. 212.10/11.

[KS: This article is an excellent summary of Jivaro culture, but does not contain any data that is not fully covered in other sources in the files.]

Holloway, H. L. East of the Ecuadorian Andes. Geographical Journal, Vol. LXXX, pp. 410-419. London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1932.

Sketch map.

Yale: E10.R8lg.v.80.

[JKM: In 1931 Holloway was commissioned by an English Company to make a report on the geology in the Oriente Province. It is a good description of the topography of the country. There is a short account of the Jivaro but it does not add any new material to the sources which have been processed for the files.]

Simson, Alfred. Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador, and the Exploration of the Putumayo River. London: Sampson Low, Mortson, Searle, and Rivington, 1886.

Pp. 261; one folded map; appendix.

Yale: Ecuador, Ehea. 886.

[KS: The chapter in this travel book is taken verbatim from source 3: Simson.]

Sinclair, Joseph H., and Theron Wasson. Explorations in Eastern Ecuador. The Geographical Review, Vol. XIII, pp. 190-210. New York: The American Geographical Society, 1923.

4 tables; 11 figs.; folding map at p. 410.

Yale: E10. G132. v. 13.

[JKM: In 1921 the authors explored a large tract of land in eastern Ecuador to determine the possibilities of eventual production of petroleum. They had little contact with the Jivaro and their comments do not add any new material to the files.]

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Chorotí SK5
Mataco SI7
Tehueiche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

28: Tessman--338-342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 113

"1863. Bollaert, William. On the idol Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador in: Transactions of the Ethnological. Soc. of London. N.S. Vol. II, S. 112-118. London 1863. *
[341]
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1880. Reiß, W. Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern in: Verhandl. d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. VII, S. 325-337. Berlin 1880.
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1903. Montané, Luis. Chanchas y Jivaros in: Cronica médico quirurgica de la Habana. T. XXIX, No. 22. Habana 1903.

*[KS: sources are in the files]

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*[KS: sources are in the files]

28: Tessman--338-342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-3
116, 113

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* [KS: sources are in the files]

32:Harper E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

295
825
114
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* Partly this is due to the fact that the oil drillings provide funding grounds for these colonels.

* Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larson and David Beasley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Ignaruna and Huambisa tribes, respectively. I briefly interviewed several Huambisa and Ignaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Yarinacocha, eastern Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara informant on the same subject in 1962 near the Río Corrientes, eastern Ecuador.

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34:Harner K-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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1. Karsten--10-13 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 114 (1928-29)

"A few words may be said as to previous publications which treat of the customs of the Jibaro Indians. The Catholic missionaries who in former times had dealings with these savages have given no information whatever about their customs and beliefs. It is only from the last century that we have some information of this kind, but since the men who visited them were only passing travellers --geographical explorers or business men--the data given by them have naturally been founded on very superficial observation and mainly concern the material culture of these savages. The famous custom of the Jibaros of preparing trophies of the heads of their slain enemies has of course attracted the attention of many travellers, and such a trophy is now to be found in most ethnographic museums in Europe and America. But the ideas underlying this custom and the complicated rites and ceremonies with which the capture of a head is celebrated had never been really described and explained until I published my detailed account of the wars and victory feasts of the Jibaros, mentioned below. This monograph, revised and enlarged in certain points, is incorporated in this work. Among publications from [11] the 19th and the beginning of this century in which the culture of the Jibaro Indians is touched upon or some information is given about them the following may be mentioned: -- Osculati, Esplorazione delle regioni equatoriali (Milano, 1854); Villavicencio, Geografia de la Republica del Ecuador (New York, 1858); Bollaert, 'The

Jivaro Indians of Ecuador', in Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, New Series, Vol. II, pp. 112-118 (London, 1863); Gonzalez Suarez, Estudio Historico sobre los Cañaris (Quito, 1878); Reiss, 'Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern', in Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin, Bd. VII, pp. 325-337 (Berlin, 1880); Ordinaire, Les sauvages du Perou (Revue d'Ethnographie. T. VI. Paris, 1887); E. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima; religion, usos y costumbres de los salvajes del Oriente del Ecuador (Ambato, 1895); F. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia general de la republica del Ecuador, Vol. VI (Quito, 1903); Figueroa, Relación de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en el pais de los Maynas (Madrid, 1904); v. Hassel, 'Las tribus salvajes de la region amazonica del Peru' (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima, Vol. XVII, Lima, 1905) Rivet, Les indiens Jibaros (L'Anthropologie, Vols. XVIII and XIX, Paris, 1907, 1908).

The information we gather from most of these works is not only very scanty but--what is still worse--to a great extent untrustworthy. Of general accounts founded on first hand observation, that of v. Hassel seems to me to be the most important, although it only refers to the tribes of the lower Pastaza and the Aguarunas of Peru. Gonzalez Suarez, the Archbishop of Quito, although he never visited the Jibaros in their own land, gives, in his historical work, valuable information concerning the history of these Indians and describes their head-hunting practices as far as they

were known when he wrote. On the other hand, Vacas Galindo's Nankijukima is a novel and worthless as an ethnological source. It is written by a Dominican monk who lived for some years at the village of Macas in the immediate neighbourhood of the Jibaros and certainly had good opportunities of studying the customs of the natives. But it is evidently never meant to give a true account of the culture of the Jibaros, and the errors in the details are in any case sufficiently numerous to deprive it of every scientific value. Besides this, the author's view of the social morality and religion of the Indians is obviously influenced by theological prejudice.

Rivet's monograph on the Jibaro Indians is only a compilation based on the untrustworthy writings of travellers and missionaries who at [12] different times have lived amongst them. Rivet never himself visited these savages in their own land and never saw any other Indians of this tribe than two individuals, who happened to come to the town of Riobamba in central Ecuador while Rivet was there. A few observations, made by Rivet relating to the physical anthropology of these two individuals have, of course, little importance from a scientific point of view as far as the whole tribe is concerned. Similarly, it is difficult to understand on what ground Rivet claims, for instance, to have been able to indicate 'almost exactly', the dwelling-places of the different Jibaro tribes, or considers himself entitled to assert categorically that the Jibaros in all

reckon 'no less than 20,000 individuals'. (1) If the real dwelling-places and the total number of the Jibaros can only be ascertained with difficulty even by one who like myself has roamed through the Jibaro country in all directions, this must clearly be impossible to one who has not visited these inaccessible regions at all. Taken as a whole Rivet's book is useless as a source concerning the Jibaros. This particularly holds true of the part dealing with their intellectual culture, which to a great extent is based on Vacas Galindo's novel, just characterized by me. But even the first part of it, dealing with the material culture of these Indians, is greatly wanting in exactness.

During the last ten years a couple of works have appeared in which the Jibaros are dealt with. Thus, in W. C. Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru (1922) a chapter is devoted to this important Indian tribe. In the beginning of his article Farabee himself says: 'I was unable to visit the Jibaros in their own country to make personal observations, but was fortunate to find at Iquitos, Peru, Sr. F. T. Muniz, who lived and travelled for some years among this people, and who gave me much information regarding them.' 'Sr. Muniz' is probably a rubber merchant of the type well known

"1. Rivet, Travaux scientifiques de P. Rivet, Paris, 1927."

to every traveller in the interior of tropical South America. How reliable such men generally are as informants on Indian custom, one can easily imagine even without knowing it from personal experience. Whereas Farabee's chapter on the Jibaros does not contain a single new fact on these Indians, it is on the other hand impaired by several serious errors which makes its scientific value more than doubtful. Thus when Farabee states (p. 122) that 'some tribes preserve the heads of their friends as well as those of their enemies, but women's heads are never preserved', this one sentence contains two [13] grave errors. First, the transformation of a human head into a tsantsa implies a deadly insult not only to the dead man himself but also to his whole tribe, and the Jibaros consequently apply that method exclusively to mortal enemies in other tribes. Secondly, it may be deplorable, but is still an indisputable fact that the Jibaros frequently prepared trophies of women's heads also.

As to the Jibaro myths with which Farabee's chapter ends, it may be proper to point out that they do not proceed from Sr. Muniz, but are direct English translations from my own treatise Mitos de los indios Jibaros (Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Historicos Americanos, Vol. II. Quito, 1919), a source not mentioned in Farabee's chapter.

F. W. Up de Graff's book Bei den Kopfjägern des Amazonas (Leipzig, 1924), although only a popular book of travels written by a merchant, is of interest in so far

as its author, according to his own assertion, had an opportunity to watch the behaviour of the Indians when they were on the war-path. Although it seems to me doubtful whether the author has really seen with his own eyes everything that he tells about, there is still substantial agreement between his statements as to the savage lust of murder displayed by the Indians on these occasions and the minute descriptions which I have myself received from Indian chiefs who had taken part in war expeditions. For my own part I did not see how the Jibaros behave in the battle, but instead of that I had the advantage of being present at their great victory feasts. (1)"

"1. As to other similar popular books, G. M. Dyott has, in his On the Trail of the Unknown (London, 1926), in two chapters dealt with the culture of the Jibaro Indians. I deem it necessary, howerer, [sic] to point out that the data given by Dyott as to certain religious ideas and other customs of the Jibaros are directly taken from my Blood-Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts of the Jibaro Indians--without the source being mentioned. In a few cases, however, Dyott tries to go his own way, making erroneous statements which show how little he knows the Jibaro culture.--On a much higher level as a popular book of travels is K. G. Grubb's Amazon and Andes (London, 1930), where the Jibaro Indians (Aguarunas) are also shortly but correctly treated of."

"The small grammer [sic] and vocabulary published by me in Spanish in 1921 under the title La Lengua de los Indios Jibaros may be regarded as the first real account of the language of these Indians. I am of course aware that as early as 1909 and 1910 a short study of it had been published by H. Beuchat and P. Rivet in the Anthropos(1). But neither of the authors had any personal knowledge of it; their study is wholly founded on sources of secondary importance, namely the short and untrustworthy vocabularies noted down by passing travellers who have visited the Jibaros at different times. Even the vocabularies made by the Catholic Fathers appear to be greatly lacking in exactness. Thus the very name given the Jibaros by Beuchat and Rivet Šiwōra (Shiwōra) is erroneous. The name by which all Jibaro tribes call themselves is Shuāra. Now it is a well-known fact that there are different dialects of the language, and the authors mentioned also distinguish such dialects. But the sources of their information were most unreliable as appears from the vocabulary. In that vocabulary the dialect of Macas is best represented. But the informants of those who have originally written down the words have evidently not been the Indians inhabiting that [540] region, that is, the Jibaros of the Upano, but the mestizos of Macas. Many of these speak the Jibaro

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"1. Beuchat et Rivet, 'La langue Jibaro ou Šiwora', in Anthropos, tom. IV (1909) and tom. V (1910)."

language fairly well, but one peculiarity characteristic of them is that they lengthen many Jibaro words with a syllable which is made to begin with an l, although this letter does not exist in the language at all, thus distorting the words. Both in Rivet's monograph on the Jibaros and in Beuchat's and Rivet's article on the Jibaro language accordingly we find words like tunduli instead of tundúi (the big drum), súla instead of sua (Genipa americana), hēla instead of hēa, 'house', pingullu instead of pingüi (flute) huambulúshi instead of huambuíshi (the silk cotton), all erroneous forms of the words quite commonly used at Macas. Other errors also abound throughout in the vocabulary, but space makes it impossible for me to call attention to them. These errors are in a way quite natural. No one can satisfactorily write on a language which he does not know, without having reliable material at his disposal.

It may be proper in this connection to emphasize that it is by no means so easy as has generally been assumed to note down a vocabulary of the language of a savage tribe. The opinion that almost any passing traveller, who chances to come into contact with members of a tribe, is able to make a vocabulary of its language, good enough to serve as a basis for comparative linguistic studies, is founded in error. My own impression at any rate is that most of the incomplete vocabularies and notes of Indian languages which have been made, in former times as in our own days, by such untrained and superficial observers in different parts of South America are useless from a scientific

point of view and that a doubtful service is done to comparative liguistics [sic] by their publication. Even missionaries and other persons who have perhaps stayed for years among the same people, have often lacked that phonetic ear necessary for the purpose of apprehending the strange words and writing them down correctly. A special aptitude and training for this sort of study is, I think, also necessary.

Another little-known grammar [sic] and vocabulary of the Jibaro language was published privately in Ecuador in 1928 by Father Salvador Duroni of the Salesian Order, under the title Diccionario de bolsillo del idioma Jibaro. The vocabulary is comparatively copious and its author evidently possessed some practical knowledge of the language. It contains however numerous errors, and besides this, the transcription will render the pronunciation of many words difficult for an English reader. A curious mistake appearing in this as well as in Beuchat's and Rivet's grammar [sic] [541] on the Jibaro language is that as the particular characteristic of the infinitive the suffix tasan is regularly given which is said to be, in itself, the auxiliary verb 'to be'. I do not know whether such an infinitive termination exists in the Gualaquiza dialect, spoken by the now half-civilized Jibaro Indians living near the town Cuenca, almost the only Jibaro dialect of which I have no knowledge. Father Duroni does not indicate which particular tribe speaks the language recorded by him; he simply speaks of the 'Jibaro language'. I have therefore to remark that none of the Jibaro tribes whom I know have

an infinitive ending with the suffix tázan. The suffix which is specially characteristic of the infinitive is tínyu, in itself an infinitive form of the auxiliary tíhei, 'I am'."

8: Dickey--201 [2] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 152, 114

"The tribes...are referred to, in the writings of certain intrepid explorers, as Head Hunters. The usual picture is that of a sinister, bloodthirsty tribe, who as an outdoor sport dash off into the woods, grabbing innocent Indians whose heads they remove and shrink, with all the manifestations of ghoulish glee. And all this without rhyme or reason.

The Jivaros--and I must use this name with which they've been baptized--are neither sinister nor bloodthirsty. I base this conclusion on a relationship with them of nearly nineteen years' duration. On the contrary, they are hospitable and humble."

12: Rivet--348-349 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 114

Such is the present state of things: need I add that all these efforts hardly produced any serious results and that the conversion of the Jibaro is not begun ? However, thanks to these missions we know a great many interesting details [349] about these savages so stubbornly resistant to all civilized influences. On the other hand, the numerous explorers who have penetrated these unknown regions in the second half of the 19th century have brought back ample harvests of ethnological and geographical documents. These accounts of missionaries and explorers have attracted the attention of ethnologists to the Jibaros and these ethnologists have devoted some more or less important articles to them. Here I will only mention Hamy's memoir. To this author goes the honor of having first coordinated the scattered accounts relative to these curious Indians, given a complete study of mummified heads, and discussed the important problem of the origin of this great tribe (1).

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1. E.-T.-Hamy. Decades Americanae. *Memoires d'archéologie* et d'ethnographie américaines, 3rd and 4th Decades, p. 43. "Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jivaros" (article published in the Revue d'Anthropologie, vol. II, July 1873, p. 385.)

"The Jívaro have probably received more attention than any other South American tribe; the scientific literature on them is enormous. Nevertheless, many aspects of Jívaro culture are imperfectly known.

Old missionary and explorers' accounts contain only fragments of information. (See p. 511 and Stirling, 1938, for a bibliography of these.) Ethnological studies tend to treat only limited aspects of the culture or to reflect strong theoretical views of the authors. Karstne's many publications, which are summarized in his comprehensive work (1935), were based on 3 years of field work, though he only twice spent more than 8 days in a single village. His theoretical interest in religion is very manifest, and it is frequently impossible to distinguish his own or his informant's views from his first-hand observations. Nonetheless, it it is the main source on social and religious culture. Rivet's studies are compilations of older sources; he never visited the Jívaro. Up de Graf's (1923) work is designed for popular appeal. Tessmann (1930) adds only a few fragments of information from an Aguaruna informant. Stirling (1938) is the first to recognize the informant. Stirling (1938) is the first to recognize the importance of change in the historic period; he also adds new detailed data on blowguns, preparation of shrunken heads, shamanism, weaving, and warfare.

Present needs include adequate studies of technology (which are now only partially available), clarification of social structure and function and of marriage practice through

a genealogical approach, verification of the patterns of religion and shamanism, analysis of property rights, and study of agricultural methods. There is also abundant opportunity for investigation of local variations in this large and wifely distributed tribe."

23: Turner--58 [2] (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 114, 727

"Since the foregoing was sent to press, [KS: Counterfeit 'Tsantsas' in the Pitt Rivers Museum] Mr. Stirling has drawn my attention to a journalist's account of a domestic workshop on the outskirts of Quito where 'shrunken heads' are made in quantity from goat- and dog-skin shaped over clay moulds and shaved in the appropriate places. One diagnostic feature of these counterfeits is that the hairs of both eyebrows necessarily run in the same direction. (Ludwig Bemelmans, 'The Head-Hunters of the Quito Hills.' The New Yorker, April 12, 1941. New York.)"

28: Tessman --338 (No date) 1930 Jivaro

116, 114

'Ethnographic literature: Of all the tribes of Eastern Peru the Chiwaros are most frequently discussed in ethnographic literature. With the exception of the Uitotos there is no other tribe about which so many monographic studies--at least concerning certain aspects--have been written as in the case of the Chiwaros. To the Finnish scholar Rafael Karsten must go the credit for having written scientifically sound descriptions of the Chiwaro culture. The following list of publications [KS: See category 113] does not claim to be complete. I have omitted the rich literature concerning the mummified heads and the notes published by various museums. A chronologically arranged survey of this type of literature may be found in L'Anthropologie, XIX, p. 74 (author: Rivet). I have included only a few recent notes on this subject. I did not include the article by Milacsek (Buenos Aires), published in 'Erdball' (1927), p. 372, since this article is not based upon a knowledge of the Chiwaros, though Milacsek pretends that he had visited the tribe. The book written by the Princess Theresa of Bavaria, Reisestudien im westlichen Südamerika (Berlin, 1908), vol. I, p. 271 contains at least a few good pictures; otherwise the book does not contain any personal observations concerning the Chiwaros.

30: Franco --140 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 114

In our preceding number we published an article by Felice Vité, member of the Italian Expedition to the Amazon, on the Jíbaro Indians of Ecuador and on their "Tchantchas", mummified heads reduced to a tenth their natural size. In the "Revista Municipal" of Guayaquil, we now find an article by the Director of the Museum of that city, Dr. Modesto Chávez Franco, on this same subject; it is preceded by a note from the editorial staff explaining that it is reproduced from the number of August 11, 1927; in view of the interest it had aroused that number was out of print and insistent requests had been made for its reprint.

As the article published by this Revista also appears to have awakened great curiosity, we believe it opportune to reproduce the report of the Director of the Museo de Guayaquil, with the exception of paragraphs which refer to the process of mummification used by the Jíbaros which are more or less similar to the account given in our Revista. We note that Dr. Chávez Franco adopts the orthography "Tzhantzhas", rather than the spelling we have preferred, believing it to be better adapted to the phonetic of the word.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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10 [181] THE Jivaro proper (*aulturi tsaora*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in 121 [183] the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls [194] which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these [961] beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

128 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset 129 it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio [133] Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sepa; the Rio [103] Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusuimi; the Rio [131] Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *Utill* 115 *Ahaíu*, *Kagull*, and *Uwia Ahaíu* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Malu* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hintal* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HwayA*, *Tupi*, and *Naita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[2 For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 290-292 --Canalysf]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; several and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worships; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonhomocentric spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and drinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jivaro people. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "arutama" of Karsten (1935: 449, 51) and the "tsaruama" of Stirling (1938: 115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jivaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954: 25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jivaro dialect.

Karsten (1954: 25) has stated, "The word *aruta* or *arutam* in the Jivaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *aruta* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient spectre." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935: 450). Although Karsten (1935: 448-50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938: 115) recognizes a similarity between his "tsaruama" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsaruama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jivaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1949: 136) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . remain powerful [illegible]." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jivaro would be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Tsetsa, the Rain God," and "Tunga, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jivaro proper. Karsten (1954: 26) has clearly taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Tsetsa." Actually, tsetsa is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jíbaros use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their canoes cannot come successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Tunga" (tsapi) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the anaconda and manioc souls. Karsten (1954: 31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jíbaro deity named "Nankumu," put forward and Metraux (1949: 426), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jíbaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jíbaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten (1935: 57) lists candidates for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (nupa) which can probably be best defined as crop fertility. The [illegible] really, they also have no backbone, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935: 57).

In regards to the manioc, Karsten (1935: 63) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently conscious of the term for the avenging spirit which is resident in the tsantsa. He (1954: 2) is wrong where he states that the dark-complexion head is not called "tsantsa." Not can I agree with him where he says (1954: 26): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and more careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1949: 74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsantsam," when it is really power emanating from the manioc.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nekás wakaní and ekas. Since he uses the term wakaní alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935: 62) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be considered simply as dumb-headed human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to be souls (although a few specific plants have souls and only a few animals (e.g., dogs, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to have some kind of true soul. Stirling [illegible] mentions wakaní.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already young families prior to Karsten's initial Jíbaro fieldwork in

[illegible] and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Kroeber's, in 1940–41. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jivaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Kroeber and Stirling visited other Jivaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[illegible] [illegible] "[illegible]," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jivaroan tribes, "[illegible]" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "[illegible]" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's role as [illegible] "[illegible]" as in Kroeber's earlier[illegible] "[illegible]." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jivaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that described here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[illegible] The term Shuhar proper, strictly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Santiago in the south, and from the 1,000 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The natives have comprise the Jivaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper." "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Kwashiwa Jívaro," or "Shuara." This last term, here, does not mean "Jívaro," as it has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "Tsáwari Jívaro," meaning "tamarind Indians," is the designation applied to the tribe by its close neighbors which, like the Achuara tribe (whose name), [illegible] of the extant anthropological information published on Jivaroan tribes so far has been on the extant tribes of Jívaro proper. The other Jivaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Aguaruna), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

[illegible] The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed for Otto Tanner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for modifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

Consonants

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

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- g English ng as sung. Followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme.
- r Spanish p. Contrast like English k when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding k, palatalized when following k or i (plus a nasal consonant).
- s Spanish s.
- t Spanish t.
- u English oh.
- w English w as sun.
- x Spanish x (contrast like Spanish d when following a nasal consonant, palatalized when following k or i (plus a nasal consonant).
- y English y (but contrast like English w when adjacent to u).
- z Spanish z.

Unstressed vowels (contrasted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A circle indicates nasalization.

121

* A more detailed pronunciation is intended for [illegible] Jivaro phonology.

128 [122]

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (SRF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

127

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided invaluable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

774 [44]

* Anyone may slip for permanent avulsion, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other frequent aspects of Jivaro.

[183] [184]

* Jivaro faith in the existence of avulsion souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in serious boarding schools in the Río Tigre valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[186]

* One of the members of the party was drunk on infusion of avulsion (*Datura*, sp.) instead of tobacco snuff. Usually this is a person who has never seen avulsion and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group of male friends continue to smoke to be able to avoid and protect the infusion person under its influence.

[187]

* This exception is the football avulsion which only vanishes silently, when reached.

[188]

* Females who have seen avulsion can be surprisingly well sketched out by the male alone.

[196]

* There is also a non-super avulsion, *antsep*, whose soul is not so easily curtailed and does not leave the body of its possessor when such deliberations are made.

[196]

* The avulsion soul resides in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

226

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near absenting which typifies conversations between Jivaros of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to sub-vitiate his avulsion power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

774

* Humans may be alternatively permanent avulsion.

[195]

* When a man does not cut off the heart of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's avulsion is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the avulsion begins to reach home before the emerging soul can catch him.

204 [115] 114

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the Jivaro, surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

215 [241]

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house location along with their gardens.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

275
825
114
127
171

[17] Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

[18] Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larson and David Beasley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Huambisa beliefs, respectively. I briefly interviewed several Huambisa and Aguaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Yarinacocha, eastern Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara informant on the same subject in 1957 near the Río Cangaimi, eastern Ecuador.

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/326 cont./

175 Only rarely have the Jívaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

/327/

The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Mácas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

/329 cont./

132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
● 114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzags along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

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INTRODUCTION

101
Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 175
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri huarā* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained uncon- [135]
quered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 175
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the mar- 648
kets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers [727]
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

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• 114 There was certainly no other tribe in South America about
121 which less was known in proportion to what had been published. Part of this situation was due to certain aspects of Jívaro culture, particularly the making of *tsantsa*, which lent themselves to sensationalistic articles and popular books which were typically based upon a minimum or even an absence of actual contact with the Jívaro. Only two serious major works on them existed: the late Rafael Karsten's *Head-hunters of Western Amazonas* (1935), and M. W. Stirling's *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jívaro Indians* (1938). Yet much of what Karsten wrote was vague and highly opinionated, and Stirling's field data were fairly limited due to the short time he spent with the Jívaro. In addition, where the two authors overlapped in subject matter, their reports tended to be strongly contradictory.[1]

In view of this situation, I took both Karsten's and Stirling's works into the field with me and reviewed them sentence by sentence with Jívaro informants. Except for Stirling's data on material culture, I found that there was scarcely a paragraph of ethnographic information in either work that could be considered wholly accurate.

In time, it became evident that the erratic quality of information supplied by both anthropologists derived in part from their reliance on white men as interpreters. Karsten depended almost exclusively on Macabeos, the mestizo inhabitants of the village of Macas, for his communication with Indian informants. He also relied on them for second-hand information on Jívaro culture, as I ascertained by talking to Macabeos who had worked for him. I also found that the Macabeos had misconceptions of Jívaro culture which they believed in so strongly that they were willing to argue with the Indians about the latter's own culture. It was not too different in Stirling's case, although much more expectable,

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since he was able to spend only a few short months with the Jivaro in comparison with Karsten's intermittent work during several years. Stirling's interpreter was Santiago Baca of Méndez, whom I knew personally, and whom on one occasion I tested as an interpreter. Although a fine person, Baca hardly would let an Indian speak before he reinterpreted and expanded what had been said to fit his own preconceptions. The following portion of a letter from Stirling to me, dated June 30, 1962, in response to an article which I had just published on Jivaro soul beliefs,[2] shows the role of Baca in his work. I would like to add that I consider the letter a tribute to Stirling's scholarly integrity:

114 121 [124]

It is high time that adequate studies are finally being made of this significant group. When I made my rather hasty trip through the Jivaro country in 1930–31, the working conditions were far from ideal. The expedition was badly organized and from the standpoint of the ethnologist we were never able to stay in one place long enough to get proper results. I knew nothing of the Jivaro language, and depended entirely on the interpreter–Santiago Baca–for the esoteric information. What I recorded was what he understood from the informants. He was, incidentally, a political refugee and had lived 2 years with the Jivaro in hiding.

It is interesting to note that most of the Jivaro we encountered at that time insisted that they knew nothing of religious beliefs –that we would have to contact old Anguasha (on the Yaupe [Yaupi] River). We finally did contact him, and he was the source of most of this type of material which I secured. I am sure that he was a good informant–very sincere and desirous of being precise–so the errors were probably the result of misunderstanding by the interpreter, since I tried not to fill in any interpretations of my own. I had Karsten's work with me, and after getting our own material I checked with Karsten's accounts. The Indians would agree with practically none of his ideas, in-

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114 sisting that they had never heard of such a thing. Incidentally, I
121 never learned with which group he worked—a fact which he appeared to keep secret. I assumed that either the Indians with whom he worked had different concepts, or that he possibly supplied interpretations of his own.

It does not seem probable to me that basic changes in fundamental beliefs could take place in 30 years, so I am inclined to agree with you that the errors in my account were the result of wrong interpretation.

121 Since the purpose of the present book is to provide a broad
128 introduction to Jívaro culture rather than a detailed comparison with earlier publications, the reader will not find specific criticisms of Karsten's and Stirling's data in the following pages. These will be gradually provided in more specialized publications, which will also have the function of focusing on particular aspects of Jívaro life in greater detail. To the specialist who reads this work, however, I wish to say that statements that he finds here implicitly contradicting those of the two other authors may be taken, in fact, as explicit corrections of their accounts. A contradictory account here does not imply ignorance of their material.

Beyond this, of course, is the question of cultural change.
[115] First of all, I wish to note that several of my most important elderly informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in 1916–18 and did not come into substantial first-hand contact with whites until fifteen to
[114] twenty years later. The fieldwork by Stirling occurred later, in 1930–31, but as Stirling himself noted above, the basic source of difference with my own material was probably his interpreter. In addition, I made a special effort to secure field data that would reveal those aspects of Jívaro culture that had changed or remained stable during this century, and the final chapter of the book is devoted to that subject.

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Fieldwork in the summer of 1964 was carried out under the auspices of the Associates in Tropical Biogeography of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the same institution. Sponsorship of the 1969 summer investigations was by the American Museum of Natural History, the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and the Columbia University Institute of Latin American Studies. 122

I am particularly indebted to Professor John H. Rowe of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, who first called my attention to the inadequacies of the published material on the Jívaro and who supported me in embarking on the initial field research,[3] when others felt that it was too perilous a project. Other colleagues who have been of particular assistance are Robert F. Murphy, James J. Parsons, Robert L. Carneiro and Kenneth Kensinger. My wife, Sandra, my son, James, and my daughter, Teresa, have helped make this work possible in such profound ways that they will probably never fully realize the depth of their contribution. 114

Ecuadorians and Americans in Ecuador who especially made possible the success of the fieldwork through their friendship and assistance were Dr. Alberto Flores González, Director of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, Sr. and Sra. Alfredo Costales Samaniego of the same institute, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Stuck, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Ficke, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Drown, Mr. W. Ferguson and Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ferguson, and also Dr. Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who contributed linguistic information on the Jívaro language. Dr. Turner is not to be held responsible, however, for oversimplifications in the orthography used here.

My greatest debt, and one which I can never adequately 123

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124 changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported
• 114 changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

121 It should be pointed out that the material that follows
124 often includes consideration of causal factors from the informants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis
121 of causal relationships within their own culture. On the contrary, I have found that the Jivaro are extremely aware of,
124 and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and
151 normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I
181 proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jivaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huarā* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huarā* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

• [114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jívaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jívaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women; the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; at other times houses often have no walls at all. The [171] permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jívaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were among the Achuara.

[127] 13. Cieza de León, 1943, pp. 295–96; González Suárez, 1890, p. 54. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jívaroan groups other than the Jívaro proper (*tuntsuri šuarā*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 174–77.

[231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jívaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jívaro is first definitely reported in 1683 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual introduction by a century or longer.

[195] 16. Velasco, 1842, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sivilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1842, p. 153; and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1842, pp. 153–57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 115–7; 203; 209–10; 286–288; and in Velasco, 1842, pp. 158–60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 43–44.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrueco, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jívaro; Compte, 1885, p. 56; Vaca Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 366, 420–21.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jívaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 329).

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28. Vácas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunui and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [776]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114 •

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

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• 114
161
361

reported by Danielsson (1949, p. 88) whose Jívaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 46 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Danielsson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielsson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yurupaza, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141) of Jívaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jívaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. A comparison of the SIL Jívaro house count with the census figures for the Jívaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yurupaza neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielsson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

000 2. Murdock, 1949, p. 60.

3. In the Jívaro language *kakaram* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is

[104] being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakaram* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

[178] 4. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jívaro culture antedates ca. 1910, although its

[171] intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jívaro *amigri* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jívaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kompa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jívaro without the implication of personal obligation.

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *aruma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro.

2. Sollmann, 1957, pp. 381, 394.

3. Castaneda, 1968, and Harner, 1973.

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4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes silently when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s). [593]

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *antuap*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

9. *Musiak* may alternatively be pronounced *musiku*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *musiak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [766]

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. [114]

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderosian et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *kakaram*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 24). [781]

16. The breezes are caused by his *tsentsak* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jivaro (see pp. 119–20).

CHAPTER 9

1. Daniloven (1949, p. 91) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yurupata neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay. [177]

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000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguaza region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 998 [325] 4. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Canelos are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the tsantsa. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Canelos, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1969, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karman, 1955, pp. 80–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78, and Up de Graff, 1923, frontispiece, p. 183). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have intermarried with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 42; Compte, 1889, p. 76, and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

6. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this editorial, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

ENDNOTE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Peter Shelton and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

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114•

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Born in Washington, D.C., in 1929, Dr. Harner spent the earliest years of his childhood in South America. He returned there to do fieldwork among the Jívaro Indians of Ecuador in 1956 and 1957 and the Conibo Indians of Peru in 1960 and 1961. In 1964 and 1969 he pursued additional field studies of the Jívaro and made an expedition to the Jívaroan Achuara tribe.

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32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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101 [18] THE Jivaro proper (Indian) tribes of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in 121 the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been [82] discovered a deep-rooted belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls [104] which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The [61] purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[2]

126 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset 129 it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935, Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or elaboration of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[4]

114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río [38] Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangosa and the Río Sagrado, the Río [103] Chiguaza, the Río Macuma, the Río Cangaimi, the Río Cusimi, the Río [31] Mangosiza, and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Baeza on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *Wakrampit*, *Tsakimpit*, *Chief* 115 *Akaiu*, *Kapelit*, and *Uwa Akaiu* of the Río Tutanangosa; *Wata* of the upper Río Macuma, and *Sinial* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Swapit*, *Tapi*, and *Naim*, all from the Río Tutanangosa region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

from natural forces of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . remain powerful curiosities." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jivaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Tsetsi, the Rain God," and "Tsugi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jivaro proper. Karsten (1935:36) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Tsétsi." Actually, *pusport* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jivaro are magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their canoes cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Tsugi" (*pusp*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the *arutam* and *nuankí* souls. Karsten (1935:32) is the correct to mistakenly claim for a Jivaro deity named "Umbiamma" (see Howard and Morman 1969:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler to the Jivaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jivaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:33) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*wapsi*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. Not far really, they also have no backbone, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:37).

In regards to the *nuankí*, Karsten (1935:40) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit which is resident in the tsantsa. Up (1954:3) is wrong when he states that the dark elongated head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:10): " . . . I have indeed, the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and more careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1938:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsantsaism," when it is really power emanating from the *nuankí*.

Karsten fails to distinguish the *nuankí* soul and thus, since he uses the term *nuankí* alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this portion of the soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:32) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to be souls (although a few specific plants have souls and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to have some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions *nuankí*.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already living families prior to Karsten's initial Jivaro fieldwork in

[illegible] 1954–1959 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Kantor's, in 1959–61. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jivaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Kantor and Stirling visited other Jivaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[illegible] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "huamaunu," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jivaroan tribes, "anutak" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "ahuma" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported almost anything beliefs in Stirling's mis or amarumbi "gods" do in Kantor's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these survey inquiries suggest that the soul belief system of the other Jivaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[illegible] The tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Santiago in the south, and from the 2,000 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pungal in the east. The natives have complex the Jivaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Grandinian Jívaro," or "Shuara." This last term, however, does not mean "Jívaro," as this has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "Canari Jívaro," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close neighbors, the Achuara (the Achuara Jívaro). Most of the various anthropological information published on Jivaroan culture so far has been on the extinct Jívaro or Jívaro proper. The other Jivaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achuali), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

[illegible] The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for [illegible] presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish a
- e English i in ill
- i Spanish i (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- o Spanish o

Consonants

- c Spanish ch
- h English h (palatized, initialized when preceded by n)
- j English h (palatized when following a or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish m, but more palatized and initialized
- n Spanish n (palatized when following a or i plus a nasal consonant, voiced like Spanish n when it is adjacent)

34 Karner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

116 121 noting that they had never heard of such a thing. Incidentally, I never learned with which group he worked—a fact which he appeared to keep secret. I assumed that either the Indians with whom he worked had different concepts, or that he possibly supplied interpretations of his own.

It does not seem probable to me that basic changes in fundamental beliefs could take place in 30 years, so I am inclined to agree with you that the errors in my account were the result of wrong interpretation.

121 128 Since the purpose of the present book is to provide a broad introduction to Jivaro culture rather than a detailed comparison with earlier publications, the reader will not find specific criticisms of Karsten's and Stirling's data in the following pages. These will be gradually provided in more specialized publications, which will also have the function of focusing on particular aspects of Jivaro life in greater detail. To the specialist who reads this work, however, I wish to say that statements that he finds here implicitly contradicting those of the two other authors may be taken, in fact, as explicit corrections of their accounts. A contradictory account here does not imply ignorance of their material.

Beyond this, of course, is the question of cultural change. [115] First of all, I wish to note that several of my most important elderly informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jivaro fieldwork in 1916–18 and did not come into substantial first-hand contact with whites until fifteen to [116] twenty years later. The fieldwork by Stirling occurred later, in 1930–31, but as Stirling himself noted above, the basic source of difference with my own material was probably his interpreter. In addition, I made a special effort to secure field data that would reveal those aspects of Jivaro culture that had changed or remained stable during this century, and the final chapter of the book is devoted to that subject.

1: Karsten--1 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-2
116, 101 (1928-29)

"The large virgin forests in the Eastern Province of the Ecuadorian republic and the Peruvian Provincia de Loreto are inhabited by various Indian tribes some of which are now half-civilized and Christians in name, some again complete savages and independent of the whites. Among the former the Napo Indians, living on the upper and middle course of the river Napo, and the Canelos Indians, living along the banks of the small river Bobonaza, an affluent of the Pastaza, as well as the Cocama Indians on the Marañon, are the most important, whereas among the tribes still living in a state of nature there are the little known Avishiris in the region of the Rio Curaray, the Zaparos on the Rio Tigre, and the different tribes of the great Jibaro nation.

The last mentioned, who in their own language call themselves Shuāra--of which the name Jibaro seems to be but a Spanish corruption--are probably one of the most numerous tribes in South America east of the Andes. They inhabit a very large area, limited approximately by the Ecuadorian Andes in the west, the river Tigre in the east, and the Marañon in the south. Formerly, I believe, the Pastaza was roughly the eastern limit of the Jibaro territory, but at present there is at least one tribe between this river and the river Tigre. Similarly, in the north there is a Jibaro tribe on the Rio Copataza, a small northern affluent of the upper Pastaza. South of the Marañon, just opposite the mouth of the Rio Santiago, there is in our days the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Aguaruna, but these Aguarunas seem to have originally formed part

of the great Huambiza tribe on the Morona, north of the upper Marañon. The Aguarunas are thus the only Jibaro tribe living in Peru. The regions round the rivers Upano-Santiago, Morona, and their affluents, as well as the geographically little known primeval forests between the Morona and the Pastaza, are populated by numerous tribes of the same great Indian race."

1: Karsten--1-2 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 161 (1928-29)

"Since some of the regions inhabited by the [2] Jibaros are geographically unexplored and the different tribes live very scattered, their total number is difficult to estimate. In our days they may well number 10 to 15 thousand souls. We know however that the Jibaros were formerly far more numerous than they are at present and that they are rapidly diminishing owing to contact with the whites and still more owing to the wars of extermination which the different tribes are constantly waging upon each other."

1: Karsten--2 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-2
116, 172 (1928-29)

".... we know that the dominions of the Jibaros have not always been confined to the virgin forests of Eastern Ecuador. There are certain regions of the Ecuadorian Sierra, but even the coast regions of the provinces Esmeraldas, Manabí, Los Rios, Gayas, as well as the Peruvian department Túmbez (1). Thus it appears that the Paltas, a people

"1. See Jijón y Caamaño, in Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de estudios historicos Americanos, No: 6, Mayo-Junio, 1919, Quito-Ecuador, p. 387. In support of this theory Sr. Jijon adduces partly linguistic, partly ethnographic evidence. In western Ecuador there are several small rivers the names of which end with sa or za, which seems to indicate that they are of Jibaro origin (Labaza, Taguaza, Pastaza, and others). Rivet and Beuchat erroneously explain this termination as an abbreviation of the Jibaro word intsa, 'river'. In reality it is an abbreviation of the onomatopoeic word sasa, which means 'streaming water', 'water-fall'. The names of these rivers thus seem to show that the Jibaros once lived in these regions. This, however, is not quite certain since the onomatopoeic word sasa may occur in different Indian languages. In fact, in the Quichua language it occurs in the form sas. The other linguistic derivations adduced by Sr. Jijón are quite arbitrary and prove nothing, and of the ethnographic evidence, only the fact that head-trophies similar to those of the Jibaros have been known to the Indians of the coast, deserves attention."

which in the 16th century lived in the neighbourhood of the town Loja in southern Ecuador, were Jibaros. It is quite possible that this powerful nation has exerted a certain cultural influence upon other Indian tribes with which they have come in contact. Thus there is archeological evidence which seems to show that shrunken head-trophies of the same kind as are still in vogue among the Jibaros were formerly known to the coast tribes in both Ecuador and Peru (2). If some of these tribes formerly practised his peculiar custom, it seems to me probable that they borrowed it from the Jibaros."

"2. Jijón y Caamaño, op. cit., p. 388."

1: Karsten--2-3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"The different Jibaro tribes generally take their names from the small affluents of the main rivers, on the banks of which they have fixed their homes. This fact explains the great number of Indian names that [3] we meet in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. Thus on the eastern slopes of the Ecuadorian Andes, in the regions round the river Santiago and its tributaries, we find such tribes as the Arapicos, the Chirapas, the Upanos, the Pautes, the Santiagos, the Gualaquizas. On the Morona, there are the Cusulimas, the Huambizas, etc.; on the Pastaza, the Copatazas, the Achuares, the Antipas, and so forth.

All these tribes belong to the Jibaro race and are consequently closely related to each other anthropologically as well as in their language, customs, and beliefs. There is no larger group of Indians of which the Jibaros form a part. Both anthropologically and linguistically they form a group of their own, in their physical and their mental characteristics greatly differing from the tribes surrounding them. Their culture is certainly one of the most important and interesting native cultures at present existing in the whole of South America."

1: Karsten--3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"Although the Jibaros have been in contact with the whites for many centuries, and although repeated attempts have been made to 'civilize' them, they have been able to maintain both their political and their cultural independence up to the present time. Only in their material culture can European influence be traced, although to a very limited extent. Their intellectual culture and their social customs have remained unaltered. Thus, for instance, the custom of head-hunting, which has made the Jibaros especially famous, is still practised in its original form among most tribes, being connected with rites and ceremonies of exceptional interest. Similarly, in their religion they are, as far as I can see, quite unaffected by Christian ideas, notwithstanding the assiduous efforts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them."

"As to the history of the Jibaros, only a few dates may be given here. The Jibaros are mentioned for the first time in history in connection with the war of conquest which the Inca Tupac Yupanqui made against the kingdom of Quito about 1450. In southern Ecuador, in the province now called Azuay, the Peruvian conqueror had to fight the Cañaris, who are said to have had the Jibaros of Macas for their allies. The Cañaris were vanquished, but the Jibaros probably retired to their forests, retaining their liberty. Tupac Yupanqui's son, Huayna Capac, following up the scheme of his father to conquer Ecuador, also made an attempt to vanquish the Jibaros. He descended to the province of Bracamoros in the basin of the Rio Chinchipe, but, his troops being decimated both by the unhealthy climate and by the attacks of the savages, he was [4] obliged to retire quickly. The Incas thus failed to subdue the Jibaros, although they nominally formed part of the kingdom Huayna Capac founded in Ecuador.

The Jibaros are frequently mentioned in connection with expeditions made into the unknown eastern regions after the Spanish conquest, which began in 1534. About 1550 the Government of Macas was founded, and at this time the Spaniards gained a footing in the country of the Jibaros, although the Indians remained independent. But in 1552, when a bloody war was being carried on between the tribes of the Paute and the tribes of the Morona, the Spaniards availed themselves of the opportunity and sent their troops to take possession of the territory of the Paute. The Jibaros resisted in vain; they

were obliged to surrender to the intruders and allow them to found the pretty village Logroño on the left bank of the river of the same name. About that time the village Mendoza was founded on the left bank of the Palora, and the great Sevilla de Oro, the capital of the whole province, on the right bank of the Upano; at the same time other regions inhabited by the Jibaros were explored. The most remarkable expedition was that undertaken by Juan de Salinas, the Governor of Macas, in 1557. Starting from Loja, he crossed the cordillera, and founded successively the villages Valladolid, Loyola, Santiago de Montañas, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva. Thereafter he embarked on the Santiago, went down to the Marañon, passed the Pongo de Manseriche, the mouths of the Morona, and the Pastaza, and made a trip up the Ucayali, whereupon he returned to Loja.

Thus several large villages with a numerous population -- Sevilla de Oro is said to have had nearly 25,000 inhabitants--had been founded in the midst of the Jibaro country, and it is natural that the Indians by and by became subject to the white newcomers, a state which soon became almost intolerable. The Spaniards in Eastern Ecuador inaugurated the same condemnable colonial policy as in other parts of South America, treated the natives as a conquered race, and compelled them to work in the gold and silver mines. The consequence was that the Indian population in these regions began to diminish rapidly, some of the natives dying in the mines, others

fleeing to the impenetrable forests in the interior of the country. The general indignation on account of the numerous abuses by the Spaniards found vent in repeated rebellions. The most disastrous in its consequences was the one which took place in 1599. The coronation of King Philip III in this year gave the Governor [5] of Macas a pretext for exacting a great tribute in gold from his whole province. The Jibaros, alarmed on account of this unjust demand, rose under the chief Quiruba, who succeeded in uniting all the Jibaro tribes on the Upano, Paute, Santiago, and Morona against the common enemy. On a fixed day 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño, the whole population of which was massacred with the exception of the children and the younger women, who spent the rest of their days as the wives of their captors. The village itself was plundered and burnt. Thereupon the Indians marched to Sevilla de Oro, where the majority of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The villagers made a desperate resistance and the assailants were at last obliged to retire, having nevertheless, as we are told, killed no less than three-fourths of the inhabitants. They moreover succeeded in setting fire to the village, which was totally destroyed. Of the ancient great capital of the province Macas there is in our days scarcely a trace. But on the right bank of the Upano, not very far from the place where the ancient capital Sevilla de Oro stood, was founded later the village Macas which still exists, and the inhabitants of which are probably in part descendants of the Spaniards who survived

the destruction of Sevilla de Oro.

The Jibaros had thus regained their independence, and all the punitive expeditions were ineffectual. But the supposed richness in precious metals of the eastern regions always attracted the avarice of the Spaniards, and in the seventeenth century we have to note several attempts to found new colonies in the country of the Jibaros and to 'placate' the Indians. In 1619 the corregidor of Yaguarzongo, Diego Vaca de Vega, with a party of 68 armed men and many Indians, embarked on the Santiago and went down to the Marañon, and founded on the left bank of this river the village San Francisco de Borga. On his return he was appointed Governor of Macas by the Viceroy of Peru, his particular task being the pacification of the Jibaros. His son and successor as Governor of Macas in 1645 sent two Franciscan monks who, from Cuenca, penetrated into the jibarias. This expedition, though in itself fruitless, was still remarkable as being one of the first attempts to win the Jibaros by more peaceful methods than those hitherto practised by the Spaniards. A few years earlier the Jesuits had begun their missionary work in the remoter parts of the Ecuadorian Oriente, having founded the great Mission of Maynas in 1642. Both the Jesuits and the Franciscans however failed in their attempts to 'reduce' the Jibaros, the chief cause of their failure being their unwise policy in cooperating in expeditions [6] sent by the Spanish govern-

ment and pursuing purely military and economic ends. The expeditions sent to the country of the Jibaros were in fact half military, half religious. Two of them deserve particular mention of which the one was undertaken in 1656, the other in 1692. As to the first one, Martin de la Riva, Governor of Cajamarca, wishing to take possession of the rich territories north of the Marañon, sent an army of 100 soldiers, who were reinforced by a number of armed Indians from the province of Mainas, to the district inhabited by the Jibaros. The Jesuits, thinking it possible 'to serve at once the divine and the human Majesty', sent Father Raimundo Santa Cruz to join the expedition. Starting from the Huallaga and going up the Marañon, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Santiago, where it came into contact with the Jibaros. The suspicious savages seem at first to have listened with a certain confidence, to the emphatic declarations of the Father that he and his party only visited them with the best intentions, and they even promised to settle themselves in a village and to receive the teaching of the Christian faith. Unfortunately, however, the Spanish soldiers began meanwhile to ask the Indians about the gold and silver mines existing in their country. The suspicion of the natives was instantly aroused. Thinking that the real intention of the whites was to compel them to work in the mines, they precipitately fled to the interior of the forests, thereafter announcing their presence only in the form of attacks which they made on the soldiers from their ambuscades.

Still more characteristic of the Spanish method of civilising the savage Indians is the expedition undertaken in 1692. This year Father Lucero entered the country of the Jibaros with a small fleet, avoiding, however, a directly warlike attitude towards them, 'thinking it possible to achieve more among the Jibaros with kindness than with open violence'. The only result of this expedition was the formation of a small village called Naranjo, which soon ceased to exist. But in the same year a greater attempt was made on the part of the government. Rumours about the gold of the Jibaros had reached even the court of Madrid, and a royal order was dispatched to Quito that a great expedition should be sent to the Oriente for the purpose of bringing the Jibaros definitely under Spanish rule. The leader of the expedition was the Captain of Mainas, Jeronimo Vacas, who was accompanied by the Superintendent of the missions, Father Viva. A regular fleet of canoes was assembled at Borja for the transportation of the army which consisted of no less than 900 armed Indians of different tribes and nearly [7] 100 Spanish soldiers. The fleet went up the Santiago and the troops encamped at a small affluent of the same river. Now a real man-hunt began. The soldiers had captured 21 members of a party of Jibaro Indians who had been engaged in celebrating a head-feast. The rest of the party escaped and soon brought the news of the arrival of the Spaniards to other Jibaro tribes in the neighbourhood, thus giving them time to take precautions. The Spanish army, divided into smaller parties, roamed the

forests in all directions trying to catch the Jibaros wherever they found them, and taking all that they could get hold of to their headquarters. The Indians fled before the troops, concealing themselves in the thickets of the wood and making repeated attacks on them from their ambuscades. The result was that in five months the expedition only succeeded in catching 372 persons, among whom were numerous children. The latter were instantly baptized, and the captives were then sent to the village of Borja and to another missionary station. Many of them, however, succeeded in escaping and fled back to their forests, others committed suicide, and mothers were even seen strangling their babes with their own hands to liberate them from the destiny of slavery awaiting them. The result of this expedition, so carefully prepared, was thus practically nil, and we are told that the Viceroy of Peru, realising the futility of such attempts, prohibited similar raids for the future.

It is not until the latter half of the following century that we hear of a new attempt on the part of the Catholic missionaries to 'reduce' the Jibaros. Once more it was the Jesuits who took the field. In 1767 Father Camacho, wishing to enlarge the limits of the Mission of Mainas towards the west, went among the Jibaros inhabiting the regions between the Pastaza and the Morona, and coming without any other white men he gradually succeeded in gaining the confidence and even the friendship of the Indians. They declared themselves willing to receive the Catholic missionaries, and the Father

himself was able to baptize about 200 children. But the promising mission work thus begun was soon interrupted by the expulsion ot [sic] the Jesuits from the Ecuadorian Oriente in 1768. The missions founded by them fell into decay or were given over to Franciscans or other Catholic priests.

The wars of independence, which began in 1809 in Ecuador, and the political disorders following them gave neither the secular authorities nor the Church any time to think of the subjection or conversion of the heathen. In all the first part of the nineteenth century no expedition of importance was made to the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. But in [8] 1869, when the president Garcia Moreno allowed the Jesuits to return to their ancient missions in Eastern Ecuador, the work of evangelisation was again begun, although with as little success as before so far as the Jibaros were concerned. The anti-clerical president, Alfaro, expelled the Jesuits in 1895 from those parts of the Oriente where they were still active, but other Catholic missionaries of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Salesian orders stayed there, without attaining any visible results. Various attempts have been made to found mission stations or Catholic schools among the tribes living round the Rio Santiago and its tributaries, but they have all been of short duration; this may be said, for instance, of the school established by the Franciscan de Lasplanes on the Rio Arapicos in 1888, and by the

Dominican Vacas Galindo on the Upano in 1890. In 1915 Dominican monks from the village of Canelos founded a new mission among the Jibaros of the Rio Arapicos. The Indians here 'reduced' were members of different families which had been attacked by their enemies and had taken the refuge in the mission. For Christianity and 'civilisation' they seemed to have no interest, and it is almost certain that they will use the first opportunity to regain their former independent life.

Besides this mission, which is still at work, there is one more on the Rio Santiago founded by monks of the Salesian order.

Protestant missionaries have also been working among the Jibaros. In the year 1902 the Gospel Missionary Union of the U.S.A. decided to undertake a mission in this field, and sent Mr. Freeland down to Macas on the Upano. He was reinforced by the arrival of Mr. Olson in 1905, who was still at work among the Jibaros in 1919. But it seems to me that these Protestant missionaries, lacking the experience and psychological eye of their Catholic colleagues, have had still less success in their work than the latter. At any rate there were not, at the time of my stay among the Indians of the Upano, any converted Indians in this region, nor do I believe that these Indians will ever voluntarily embrace any form of Christianity. The only thing they wish is to retain their political and mental independence.

Still the Jibaros at present live on a friendly footing with the whites and allow them

to travel freely through their country, finding the trade with them useful. On the other hand, both the mestizos of Macas and the rubber merchants who sometimes visit their country have as a rule taken care not to repeat the abuses of former times. There have been a few exceptions to this rule, as is shown for instance by the wars [9] which the Huambizas have, in recent years, fought with Peruvian soldiers and which will presently be mentioned.

It seems to me necessary to know these main facts from the history of the Jibaros in order fully to understand their present character. With the same heroism as they displayed in defending themselves against the attempts of the Spaniards to subjugate them politically, they have resisted the repeated attempts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them, as if instinctively knowing that the introduction of Christian civil-

ization among Indians means the beginning of political slavery and cultural degeneration. (1)"

"1. The short history of the Jibaro Indians given by me here is founded on the following works: Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el Marañon español. Madrid, 1901. Figueroa, Relación de las misiones de la compañía de Jesús en el pais de los Maynas. Madrid, 1904. Gonzalez Suarez, Estudio historia sobre los Cañaris. Quito, 1878. Idem, Historia general de la república del Ecuador, vol. VI. Quito, 1903. Varea Calleda, Nankijukima. Ambato, 1895. Idem, La integridad territorial de la republica del Ecuador, Quito, 1905.[sic] The statements which refer to the history of the Jibaros during the present century are founded on my personal observations and inquiries."

1: Karsten--9-10 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-2
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaro tribes I include, as a particular sub-tribe, the Canelos Indians, and this may seem to require a special explanation. The village of Canelos is the greatest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in the Ecuaderian Oriente. The Indians living in this region are not pure Jibaros, as they are erroneously described by Rivet, and do not form a homogeneous group. They are a mixed race, formed partly by Indians of Jibaro origin, partly by Quichua-speaking Indians from the Sierra, partly by Zàparos from the Rio Curaray and the Rio Tigre. Among the Jibaros who in former times moved into Canelos and subjected themselves to the influence of the Catholic missionaries three important families or clans are particularly mentioned, namely, the Gayas, the Tanchimas, and the Cuhis. These as well as other Jibaro families have fused with the other tribes, thus giving rise to the peculiar native race known under the name of Canelos Indians. Their anthropological affinity with the mountain Indians shows itself especially in their strong build of body, whereas their close relationship with the Jibaros proper is made manifest in their whole material and intellectual culture. It is owing to this fact that I treat them here in connection with the Jibaros. On the other hand, in many of their customs and beliefs they have also been influenced by their relatives in the Sierra, with whom moreover they have a com-

mon lan-[10] guage. Their language consequently is Quichua, although some of them also speak or understand the *Jibaro* language. The native words and phrases I use in this book when describing the culture of the Canelos Indians are therefore Quichua, just as those used by me with reference to the *Jibaros proper* belong to the *Jibaro* language.

The Canelos Indians number about 2000 individuals. They live partly in the mission of Canelos, partly in the village Pacayacu, situated two days journey by canoe farther down the river. Besides this, among the Canelos Indians are generally reckoned the Indians of Sarayacu, a village situated three days journey southwards from Pacayacu. These Indians, however, as is shown by their physical appearance, originally belonged to a different native race.

All the so-called Canelos Indians are now Christians in name, being under the influence of the Catholic monks of the Dominican Order, but as usual they have preserved many of their ancient customs and beliefs. Formerly, when the Indians of Canelos were at war with the wild *Jibaros*, they adopted their savage methods of fighting their enemies, and even head-feasts are said to have been celebrated in secret. And although witchcraft certainly plays a great role among the *Jibaros*, the wizards of Canelos are supposed to outdo even their heathen colleagues in this mysterious art."

1. Karsten--10-13 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-6
116, 114 (1928-29)

"A few words may be said as to previous publications which treat of the customs of the Jibaro Indians. The Catholic missionaries who in former times had dealings with these savages have given no information whatever about their customs and beliefs. It is only from the last century that we have some information of this kind, but since the men who visited them were only passing travellers --geographical explorers or business men--the data given by them have naturally been founded on very superficial observation and mainly concern the material culture of these savages. The famous custom of the Jibaros of preparing trophies of the heads of their slain enemies has of course attracted the attention of many travellers, and such a trophy is now to be found in most ethnographic museums in Europe and America. But the ideas underlying this custom and the complicated rites and ceremonies with which the capture of a head is celebrated had never been really described and explained until I published my detailed account of the wars and victory feasts of the Jibaros, mentioned below. This monograph, revised and enlarged in certain points, is incorporated in this work. Among publications from [11] the 19th and the beginning of this century in which the culture of the Jibaro Indians is touched upon or some information is given about them the following may be mentioned: -- Osculati, Esplorazione delle regioni equatoriali (Milano, 1854); Villavicencio, Geografia de la Republica del Ecuador (New York, 1858); Bollaert, 'The

Jivaro Indians of Ecuador', in Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, New Series, Vol. II, pp. 112-118 (London, 1863); Gonzalez Suarez, Estudio Historico sobre los Cañaris (Quito, 1878); Reiss, 'Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern', in Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin, Bd. VII, pp. 325-337 (Berlin, 1880); Ordinaire, Les sauvages du Perou (Revue d'Ethnographie. T. VI. Paris, 1887); E. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima; religion, usos y costumbres de los salvajes del Oriente del Ecuador (Ambato, 1895); F. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia general de la republica del Ecuador, Vol. VI (Quito, 1903); Figueroa, Relación de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en el pais de los Maynas (Madrid, 1904); v. Hassel, 'Las tribus salvajes de la region amazonica del Peru' (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima, Vol. XVII, Lima, 1905) Rivet, Les indiens Jibaros (L'Anthropologie, Vols. XVIII and XIX, Paris, 1907, 1908).

The information we gather from most of these works is not only very scanty but--what is still worse--to a great extent untrustworthy. Of general accounts founded on first hand observation, that of v. Hassel seems to me to be the most important, although it only refers to the tribes of the lower Pastaza and the Aguarunas of Peru. Gonzalez Suarez, the Archbishop of Quito, although he never visited the Jibaros in their own land, gives, in his historical work, valuable information concerning the history of these Indians and describes their head-hunting practices as far as they

were known when he wrote. On the other hand, Vacas Galindo's Nankijukima is a novel and worthless as an ethnological source. It is written by a Dominican monk who lived for some years at the village of Macas in the immediate neighbourhood of the Jibaros and certainly had good opportunities of studying the customs of the natives. But it is evidently never meant to give a true account of the culture of the Jibaros, and the errors in the details are in any case sufficiently numerous to deprive it of every scientific value. Besides this, the author's view of the social morality and religion of the Indians is obviously influenced by theological prejudice.

Rivet's monograph on the Jibaro Indians is only a compilation based on the untrustworthy writings of travellers and missionaries who at [12] different times have lived amongst them. Rivet never himself visited these savages in their own land and never saw any other Indians of this tribe than two individuals, who happened to come to the town of Riobamba in central Ecuador while Rivet was there. A few observations, made by Rivet relating to the physical anthropology of these two individuals have, of course, little importance from a scientific point of view as far as the whole tribe is concerned. Similarly, it is difficult to understand on what ground Rivet claims, for instance, to have been able to indicate 'almost exactly', the dwelling-places of the different Jibaro tribes, or considers himself entitled to assert categorically that the Jibaros in all

reckon 'no less than 20,000 individuals'. (1) If the real dwelling-places and the total number of the Jibaros can only be ascertained with difficulty even by one who like myself has roamed through the Jibaro country in all directions, this must clearly be impossible to one who has not visited these inaccessible regions at all. Taken as a whole Rivet 's book is useless as a source concerning the Jibaros. This particularly holds true of the part dealing with their intellectual culture, which to a great extent is based on Vacas Galindo's novel, just characterized by me. But even the first part of it, dealing with the material culture of these Indians, is greatly wanting in exactness.

During the last ten years a couple of works have appeared in which the Jibaros are dealt with. Thus, in W. C. Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru (1922) a chapter is devoted to this important Indian tribe. In the beginning of his article Farabee himself says: 'I was unable to visit the Jibaros in their own country to make personal observations, but was fortunate to find at Iquitos, Peru, Sr. F. T. Muniz, who lived and travelled for some years among this people, and who gave me much information regarding them.' 'Sr. Muniz' is probably a rubber merchant of the type well known

"1. Rivet, Travaux scientifiques de P. Rivet, Paris, 1927."

to every traveller in the interior of tropical South America. How reliable such meg generally are as informants on Indian custom, one can easily imagine even without knowing it from personal experience. Whereas Farabee's chapter on the Jibaros does not contain a single new fact on these Indians, it is on the other hand impaired by several serious errors which makes its scientific value more than doubtful. Thus when Farabee states (p. 122) that 'some tribes preserve the heads of their friends as well as those of their enemies, but women's heads are never preserved', this one sentence contains two [13] grave errors. First, the transformation of a human head into a tsantsa implies a deadly insult not only to the dead man himself but also to his whole tribe, and the Jibaros consequently apply that method exclusively to mortal enemies in other tribes. Secondly, it may be deplorable, but is still an indisputable fact that the Jibaros frequently prepared trophies of women's heads also.

As to the Jibaro myths with which Farabee's chapter ends, it may be proper to point out that they do not proceed from Sr. Muniz, but are direct English translations from my own treatise Mitos de los indios Jibaros (Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Historicos Americanos, Vol. II. Quito, 1919), a source not mentioned in Farabee's chapter.

F. W. Up de Graff's book Bei den Kopfjägern des Amazonas (Leipzig, 1924), although only a popular book of travels written by a merchant, is of interest in so far

as its author, according to his own assertion, had an opportunity to watch the behaviour of the Indians when they were on the war-path. Although it seems to me doubtful whether the author has really seen with his own eyes everything that he tells about, there is still substantial agreement between his statements as to the savage lust of murder displayed by the Indians on these occasions and the minute descriptions which I have myself received from Indian chiefs who had taken part in war expeditions. For my own part I did not see how the Jibaros behave in the battle, but instead of that I had the advantage of being present at their great victory feasts. (1)"

"1. As to other similar popular books, G. M. Dyott has, in his On the Trail of the Unknown (London, 1926), in two chapters dealt with the culture of the Jibaro Indians. I deem it necessary, howerer, [sic] to point out that the data given by Dyott as to certain religious ideas and other customs of the Jibaros are directly taken from my Blood-Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts of the Jibaro Indians--without the source being mentioned. In a few cases, however, Dyott tries to go his own way, making erroneous statements which show how little he knows the Jibaro culture. --On a much higher level as a popular book of travels is K. G. Grubb's Amazon and Andes (London, 1930), where the Jibaro Indians (Aguarunas) are also shortly but correctly treated of."

1: Karsten--13-15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-3
116, 121 (1928-29)

"In this work I present the results of these researches, which were carried out in the years 1916-1918 and 1928-1929. Of the four years that I have travelled in Western Amazonas about three have been spent in close contact with the Jibaros. During repeated visits among different Jibaro tribes I tried to acquire as complete a knowledge as possible of their whole material and intellect-[14] ual culture, including their religion, mythology, and language. For this purpose I made a point, first of all, of studying such Jibaro tribes as, besides being comparatively easy of access, have most faithfully preserved the ancient customs and beliefs of the people. These, it seems to me, are the tribes living between the rivers Upano and Morona, which are the most numerous in the Ecuadorian Oriente and, in spite of their contact with the whites, have wonderfully resisted the influence of civilization. Among these tribes I have in fact spent most of my time, making excursions in different directions from the village of Macas on the Upano, which for a long time served as the basis for my research. I also frequently visited the northern Jibaro tribes living beside the small rivers Copataza, Arapicos, and Chiguaza, affluents of the upper Rio Pastaza. A special expedition was, moreover, undertaken to the distant Achuares, a savage Jibaro tribe inhabiting the geographically little known regions between the Pastaza and the Morona. The main object of this expedition was to inquire how far the culture of the Pastaza tribes differs from that of the Jibaro tribes living between the Upano and the Morona.

Repeated visits were made to the Quichua-speaking Indians of Canelos on the river Bobonaza, who are closely related to the Jíbaros proper. Lastly, in 1929 I made an expedition to the Aguarunas at the Río Apaga, south of the Marañon, and was able to establish their affinity with the Huambisas on the Morona. My project to visit the latter Indians on the same expedition could not be realized. The Huambisas were at that time very hostile to the whites and, besides that, had been greatly decimated owing to wars with Peruvian soldiers. In 1915 a Peruvian garrison at the upper Morona had been treacherously attacked by the Indians who were enraged on account of some offence, and the majority of the soldiers massacred. In 1928, shortly before I arrived in Ecuador the last time, there had been a new encounter between the Huambisas and the Peruvians in which a great many of the Indians had been killed. I was told that on the upper Morona there were now only a few families left of the Huambisas, who had formerly been one of the most numerous of the Jíbaro tribes. Besides this, the Huambisas had been at war with their own kinsmen, the Aguarunas, who had in consequence retired from the Morona to the regions south of the Marañon. It seemed to me therefore of little use to visit the Huambisa Indians, the culture of which, as I had been able to establish before, is the same as that of the Jíbaros on the Upano. [15]

However that may be, I have during my three years of travel among different

Jibaro tribes been able to take a fairly complete survey of the whole Jibaro culture of which a full account is given here."

1: Karsten--15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 127 (1928-29)

"Since this work is wholly founded on my own investigations and personal observations of Indian life, I very seldom refer to the writings of other travellers, and only in exceptional cases shall I correct such mistakes as I have found in the litterature on the Jibaros.

A considerable part of my results have been previously published in the following essays and works: --'Mitos de los indios Jibaros (Shuāra) del Oriente del Ecuador', in Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Historicos Americanos, No: 6. Quito-Ecuador, 1919; Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora, I:3. Abo, 1920; Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der südamerikanischen Indianer (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora, I:4). Abo 1920; 'The Religion of the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador', in Boletin de la Academia Nacional de Historia, Vol. iv., Nos. 10 and 11. Quito-Ecuador, 1922; La lengua de los indios Jibaros (Shuāra) del Oriente del Ecuador (Oversikt av Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar. Bd. LXIV. 1921-1922); Blood-Revenge, War, and Victory-Feasts among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 79. Washington, 1923. The Civilization of the South American Indians. (London, Kegan Paul, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926); Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians (Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum. III. 2, 1930)."

1: Karsten--15-16 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 12Z (1928-29)

"It should be taken into consideration that travelling in Western Amazonas, and especially in Eastern Ecuador, is connected with tremendous difficulties owing to the bad condition of the roads, or more correctly speaking, the complete lack of roads, a fact which, of course, is apt to make such journeys physically extremely trying. ... the Jibaros, regarding the whites as their natural enemies, always receive a visitor with great distrust. It has indeed been said that their hatred of the whites and their warlike and treacherous character makes it a very perilous enterprise for a white man to go among them, since he can never live safely in their midst. I have found this opinion exaggerated; the hostility of the Jibaros as a [16] rule only turns against those who have actually done them harm. From my own experience I am able to testify that for a white man who approaches the Indians peaceably it is quite possible even to acquire their friendship. But on the other hand it is quite natural that a savage race, systematically ill-treated and abused for many centuries by 'civilized' European adventurers, should inevitably look upon every new-comer of the white race with suspicion, and that only gradually can he earn their confidence. The Jibaros as a rule do not like white strangers visiting them, and when they do receive them they expect the guests to leave as soon as possible. The questions with which one is almost invariable [sic] received are, 'Why do you come to us?', and 'When will you leave?', and -- last but not least--'Do you bring sickness with you?' The last question is particularly characteristic of the Jib-

k: Karsten--17 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 123 (1928-29)

".... the basis for my studies of the Jibaros living on the Upano has been the village of Macas, the inhabitants of which --mestizos partly of Jibaro origin--live in close contact with the Indians. Some of the 'Macabeos' know the Jibaro language well, and it was a great help for me that in the beginning I could use them as companions and interpreters on my trips to the Indians. But since it is obvious to me that the culture of an uncivilized people can be properly studied only by one who knows its language, I started learning the Jibaro language from the very beginning, just as I had earlier learned the Quichua language, and within a comparatively short time knew it sufficiently well to be able to converse with the Indians on common topics. I may say that after I gained the confidence of my savage hosts I found them as a rule excellent informants, very willing to tell almost everything I asked them about, and accurate even in small details. Although I have been present at the most important feasts of the Jibaros and know much from personal experience, there are still of course certain customs which I have not witnessed with my own eyes but only know through the accounts of the Indians. In such cases I always tried to verify the statements of one informant by those made independently by another, the substantial agreement between them being to me a confirmation of their truth. In the same way I have been anxious always to verify the information incidentally given by the inhabitants of Macas or by white settlers living in the country of the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro 1-4
116, 121 (1928-29)

"My researches among the Jibaros--just as my previous ethnological studies in the Gran Chaco--have been carried out according to the principle 'intensive study of limited areas', and I am convinced that this is the only right method to be followed for the purpose of obtaining ethnological results of scientific value. Not even the material culture of a people can be properly studied during a visit of a few days or weeks; for a right understanding of it a knowledge of the whole psychology of that people is necessary which, again, can only be acquired during a prolonged stay among them. From considerations of space I am compelled to condense my description of the material culture of the Jibaros as much [18] as possible. Still it will, I hope, clearly appear to the reader to what extent for instance the industrial art of the Indians, their agricultural and hunting practices, war customs, and a great many other customs and occupations which to us have a purely practical or social significance are permeated by magical and religious ideas. To such extent in fact is this the case, that those parts of my book which deal with the material culture and social life of the Jibaros will at the same time throw much interesting light upon their religion. --Apart from the limitation just mentioned, it has been my aim to study the social organization, the customs and beliefs of the Indians in every detail, since it is precisely the details that have value for comparative ethnology and sociology and alone give us the means of penetrating into the psychology of a primitive people.

In studying various rites and customs of the Indians I have, moreover, not been content with ascertaining the external facts, but I have, as far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying these customs, the reasons why they are practised. The importance of discovering the motives prompting the Indians to practise a certain custom is quite obvious, and every reader of my work will find that without knowing them, many facts recorded by me would remain unintelligible and be likely to be entirely misunderstood. Thus--to mention one instance--who could understand the peculiar rules of fasting observed by the Jibaros unless the curious line of thought upon which they are founded were exactly indicated by themselves? It has sometimes been said that savage peoples as a rule do not know themselves why they practise a certain custom, and that it is useless to inquire about the ideas which have lead them to it, since these may have been forgotten long ago. This remark does not, at any rate hold true of the Jibaros. On the contrary, what struck me greatly during my investigations was the accuracy with which most older members of the Jibaro community were able to assign the motives underlying social customs and religious rites. Consequently the explanations offered by me as to these customs and rites are almost invariably given by the Indians themselves and may therefore be regarded as ethnological facts. Where, on the other hand, my interpretation is only my own conjecture, this is expressly indicated. My chief object in this work, however, has not been to present theories but to state bare facts.

Those of my readers who are interested in knowing how the facts here stated with regard to the Jibaros fit into the whole system of native ideas, customs, and institutions which we can trace in South America, [19] I beg to refer to my work The Civilization of the South American Indians (1).

When I say that most older members are able to assign the motives underlying customs and rites, this statement requires some further explanation. Old persons certainly possess the best knowledge of such things; but there are some customs which only old men know about, and others respecting which only old women can give information. It may be important to point out this expressly. When I started upon my first expedition to South America in 1911 one of the leading ethnologists of England gave me the advice never to have dealings with the women among the tribes I visited. 'They know nothing', he added, 'and it only arouses the jealousy of the men when one enters into conversation with the women'. Both in the Chaco and in Western Amazonas I have in fact obtained some of my best information from the women, who turned out to be equally as good informants on Indian customs as the men, sometimes even better. This particularly holds

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"1. Kegan Paul & C:o, London, 1926. A. Knopf. New York."

true of the Jibaros, among whom the women play the main part at certain important ceremonies and consequently alone are able to give detailed information about them. Of this kind are, for instance the customs connected with agriculture and the ceremonies performed at 'the feast of the women'. The songs or prayers which on these occasions are addressed to the great Earth-mother Nungüi form the exclusive intellectual property of the women, whom consequently the ethnologist has to address if he wants to obtain detailed information about them.

It is of course conceivable that in some cases the real origin of a custom may have been partly or wholly forgotten and that a new explanation has been substituted for the idea from which it has originally sprung. I have reason to believe that this has only exceptionally been the case with the Jibaros. One of the advantages which the study of a great and independent people like the Jibaros offers is that the ideas upon which its customs and ceremonies are founded can as a rule be regarded as genuine and, in a relative sense, 'primitive'. However this may be, my aim has only been to find out the present meaning attached to the customs recorded by me."

1: Karsten--20 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"....the Jibaros have been very little influenced by Christian civilization, so they have very few culture elements which are obviously loans from other peoples. Still, as we have seen, the origin of the Jibaro culture is obscure--just like the ethnic origin of the whole Jibaro race--and we have no means of tracing its first development. In any case, it is a fact that the Indians are very proud of their own culture, extremely conservative in keeping up their ancient customs 'handed down from their ancestors', as they say themselves, and averse to innovations of whatever kind they may be. This conservative character of the Jibaros accounts for the fact that their native culture has, at least in its principal traits, been preserved up to our days. But such a state of things cannot of course continue for long. In the most recent years there have appeared signs which seem to show that civilization is making rapid progress even in these remote parts of South America, and that at any rate the Upano and the Morona tribes are gradually losing the independence they have hitherto enjoyed. If this is so, it is no exaggeration to say that this exceptionally interesting Indian culture will soon be a thing of the past, and that it is in the last hour that the studies have been carried out..."

1: Karsten--23 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116 (1928-29)

"In South America, as far as I can see, three main types of Indian culture can be distinguished: first, the mountain culture, represented by such peoples as the ancient Incas in Peru, the Chibchas in Colombia, and the Araucanians in Chile; secondly, the Chaco culture, represented not only by the Chaco tribes proper, but also by the natives of Tierra del Fuego; and thirdly, the culture peculiar to the tropical virgin forests. The Chaco culture was studied by me during my first expedition to South America in 1911-1913, the results of it being published in Indian Tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco, 1932. During the travels with which I am concerned in the present work I made it my particular object to study an Indian culture characteristic of the tropical virgin forests of Western Amazonas, and such a one I found in the Jibaro culture."

1: Karsten--23-24 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 122 (1928-29)

"I arrived in Ecuador in August 1916, proceeding from Panama. It was during the great war, and I had in many respects to experience the obstacles such a war puts in the way even of a peaceful traveller and explorer. The Ecuadorian government and the authorities in general, however, showed me great complaisance and courtesy, and official letters of recommendation were given me which facilitated my journeys in the Oriente. I shall always gratefully remember the valuable services which were rendered me by the Chilean minister in Ecuador, Señor Victor Eastman-Cox, who among other things introduced me to members of the Ecuadorian government. Still more do I feel obliged to a man whom the expressions of my gratitude can no longer reach, namely, the Swedish Consul in Quito, Mr. Ludovico Söderström. During the whole time of my first long residence in Ecuador 'Don Ludovico' was a great help to me, among other things by keeping my ethnographic collections, which were destined for the museum of Gothenburg, Sweden. On some [24] of my short sojourns in Quito I was kindly invited to stay in Mr. Söderströms house. When I visited the country on my second expedition to Ecuador and Peru, my old friend was no more. He had died one year previously, in 1927, at an age of no less than 87 years, of which nearly 60 had been spent in Ecuador."

"My first excursion in Ecuador was, not to the Oriente, but to the West, to the Colorado Indians living in the neighbourhood of Santo Domingo, about four days journey from the capital of Quito. The time of the year when I arrived in the country was not suitable for travelling in the Eastern Province, because it was still the rainy season or 'winter' in those regions. The seasons in general are very peculiar in Western Amazonas. Not even in the Andean mountain area can there be any question of a winter or summer in a European sense, and only in the West is a real distinction between a rainy and a dry season noticeable. The former begins in September or October and continues until May, when the 'summer', characterized by persistent drought, sets in. In the Ecuadorian Oriente, on the other hand, there does not exist any dry season in the proper sense of the word; it rains more or less the whole year round. There is only a relative summer which falls in the months September to March--that is to say, during the time when in the West there is winter. Even at that time there are seldom intervals of fine weather lasting for more than a few days, but lengthy and violent rains then are rare and consequently also those destructive inundations which form the greatest obstacle to all travelling in these regions.

The results of my studies among the Colorados have been published in a separate

small treatise (1). Besides this, I also paid a visit to the Cayapas in the province of Esmeraldas, a tribe closely related to the Colorados, and made some notes on their customs. On my return from the latter expedition, however, I was shipwrecked outside Bahia de Caráquez on the coast of Ecuador, lost all my notes and photographs together with the rest of my equipment, and saved my life only by swimming to the shore.

For my expeditions to Eastern Ecuador I usually chose the 'summer-time' although sometimes it happened that I was obliged to stay there even during the rainy season, exposed to all changes of the weather and all those sufferings which at that time are more inevitable than at other times. [25]

There are three roads leading from the Ecuadorian Sierra down to the Oriente: one from Quito, which takes the traveller to the Rio Napo and its westernmost affluent, the river Tena; another from Ambato, a small town in the central cordilleras, to Rio Bobonaza, an affluent of the Pastaza; and a third from the town Riobamba to Rio Upano,

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"1. 'The Colorado Indians of Western Ecuador', in Ymer (Journal of Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography) Stockholm., 1924. H. 2."

belonging to the Santiago river-system. I used all these roads several times during my expeditions to different parts of Eastern Ecuador, but I know particularly the regions round Bobonaza, Pastaza, and Upano, inhabited by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. My first expedition to Eastern Ecuador in 1916 took me to Napo, where I had an opportunity to study the half-civilized Indians living on the upper and middle courses of this river, as well as those living at the villages Archidona and Tena. The natives were formerly under the influence of the Jesuit missions founded in these regions and are still nominally Christians, a fact that does not, of course, prevent them from retaining a good deal of their ancient customs and superstitions. The culture of these Indians is essentially the same as that of the Canelos Indians to be described later. I may add that they no longer live in a state of freedom, but rather in a sort of serfdom or slavery to the white settlers on the Napo. I had an opportunity to study this system, which threatens the native tribes with rapid extermination, but the social position of the half-civilized Indians of Ecuador and Peru is a topic outside the scope of this work.

In Eastern Ecuador I also occasionally came into contact with the Avishiries, a savage tribe living in the unexplored virgin forests of the middle Curaray and its affluent Villano. I met some individuals of this extremely primitive tribe at an hacienda of the Napo, where they were held as captives or slaves, but was not able to study them more closely. The Avishiries were at that time already deadly enemies of the whites on

account of the raids that some rubber-hunters and settlers had made upon their villages, killing some of the Indians and carrying off others as captives. Like many other primitive tribes in South America, the Avishiries are bound to die out within the near future, and their interesting culture will probably be lost to ethnological science.

I have made two long expeditions to the Rio Pastaza by canoe, starting from the village of Canelos on the Bobonaza. During the first, undertaken at the end of the year 1917, I visited the Achuares in the geographically unexplored virgin forests between the rivers Pastaza and Morona; on the second, undertaken in 1928-1929, I passed along [26] the Pastaza down to the Marañon, continuing up this great river in search of the Jibaro tribe called Aguaruna, who live in the neighbourhood of Pongo de Manseriche opposite the mouth of the Rio Santiago. Most of my time however, as already mentioned, was spent among the Jibaro tribes inhabiting the eastern slopes of the Andes, or the regions roughly limited by the upper Upano and Morona in the south and upper Pastaza in the north.

I propose to give a short account of some of these travels before I proceed to describe the customs of the Indians. In my opinion it is not possible fully to understand the culture of a people without knowing the geographical milieu in which it has been developed, since the latter always exerts a decisive influence upon its customs, institutions, and mode of life."

"The river Pastaza, which has its sources in the central cordilleras in the neighbourhood of the town Riobamba, is next to the Napo the largest of the tributaries of the great Amazon in Eastern Ecuador. The right bank of it, all the way from the spot where it leaves the mountains a few miles below the village Baños, is still very little known, nay, in part even geographically unexplored. This is due to the fact that the Pastaza does not become navigable by canoe until its middle course, or after it has received its largest affluent from the north, the river Bobonaza. Down to that point this river, which flows in an almost straight channel, is extremely rapid and, besides, forms numerous small but very dangerous cataracts and whirlpools. In addition to its largest tributary, the Bobonaza, the Pastaza river receives, in its upper course, several smaller affluents, among which there is the Llusino from the right, and the Pindu and the Copataza from the left. Although these rivers are situated only a few leagues from the eastern cordilleras, they were not properly explored until a few years ago.

At upper Bobonaza there is the small village Canelos with a Dominican mission founded for the conversion of the Indians inhabiting this region. The so-called Canelos Indians also live on the middle course of the river down to the village Juanjiri, a point where the dominions of the savage Jibaro Indians begin. There are some Jibaro

communities on the left bank of the Pastaza, but the majority of the Jibaro tribes inhabit the great forests between the said river and its western tributary Morona as well as the regions between the latter river and the Santiago.

I started on my first Pastaza-expedition in the beginning of October 1917 and returned from it at the end of March the following year. For so long an expedition I had to take with me not only the necessary articles of exchange, but also a considerable supply of food, since in Eastern [28] Ecuador such things are often difficult or impossible to obtain at any price. Linen, cheap shirts and bright kerchiefs, big forest knives, small round mirrors, big needles and thread as well as bright coloured glass beads are among the articles most appreciated by the Indians, and no European travelling in the interior of South America can get along without a good store of them. The Indian bearers and rowers are generally paid with linen and forest knives, since money is little in use in Eastern Ecuador and entirely unknown to the independent Indians. Among the Jibaros it would be practically impossible to acquire ethnographic objects and provisions without bringing articles of exchange. The bright glass beads were of course particularly intended for the women, who string them into necklaces and appreciate these fancy wares more than if they were of silver or gold.

My only 'white' servants on this expedition were two mestizos from Macas, a big village east of Riobamba on the Rio Upano. One of these, a young man with the name

Leon Jaula, was the best servant I ever had during my travels in South America and accompanied me on all my subsequent expeditions in Ecuador and Peru.

My nearest destination was Canelos on the Bobonaza, from where I proposed to continue by canoe down the river to Pastaza. I had visited this mission for the first time during my Napo-expedition and once afterwards, and consequently was able to travel along roads partly known to me. Starting from the town Ambato, one could at that time reach Canelos in six or seven days, but only the first two days, from Ambato to the village of Baños and from Baños to an hacienda called La Victoria, could one travel on horseback. At Baños bearers are generally engaged for the rest of the journey, but I took mine from Pelileo, a small town situated midway between Ambato and Baños, a region inhabited by half-civilized Quichua-speaking Indians.

Generally one has to wait a few days before the Indian bearers are ready for the march. As usual in similar cases, I spent the time in studying the natives of the region. The Pelileo Indians are closely related to the other Quichua-speaking Indians of Central Ecuador but seem to have conserved their old customs and beliefs better than other half-civilized natives of the Sierra. At any rate they have kept up their old cult of deceased relatives, which I had an opportunity to study during several stays at Pelileo. The most interesting part of this cult is the ceremonial game called huayru, which in a modified form has been borrowed by the Indians of Canelos and therefore

will be described later on. [29]

With six Indian bearers I left Pelileo and arrived at Baños the same day. This village is the last outpost of civilization towards the east and on my expeditions to the Oriente I usually stopped here for some days. A traveller who visits this place for the first time will certainly find it interesting in many respects. The whole region round the village of Baños attracts attention through its wild scenery and the peculiar formations of the surrounding mountains. It looks as if at some time in remote antiquity a terrible natural catastrophe had taken place here, splitting the rocks and causing the mountains to burst, thus producing the deep clefts and abysses which yawn everywhere. In the immediate neighbourhood of Baños the restless, fire-spitting Tunguragua, the most active of the numerous volcanoes of Ecuador, raises its wide crater against the sky. In March 1917 the eruptions were, for several days and weeks, so violent that the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages frequently believed their last hour had come.

Down in the dizzy chasm, along the edge of which is the riding-track, runs the Pastaza, violently throwing forwards its waters which are blackened by the lava constantly flowing from the volcano. The traveller crosses the chasm riding over a comparatively fine bridge, passes by the statue of the patron of Baños, San Martin, and a few minutes later enters the village.

Baños, which was founded as early as 1553 by monks belonging to the Dominican

Order to support the missions round the Rio Pastaza, is quite a big place with several hundred inhabitants. Both its name--Baños means 'the Baths'--and its fame the village owes to the phosphorous springs, one warm and one cold, which have their sources on a hill situated to the south of it, and the waters of which are believed to have supernatural, beneficial effects. The Virgin herself, according to tradition, formerly revealed these springs in a miraculous way to a priest, and they have ever since been the objects of a real cult. Even to-day Baños is continually visited by pilgrims, sometimes coming from very distant places in Ecuador, who seek remedy for all sorts of maladies by bathing in the wonder-working water and by observing the cult due to the Virgin. The wooden image of Nuestra Señora de aguas santas is on these occasions taken out from the church at the plaza and is carried in solemn procession round the village. This ceremony takes place about six o'clock in the morning, at dawn, and is arranged for a certain fee paid by those persons who are seeking the aid of the wonder-working Virgin. Thereupon follows the bath in the sacred spring, the water of the warm [30] spring being mixed with that of the cold one in suitable proportions. The procession with the wooden image and the bathing is repeated for several mornings in succession. Nearly every time I have been at Baños I have had an opportunity to witness this kind of Catholic worship, characteristic of the mestizos of South America.

The majority of the inhabitants of Baños are half-breeds, but the surroundings are

thickly populated by Quichua and Spanish-speaking Indians who are closely related to the Ambato and Pelileo Indians. Once a week there is a fair-day (dia de feria), when the natives of the district arrive at the village to sell the products of their home industry as well as all kinds of food, bread, maize, barley, meat, pigs and fowls, eggs, chancaca (a sort of cake made from crude sugar cane), and other things. Such fairs are held on different week-days in all villages in the mountain regions of Ecuador, and they are of particular interest to a stranger, whom they afford a good opportunity to study the manners of the people and different native types.

I left Baños on the 11th of October. The road leading down to the Oriente from Baños follows the left bank of the Pastaza. The traveller passes the interesting waterfall called Chorrera de Agoyan and a few hours later enters the virgin forest at Topo, a small affluent of the main river, arriving shortly afterwards at the tremendous cordillera Abitagua. This hill is nearly one kilometer in height and it takes about three hours to climb its steep and slippery ridges. Having at last arrived at the top the wearied traveller has to start a hardly less tiring descent on the other side, which takes a couple of hours more to accomplish. From Abitagua one arrives in one day at Puyo, a small village inhabited by half-civilized Quichua-speaking Indians, whence one has to walk two days more through dense forest to reach Canelos.

The miserable condition of the ways, which are nothing but primitive Indian trails,

and the almost continuous rains make all travelling in Eastern Ecuador extremely trying. In many cases the traveller has to walk wet to the skin from morning till evening. I may remark however that since I made my first journey to Canelos there has, in this part of the country, been a certain improvement of the means of communication. A new road, suitable for big carts and travelling on horseback, has been made along the left bank of the Pastaza rounding the Abitagua to a place called Mera, from where it is only one day's march to Puyo. Mera, which some ten years ago only consisted of one house in a marshy and disagreeable tract, is now a big village with several hundred inhabitants. [31] This however, as I was able to establish during my last journey in the country a few years ago, is rather an exceptional improvement in the general condition of the Ecuadorian Oriente, where civilization is making extremely slow progress."

"Canelos is the biggest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in Eastern Ecuador. Founded in 1581, the mission has in past centuries gone through severe vicissitudes. Several times it has been attacked by the savage Jibaro Indians, who on one occasion entirely destroyed the village. Sometimes epidemics of smallpox have decimated its population and threatened its very existence. The very place where Canelos is now situated is not the same as the one where the mission was originally founded. The name Canelos was given to the village by the Spanish monks on account of the numerous cinnamon trees in this region. The cinnamon bark to be obtained here is, however, mediocre in quality. Only the cinnamon flower, called ishpingo, is valuable and may some time become a profitable article of export when the communications with the outer world are improved.

In addition to the stately wooden mission building, there are in Canelos only two small bamboo houses inhabited by white people, of which the one is occupied by the teniente politico, the government's representative in these regions. The rest of the inhabitants are all Indians, but they live in Canelos only at certain times, or more strictly speaking, when the missionaries have ordained a reunión for the celebration of some religious feast, above all at Christmas and at midsummer. Such a 'reunión' lasts a few weeks. At these times Canelos is crowded with Indians who attend the

necessary services at the mission, go to mass, are married, or have their children baptized by the monks, and who sometimes, wearing magnificent feather ornaments and provided with drums and rattle gourds, perform their festival dances outside the church itself. The Indians see nothing improper in this, for their own dances have originally been, and are still in part, of a strictly ceremonial charac-[33] ter. It is more to be regretted that these 'religious' feasts are also celebrated with excessive brandy drinking, a custom which the Catholic missionaries have not had enough power and influence to stop.

At other times of the year these Indians prefer to live in their small tambos, generally situated on the banks of the Bobonaza, in some cases on a streamlet in the interior of the forest, but always at a respectable distance from the village. It seems to be the happiest time of the Canelos Indian when he is able to retire with his family, not only from the mission and the authority it exercises over him, but also from his fellow-tribesmen to devote himself to his favourite occupations, hunting and fishing. That anti-social feature which has been said to be characteristic of the Indian in general appears in a typical way among the half-civilized Indians of the Bobonaza.

As I have stated before, the Indians of Canelos are Christians by name, but like most 'Christian' Indians they have remained heathen in their hearts. Thus the most characteristic feature in their mentality is their strong belief in witchcraft, a superstition that has fatally influenced the customs of the Canelos Indians as well as those

of the Jibaros proper.

The Superintendent of the mission of Canelos was Father Dávila, of the Dominican Order. In his company I paid visits to several Indian houses in the neighbourhood of the mission. Everywhere we were bounteously entertained with manioc-beer, the national drink of the forest Indians with which every welcome guest is received. Like the beer brewed of maize, customary among the mountain Indians and the Guarani peoples, the manioc-beer has become particularly famous through the unappetizing way in which it is prepared, fermentation being brought about by chewing the fruit and mixing it well with saliva. For my own part I have never been able to overcome my dislike of the Indian chicha--the name under which the native beer is generally known among the whites--although sometimes I have tasted a little from the gourd offered me by my dark-coloured hostesses. However, I met many whites, even Europeans, who had no objection to drinking the Indian chicha and even found it tasty. Father Dávila was among those who had learned to appreciate it. The custom at Canelos appeared to be that the higher a guest is held in estimation, the more manioc-beer is offered to him. Having entered a house the Father at once received a large earthenware cup, containing nearly a litre, from the hand of the hostess. He drank a little from it and placed the cup on the bank at his side. A few moments later the hostess appeared with

a new cup of manioc-beer, [34] then with a third, and so forth, so that at last the Father was sitting with three big cups, filled up to the brim with beer, in front of him and one more in the hand, the contents of which he tried to diminish by frequent draughts. During the whole time the hostess stood beside him, ready to fill up the vessel again. It is true that the Indians themselves are able to consume incredible quantities of their native beers, but for an ordinary human stomach such an entertainment would be too much. Happily Indian hospitality does not necessarily demand that the whole quantity should be consumed, at least not when a white host is concerned. It is also regarded as proper that a guest, thus entertained, invites some other guest, less honoured than he, to help him to empty the numerous cups of chicha offered to him.

During the 'summer' small stinging flies or mosquitos are a real plague in Eastern Ecuador, and especially in the region of Canelos. In order to protect an esteemed guest from this molestation it is customary that the host of the house places at his feet a piece of a termite nest which has previously been set on fire, when it produces a thick, disagreeable smoke. I found this arrangement excellent, although frequently it had the disadvantage of driving out, not only the molesting flies, but also the guest himself. At any rate my own eyes could not stand this disgusting smoke, to which I preferred even the mosquitos. When travelling on the river, where these little winged

demons are particularly molesting, the Indians generally take such a smoking object with them in the canoe to have some protection for their bare limbs.

The most interesting person I met on the Bobonaza was the old chief Palati, famous in the whole of Eastern Ecuador as a sorcerer, formerly also as a warrior. Palati was the oldest Indian I ever knew, and in 1917 when I saw him the first time must have been over a hundred years old. No Indian is able to tell his age exactly. 'We cannot reckon', is the answer one regularly receives on asking an Indian how old he is. Palati's age, however, I was able to establish with a good deal of certainty. Being, like most Indians, fond of wandering, he had formerly visited the civilized parts of Ecuador also and, according to his own assertion, in his youth had visited Marshall Sucre in Quito. The great Ecuadorian champion of liberty lived in Quito in the years 1826 to 1829, from which I infer that Palati must have been born during the first years of the nineteenth century. This accords with statements which I have received from the whites. A man who had lived in the neighbourhood of Canelos for 30 years told me that when he first arrived there, Palati was supposed [35] to be over 90 years old. He added that during this long time the old Indian chief had not notably changed. When I met Palati he was still a very vigorous old man; he was able to undertake long

wanderings, he had preserved his mental faculties, and became quite eloquent when he began to talk about his ancient warlike exploits and his enemies the Jibaro Indians. It was Palati's ambition to play the role of a political leader among his people, and such, as a matter of fact, had been his position for many decades. Being brave, clever and cunning, and in possession of the kind of eloquence which is so much appreciated among the Indians, he had actually succeeded in maintaining his influence, which growing age had not lessened as is usual, but strengthened.

If one asks Palati about his power in practising witchcraft he pretends to know nothing about it. 'Jesús Maria, I am a Christian', he answers, devoutly making the sign of the cross. Witchcraft, it should be understood, is one of those superstitions of the Indians which the Catholic Fathers are most anxious to eradicate, and the Indians in fact only practise their magic art in secret. However, to a white man in Eastern Ecuador whom he knew well Palati had spoken very frankly. 'I am so hard that no magic arrow is able to harm me', he had said, 'and this is the reason why I have grown so old. On the other hand, I have not seen the Indian who was able to resist my own chunta arrows.'

Although the Canelos Indians are nominally Christians, their relations to the leaders of the mission have not always been of a friendly nature. There have sometimes been conflicts between the Fathers and the Indians. The worst was the one which arose when

the present wooden mission building was constructed, some forty years ago. The Indians were of opinion that a bamboo building of the kind commonly used by both Indians and settlers in Eastern Ecuador would be good enough for the Fathers, and consequently refused to construct a wooden house which would demand much time and work. The Indians engaged in a 'strike' of the kind that has not been uncommon among Christian Indians 'reduced' at missions. In Eastern Ecuador this strike is called miticushca which means 'to avoid', 'to keep away'; the Indians, in defiance of the orders of the Fathers, go off to their distant tambos, keeping away from the mission and the duties it imposes upon them. Palati, who had found an opportunity to exert his influence, was the leading person in organizing this strike, agitating and delivering speeches among the Indians and doing his best in exhorting them to avoid the mission. But the continuance of the boycott proved impossible; one family after the other [36] returned to the mission and submitted to the authority of the Fathers. Seeing that he would come off a loser Palati found it convenient to change his attitude in time. One day the Father had succeeded in calling together a number of Indians at the mission, and after the mass was finished he intended to speak to them to bring them to reason. Palati, who was also present, asked to be allowed to say a few words to the Indians first. Then he started to deliver an exciting oration in which he expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of the striking Indians, reproaching them for their ingrat-

itude towards the Father, and urging them to return to their duty. He himself, he said, had been against the miticushca from the beginning, but his advice had not been followed. This hypocritical declaration of the man who had been the real instigator of the strike, of course, astonished the Father, and some of the Indians too wished to raise protests against so obvious a distortion of the facts. However, satisfied at the final settlement of the conflict, the Father found it wiser to overlook minor matters. Palati had saved his prestige and even strengthened his influence.

Palati died in 1924, a few years after I left Canelos and South America. He was an interesting acquaintance to me, not only on account of his great age and his wide experience of life but also on account of his whole character, which seemed to me to be typical of an Indian chief and 'politician'."

"I was ready to start on my journey down the rivers. According to my original project I had first to vipit the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Achuares, who lived somewhere on the midle [sic] course of the Pastaza in the interior of the country. Thereafter I wished to continue my journey along the Pastaza down to the Marañon for the purpose of visiting the Cocama Indians and certain other tribes living on this great river. For reasons to be mentioned later I was not, however, able to carry out the latter part of the programme.

Besides my boy Leon, I was accompanied on this expedition by another mestizo from Macas by name Raimundo as well as by three Indians from Canelos, experts in handling the paddle and extremely well acquainted with the Bobonaza region. I started from Canelos with two comparatively small canoes, a larger canoe having been promised me at Sarayacu, an Indian village situated three days journey down the river. The very first day I had an accident which threatened to become fatal to my whole expedition. In its upper course the Bobonaza is full of cataracts in which small canoes are easily upset. This was exactly what happened to me. We had successfully, although with great difficulty, passed several cataracts and I warned the two Indians who managed my own canoe to be careful and get down into the water at the most dangerous places and move the canoe by hand, as Indians are wont to do in similar cases. They however, trusting in their skill, would not do this but in one of the worst cataracts

allowed the canoe to slide down the rocks at full speed with the consequence that the waves, dashing in from the sides, suddenly filled and upset it. The accident happened at the deep pool--called cucha by the Indians--which usually forms beneath the cataracts. Since the weather was rainy I wore my mackintosh, but still without difficulty reached the shore by swimming. One of my Indians saved [38] the canoe which was being taken down by the strong current, while the other tried to save the luggage. Only a part of it could he get hold of; several things went to the bottom, among others my rifle and my gun and a basket containg [sic] all my cooking-utensils and plates, matches, etc. One of my Indians, an extremely clever swimmer, soon succeeded in picking up the rifle from the bottom, but still it seemed almost impossible for me to continue my journey on the original plan unless I recovered the rest of my lost property. Drenched to the skin I could do nothing for the moment but proceed on my way until I arrived at the next Indian house, which took a couple of hours to reach. On the following day we returned to the scene of the accident in the company of an Indian who, being a clever diver, offered to try to recover the lost things. After hard work he really succeeded in bringing up the gun, and even the basket was found later on. So I was able to continue my interrupted journey, but at another dangerous cataract, bearing the significant name Runa huanusca, 'the Dead Man's cataract' I again had a narrow escape from being shipwrecked.

The Bobonaza is a beautiful but extremely sinuous river. Very seldom can one travel for more than a few minutes in a straight line. In its rapid course the river constantly forms enormous curves, and frequently the traveller again arrives quite near a place which he passed a while ago on the other side of a narrow neck of land. The Indians of Canelos always reckon the distance to a certain place on the Bobonaza by the number of turnings ('vueltas') that the canoe has to take before that place is reached, and it was remarkable with what accuracy they could always assign the number of 'vueltas' from any point of the river to almost any Indian house situated on its banks.

We reached Sarayacu on the fourth day after leaving Canelos. It is a small village inhabited by Indians nominally Christians like those of Canelos. A small bamboo house in the middle of the village was used as a church where divine service was held once a year when the Father from Canelos came there to see the Indians. Besides this, there was another bamboo house intended for the government's representative, who also at times visited these regions.

At Sarayacu I had to make various arrangements for my journey down the Bobonaza and the Pastaza. Above all I wanted a larger canoe as well as some provisions. I succeeded in hiring a big canoe for the whole trip, paying ten yards of linen to its owner. I moreover obtained a quantity of manioc and bananas as well as a number of fowls after lengthy [39] negotiations with the women. When I arrived the Indians were

just celebrating a drinking-fest and consequently were all assembled. The feast was one of those I had frequently witnessed among the Indians of Canelos. In the middle of a great house a number of younger men, wearing magnificent feather ornaments on their heads and backs, were ceremonially walking round in a circle, incessantly beating their drums in slow time. Round these men some older Indians were sitting in groups, nearly all holding big earthen vessels, filled with manioc-beer, in their hands, from which they constantly took draughts. The women formed a group of their own and some of them, who acted as hostesses, were always engaged in filling the vessels with manioc-beer and distributing them among the men. The women in their dress fell far short of the elegance displayed by the men, but a conspicuous feature was their facial painting. Even the men ornament their faces in red and black colours for festival occasions, but the Indian women of the Sarayacu region are in the habit of blackening artlessly both their cheeks and the nether part of the chin with the juice of the genipa fruit with the effect that at a distance it lookes [sic] as if they had a full beard. This facial painting is not *looked upon as a decoration*, but is applied for purely practical purposes.

Beneath the Sarayacu are a few Indian houses and even a small village, inhabited by mestizos and Indians, called Juanjiri, but for the rest the regions are wholly desert. The same may be said of the Pastaza's middle course, where there are only sundry

Indian settlements. These Indians belong to the small Shimigay tribe, who speak Quichua and are now half-civilized. The savage Indians, on the other hand, have retired far away to the unexplored parts of the interior. My nearest goal was Andoas, the last Ecuadorian garrison on the Pastaza, situated on the middle course of this river, about ten leagues from the mouth of the Bobonaza. This point can be reached in five days from the village Juanjiri.

At Canelos, which is situated at a height of about 800 m. above sea-level, the temperature is quite tolerable, but from Sarayacu downwards the heat increases daily, becoming at last extremely trying for one travelling by canoe. Similarly nature becomes ever more luxuriant. The mosquito plague is dreadful in these regions in the rainy season. Clouds of these little pests constantly swarm around us, anxious to suck our blood and torment us in every way. In vain I anoint my hands and face with an antiseptic ointment; only for a moment can it keep off the tor-[40] mentors. I realize the futility of the theory, set forth by some traveller in South America, which explains the Indian custom of body-painting as a means of keeping off mosquitos and flies. Animal life, and expecially [sic] bird life, grows ever richer. The great macaw, for instance, which requires a hot climate, only makes its appearance from Sarayacu downwards. This beautiful parrot as well as the smaller parrots, the tucan, and many other kinds of bird contribute towards giving life to the forests. Frequently, in

the course of our journey, we stop to shoot a big turkey, a macaw, or some other bird which we have sighted in a tree close to the river bank, or to fish. Of big animals the tapir and the boar or wild pig are the most common. Even the jaguar is frequently seen in these uninhabited regions, although it generally takes to flight at the sight of an approaching canoe. On the Pastaza I found an especially rich animal life, large herds of peccary pigs and water hogs or capivaras being most often seen. On the river itself the numerous tortoises snd alligators attract particular attention, whereas the great water boa or anaconda, although quite common in all rivers of Western Amazonas, is only seldom seen.

My Indian servants practise fishing during the whole journey to eke out our store of food. From time to time they suddenly stop paddling and attentively watch the river some distance in front of the canoe, whereupon they seize their nets. In the shallow water close to the bank they have noticed a movement on the surface of the water which indicates that a multitude of bocachico fish are assembled on this very spot. One of the Indians arranges the long net in his hand, jumps into the water and cautiously wades to the place where the movement was noticed. The next moment he throws the net like a lasso, so that it unfolds on the outside of the spot where the fish is supposed to be assembled. The majority of them of course escape, but generally several of them are caught in the meshes of the net. Sometimes the Indians succeed in surprising in the

same way a big bagre, s [sic] sheat-fish, and in such cases a fierce fight ensues in the water when the violent fish tries to disengage itself from the net and the firm grasp of the Indians. Generally, however, the Indians catch the sheat-fish by harpooning it.

It is especially on journeys on the river that one has an opportunity to watch that wonderful faculty of observation which is so strongly developed in the savage Indian as in man in his natural state in general. His eyes and ears are always alert; sometimes he watches the river itself, sometimes the leafy heads of the trees, sometimes his keen eyes penetrate [41] the thickets of the forest where he is able to detect forms of life which wholly evade the observation of civilized man. The least noise instantly arouses his attention and as a rule he is able to decide at once from what it proceeds.

On the lower Bobonaza the climate begins to become unhealthy, which an experienced traveller will understand from the very presence of numerous morete palms (Mauritia) and swamps. If he wants to escape malarial fever he has above all to guard himself at night against attacks of the fever-bringing Anopheles mosquito by a safe mosquito net. Shortly before we arrived at Pastaza we had passed an Indian village, called by the mestizos Santa Rosa, which had been abandoned some time ago on account of an epidemic of malarial fever. My Indians repeatedly pointed out to me that we had hardly any chance ourselves of escaping being 'caught by the disease', as they express

the matter. Far more terrible than the malaria, I was told, is another mysterious disease which was said to rage epidemically in the region of Andoas and to which--according to a rumour current at Canelos--some men of the garrison had already fallen victims. Unfortunately for me, these rumours very soon proved to be true.

On the fourth day after we left Sarayacu we met a big canoe which was being slowly poled up the river by a crew of six men. Both the large crew and the small cabin made of palm leaves with which the canoe was provided made it certain that some notable passenger was travelling in it. When we reached the canoe I saw a man lying trembling and half-unconscious on the bottom of it in the cabin. The men of the crew informed us that the sick man was the chief of the garrison of Andoas, Colonel Orellana, who was travelling to Canelos to be cured of his illness. At the same time we were told of the sad fate of the other men of the garrison. Only two months ago Colonel Orellana had arrived at Andoas together with his secretary and seven soldiers. Withing [sic] this short time the secretary and four of the soldiers had died of a terrible disease, called escorbuto by the settlers in Eastern Ecuador and evidently of an epidemic character. The last man had died the day before the party left Andoas. The three remaining soldiers were still there. Whether the poor commandant would reach Canelos alive seemed to me very uncertain, even if he was only suffering from malaria. From the point where we were then Canelos could not be reached even in a fortnight.

The notice we had received about the epidemic raging in these regions had naturally a very unfavourable influence upon the morale of [42] my own men. The worst trouble a European experiences when travelling alone in the interior of South America with uncivilized Indians is one arising from their superstitions. My men became convinced that in travelling down the Pastaza they were going towards an almost certain death. From their conversation with one another and with my boys I understood that they were discussing nothing less than the possibility of a strike. At last they told me that they were not inclined to go down to the Amazon to die, and that, if I insisted on going there, they would leave me alone on a sandbank and run away from me some night. This was one of the occasions when I realized the drawback of travelling alone off the beaten track with such unreliable servants as the indigenous South Americans are, be they mestizos or pure Indians. Since I found that I was for the moment wholly dependent on my servants, I deemed it foolish to try to continue according to the original plan. Instead of that, I proposed a compromise according to which we should only visit the Achuares on the middle Pastaza as well as the Shimigay Indians and thereupon return to Canelos. The visit to the Achuares was in fact my chief interest on this expedition. My journey down to the Marañon I could easily postpone to some later time.

My new proposal was accepted by the Indians and we continued our journey. The news we had received of the epidemic raging at Andoas induced me to avoid that place

as far as possible. We decided to stay there only a few hours and to spend the night, as usual, on one of the large sandbanks existing in the Pastaza. Early on the following day we arrived at Andoas. This place had formerly been a village inhabited by half-civilized Shimigay Indians. In the 17th century the Jesuits also had a mission here. But the village had later suffered greatly from epidemics and repeated attacks of the savage Jibaro Indians, who twice had even completely destroyed it. When I visited Andoas for the first time it consisted of only three primitive houses, inhabited by soldiers of the garrison and by an Indian family. The rest of the Shimigays had moved further down the river out of fear, partly of the savage Jibaros, partly of the diseases ravaging at Andoas.

We were received by the surviving members of the garrison, three young men, who told us about the sad events of the recent weeks. The disease commonly called escorbuto, (scurvy) by the mestizos, is characterized essentially by high fever, dizziness, and an almost irresistible sleepiness. The mestizos and Indians have their own theory about the origin of this disease. It is caused, they say, by the anus of the patient [43] being affected by worms which rapidly spread along the rectum into the whole intestinal system, consuming it, so that the patient literally rots away in a few days. Bad food and excessive humidity are mentioned as the chief causes of this disease. I have been told that the same disease exists in Matoo Grosso in Brazil, where it is called

corrupção. The Indians of the Bobonaza assert that it can be cured if certain measures are instantly taken. Their remedy consists of a sort of clyster prepared of powder, Indian pepper, and certain other antiseptic herbs which are alleged to kill the worms before they have spread in the intestines. At the time when I first travelled on the Pastaza, there prevailed much obscurity as to the real nature of the disease and the physicians of Ecuador only knew it by name.

We left Andoas early in the afternoon so as to have time to make our encampment on a sandbank further down the river. We soon found a suitable camping-place, but our rest that night was disturbed by one of those dreadful thunderstorms which are so frequent in the Amazon region. The storm was as usual preceded by a violent hurricane which swept along the river from the south, rapidly approaching the place where we were staying. When the hurricane came over us we had to unite all our forces to hold the tent, which otherwise would have gone aloft like a kite. In the adjacent forest on the river-bank several large trees were thrown down; it was lucky that we had not camped on the bank, which is in fact dangerous in these regions, at least during the rainy season. The hurricane was followed by a shower so heavy that it caused the tent-poles to bend. Wet to the skin we were obliged to wait for about half-an-hour, when the thunderstorm passed and everything became calm.

The following day in the evening we arrived at a lonely settlement on the river, the owner of which, a young cauchero (collector of rubber), was able to give me important information about the Achuares. On the opposite bank of the Pastaza, about half a day's journey down the river, there is the mouth of the small river Tonegrama. To arrive at the country of the Achuares we hade [sic] to ascend the river for a few hours, whereupon we had to continue our journey through the forest for one day and a half more. Like most other savage Indians the Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, where they are more exposed to their enemies, be they Indians of other tribes or whites, but prefer to construct their large communal houses on some small rivulet in the interior of the country. Consequently, if I wished to visit the Achuares I had to penetrate into a country where most certainly no European had ever put his [44] foot and where the savage Indians lived in absolute independence. The cauchero was the only Ecuadorian or Peruvian who had had any connection with these Indians, and he offered to accompany me to their villages as a guide.

Having made the necessary preparations for the journey we started upon our expedition and soon reached the mouth of the river Tonegrama. It turned out to be a beautiful and not rapid small river, but owing to the great number of brush-heaps and tree trunks with which it was blocked it was a far from easy task to ascend it. At last, early in the afternoon, we reached a narrow path close to a streamlet where

our guide told my Indians to halt. We pulled up the canoe at a place in the forest where it was well hidden by the luxuriant vegetation, and with our guide in front started to walk along the narrow Indian path, frequently almost invisible, which led through the forest. In many places we could only clear a track with the aid of the forest knife (machete), an implement indispensable to every wanderer in the forests of tropical South America. We passed the first night in a rancho close to a streamlet and on the following morning, according to our guide, we were to arrive at the first Jibaro house. While covering the remaining distance we were instructed by the guide as to how we had to behave on our arrival. When approaching the first house we were warned not to speak loudly or to make any noise, since the attention of the Indians might be aroused too soon; they might run away or find time to take other measures. As soon as the first plantain and manioc plantations became visible one of my Indian companions made a loud signal with a cow's horn which he had brought with him for this very purpose. In this way our arrival was announced and the Indians would understand that friends and not enemies were approaching. Such a precaution is always considered necessary when one visits the savage Jibaro Indians. Thereupon we hastened our steps and a few moments later reached the house, the inhabitants of which were outside to meet us. We were received with the usual suspicion and curiosity

and of course had to answer the usual questions as to the object of our visit, who that strange light-haired apachi (white man) was whom the Indians had brought, how long we intended to stay, and so forth. The women and children particularly displayed fear and suspicion, but at the same time curiosity drew them irresistibly to the spot where we were. They became calmer when I opened my boxes and presented a beautiful necklace of glass beads to each of the women as well as small mirrors and needles to the children. The owner of the house received [45] a forest knife and I easily obtained his permission to stay in the house a few days.

Later on I shall describe the detailed greeting ceremonies which take place when a guest is received in a Jibaro house. A small speech must always be delivered to the host on behalf of the arriving party, and one of my Indian companions, Shaua by name, himself of Jibaro origin, undertook this duty. 'We have arrived, my brother', he said, 'as companions of this white man and carrying his luggage. We come to you as friends and not as enemies, to see how you live and to exchange things with you. Disease and evil we do not bring with us. We want to stay with you a few days in peace', and so forth. The host answered this speech with some words in the same vein. Shaua and his comrades were all the more anxious to express their friendly feelings to our hosts as only with hesitation had they consented to visit these old hereditary enemies of the Canelos Indians.

The rubber collector who had accompanied us to the Indians was, as I have said, almost the only white man with whom these savages had been in contact. As usual he had paid the Indians for their services with trousers, shirts, linen, etc., in consequence of which the native dress of these Indians showed more traces of European influence than I had expected. This influence, however, was absolutely limited to the dress. What I was able to establish during this visit to the distant Achuares was the great uniformity of the Jibaro culture. There are of course minor differences. Thus the dialect spoken by these Jibaros differs to a certain extent from the one spoken by the Upano tribes and the Huambizas. The Achuares seldom have swine and at their great victory feast there is no ceremony answering to 'the slaughtering of the swine' among the Upano Indians. Contrary to what is the case among the latter, who prefer to buy their arrow poison from other tribes, the Achuares are themselves skilled poison makers, and they likewise make their blow-guns with which they even carry on a trade. Like the rest of their fellow-tribesmen they weave their loin-clothes, but their method of dyeing the stuff differs from that practised by the Upanos. Their pottery shows many interesting peculiarities, both in form and in the way of painting it, as will be shown later on. But their general mode of life, their social organization and, as far as I was able to ascertain, their intellectual culture is exactly the same as that of other Jibaro tribes, in spite of the relative isolation in which the Achuares live

and probably have lived for many decades, perhaps for centuries. [46]

The interior of the country of the Achuares is geographically unexplored, but is said to be inhabited by various Jibaro tribes who, as usual, are hostile to each other and make war among themselves. According to the information I received there are Indian paths leading through the forests to the Morona and further to the Upano, and I was moreover told that the distance can be covered in about a fortnight. However, since it is only possible to penetrate into these primeval forests with the aid of Indian guides, and members of one tribe cannot be persuaded to set foot on ground belonging to a strange tribe, it would have been practically impossible for me to undertake such a journey. I was obliged to return the same way as I had come. The fear and distrust of our hosts made it difficult for us to stay even a week; repeated questions as to when we intended to leave hastened our departure. Since we had nevertheless lived on quite friendly terms with the Indians, a sort of parting speech was necessary and it was delivered by our speaker Shaua. 'Now we leave, my brother', he said to our host, 'now we go back to our own country. We have had a nice stay with you and we have lived in peace together. May you also, brother, soon pay a visit to us.'--Each of these phrases was for safety's sake repeated a couple of times and with as persuasive a voice as possible.

This was Shaua's 'official' opinion of our visit. His real estimate of the Achuares

appeared to be somewhat different when on the return journey we were discussing our impressions of the visit. My Canelos Indians had consented to accompany me to these savages of bad repute chiefly because they had combined certain business interests with the visit. The Canelos Indians have developed the making of drums into a real industry, whereas the Achuares are particularly skilled in making blowguns. Shaua had taken with him two drums of his own make for the sake of bartering with the Achuares. In his own opinion however, he had made a very bad bargain and with vehement gestures and curses gave vent to his discontent with our hosts on account of their greed. However this may have been, I knew that my Indian companion had done good business in another way: he had appeared among the Achuares as a medicine-man and had had several patients, and since such services are among the Indians paid just as scrupulously as a physician is paid by his patients in a civilized society, I understood that the visit had in fact been quite remunerative to him. Instead of the two drums he had taken with him, he returned with four blowguns, although one blowgun is generally paid for with one drum. [47]

Having returned to the Pastaza I paid a visit to the half-civilized Shimigay Indians mentioned before. My studies among these Indians fall outside the scope of the present work.

My journey back to Canelos took about three weeks and was extremely trying. The ascent of the Bobonaza, which is always a hard and tedious undertaking, was rendered

still more difficult by heavy rains which caused the river to swell. Still worse, the Indians caught malaria in the unhealthy regions of the Pastaza and fell ill one after the other. At last my servant Leon and I myself were the only ones who were well, and when we arrived at Canelos even Leon had attacks of fever. One of my Indians was so bad that he was carried from the canoe in a state of unconsciousness. I had tried to cure my sick Indian servants with quinine, but since it is practically impossible to make an Indian take medicine regularly, my remedies were seemingly of little use. This again, and the fact that I did not fall ill myself, was explained by the Indians in a way very unfavourable to me: I was supposed to possess secret remedies which I kept for myself thus retaining my health, whereas I allowed my Indian servants to die. It was consequently with a party of very discontented men that I returned from this expedition at the end of March. I knew however, that experiences of this kind are inevitable to everybody who travels in the interior of South America alone, only accompanied by native servants. I had to remain at Canelos for eight days before I could continue my journey with my mestizo boy Leon. I did not return to civilization, but went to the village of Macas, my proper headquarters for the study of the Jibaro Indians. My excursions in these regions will be described in the following chapters."

"From the village of Macas which, as I have said, was the main basis for my studies of the Jibaro Indians, I made numerous expeditions to the tribes living in the south, in the east, and in the north, and I soon found that this region was one of the chief centres of this native Indian culture. For about two years I roamed the endless virgin forests between the Upano and the Morona in all directions, and I do not, of course, propose to relate all my experiences during these journeys. A general description of the country and the conditions under which its inhabitants live may, however, be necessary as an introduction to the detailed account of the customs of the Indians which I shall give later on. A fuller account will be given of the expedition undertaken to the Chirapas, a Jibaro tribe on the upper Rio Pastaza, where I was for the first time present at a 'tsantsa'-feast, the great victory feast of these Indians.

In order to reach Macas I had to start from Riobamba, a big town in the central cordilleras of Ecuador. It is situated about 2,800 meters above the sea, with an extensive view over distant blue mountains and snow-clad volcanoes and a splendid, pure air. Native life here is still more characteristic than at Quito. No tract of the Ecuadorian Andes is so thickly populated as the one of Riobamba. Every day one can see long processions of Quichua-speaking Indian men and women marching into the town from the surrounding villages driving herds of llamas and donkeys laden with all sorts of agricultural products, and on a dia de feria (market day) the great plazas,

the meeting-places for thousands of poncho-clad natives, offers a very picturesque sight. Unfortunately the social and political conditions under which the Indians of the Riobamba region live are extremely bad, inasmuch as in many cases they are outside the protection which the laws of the country ought to afford to all of its inhabi-[49] tants. The Indians, who of course are the original owners of the soil, have mercilessly been forced out of the areas they occupied by the rich hacienda owners, who often deny them the right even to reap the products from the small plots of land which surround their primitive huts and which give them their only livelihood.

From Riobamba the Upano can be reached in seven days, although the distance is no more than about 50 leagues (170 miles). The roads in this part of the Oriente, it should be understood, are worse than anywhere else in Ecuador. Still, nearly half of the way can be covered on horseback, although only horses or mules particularly trained for the purpose are able to take the traveller over the dreadful paths which lead down to the banks of the river Upano.

About four marches eastwards from Riobamba there is a small village called Chanala, inhabited by Quichua Indians and mestizos. These natives frequently go to Riobamba as arrieros (mule and horse drivers) or to sell their agricultural products, and they possess horses and mules which are specially trained for travelling on the rough

roads in the Ecuadorian mountain regions. During my first stay at Riobamba I made the acquaintance of one of the mestizos of Chanala and thenceforward always ordered my riding and pack mules from him when I went to Chanala. It was necessary however to wait for about eight days before the beasts arrived.

The road leading from Riobamba eastwards runs on the first day through tracts which are comparatively thickly populated by Quichua-speaking Indians and mestizos. If one happens to make the journey during harvest-time, for instance in the month of August, one will everywhere see waving maize and barley fields, the most important cereals cultivated in Ecuador. On some fields the Indians may be seen harvesting, singing in chorus those peculiar harvest-songs which have been customary among the Quichuas since olden times and are believed to promote the work. The landscape is extremely picturesque and the ride over this highland, with snow-clad mountain-tops visible in all directions, and through the fertile Andean valleys offers much of interest. Late in the evening, after a ride of ten hours or more, the traveller arrives at Cevadas, a big village inhabited chiefly by mestizos, where he has to pass the night. This village forms the final limit between the relative civilisation of the western mountain area and the desolate Paramo region, characteristic of the Ecuadorian highland in the east. The trail goes along the valley of the upper Chambo, a parent river of the Pastaza, [50] and is indescribably bad, like the whole way to Chanala. Having traversed the valley, the

traveller arrives in the evening at a village called Hatillo, or rather a collection of primitive grass-covered huts scattered over the Paramo. I have seldom seen a more God-forsaken place then this village, inhabited by a few families of wretched Quichua Indians. Hatillo being situated at a height of about 3,500 meters above sea-level, its inhabitants have to suffer all those inconveniences that the rude climate necessarily offers to people so poor and badly equipped for it as they are. The temperature generally remains near freezing-point, but not seldom sinks below it; the icy winds and rains mixed with snow which sweep over the paramo feel much colder here than elsewhere at a corresponding temperature. In the immediate neighbourhood of the dilapidated Indian huts rise bare and desolate rocks, some of them covered with eternal snow. Vegetation under such natural conditions must be the poorest possible; there are neither trees nor bushes, and cabbage and onions are the only edible plants which can be cultivated. The only resources of the inhabitants is the long and thick grass called ichu, which covers the ground in the paramo. It makes cattle-breeding possible to the Indians, and this as a matter of fact forms their only livelihood. From the milk of their cows and goats they prepare cheese which is exported to distant places, whence in return they obtain maize, potatoes, barley and other necessaries of life. Their dress is chiefly made of the skins obtained from their cattle and sheep.

I leave Hatillo on the following day, and having travelled for a couple of hours arrive

at the spot where the paramo definitely ends: it is a pass at about 4,000 meters where the descent on the forest area begins. Just before the traveller reaches this pass he skirts a beautiful lake, Colay, attracting attention by the snow-clad mountains which surround it and especially by the tree-covered island which rises in its centre. It seems curious and inexplicable that only this spot for many miles round should show such a luxurious vegetation.

Up on the very summit of the pass to which we clamber, following a trail which is in the most miserable condition, we suddenly discern to the right another lake in a huge natural basin formed by the high walls of the rocks. It is la laguna negra, 'the black lagoon', 'bottomlessly' deep, we are told and with a strangely black-looking water. It is from this lagoon that the streamlets originate which later on form the river Upano. This point forms the end of the plateau of Hatillo and the threshold of the Oriente. The descent begins along the huge, almost perpendicular [51] declivity which is called Galgalań. The mountain is at this point divided by the hand of nature, a tremendous cleft having been formed into which we have to precipitate ourselves. The descent into the abyss is rendered possible for the beasts, and for man, only by deep steps cut in the rock. The mules, accustomed to these terrible trails, are able to go down this staircase, but the traveller has to dismount and allow his beast to get on as best he can. A few minutes later we are in the forest where the vegetation, extremely scanty at first,

gradually becomes more and more luxuriant, although the climate remains quite cold down to Chanala. The first place one arrives at after leaving the paramo is a village called Suñac, which can be reached in five hours from Hatillo. The village is situated in a lonely tract on the high bank of the Upano and consists of several houses including a sort of church, which we recognize by the great bells hanging under the roof. Approaching nearer, however, we find all houses abandoned, their inhabitants living in Chanala four hours journey farther down the valley. The Indians of this region, who are closely related to those of Hatillo, live at Suñac only during the season when the potatoes are harvested, but otherwise prefer to live at Chanala which, owing to a warmer climate, is more suitable for the cultivation of maize.

Chanala is the last point to which mules can travel towards the east, but although this village can be reached in four hours from Suñac, it is the worst part of the whole journey. An enormously high cordillera separates the slope of Suñac from the valley of Chanala and has to be crossed. The climbing of this cordillera with its muddy, rocky, and slippery trail and its abysses yawning on all sides is a perilous enterprise even for the trained beasts of the Indians, and were it not for the steps cut in the rock and the outcroppings of sandstone at the most dangerous places, no mule or horse would ever arrive at the other side. After a hard struggle for a couple of hours we are on the top of the ridge and a while later cross a dangerous bridge leading to the opposite side

of the Upano. The village of Chanala´is situated on the left bank of this river on a mountain slope covered with verdure, from which one enjoys the most beautiful view over the wildest scenery imaginable: the enormous abyss below from the bottom of which is heard the eternal roar of the Upano rumbling its way down to join the Mother of the rivers, adjacent forest-clad mountains reaching to the clouds, and the endless virgin forest extending as far as eye can reach, combine to give the traveller an impression he will not easily forget. But the village itself with its still chilly and humid climate, its primitive houses scattered here and there, and its extremely poor in-[52] habitants is not a place where one cares to stay any longer than is absolutely necessary. Still I had, as always, to wait two or three days before the five or six bearers I wanted for the continuation of my journey to Macas were ready to start.

It takes three days to reach Macas from Chanala´. The pathway which leads down to that last outpost of civilization towards the east follows at first the left bank of the river. After a few hours we pass over a wire bridge to the right side which we follow until the end of the next day, or until we arrive at a place called Huilca. Here there is the house of a ferryman, appointed by the government, whose duty it is to take travellers to and from Macas over the river. This house was in 1920 the only one existing between Chanala´and Macas, and the traveller was consequently obliged to spend the first night in the forest, in a provisional rancho made by the bearers. When

I made my last journey to Macas in 1929, however, conditions had been improved so far, that a well-built tambo had been arranged by the government, where the traveller could shelter for the night. This was the only improvement I could notice after the nearly ten years I had been absent. The pathway was equally muddy and dreadful in every way, the slopes equally steep and difficult to climb, the bridges over the numerous swamps and rivulets equally primitive, consisting as a rule of two or three slippery poles placed at random on the ground on which one had to balance, always at the risk of missing one's foothold and sinking to the knees in the mud-holes.

From Huilca it is less than one day's march to Macas. A big hill called Yungalli, which takes two hours and a half to climb over, still separates the traveller from the plains of Macas. Having passed the Yungalli we embark on a final stretch of level forest land through which a broad road is cut, leading directly to the village. When the weather is fine and no rain has fallen for some days, this road is comparatively dry and is walked along with comfort after the miserable trails left behind; but when it is raining heavily, as is more frequently the case, it is transformed into a swamp where the wanderer has to wade in mud over the ankles."

1: Karsten--52-53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 175 (1928-29)

"Macas is an interesting village in more than one respect. It is situated on the middle course of the Upano, in a tract which curiously enough seems to have been more thickly inhabited some three hundred years ago than nowadays. Close to the place where the village is now there was formerly the big town Sevilla de Oro, mentioned before in connection [53] with the wars which the savage Jibaro Indians waged against the whites. The very name, Sevilla de Oro, tells us that the district must once have been rich in gold, and, as we have seen, the destruction of this town was caused by the greed for gold displayed by the Spaniards. To-day nothing is known of the existence of gold in this part of the Oriente. In the Upano, as in other rivers in Eastern Ecuador, gold is found but only in small quantities, nor is there any evidence that the present-day Indians know of any gold-mines in the mountains, although such rumours have sometimes been current."

1: Karsten--53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"Although not comparable with the old Sevilla de Oro, Macas is nevertheless quite a big place, having some three or four hundred inhabitants. All of these are mestizos, of a kind found nowhere else in Ecuador. To a great extent they are no doubt descendants of those Jibaro Indians who destroyed the town in 1599 and the white women, who became the captors and wives of the victors. They still have many traits in common with their savage neighbours; their mode of life and their customs are in many respects the same, as also their character. Thus, although the 'Macabeos' are of course strictly Catholic in their religion, they adhere to the old custom of blood-revenge, particularly characteristic of the Jibaros to this very day. They are intelligent, brave, active, and industrious, just as are the Jibaros. Owing to these qualities and to the extraordinary fertility of the soil, agriculture is highly developed and cattle-breeding is an important occupation."

"The village is situated in the midst of the virgin forest and practically embedded in vegetation. Through its centre a broad pathway runs from which narrower sinuous side-ways branch off to the right and the left. One of these leads to a high hill where the convent and the church are situated. On all sides the village is surrounded by high hills covered with forests, and towards the south-west the majestic volcano Sangay raises its crater, covered with eternal snow, towards the sky. It is difficult to imagine a place more picturesque and better endowed by nature. Still this village all through bears a primitive stamp. The houses are of the same kind as the great communal houses of the Jibaros, although they are generally smaller and constructed with less care. The interior with its earthen floor, the bedsteads of split bamboo, and the almost total absence of furniture in the strict sense of the word, also reminds one of the Jibaro houses. Even a great signal drum, of the same type as that [54] of the Indians, is as a rule found in the houses at Macas. Just as the Jibaros beat the drum to communicate for instance to the neighbours that a death has taken place in the house, so the Macabeos do the same, a custom which makes a strange impression upon a European visitor.

The dress of the inhabitants of Macas is almost as primitive as that of their savage neighbours, consisting principally of a loin-cloth and a shirt. Trousers are seldom worn and shoes never. During wanderings in the forest the Macabeo wears a sort of sandal made of cowhide. On such occasions moreover he always carries that indis-

pensable weapon and implement of the South America forest-wanderer, the big forest-knife, machete, and usually his old-fashioned shot-gun, a muzzle-loader, which he prefers to guns or rifles of modern make. I never had companions more expert in cutting through the thickets of the virgin forest, in crossing rapid rivers in canoes, and generally in overcoming all the numerous difficulties which meet a traveller in the South American wilderness.

The character of the Macabeo shows the same general features as that of the Ecuadorian mestizo, although with certain peculiar traits due, I think to his Jibaro descent. He is cheerful, good-hearted, and extremely hospitable, loving, as do all mestizos, dancing and merry-making, wine and women. The 'wine' is the chuya, the national drink of the inhabitants of Macas, brewed of maize and sugar cane which is boiled and allowed to ferment. The chuya is quite intoxicating, and since at the great drinking-feasts it is consumed in enormous quantities, these feasts not seldom end in quarrels and fights, and even manslaughter. The public feasts at Macas in general are little edifying. An important role in them is played by the cock-fights which here, as elsewhere Ecuador, form the most popular public amusement. Another game which is frequently witnessed is the following. A living cock is buried in the earth so that only the head and the neck protrude. One of the men taking part in the game is blind-folded and is given a machete. He is taken to the place where the cock is buried and

starts to strike with his machete along the ground in all directions, his task being to cut off the cock's head with so and so many strokes; if he is successful the beheaded cock becomes his property. This is repeated with another man and another cock, and so forth. These rude amusements are very characteristic of the cruelty to animals which in South America is so often displayed both by mestizos and whites.

I have mentioned before that some of the natives of Macas know the Jibaro language fairly well and that during my travels in the regions [55] of Upano and Pastaza I was always accompanied by servants and interpreters from Macas. One of my best companions was an elderly man, Dionysio Rivadeneira by name, who knew the Indians well and was a great help to me in studying their customs and language. Although Don Dionysio had many friends among the Jibaros he sometimes, owing to his hot temper, quarrelled with them. When I visited Macas the last time in 1929 my old friend was seriously ill; according to his own belief he had been poisoned by an Indian enemy on the Upano. The Jibaros, it should be added, know certain vegetable poisons which they use against their secret enemies, especially against the whites, since according to their idea the magic arrow of the Indians has no effect upon a white man. Whether Don Dionysio's misgivings as to the origin of his illness were justified, I was not able to establish.

Fig. 2.
A typical bamboo house at Macas. Inhabited by the government's representative.

"Up to the beginning of this century the Upano was commonly described as being a northern tributary of the Morona; as such it still figures in Wolff's well-known geography of Ecuador of 1892. The Upano in reality forms part of the Santiago river system, the other main affluent of which is the Rio Paute. Both the Morona and the Santiago are affluents of the great river Amazonas or Marañon, but the Morona has a far more easterly course. From the village of Macas it is a journey of three or four days to the Morona or, as the river is called by the Jibaros, the Cusuima. The distance between this river and the Upano may be about 50 or 60 miles, but the extremely bad condition of the trails and the tremendous cordillera Cutucuíu which the traveller has to cross makes it seem much longer than it really is. I never reached the upper Morona, because I had enough to do among the Upano and the Pastaza tribes. It was important, however, for me to establish that the Huambizas of the upper Morona have exactly the same culture as the other Jibaro tribes visited by me.

I have lived at Macas only during the short intervals between my excursions to the savage inhabitants of the tract. Some of the Indians were in the habit of paying occasional visits to the village for the purpose of selling salt or deer's flesh which the Jibaros never eat themselves. Sometimes I took Indians there myself in order to get imformation [sic] from them on particular questions. Most of my studies, however, have been carried out during lengthy journeys in the country of the Indians, when I

usually stayed in each house for some days. There are in fact no regions in Ecuador I have explored so thoroughly as those situated east of the Andes from the Santiago in the south to the upper Pastaza in the north, and nowhere have my studies given more abundant results. [57]

Here I shall only give a short account of the expedition I made to the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and which is of particular interest inasmuch as I was able to be present at the most important feast of the Jibaro Indians, the great victory feast Einsupani. I started on this expedition at the end of August in 1917, being accompanied by Don Dionysio, my boy Leon and two more youths from Macas who carried my luggage. Having crossed the broad, rapid river by canoe with great difficulty--the Upano is not navigable at Macas--and climbed the high barranca on the other side, we were again in the wilderness, in a country which the savage Indians regard as their undisputed property. The regions north of the Upano are comparatively thickly populated, but, as in other parts of tropical South America, the houses lie very scattered and no real village communities are found. Close to the river there are no Indian settlements; generally one has to march for half-a-day to arrive at the first Jibaro house. There is much intercourse, however, between those Indians who are neighbours and belong to the same sub-tribe. Frequently small parties of wandering

Indians are met on the trail, some paying visits to other houses, others hunting, and since Indian etiquette requires that conversation shall be engaged in with every friend or stranger met, there were several delays on our march.

About three days' journey to the north from Macas there is the small river Arapicos, a western affluent of the Pastaza. On the upper course of this river there are several Jibaro settlements, and the Indians were still living in their natural state at the time when I first visited them. Shortly afterwards they consented to be 'reduced' in a village which is to-day called Arapicos, and this place was at times visited by a Catholic 'Padre' who tried to instruct them in the Christian faith. I have visited Arapicos several times passing from Macas to Canelos or vice versa, and shall presently mention it again. This time my nearest goal was a community of Jibaro Indians living on the Rio Chiguaza, another small affluent of the Pastaza, situated about midway between the Upano and the Arapicos, although somewhat more towards the east. While staying at Macas I had been told by an Indian who occasionally visited the village that a great victory-feast was to be held at Chiguaza by an Indian named Shakaëma. We were then actually in search of Shakaëma's house, and since he was well-known to the Indians of the tract we had no difficulty in finding it. We also received, from Indians whom we met, confirmation of the rumour that he was preparing for a victory-feast. The only uncertain thing was whether we should be allowed to be present at it."

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro P-20
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

"On the following day, early in the afternoon, we arrived at the house where the feast was to take place. Having given in good time the necessary signal with the cow's horn we entered the house where the usual greeting ceremonies were exchanged. It was incumbent on Don Dionysio to explain who I was, what the object of my visit, and to ask permission for us to be present at the approaching great feast. The Indians of course are just as disinclined to receive uninvited guests at their feasts as are civilized people, particularly as they always fear evil supernatural influences from strangers. The fact that the host Shakaëma not only received us in a friendly way but even gave us permission to stay in the house the whole time the feast lasted, was due, partly to the eloquence of my companion, but perhaps still more to the presents I gave him and the other members of the family. Shakaëma himself got a nice machete (forest-knife), and each of his wives a collar of beads, needles, thread, and small round mirrors being distributed among the other members of the family. Shakaëma was quite pleased and declared that he had in fact known that a party of strangers would arrive, for he had taken nstéma some days ago and seen us in a dream. Shakaëma was a man of about fifty-five or sixty years old, a professional warrior and sorcerer, who in fact enjoyed a bad reputation among his neighbours, and was greatly feared by his many enemies anong other Jibaro tribes. With his three full-grown sons, who also lived in the house, and a party of other Indians from among his kinsmen, he had two years before made

war upon a tribe living on the Copataza. The attack had been successful in so far as a head had been captured, and this happy incident had to be celebrated with a feast. When an attack has been successfully carried out, the victor par excellence is the warrior who has cut off the head of the enemy killed. This happy lot had fallen to one of Shakaëma's sons, a youth of 18 or 20 years, who was consequently the principal person at the feast. As [60] the rule in similar cases, the young man was in the dress of a penitent, wore only his loin-cloth and no ornament or facial paintings and had his long hair hanging loose down the back. Similarly he had to diet himself strictly.

While we were conversing with Shakaëma and his son about the coming feast, the women of the house, that is to say, Shakaëma's two wives, two of his daughters and one daughter-in-law, were mixing the manioc substance in clay vessels partly filled with water, and handing this favourite beer of the Indians round to the guests in the house. My companions from Macas appreciated it almost as much as did the Indians themselves, but for my own part I only took a draught from the vessel offered me and return it again to my hostess. My moderation caused my hosts some displeasure, but I diverted their attention from this topic by showing them some of the things I had brought with me. Many of these as usual awakened the curiosity and fear of the Indians. My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguanchi (evil spirit)

would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed. 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaëma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father.[61]

The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the

Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report.

Having been allowed to be present at the feast, I had placed my field-bed at one of the big pillars in the middle of the house. Since, as I found later on, the chief dance during the feast was performed every night round the central pillars of the house, I had to spend my nights in the middle of the dancing Indians and consequently could hardly think of sleeping. The Indians, it should be understood, start to dance as soon as darkness sets in and continue until dawn, or about five o'clock, and they accompany their dance by constant chanting and shouting. Since the main feast lasted for six days and nights, it will be easily understood that participating in an Indian scalp-feast is really a feat of strength and endurance. The first night I had no rest at all; the ghastly dance, saturated with mystery and performed amid a dreadful noise, impressed me too much and, besides, there were many interesting things to watch and note down. The following night it was about the same. But the [62] third night I decided to sleep, put cotton wool in my ears, and gave some of it to my companions also. Tired to the utmost I really succeeded in sleeping a few hours in spite of the noisy dance going on around me. Still at five o'clock in the morning when I awoke some of the women went on dancing and chanting their monotonous óa...óa--óa-é...aó, as they had done all the night. I could not even notice that they were hoarse, which greatly struck me. At six o'clock the whole party, both men and women, rushed down to the river and had a bathe, and with this the night's ceremony was over--to begin again in the following

evening.

From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaŕma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jíbaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jíbaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the

warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house.

Nevertheless a white man, visiting the savage Jibaros on an occasion like this, has to be extremely careful in dealing with the Indians. This is best shown by the following incident which took place at the end of the feast, and which could easily have led to most serious consequences. One of the ceremonies at the great victory feast, as we shall see later on, is the slaughter of the swine and the hens, which takes place the day before the feast ends. In the evening the hosts and hostesses were engaged [63] in cooking the meat in big clay pots placed on different fires all round on the earthen floor. I saw an Indian moving a boiling clay pot to adjust it--when suddenly he fell backwards, shouting loudly, with the pot, which was broken and poured out a part of its hot contents upon him, whereupon he dropped down on the floor and remained lying in convulsions with the mouth open. There arose a terrible hubbub and excitement. All at first thought that he had only been burned, and so I believed myself also, although the symptoms seemed to me strange. My first intention was to give the Indian what help I could, but I was warned by my more experienced companions not to do anything. They told me, what aferwards I really found to be true, that if among the Jibaros someone undertakes to cure a patient, and the latter nevertheless dies, the physician will unfailingly be made responsible for the death, the law of blood-revenge being applied to him. Such is the logic of these Indians. In any case the cause of the accident had to be cleared up,

and it was characteristic of the Indian train of thought that the worst consequences were anticipated. 'He will die, he will die', one of the women exclaimed in a heart-piercing voice. 'Why has he burned himself, why must he die', were questions which arose from all sides, and these strange questions were particularly addressed to me. Soon the questions became indirect or direct accusations. 'Why must he die'?, the host of the house asked vehemently, turning towards me. --'He has only burned himself', I answered, 'he will not die but recover.'--'No, the Indian replied, 'he has not burned himself, it was something else; what was it that flew into him in the same moment as he fell?' I began to realize the danger of the situation and my interpreter who fully understood the language of the Indians realized it still better. The Indians looked upon me as a powerful strange medicine-man and it was clear that they believed that I had bewitched their comrade. I saw them assembled in groups and conversing in commotion, now and then pointing at me and my companions and looking at us with threatening looks and gestures. Of course, I was the person against whom their wrath would turn in the first place. Several circumstances arousing suspicion were moreover mentioned to my interpreter. Thus the Indian who had been the first to tell me about the feast had shortly afterwards fallen ill with a fever so that he had not been able to be present at the feast at all.

Probably the white man had brought the sickness with him. Another Indian who had engaged to carry a part of my luggage on my return, had afterwards accidentally cut himself in the foot, causing a gaping wound, and so forth. [64]

The situation was not enviable. I was almost alone far away in the virgin forest, in the midst of fifty or sixty savage Indians, all professional murderers so to speak, all more or less drunk and excited, all well armed even with firearms, Indians whose brutality and revengeful spirit when witchcraft is in question I knew sufficiently well. The principal thing in such a situation is to remain perfectly calm and show no fear. I did not even look at my own gun and rifle which were standing in a corner of the house, and I pretended not to understand the accusations of the Indians at all, making light of the incident and declaring that the Indian would soon recover. It was lucky that my companions behaved in the same way and that my interpreter proved so clever in Indian 'diplomacy' as he did. Still I understood that my own fate very probably depended on the fate of the sick Indian. He had been carried to a corner of the house where he had ultimately fallen asleep. The Indians seemed gradually to become calmer and at last even began to dance. As for myself, it was many hours before I could compose myself to sleep, since of course it was uncertain what turn the illness of the Indian would take. The following morning, however, the condition of the patient was much better; he had recovered consciousness and the power of speech and was himself able to give an

explanation of the accident. His burns were insignificant, but he had evidently had a heart attack and had fallen in consequence. Of course, even this attack, according to the Indians' way of reasoning, had some mysterious cause; but the fact that the man did not die but recovered made the incident lose its importance, and it was quite probable that this happy issue saved my own life. It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder.

The cause of the heart attack to which the Indian very nearly fell a victim must no doubt be sought in the fact that the Indians at their feasts consume tremendous quantities of tobacco water, which is very likely to affect the health of persons suffering from a weak heart.

Experiences of this kind however made me long to get away from the house and the noisy feast as soon as possible. Happily it was to be concluded on the following day, and having witnessed the last ceremony, the 'Dressing of the victor', and the final ceremonial drinking-bout I took leave of my host and his family to continue my journey to the upper Pastaza. Shakaĕma was now quite friendly again and behaved as [65] if he had wholly forgotten the incident, which the day before had made him look upon me as an evil witch-doctor and almost as an enemy.

Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited.

Having finished my studies of the head-feast on the Rio Chiguaza, I did not immediately return to Macas, but continued my journey towards the north, my plan being.

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t to Canelos, and then to return to civilization for some time via
h Canelos I had first to pass through Arapicos, the small Jibaro vil-
of the same name, thereupon to ascend the small river Pindu, and
on foot through the forests for about three days more. My journey,
ons, became extremely trying. It had been raining for a couple of
und through which we had to walk had become like a marsh and the
n. There were two rivers that we had to cross to get to Arapicos, a
guaza and the Arapicos itself. The former is not very broad but
and can only be crossed by wading. If the water has considerably risen
in, the stream cannot be crossed, or only with great danger. When
river, the Indians declared, as I had indeed feared, that it was im-
it then and that we must wait on the bank until the following day. This
no means pleased me, especially since we were in danger of running
ich could not be obtained in these uninhabited regions. Happily the
] to be sinking, and on the following morning we were able to cross
ugh with great difficulty. The same day in the afternoon we reached
s, and within an hour had crossed over to the other side where the
d.

met one of the Catholic missionaries in the Ecuadorian Oriente, Father

Agustín de Leon, whose acquaintance I had made before at Canelos. In his company I undertook an interesting expedition to a big cave situated on the right bank of the Pastaza about one day's journey from Arapicos. The cave is known among the Indians as the tayu-cave, after the bird which inhabits it. This is the guacharo or oil-bird (Steatornis caripensis), called tayu by the Jibaros. Father Leon and I decided to make an excursion to this cave, which had scarcely been visited by any white man before. The whole region, that is to say, the big corner bounded by the Arapicos in the north and the right bank of the Pastaza, is geographically very little known. The only human beings who are in the habit of visiting the tayu-cave regularly are the Jibaro Indians of the district. Their great attraction is the tayu-bird which they appreciate extremely both on account of its meat, which they eat, its oil which they likewise find very useful, and especially its leg-bones from which they prepare the most costly ornament they wear at their feasts, the so-called tayukunchi, to be described later on. Our guides were partly Indians from the mission of Arapicos, partly savage Jibaro Indians from the other side of the river.

The tayu-cave really turned out to be of considerable interest. There are three caves in this tract at some distance from each other, and we decided to penetrate the biggest of them which nevertheless was the one approached with the greatest difficulty. Its entrance was wide, but its position was such that it could not easily be photographed.

The cave appeared to consist of different compartments, of which the first one formed a kind of 'hall', as large as a small room. Even here we encountered some of the winged inhabitants of this gloomy place, the guacharo birds which, frightened from their nests and screaming loudly, flew about our heads. It was not, however, until we had penetrated further that it became clear to me what enormous numbers of this bird the cave sheltered.

From the 'hall' mentioned a narrow entrance, through which one had to crawl on all fours, led to the interior of the cave, which here [67] branched off in all directions into the mountain. The danger of going astray in this subterranean labyrinth was great, but we could rely upon the Indians, who were not visiting the cave for the first time. On entering it they had at once kindled their copal torches, by the light of which we cautiously went forwards, following the main branch. The farther we penetrated, the louder became the screaming of the owl-like birds which lived in the cave, and whose number seemed to be constantly increasing. The nests of the birds were high up on the shelves formed by the rocks, in funnel-like holes, and turned out to contain enormous numbers of young. The Indians often climbed up and caught them, putting them quickly in baskets which they had brought for this very purpose. I myself had brought my gun which I fired twice, killing some of the flying birds. The Indians however would not allow me to continue this, fearing lest the walls of the cave should burst in consequence

of the dreadful detonation and perhaps also believing that the mysterious spirits of this subterranean dwelling would get angry and punish us. Our stay in the cave lasted for about one hour. We did not go as far as was possible and as far as the Indians have sometimes penetrated the interior when going alone. Taking a considerable number of full-grown birds which had been killed, and a still greater number of young, partly dead, partly living, we again tried to find our way out into the daylight.

How far the cave extends into the interior of the mountain is unknown, since no one has dared to explore it thoroughly. Father Leon and I only penetrated about thirty or forty meters into it. The river Pastaza, which flows at a short distance from the mountain where the cave is situated and the waters of which still at times rise to its level, has of course had a share in its formation. The thorough exploration of the cave would be a most dangerous undertaking owing to its many ramifications. Besides the savage Indians, there is another creature which is in the habit of regularly visiting the tayu-cave, namely, the jaguar. Being a skilful climber, this beast can easily reach the nests of the guacharo birds, although they are situated high up on the rocky shelves, giving himself a nice feast on the young. The Indians who followed us on this trip told us that the last time they visited the cave they had heard the grunting of the jaguar from the interior and had hastily retired.

The guacharo bird was discovered by Alexander v. Humboldt more than a hundred

years ago in the Caripe cave in Venezuela, but is known to exist in a few other places, e.g. in the north-west of South America. In Ecuador, as far as I know, the tayu-caves on the Pastaza are the only [68] localities where it exists, so it is a comparatively rare bird. Its mode of life--the guacharo of course is a night-bird--and the gloomy places where it dwells make the Indians look upon it with superstition, which however does not prevent them from eating it. It is supposed to be an incarnation of the souls of the dead, a superstition which also accounts for the mysterious power which its fat and its bones are believed to contain.

Having returned to Arapicos, I stayed there a few more days for the purpose of making studies among the Indians, whereupon I continued my journey to the upper Pastaza, to the point where the small river Pindu empties its waters into it. Pastaza in this region is a broad and very powerful river, forming numerous cataracts and, as I have stated before, does not become navigable until it has received its northern affluent the Bobonaza. The savage Jibaro Indians, extremely skilled as they are in managing canoes, are the only ones who use the waterway when they visit one another or--as has happened very frequently--make hostile attacks on other tribes. Between the Pindu and the Bobonaza there is a third small affluent of the Pastaza from the north, the river Copataza. Here there lived a Jibaro tribe with whom the Chirapas

had been at war a couple of years before I arrived. The Chirapas had succeeded in bringing home a head--and it was this head that had given rise to the victory-feast at which I had just been present.

From Arapicos to the Pastaza it is a march of one day and a half through the virgin forest. This region is wholly uninhabited, and consequently unusually rich in game. Wild pigs, deer, monkeys, and all sorts of birds, especially the wild turkey and the curious trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans) are frequently seen and can easily be shot. Even the jaguar is common, as one may judge from the numerous tracks encountered. The first night I had, as usual, to spend in the middle of the forest in a primitive shelter made of palm leaves. In the morning my Indians found that a big jaguar had during the night beaten about our camp, without however daring to attack us. The jaguar in fact avoids man and is therefore seldom seen, although quite common in Eastern Ecuador.

We arrived at the Pastaza at the spot where it receives the small affluent Pindu from the north. Then we crossed the former in a canoe which my Indians had ready for the purpose and started to ascend the Pindu. This river, although carrying comparatively little water, is very rapid and not navigable in the strict sense of the word. To take the canoe up the many cataracts, the Indians have continually to get into [69] the water and pull it over the stones; in fact, they work as much in the water as in the

canoe. When the river is running high, which is frequently the case owing to the heavy rains, it cannot be ascended at all. Twice during my journeys from Macas to Canelos I have been delayed on the bank of the Pindu, waiting for the water to go down. The worst place to pass is a cataract called Guineo Sass by the Canelos Indians. Here the canoe has to be pulled up a rock where the water is rushing out with extraordinary force between two other big stones. On the journey I am describing I had a narrow escape from shipwreck in this cataract. I myself had been carried to the shore from where I watched the attempts of the Indians to take the canoe up the violent cataract. Two of them placed themselves above the cataract pulling the canoe by a big liana tied to the front of it, while two more Indians were pushing it from the stern, standing in the rushing water up to the waist. With great difficulty they succeeded in pulling the canoe a few feet up the rock--when suddenly the liana burst and the canoe, which the two Indians at the stern were not able to hold, began to slide down the cataract owing to the pressure of the mass of water. In a moment it was half-filled and was in immediate danger of upsetting, in which case I should have lost all my luggage, among other things all my valuable notes and photographs. My Indians however saved the situation by throwing themselves immediately into the eddy, when they succceeded in keeping the canoe on an even keel until they had pulled it to the shore. Here it was emptied of its water and a new and more successful attempt was made to take it up the

cataract. The only thing I lost through this accident was a basket with living hens which I had brought from Arapicos. When the stern of the canoe where the basket had been placed filled with water the torrent carried it away, and it was not possible for the Indians to save the hens.

The Guineo Sass has a bad reputation among those Indians and mestizos who use this water route. Some months before I made this journey one of the Fathers from the mission of Canelos had tried to descend the Pindu on his way to Arapicos. The canoe had been upset in the cataract, and the Father had lost all his luggage, saving his life only by swimming to the shore.

Having ascended the Pindu for about one day and a half we arrived at a point where there is an Indian trail direct to the villages Puyu and Canelos. I thus had to continue my journey overland and expected to reach Canelos in two days. This time, however, it took me three days [70] to get there, owing to an unforeseen accident. During my stay in the Indian house at the Chiguaza sand-flies had bitten one of my toes which became inflamed and rendered walking very difficult, and at last almost impossible. These tiny insects, almost invisible to the naked eye, are very common in the houses of the Indians and are a great annoyance to a white visitor, indeed to the Indians also. Boring into the skin, preferably under the nail, they cause an infection in a few days which, unless the insect is at once cautiously removed with a needle, may become

dangerous, especially owing to the difficulty of keeping the little wound clean while marching. My swollen and aching toe caused me great suffering during this march, being, as I was, unable to attend to it and obliged to walk wet from morning till evening. Some distances my Indians tried to carry me on a sort of litter, but since they had to carry my luggage also, this way of marching proved impossible for any length of time. Besides this, during our march through the forest we were surprised by one of the heaviest downpours I have witnessed in Eastern Ecuador, which lasted for three hours. In an extremely miserable condition I arrived at Canelos, although, on the other hand, I had no reason to be discontented with the results of my long expedition. It was eight days before I had recovered sufficiently to be able to start on my final return journey to Ambato and civilization. I arrived there in the beginning of 1918."

1: Karsten--71 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"The expedition which I undertook to Western Amazonas in 1928-1929 had for its chief object a further study of certain particular customs, a general survey of the whole Jibaro culture, and, last but not least, a visit to the country of the Aguarunas, the southernmost tribe of the Jibaro people. In this chapter I propose to give a short account of this expedition which covered nearly the whole enormous area inhabited by the Jibaros, taking me along the Bobonaza and Pastaza down to the Marañon and further to one of its southern affluents, the small river Apaga."

"After repeated visits to the Indians of the Upano--where, among other things, I was present at a great 'tobacco feast'--I proceeded to Canelos, to see old friends and to make certain investigations. Canelos was also to be the starting-point for my expedition down to the Marañon. For this purpose I had to make the necessary arrangements with my Indian companions, who are indispensable on expeditions of this nature. To find native servants willing to accompany me on my long journey, however, proved extremely difficult. On the whole I had suffered bad luck from the very moment I set foot in the country of the Indians. The whole of Eastern Ecuador at that time [JKM: 1928-29] seemed to be suffering from an epidemic of measles, a malady which among the natives is by no means the innocent disease of children it generally is in Europe. I had found it raging among the Jibaros of the Upano also, and since the Indians rightly conclude that such epidemics come from the whites, it had been extremely difficult for me to get in touch with the Jibaros of that region. A white man entering an Indian house was at first looked upon almost as an enemy. During my stay on the Upano, however, I never thought of the region of Canelos too being visited by measles, as I now found to be the case. When I arrived there I was told that the [72] village was practically empty, the Indians shunning it for fear of the epidemic and living now scattered here and there in their tambos along the river. There was little hope of persuading some of the fugitives to return to the village and enter my service. It looked for a moment as if I

should have to put off my journey to the Marañon.

I was, however, fortunate enough at last to find the man who could help me out of my difficulty. This was a half-civilized Indian named Acevedo, a native of Canelos, but now living at a place on the upper Pindu called Intillama. Acevedo not only knew the whole of Eastern Ecuador down to the Marañon, but had also been to the Sierra and visited both the capital Quito and Ambato. He spoke Spanish fairly well and knew the value of money almost more than was desirable. He was a comparatively wealthy man for an Indian and consequently enjoyed a certain reputation among his fellow-tribesmen in the region of Canelos. This man now offered me his services, promising, for a payment of 100 American dollars, to accompany me for the whole of my expedition down to the Marañon and the Aguarunas, and to get a canoe and the necessary Indian crew for the purpose. Although the payment he demanded seemed to me somewhat exorbitant, I had to accept his offer if I wanted to pursue my plan. It was really a long expedition that I was preparing, and for Acevedo who would have to return the same way the whole journey would take at least three months. For my own part I proposed, after my visit to the Aguarunas, to go to the own Iquitos and thence continue to the Peruvian Sierra ascending the great river Ucayali. Besides this, my Indians had got the idea that the expedition would be rather a perilous enterprise. Not only the Aguarunas, whom we were to seek out, had a bad name because of their savage and warlike character, like

all Jibaro Indians; on the nether Pastaza there was another savage Indian tribe particularly dreaded by the Canelos Indians at that time. These savages, called Muratos, had some months previously treacherously assaulted and killed a party of Indians from Canelos as they descended the Pastaza on the way to the Marañon, the reason for their hostility being that the Canelos Indians had brought an epidemic to their country to which several Murato Indians had fallen victim. Although I had reason to believe that the misgivings of the Indians were exaggerated, I still had to admit that their claims to compensation for a journey they considered risky were in a way excusable.

Both in Ecuador and Peru I have frequently been asked why I always travel in the wilds of tropical South America alone, except for Indians [73] and mestizos, whose reliability must generally be doubtful. The reason of course is the difficulty of getting suitable white companions for such expeditions. Few Europeans can stand the climate in the interior of South America, not to mention all those trials to which a traveller is subject during expeditions in these regions lasting for many months or even for years. My own experience, however, is that a European travelling off the beaten track with only native servants, if not actually risking his life--which may also be the case--has at any rate to overcome many difficulties which he could avoid if only he were accompanied by one single reliable white man. During the long expedition I am now describing I had again good opportunity to confirm this experiepce. The inconstancy and un-

reliability of Acevedo and his men more than once put my patience to the severest tests.

We left Canelos on the 4th of January 1929. Since on my expedition to the Achuares twelve years earlier I went the same way down to the middle Pastaza, and have described that journey in a previous chapter, I shall only say a few words about the latter part of my journey and my visit among the Aguarunas. We reached the Pastaza on the eighth day after leaving Canelos. A few hours later we expected to arrive at Andoas which before had been the last outpost of the Ecuadorian government towards the south. To my astonishment, however, I found no trace of the whole 'village', which at the time of my first journey had consisted of two houses only. Evidently the garrison had been withdrawn by the Ecuadorian government; I could not even find the place where the houses had stood. One day's journey further down the river had been the settlement of the rubber merchant who had helped me to come into contact with the Achuares. Even this settlement, both the houses and the manioc and banana plantations, had disappeared; it had been entirely swallowed by the virgin forest. Moreover, I noticed that the Shimigay Indians, the only ones who live on the banks of the Pastaza, had diminished or retired to the interior parts of the country, so that only a few families of them were encountered by us. It seemed that man, be he Indian or white, does not get on well on the Pastaza in spite of all that nature bounteously gives him in these regions. Civilization had

certainly made no progress here in ten or twelve years. The decay of the caoutchouc trade after the great war and the unhealthy climate at the middle course of the river may be the principal causes of this phenomenon. We travelled down the river for about a fortnight without meeting other human beings than the inhabitants of a solitary Indian house. Not even the [74] savage Muratos, so feared by my Indian companions, were seen. At the nether Pastaza, near its confluence with the Marañon, we found a Peruvian commissariate, the chief of which, Sr. Arturo Rojas, received me with great hospitality and provided me with certain articles of food of which we were in need. At Canelos I had not been able to buy other provisions for my journey than some bottles of sugar cane syrup, which in Eastern Ecuador is commonly used instead of real sugar. Instead of coffee, which I could not obtain anywhere, I drank a preparation of the leaves of the guayusa-tree (Ilex) which grows everywhere in the forests in these regions and which I learnt to appreciate more than real tea. Manioc and plantain I could obtain in sufficient quantities from the Indian houses on the Bobonaza, but for meat we were entirely dependent on hunting. Since the uninhabited large forests of the Pastaza are very rich in game, we had no difficulty in getting meat, and my Indians were sometimes able to eke out our store of food by fishing. Still the menu was rather monotonous and I was glad to be approaching the comparative civilization I expected to meet on the Marañon, where at any rate big haciendas are to be found and where river steamers

from Iquitos make tours.

In its middle course, or south of its confluence with the Bobonaza, the Pastaza is a very broad but on the whole shallow river, forming numerous islands and large sandbanks. The current is strong, but there seems to be no regular channel for its waters. Often, when travelling in the middle of the river and believing one is in deep water, the canoe runs against a sandbank, and the traveller has to look for a new way for his vessel. The Pastaza is therefore not navigable here even for small steamers, and Peruvian river steamers have been able to ascend it only up to the mouth of the Huazaga.

I reached the Marañon, as the river Amazon is called in its upper course, the 21st of January. Even at the mouth of the Pastaza the Mother of rivers is imposing in its breadth, which according to my calculation is about two or three miles. With its numerous large islands separated from one another by narrow channels--called chigta by the Indians-- the river is like an enormous water labyrinth where it is frequently difficult for an inexperienced traveller to find his way. Although the vegetation on the banks of the river and the islands is luxuriant, the forests are on the whole low and the country flat. Inundations during the rainy season are therefore frequent, naturally giving rise to the numerous swamps and lagoons for which the Amazon is famous. At the [75] mouth of the Pastaza the whole tract looks just as desolate and uninhabited as the regions I had just left behind me, and the haciendas on which I had counted turned out to be much fewer

than I had imagined.

According to my agreement with Acevedo, the Indians were to accompany me on the expedition to the Aguarunas living in the neighbourhood of Pongo de Manseriche, after which they were to take me to Iquitos or stay with me until I could catch a steamer for the next part of my journey. This involved ascending the Marañon from Pastaza for several days. The exact dwelling-places of the Aguarunas were unknown to me and of course also to my Indians, who had never travelled on the upper Marañon, and my intention was to try to get an Indian guide in some hacienda, who could bring me into contact with the savages. I knew that the Aguarunas do not live on the banks of the river, but somewhere in the interior of the country. On the river there are only found a few houses inhabited by half-civilized Cocama Indians speaking Quichua, but these would probably know nothing about the Aguarunas whom they greatly fear. The only ones who could help me were the hacienda-owners whose mestiz peons know the Marañon best, but the question was whether the former would be willing to give me their peons and, if so, what payment they would demand for this service.

In addition to this difficulty, I met, shortly after my arrival at the Marañon, with a misfortune which threatened to prevent the continuance of my journey on the original plan. Two of my Indians had caught malaria in the unhealthy regions of the Pastaza and were now almost incapable of work. To start on a more or less adventurous expedition

up the rapid currents of the Marañon without an adequate Indian crew seemed out of question. A fortunate chance helped me out of this difficulty. Upon a big sandbank in the middle of the river we unexpectedly encountered a party of Indians from Canelos, who some months previously had descended the Pastaza in their canoes for the purpose of fetching salt from the Huallaga--expeditions which are now and then undertaken by the Indians of the mission. They were now ready to return with their cargoes of salt, but for fear of the savage Muratos who were supposed to haunt the Pastaza region they hesitated to start on the return journey alone. They had now lived for several weeks on the sandbank, maintaining life by fishing and by doing some work on an hacienda in the neighbourhood. To these poor Indians our arrival was quite welcome: since Acevedo and his men had to return the same way, it was decided that the Indians should wait for our return from the Aguarunas and then [76] make the journey up to Canelos in his company. I was moreover able to arrange that the two sick Indians of my own crew should remain on the sandbank and be replaced by two men of the other party while our expedition to the Aguarunas lasted. In consequence of this my stay among these Indians would probably be shorter than I had calculated, but the principal thing for me was that I could pursue my scheme of visiting them.

Having arranged things in this way and given orders that the sick Indians should be tended as carefully as circumstances permitted, I started upon my new expedition with

an Indian crew reinforced in the way indicated. On the second day we arrived at a big hacienda called San Antonio, owned by a Peruvian of German descent, Sr. Guillermo v. Bancels. He was able to give me the first information concerning the Aguarunas, telling me that at present they lived on the upper Rio Apaga, a small southern affluent to the upper Marañon. As to guides who could take me to the Indians however he could give me no advice. He certainly gave me a letter of introduction to a hacienda owner some leagues further up the river, where a mestizo who knew about the Aguarunas was said to live, but my subsequent inquiries at this hacienda did not yield any results.

Two days later, however, I arrived at another big hacienda named La Estrella, the owner of which was Sr. Juan Jose´Vaśquez who, in his capacity of a governador, exercised authority in this remote part of the Marañon district. Sr. Vaśquez showed me the same kindness and courtesy as the Commissary at the Pastaza and could give me all necessary information concerning the Aguarunas. From La Estrella to the mouth of the Apaga it was only two days' journey. There was no guide to be had, but on the middle course of the river, a commission of balateros--rubber seekers--sent by a company at Iquitos, were just working, and these would give me all the help I needed for the purpose of coming into contact with the savage Indians, who lived near the sources of the river. Sr. Vaśquez gave me a letter of introduction to the chief of the commission at the Apaga and assured me that he would do everything in his power to

facilitate my investigations among the Indians.

Having received this news we proceeded on our journey of discovery, the mouth of the Apaga being our nearest goal. We followed the left, northern bank of the Marañon but, as usual, the strong current sometimes compelled us to cross over to the opposite side which, considering the breadth of the river, meant considerable delay. On the following day we [77] passed the mouth of the Morona, which struck me as being comparatively narrow; there was hardly more than a hundred meters from one side of the mouth to the other; the Morona on the whole seems to be an insignificant river in comparison with the broad and rapid Pastaza. Shortly afterwards we arrived at a place which turned out to be a small hacienda or an Indian settlement, for one reason or another abandoned by its inhabitants. There were no houses, but the plantations were left and we did not omit to complete our store of manioc and plantain which was very scanty. We had no hope of getting food of this kind until we reached the balateros on the Apaga. Even our store of animal food--chiefly consisting of dried wild boar's meat--was nearly used up. Game on the Marañon is not nearly so rich as on the Pastaza; wild turkeys are rare and shy, and of quadrupeds scarcely any but the capivara or water-haas is seen on the banks of the river, an animal which is seldom eaten by white men. Consequently we had only to go on as quickly as possible until we again encountered human beings.

The Apaga runs into the Marañon from the south, so we had to cross over to the right side of the main river. Late in the afternoon of the following day we found it after considerable searching; it was nearly hidden by a big island. From the current we could conclude that we had really arrived at an affluent of the main river and not at one of the numerous channels formed between the islands of the Marañon. At its mouth this river--which does not figure at all in the ordinary maps of the river Amazon--looks quite insignificant, but soon it widens considerably and even in depth it is no doubt navigable to small river steamers for a great part of its course.

Our immediate task was to find the camp of the rubber seekers. For three days we descended the river without encountering traces of human beings, passing the nights, as usual, on the sandbanks in the river. The situation began to cause me some anxiety. Our store of food was now almost exhausted and the Indians were beginning to feel weary of a journey which seemed never to end and in their opinion had no reasonable object. There was no game on the Apaga so we could get little by hunting. Acevedo several times made excursions into the interior with my shot-gun, but each time returned only with a tinamide, a kind of partridge of about the same size as a hen. He had seen traces of pigs, deer, and tapir, but never encountered the animals themselves; evidently they moved about only at night. Nor did my Indians try fishing. The only fish we caught were some sting-rays which were found in abundance on the [78] shallow and

muddy banks of the river. One day they harpooned three or four of them and we boiled and ate them in the absence of better food. The meat of the ray is soft and not particularly tasteful, but I found it quite eatable. When however I wished to try the same sort of food on the following day my Indians refused to eat it. 'The ray is an evil spirit (supai)', they said 'We might fall ill and die if we eat much of it.' The sting-ray is in fact feared and hated by the Indians on account of its dreadful venomous sting, which may even cause death. The experienced Indian, when obliged to wade ashore from his canoe in the muddy water, always feels his way by means of a stick with which he incessantly pokes the bottom.

At last in the evening of the third day we perceived, at a turning of the river, the camp of the rubber seekers, a number of temporary huts which really formed a small village. I presented my letter of introduction to the leader of the expedition, Sr. Rojas Torres. In counting on his help I was certainly not misled. Sr. Torres not only provided me with the food I needed but above all gave me positive information about the Aguarunas. This rubber expedition had no dealings with the savage Indians since only white labourers were used; but they knew that the Aguarunas lived about one day's journey and a half from the place where we then were, in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Apaga. In its upper course this river divides into two branches, of which the one is called Yurac Apaga (White A.), the other Yana Apaga (Black A.), and the

Aguarunas were supposed to live at the former little affluent. Sr. Torres offered to send two peons with us to the Indians, but since they did not know the Aguaruna language and we would now no doubt find the Indians ourselves, I declined this offer.

Pleased to be at last near my long journey's end, I continued my descent of the Apaga on the following day. One day's journey took us to the place where the river branches off into what is called Yurac Apaga and Yana Apaga. By mistake we followed the latter branch instead of the former, but it appeared later on that both rivers are inhabited by the Aguarunas. The river narrowed off more and more, its bottom had become stony like the shores and it was clear that it could not remain navigable much longer. In front of us rose high, forest-clad cordilleras; they were the last spurs of the Peruvian Andes. On a journey by canoe lasting for one month I had thus crossed the enormous valley of the Amazon and was approaching the mountains on the other side of the giant river. The Aguarunas in fact both in Ecuador and in Peru inhabit [79] the slopes of the Andes and generally avoid the swampy, malaria-stricken plains down in the Amazon valley. But they avoid the main rivers also, even such as the Apaga, preferring to make their settlements in those remote parts of the country that are not easily visited by other Indians and by the whites. Consequently I encountered no Indian huts on the Apaga and it was only by a happy chance that I found them. On the bank of the river my Indian companions suddenly caught sight of a canoe which according to them undoubtedly

belonged to the 'Aucas', as the savage Indians are called by the half-civilized Napo and Canelos Indians. These therefore were in the neighbourhood, and since it was important that we surprised them before they detected us and found time to run away, Acevedo went out to reconnoitre. He did not go far before he came to a temporary Indian hut in the forest. There was no one at home, but since it was evidently occupied by Indians he sat down to wait. After a while a middle-aged Indian and his wife appeared and a while afterwards a younger Indian. At sight of the stranger they at first intended to take to flight, but when Acevedo spoke to them in the Jibaro language they returned and answered him. All four then came down to the river where I was waiting for them with the other Indians."

1: Karsten--79-80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
171, 361, 161 (1928-29)

"They [JKM: four Aguaruna Indians Karsten met on Apaga river bank] were really Jibaros. The type is easily recognizable, and the dress and the whole external appearance was the same as that of the Jibaro Indians I had recently visited far away in the Ecuadorian forests. Even the language was in the main the same, although I could at once find considerable dialectal differences. Sometimes they used words which we did not at once understand, but the conversation on the whole proceeded quite nicely. We at once learned that the Aguarunas did not live there close to the river, but about half a day's march into the interior. Those we had met stayed here only temporarily for the sake of hunting and fishing and for this purpose had built themselves a rough hut. It seemed however as if these Indians had intended to stay away for a long time. Like most Indians of the virgin forests the Jibaros are a restless kind of folk who from time to time seek new dwelling-places. In most cases either fear of enemies or of epidemics make them take up their abodes in fresh places. From the information these Indians gave me I learned that the Aguarunas have in recent years been greatly decimated owing to some epidemic. At any rate the Aguarunas living in the region of the Apaga now only formed a comparatively small tribe. The younger of the two Indians, by name Himbikite, offered [80] to take me on the following day to his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, my payment for this service being a nice knife in a sheath."

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We marched off early the following morning and in a few hours arrived at the first

house inhabited by a brother of Himbikite's. Knowing that fear of 'disease' which is particularly characteristic of the Jibaros, I was surprised at the unprejudiced attitude which the Aguarunas assumed towards me and my Indian companions. It may have been because they realized at once that we came from afar and not from any disease-stricken village inhabited by the whites. On the whole I was lucky during this expedition. If I had not encountered these Indians on the river by chance, it would have been very difficult for us to find the way to the region inhabited by the Indians alone. The friendly attitude of the Aguarunas was due to particular reasons. During the last years they had waged war against the Huambizas living between the Morona and the Santiago. They were closely related to these Indians, it is true, but this fact did not by any means prevent the two tribes from being mortal enemies. On the contrary, it is a peculiarity of the Jibaros that precisely the different sub-tribes wage sanguinary wars against one another. Exactly at the time when we visited them the Aguarunas were fearing an attack of the Huambizas. This fear may have been exaggerated. But the consequence of it was that at any rate for the time they wished to live in peace with the whites, who might even help them in the event of a hostile attack of their own tribesmen. As to the Canelos Indians whom I had with me, they had no fear of them. But there is no saying what would have happened if I had visited them in the company of real Jibaro Indians from Ecuador!

By presenting a shirt to Himbikite's brother I at once gained his confidence, and Himbikite himself was able to give a satisfactory explanation of the object of our visit. I had explained that I wished to barter with the Indians and to acquire clay vessels, ornaments, and similar things. I soon found that the material culture of the Aguarunas was essentially the same as that of the Ecuadorian Jibaros, but I still obtained certain new things of interest. On the whole a great uniformity characterizes the Jibaro culture in spite of the enormous areas which it covers and the numerous sub-tribes into which the people is divided. The same seems to be true of their customs and religious beliefs, as far as I have been able to study them.

I made visits to several houses in the neighbourhood. Of the greatest interest was my stay in the house of an old man called Tuhuimbi, who [81] seemed to be in a way the chief of this small Jibaro tribe. It was here that I was first informed of the danger of war which was believed to threaten the Aguarunas from their enemies the Huambizas. I was moreover able to see with my own eyes some of the defensive measures which the Jibaros take in time of war. The whole house, amongst other things, was surrounded by a wall of strong chonta poles of nearly a man's height. The wall was so thick, the Indians explained to me, that a bullet could scarcely penetrate it, and if the enemy tried to shoot over it the bullets would only hit the roof. In other respects also Tuhuimbi was well prepared to receive an enemy. I found four firearms in the house,

of which two were Winchester rifles. In a war between comparatively primitive tribes such a store of arms was no doubt of great importance.

In recent years firearms have been more and more used in the wars of the Indians instead of the old chonta lances, and the consequences of this change in the methods of warfare have naturally been revolutionizing. New kinds of defensive measures must now be taken. The lance and the shield have almost passed out of use. When I first visited the Jibaros--in 1916--it was an easy thing to get genuine Indian lances of chonta wood as well as shields; shields especially are now wellnigh unobtainable, and decent lances extremely rare. Instead of these ancient weapons the Jibaros quite commonly make use of a primitive kind of shot-gun, muzzle-loaders, but Winchester rifles have also unfortunately been introduced by the rubber merchants. The trade in this kind of firearms has to a great extent been a consequence of the barter for the shrunken heads, prepared by the Jibaros and eagerly sought by certain whites, especially by North Americans. For each tsantsa the Jibaro Indian demands a rifle. In possession of this weapon he is able to carry on war with his enemies successfully, and to acquire new heads for further barter with those white travellers who are unscrupulous enough to pursue this dirty trade.

The trade in shrunken Jibaro heads is prohibited by law both in Ecuador and in Peru. It is a well-known fact, however, that it has been secretly carried on to this very day,

being one factor which in its way has conduced to the diminution and degeneration of the Jibaro race. From an ethnographical point of view it may be useful to add in this connection that a great many of the tsantsas which have arrived in the United States and Europe, and even found their place in 'scientific' ethnographic museums, are not Jibaro heads at all but heads of negroes and mestizos or poor whites, who have died in hospitals and been bought [82] by white 'merchants'. Years ago I was told of a man living in Guayaquil who had made the preparation of 'shrunken Jibaro heads' a real business.

The wall of chonta wood which I have mentioned above was a defensive measure from olden times and therefore of course of particular interest. How the Jibaros fortify their houses in time of war will be related by me with more detail in that part of my work which deals with Indian warfare.

The name Aguaruna under which these Jibaros are known is a Quichua word. The word runa means 'Indian' and agua seems to be the name of a certain palm. To the half-civilized Quichua Indians on the Marañon the Aguarunas were no doubt, when they first appeared in this region, a sort of 'people of the wood'. There is no doubt that earlier

they lived north of the Marañon and formed a part of the great tribe of the Huambizas, a fact of which they seem to be conscious themselves. The dialect which they speak is the same as that of the Huambizas of the Morona and the Indians whom I now visited had some two decades ago lived on the Morona--if permanently or only temporarily, I could not find out. Having begun to quarrel with the rest of their tribe they had retired to the regions of the upper Marañon. They strongly insisted on being called Aguarunas and not Huambizas, who have a bad reputation among both Indians and whites on account of their raids. The Aguarunas themselves, however, are scarcely any better. Acevedo and I in conversation with the Indians came to the conclusion that the Aguarunas on the Apaga formed a part of those Huambizas who in 1915 killed the Peruvian garrison on the Morona, an incident previously related by me. This came to light indirectly from what our hosts themselves told us. Besides the Aguarunas of the Apaga, there are communities of the same tribe further up the Marañon, from the village of Pomara on the eastern slopes of the Andes all down the river on both banks to the Pongo de Manseriche, the famous gorge situated just below the mouth of the Santiago. The total number of the Aguarunas is difficult to establish; K. G. Grubb states that estimates of their number vary from 2,000 to 7,000. The former number probably comes nearer the truth than the latter, at any rate now. Like other savage Indians the Aguarunas have in recent years greatly declined in numbers owing to disease. Mr. Grubb mentions that about

1925 fifty per cent of those around the Pongo de Manseriche were said to have died in an influenza epidemic. (1)[83]

My visit to the Aguarunas could not last longer than a few days. I was obliged to hurry on for the sake of the Indians who had consented to serve as my crew on this trip and who wished to return as soon as possible. Besides this, my store of articles for exchange was greatly reduced. There was no possibility of buying anything in these lonely tracts, and without possessing such articles it is useless to visit the savage Indians. I had proposed to make a short visit to the Indians of the Yurac Apaga also, but my native companions from Canelos, led by Acevedo, refused to proceed further, alleging that they had not been engaged for further trips, that their comrades were waiting for them, that we would run short of food, and so forth. As usual they threatened to go off secretly at night and to leave me alone. Again I considered it wisest to yield to the demand of the Indians and to return at once. When on the following day in the evening I reached the camp of the rubber seekers and told Sr. Torres about the behaviour of my Indians, he offered to give me some of his peons for a new trip to the Aguarunas of the Yurac Apaga, and it would thus have been possible for me to pursue my plan in this regard if I had wished to do so. But where should I leave my own Indians meanwhile? It was very probable that they would go off, as they had indeed threatened to do, and my return journey to Iquitos would be extremely difficult. I

"1. Grubb, Amazon and Andes, pp. 135-140."

consequently decided to be satisfied with the results I had achieved and definitely to set out on the last and very long journey to Iquitos.

I need not describe this journey in detail here. Going down the river we were able to travel very quickly, sometimes using the moonlight nights also, as the Indians are wont to do on their own river journeys. Soon we reached the Marañon and two days later arrived at the sandbank where I had left the sick Indians. They were now slightly better, having taken the quinine I had left for their use, but had not wholly recovered. A patient that has contracted malaria on the Marañon cannot be restored within a few weeks by any quinine treatment. In any case, my crew had again to be changed. The two sick Indians had to go with me to Iquitos, whereas the rest were to remain at a place at the mouth of the Pastaza, waiting for the return of my men. Thereafter all proposed to ascend the Pastaza in a body.

This scheme was followed in the main, but Acevedo and his men accompanied me only to the mouth of the Huallaga, where I took one of the steamers which make regular trips between Iquitos and Yurimaguas, a town on the Huallaga."

Fig. 3.

A Jivaro Indian from the Santiago, wearing a bag of monkey's skin (uyúma) and with the breast and shoulders covered by the kind of ornament called mugiah.

1: Karsten--87 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 141 (1928-29)

"The warlike customs and the harsh life of the JIBAROS has influenced them physically as well as mentally. For a people of the tropical virgin forests they are rather strongly built and muscular. The independent and arrogant character of the Jibaro Indian also shows itself in his bearing, gestures, and his manner of speech, and makes him seem taller than he really is. Regarded from a European point of view he is rather below medium height, but hardly shorter than other Indians of Western Amazonas. The height however varies considerably. The tallest Jibaro Indian I met measured 174 cm., the shortest--the great chief Nayapi at Puyu--only 146 cm. Five other men measured by me showed a height of 154, 158, 160, 163 and 165 cm. The women are of course shorter. Their height seems to vary roughly between 142 and 152 cm."

1: Karsten--87 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142 (1928-29)

"The colour of the skin is light brown, perhaps lighter than is the rule among the Indians of the Amazon territory. The hair is black, coarse, and generally straight, the eyes dark brown, the nose regular and straight, seldom aquiline, in some individuals somewhat broad and flat, the mouth and the lips normal, and the chin slight. The form of the skull places the Jibaro Indian among the brachycephalic races. The face is round or slightly oval and the features as a rule regular and pleasant. Protruding cheek-bones occur in some individuals, but is not a common feature, and there is no prognathism. On the whole the average Jibaro Indian is a fine-looking fellow, making an agreeable impression."

1: Karsten--87-88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142, 152 (1928-29)

"His proportionately built and well-developed body bears witness to the mobile life he leads and the continual physical culture to which he subjects himself from very childhood, just as his vivid look radiates that intelligence and energy which is one of his chief mental characteristics. At the same time his whole personality and his vehement speech and gestures give expression to those strong emotions and passions [88] which have made the Jibaro Indians famous and which they have especially shown in relation to their enemies."

1: Karsten--88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142 (1928-29)

"The average height of the CANELOS INDIANS is about the same as that of the Jibaros proper. Since they are a mixed race they show anthropologically a greater variety of types than the latter. Whereas some show an approximation to the robust type characteristic of the mountain Indians, others, in regard to the build of their body and the features of their face, stand nearer the forest Indians. The Canelos Indians are wont to make journeys to the Sierra and are accustomed to the harsher climate prevailing in the mountain regions, but in their whole mode of life they are, like the Jibaros proper, a typical people of the tropical virgin forests."

1: Karsten--88 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 302 (1928-29)

"In their outward appearance the JIBARO men attract special attention by their long hair. It is tended with great care and not seldom reaches down to the waist, being generally--that is to say, when the Indian is not, for one reason or another, compelled to observe ceremonial abstinence--divided into three pig-tails, one big one hanging down from the back, called itsímgama, and two smaller ones at each temple called akáhiki. Very frequently a comb of Indian manufacture is stuck in the hair on the back of their heads, being regarded at the same time as an ornament and as a magical amulet."

1: Karsten--88-89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 291 (1928-29)

"Living on the eastern slopes of the Andes where the climate is not, as a rule, particularly hot, the Jibaros dress themselves better than many tribes further down the Amazon valley. The principal article of clothing of the men is a loin-cloth (itipi), reaching down a little below the knees and kept together round the waist by means of a cincture of human hair or of snake's skin (akáchu). This piece of clothing is woven by the men themselves from cotton cultivated by the Jibaros, and it is dyed in certain colours, as we shall see later on. The upper part of the body, that is, the shoulders and the chest, is frequently kept bare, especially when the weather is hot, but is at other times covered with a small square piece of cloth of the same manufacture as the loin-cloth and dyed brown with roucou. In the middle of it is a hole through which the head is passed, so that the cloth covers both the chest and the back. This article of clothing which is called awangéama, corresponds to the poncho of the mountain Indians. The women keep the hair shorter and their dress is more complete, in that their principal article of clothing, the taráchi, covers not only the waist and the thighs, but also the breasts and the right shoulder, the left shoulder and both arms being left bare. It is held [89] together at the waist by a girdle of cotton wool called ikichi. The taráchi is woven of the same stuff as the itipi, being composed of two itipi sewn together. Both articles of clothing are woven exclusively by the men."

I: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 291 (1928-29)

"Clothes of cotton stuff seem however to be of comparatively modern origin. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are aware that formerly shirts and loin-cloths of bark were customary among them, and more strictly speaking, clothes of the bark obtained from the big tree which the Jibaros call kámaka and the Indians of Canelos llanchama. This tree is, I believe, identical with the silk-cotton tree (Bombax ceiva). Large pieces of the bark were carefully stripped off the huge stem, soaked in water, and beaten with clubs so as to make the hard bark softer and more appropriate as clothing. When this prepared bark stuff had dried, certain black and red ornaments were painted on it with genipa or roucou. Some fifty years ago such bark clothes were commonly used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians know and prepare the bark stuff even to-day, but only use it to lie on and as a cover at night. The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with the kámaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles. -- The Canelos Indians, like other half-civilized Indians of Eastern Ecuador, nowadays only wear trousers and shirts made of linen which they have obtained from the whites."

1: Karsten--89
116, 301

Jivaro

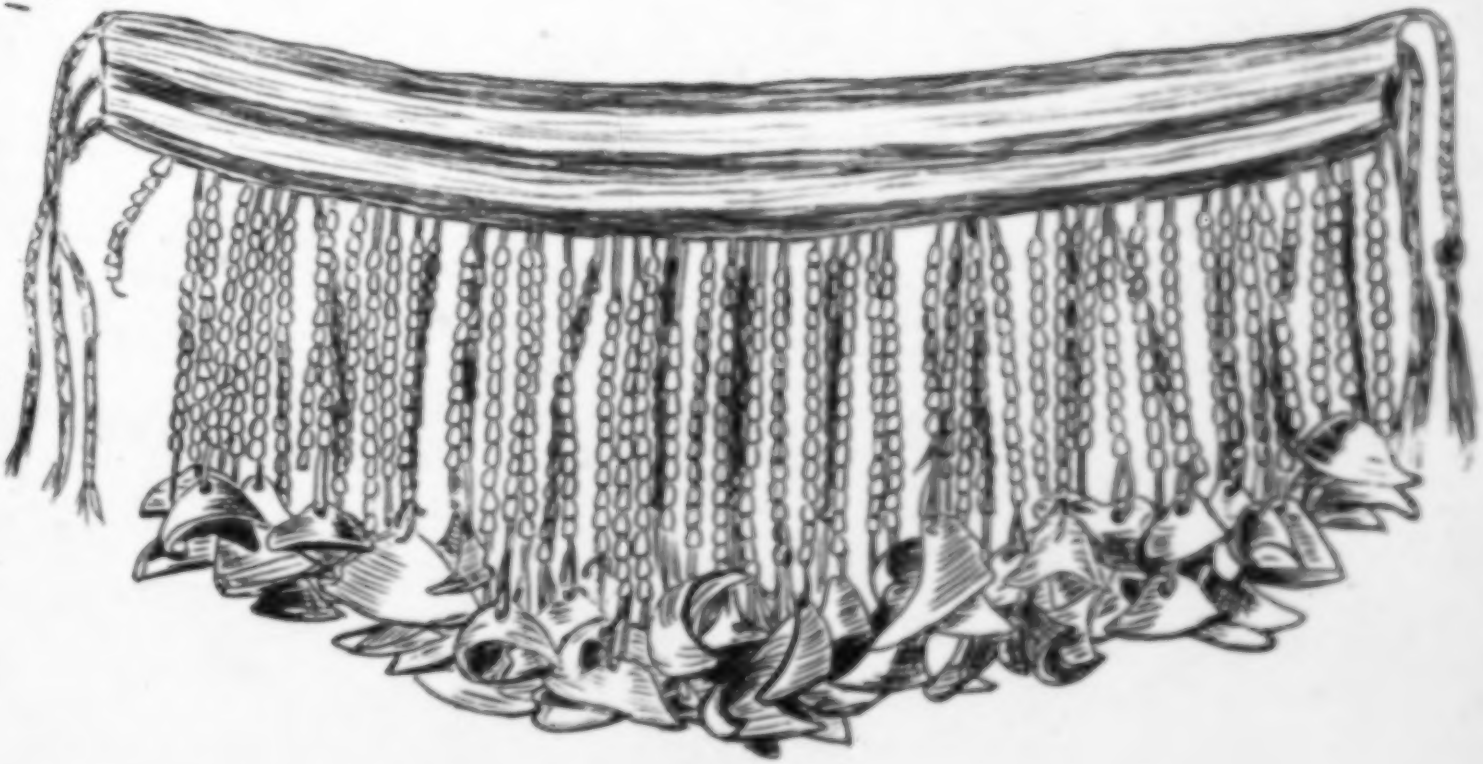


Fig. 3. The rattle cincture of the women, kúngu.

1: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301 (1928-29)

".... both men and women among the Jibaros wear a multitude of ornaments to which they ascribe equally great importance. These ornaments are not merely decorations in the strict sense of the word; they so to speak form a part of the Indian's whole personality, and most of them have a purely magical significance. I shall therefore return to these ornaments in the chapters dealing with the religion of the Indians."

"Whereas the Jibaros wear no head-gear in the proper sense of the word, they are in the habit of covering the crown of the head with certain head-ornaments, made partly of the plumes ~~or~~ feathers of certain birds of the forest, partly of monkey skin. Brilliant plumes are loved by all Indians of the Amazon territory, but there are a few tribes that have developed such art in making head-ornaments of this kind as the Jibaros andthe Canelos Indians. Plumes or feathers of the tucan, of different kinds of parrot, especially the big macaw, of the wild turkey (Crax pauji), and of certain small birds of the forest are preferred for this [90] purpose, but the art and taste with which the different colours are combined and the whole ornament made can scarcely be described in detail. This head-ornament is called tawaka by the Jibaros and tawaaimba by the Indians of Canelos (Pl. XIV). The best and largest of these ornaments, which are especially used at feasts, are greatly valued by the Indians themselves, and this we can easily understand, considering that for the making of one single ornament of this kind the Indian has to shoot several dozens of the very shy tucan or macaw with blowgun and poisoned arrows. --Old warriors and medicine-men generally prefer a head-ornament made of the skin of the black or red monkey.

Slightly different from the tawaka is the head-ornament called tendérmar: it consists of a number of plumes or feathers in showy colours attached to a cotton band. This decorative band is wound round a crown plaited of a liana called kapi, the same

liana from which the Jibaros make their most common baskets. The plaited crown itself, apart from the feather-band, is called tindimba.

Of other ornaments of the head, the cylindrical bamboo sticks which the men wear as ear-ornaments are particularly conspicuous. They are often of considerable length, 15 to 25 cm., and about 1 cm. in diameter, passing horizontally through the lobe of the ear and protruding in front. The ends of the sticks are ornamented with certain incised figures of the kind customary in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and frequently, besides this, red and yellow tucan feathers are stuck into them. These ear-tubes are called arusa: they are not merely decorations but have a magical significance. The women wear ear-sticks of the same kind, only much smaller. In addition to these, the women have a smaller stick inserted in the lower lip, which is perforated for the purpose. This stick is called tukunu; it is 6 to 10 cm. in length and about 1/2 cm. in diameter and, like the arusa of the men, this female ornament has the protruding end decorated with incised figures. --Whereas the women wear no tawasa for the head, they have, on festival occasions, the crown of the head decorated with a simple circular cotton band, without feathers, which are hardly ever worn by the female sex. This cotton band is called tiringsa."

1: Karsten--90 Jivaro
116, 301

Fig. 1.
The picture of a Jivaro Indian, showing the great head ornament of tucan feathers (tawása), the necklace of jaguar's teeth (nai), and the facial painting.

"In addition to the ear-tubes, both men and women on festival occasions wear a kind of ear-pendant consisting of brilliant beetle wings, small red and yellow tucan feathers, and human hair. These pendants are called waúo, after the beetle, and are attached to the perforated ear-lobes by means of small wooden pins. [91]

A great variety of necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and other ornaments for the neck, the breast and the back, the arms and the legs, are used both by men and women, especially by the former. The female ornaments are always simpler and less conspicuous, due chiefly to the fact that feathers and plumes are not used by women. The necklaces are so varied that it is impossible to describe them all; they can be studied more closely in the ethnographic museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, where my collections from the Jibaros are kept. Generally speaking there are two chief categories of necklace: they consist either of animals' teeth or claws, or of different seeds, or of fruit shells. Collars or necklaces made of animals' teeth have a common name nai, i.e. 'tooth'. There are two kinds of animal the teeth of which are strung into necklaces and worn as ornaments: monkeys and the jaguar. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are usually very large, hundreds of teeth of different monkeys being used for the purpose. Collars consisting of jaguars' teeth are especially worn by old warriors and they are believed to impart to the wearer something of the strength and ferocity of this wild beast. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are also generally

worn only by men, since it is considered proper that a man should decorate himself only with the teeth of such animals as he has killed himself. For the same reason ornaments consisting of plumes of birds are limited to the men. It is not unusual that whole stuffed birds are worn as ornaments at the feasts, the most common of these being the great tucan, regarded with superstition both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The large-beaked tucans, dried and prepared much in the same way as a human tsantsa and the head of the sloth, and worn at the waist at the great dances and festivals of the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of trophy to which was originally ascribed a similar magical power as the Jibaros still ascribe to the tsantsa. (See Pl. XIV, 1. 2. and. Pl. XV, 1).

Necklaces prepared of seeds or dry fruit shells are very varied and they are worn by both sexes. Some of them have the character of rattles and are therefore used at dances and religious ceremonies. A common kind of necklace consists of a great number of grey seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacrima, of the family Gramineae) strung together, and another equally common is made of a kind of forest bean, red with black spots (Ormosia, belonging to the family Leguminosae). These necklaces are called ētsi. At feasts the men frequently have the back, shoulders, and breast covered with a large ornament consisting of the pepper-like seeds of a tree, strung together in many rows and very [92] fragrant. These ornaments are called payaśhnya,

and owing to their fragrance and other properties are regarded as a magical protection for the body against disease and witchcraft. A decoction of the same seeds is taken by the Indians as a remedy against fever. Other and smaller bundles composed of the same peppercorns, of vanilla sheaths, certain dry fruit shells, and other things, are not regarded as ornaments or decorations at all, but are simply amulets the object of which is to protect the wearer against disease. These 'medical' ornaments are called mamuta; they are worn only by women who fix them at their breasts.

An ornament of much the same kind, and likewise worn at the great feasts, is called mupish by the Jibaro Indans. It is a sort of necklace composed of a great number of small round black 'buttons' with a hole drilled in the middle and strung closely together. The 'buttons' are made from the twigs of a certain tree of the same name as the necklace, which are cut into small pieces, each about one millimetre thick. Besides this, one or more big snail shells are generally attached to the ornament. Since the twigs have to be cut very evenly and carefully and one single ornament may contain many hundreds of 'buttons', it is much work for the Indian to make a mupish."

1: Karsten--92
116, 301

Jivaro

Fig. 1.
A hunting trophy prepared from the body of the magical bird tsucánga.
The Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza.

1: Karsten--92-93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 301 (1928-29)

"The most costly ornament of the Jibaros, likewise only worn at the great feasts, is called tayukuńchi. It is a broad back ornament composed solely of the leg-bones of the tayu or oil-bird (Steatornis), attached to the head by means of a broad band over the forehead and hanging down to the loins. The lower border of it is adorned with brilliant beetle wings, human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed showy coloured birds of the forest. The beetle wings produce a dull sound when the Indians hop up and down during their dances, so the ornament serves as a sort of rattle. Since the oil-bird, as we have seen, is rare and hundreds of birds are needed for the making of one single tayukuńchi, we can understand that the Indians value this ornament very highly, apart from the magical power which they ascribe to it (Pl. XIII, 1).

Another ornament for the head and the back consists of several long pigtails of brilliant beetle wings, sewn together, and with human hair at the ends. These pigtails are attached to a circular cotton band which at the great feasts is fitted to the crown of the head. The Jibaros call this ornament by the same name as the beetle used for the purpose: wauo (Pl. XIII).

In many of their necklaces and other ornaments the Indians insert small white, red, and blue beads obtained from the whites. They are [93] quite common even among the savage Jibaros, who especially use them for the kind of collar called sháuka. These collars attract special attention by the very tasteful way in which beads of different

colours are combined so as to form certain triangular ornaments typical of the Jibaros (Pl. XXI, 2).

Armlets and bracelets consisting of simple cotton bands tied tightly round the arms and the wrists and called pataka are frequently seen on the Jibaro women. They are hardly looked upon as ornaments, but are worn simply because they are supposed to make the arms stronger for carrying burdens. The men again wear round the wrists bracelets made of the skin of the great iguana lizard and called sunday. These ornaments too are believed to give much strength to the arms.

The personal adornment of the Indians also includes the painting of the body and the face to which extremely great importance is attached. Since however facial paintings have almost exclusively a magical significance I shall deal with them in the part of my work which is devoted to religion and art."

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 293 (1928-29)

"Certain personal belongings of the Indians may be said to form part of their dress, since they are always carried by the men and regarded as indispensable. No Jibaro Indian leaves his home without his little square bag made of the fibres of the chambira palm, and called wambaćhi, and his larger bag made of the skin of the black monkey or the red howling monkey, a sort of bag called uyuńa. In his wambaćhi the Jibaro Indian carries his comb, tobacco, and certain medicines, magical stones and other objects used for witchcraft, which are indispensable to medicine-men. In his uyuńa again he carries larger objects, certain ornaments, gourds containing hunting charms or red paint, etc., but formerly the most important were the two sticks used for producing fire. These sticks were called uyuńa, and from them the whole bag is called by this name. A large net bag is called shigra (Pl. XIV, 1, 2, 4)."

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the personal ornaments of the CANELOS INDIANS I may add that they are in some respects less characteristic, owing to the fact that they have in part adopted European dress. Thus they nowadays use neither ear and lip-tubes nor ear-pendants. Their necklaces are chiefly made of dry fruit shells and snail's shells as well as of monkey's teeth. But the Canelos Indians are particularly famous for their feather ornaments (tawakamba), which are more varied than those of the Jibaroe and are among the most magnificent found in any South American tribe."

1: Karsten--94 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 361 (1928-29)

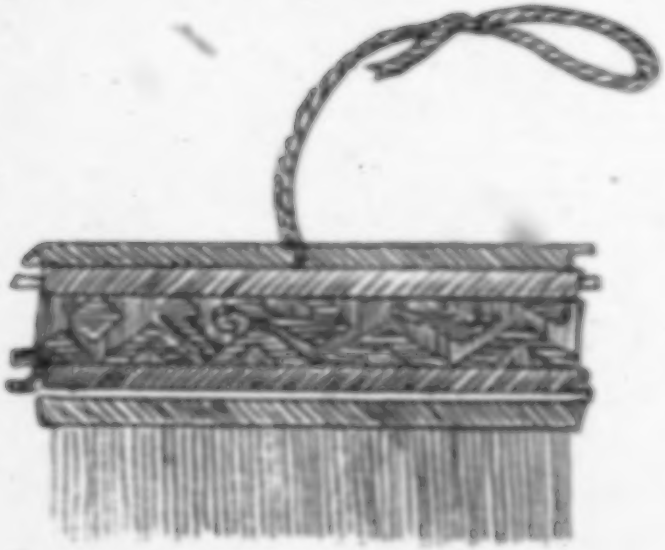
"In describing my journeys among the Jibaro Indians I had occasion to mention repeatedly that the savage Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, but prefer to make their houses beside small affluents in the interior of the country. The reason for this is obvious: it is due to their constant fear of hostile attacks. By hiding themselves in the forests in the way they do, they not only avoid the whites, who now and then travel along the main rivers, but they are also better protected against hostile Indian tribes. The Jibaro houses are also largely constructed with a view to keeping off uninvited guests; in fact, nearly every house is a sort of fortress, as will be shown in greater detail in the part dealing with the warfare of the Indians."

1: Karsten--94
116, 415

Jivaro

1. The small bag of chambira fibres (wambáchi). 1/3.

2. The big bag of chambira (shigra).



3. The comb (timashi).

4. The bag made of monkey's skin (uyúna).

1: Karsten--94-96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 342 (1928-29)

"In their general construction the houses of the Jibaro Indians are of the same type as the great communal houses, known from the Amazon territory and from Brazil, called maloca. The house is elliptical in shape and has a length of 15 to 20 meters and a breadth of 8 to 10 meters. The roof is supported by two or three big posts of strong chonta wood in the longitudinal direction, and at each side there are other shorter poles. The roof consists of several layers of dried palm leaves, carefully plaited into a thatch called kambańaka. Similarly the walls are constructed with great care and consist of a row of strong chonta poles placed vertically and tied to horizontal bars by means of lianas. Since there are no openings serving as windows in the walls, narrow intermediate spaces of about two centimetres are left between the poles, through which the daylight filters. These cracks in the walls also allow the inhabitants of the house to look out and watch persons approaching; but on the other hand they may make it possible for enemy spies to watch the inmates of the house and even to attack them with natural or supernatural weapons. In time of war therefore the houses of the Jibaros [95] are specially fortified by means of extra walls and in other ways, as we shall see later on (Pl. X, 3. and 4).

The roof (kambańaka), consists of plaited palm leaves, and in the tropical climate is liable to be attacked by insects and gradually destroyed, so it has to be renewed after the lapse of some years. In building a new house therefore the Jibaros observe the

following custom. On the fire kindled in the new house no manioc or palm cabbage can be cooked until it has been purified by burning cedar wood (Cedrela herrerae), the smoke of which will penetrate the thatch and kill the insects existing in it. In this way the thatch, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is not only purified for the time being, but permanently. If manioc or palm cabbage is cooked in the new house before the said procedure, certain maggots, which easily develop in the manioc plant and in palm tops, will infest the thatch and soon destroy it. Until the house has been purified in the way indicated these kinds of vegetable food must be cooked in a special, small shelter outside the new house.

The house has always two doors, one at each end of the house, the one being used by the men, the other by the women. A Jibaro house, it should be noticed, consists of two departments, of which one is intended for the women and children and called ekinturu, the other for the men and for guests and called tangamasha. The quarter intended for the women is at once recognized by certain special arrangements. All round the walls in a Jibaro house there are low banks of split bamboo, called peaka, which serve as seats during the day and as sleeping places at night. These bunks or sleeping racks in the men's department are without edges or sides, but in the women's department each of them is fenced round with split bamboo, or in some cases only banana leaves, thus forming partitions closed in on three sides, somewhat resembling

horse-boxes. For each of the wives in the house there is such a box: here the small children are kept as well as the dogs, the latter always tied up since, extremely savage and angry as they are, they would otherwise not hesitate to attack visitors. -- No guest is expected to enter the house except through the door leading to the men's department, nor can he, without special permission, enter the interior of the house or the women's department. Only a guest who is well known to the Indans, or has lived for some days in the house, can enter there or occasionally use the backdoor also. Whereas the married men sleep in the ekinturu, the full-grown sons and other unmarried men always spend their night in the tangamasha, where each has his sleeping rack and [96] where occasional visitors may also take possession of a peaka for the night. The women are generally in the ekinturu, cooking food at one of the fires on the floor or doing other domestic tasks, and as a rule they set foot in the men's department only to offer manioc-beer to their husbands or to guests, or to bring them food."

1: Karsten--96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 356 (1928-29)

"The floor in a Jibaro house is the earth itself. No mats are used, but the natural floor is carefully kept clean by daily sweeping. This is all the more necessary as in a Jibaro house there are not only human, but also certain animal inmates. Thus the hens, although they are as a rule kept outside, make occasional visits in the house, and besides among the members of the family is generally found a tame paugi (Crax paugi) a trumpeter bird, or a parrot, who freely move about. In spite of this, to a stranger visiting a Jibaro house for the first time, it conveys on the whole the impression of cleanliness and sense of order, which are in fact among the characteristic qualities of the Jibaro Indians."

1: Karsten--96 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 352, 513 (1928-29)

"The benches, which at the same time serve the Jibaro Indians as sleeping places at night, are extremely simple and uncomfortable. The length is about one metre and a half, but twenty to thirty centimetres away from the rack is a cross-pole (patáñi) on which the sleeping Indian leans his ankles. The bench has a slight downward slant, the upper edge of it being about thirty or forty, the lower end about twenty or twenty-five centimetres above the ground. The sleeping Indian may have a thin deer's skin under him, but frequently even this is lacking, nor has he any cover. Since however the nights are often chilly, a fire is kept burning all night under the cross-pole supporting the legs, so that the sleeper may keep his extremities warm (Pl. XXIV, 3). --Hammocks are not used by any Jibaro tribes.

There are very few other things in a Jibaro house which may pass as 'furniture'. Almost the only things which deserve this name are smaller benches of split bamboo (kutánga) and low round stools (chimbui) used by the men."

1: Karsten--96-97 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 415 (1928-29)

"There are....various utensils and other things which attract attention. The majority of the utensils are, of course, found in the women's department where the food and drink is prepared. Most of them are pottery; almost the only exception being the large bottle-gourds (yumi) in which water is kept. Thus there may be found shelves full of large and small clay pots, some used for the cooking of food and called ichingaña, while in others the manioc substance is kept from which the Jibaro women prepare the native drink of the Indians, the manioc-beer or nihamañchi. The pots in which the manioc-beer is kept [97] are the largest of all and called muitsa. An earthen pot of this kind is usually found in the centre of the ekinturu standing on the floor, propped up with sticks. Its opening is generally covered with a gourd or earthen dish, so that the hostess of the house is always ready to prepare the beer by mixing a certain quantity of manioc substance with water when a guest arrives.--The cooking pots are generally found on one of the fires burning outside the sleeping boxes. The other clay pots and dishes will be described with more detail later on in connection with the industrial art of the Indians."

"In the men's department (tangámasha) there are several objects to be mentioned. On one of the chief posts of the house there usually hangs the big signal drum (tundul) suspended by two lianas. This giant drum has been described as the 'telegraph' of the Jibaro Indians, but this does not exhaust its significance, as we shall presently see. Generally there is also found another and smaller drum hanging to one of the posts. This drum is of European type and originally obtained from the Canelos Indians. Its European origin may be inferred from its very name: tambora (from Spanish tambor). On one of the lateral posts several objects are to be seen: a number of chonta lances (naiki) and blowguns (uini, in Quichua pucuna), a couple of quivers made of wild bamboo (chipyala) in which a great number of fine darts made of palm wood are placed, and frequently one or more round shields (tandafa). On another post, close to the fire-place where the owner of the house usually sits when preparing his tobacco water in the morning, there are certain objects illustrating the industrial art of the Indians: a bag made of monkey skin and a smaller bag of chambira fibres, a bundle of wild cotton wrapped up in banana leaves tied to the post, and, hanging from its lower open end, a spindle consisting of a thin, straight pin of chonta wood, at the lower end of which is fixed a small round wheel of chonta or a stone disc with a hole drilled in the middle. Round the spindle is generally wound some cotton thread already spun. When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he

is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names.

I may add at once that both spinning and weaving are occupations strictly limited to the male sex.

The Jibaro Indian keeps his most important personal belongings--the newly-woven loin-cloth (itipi) which he uses at the great feasts, and his ornaments, especially the feather ornaments which are liable to be attacked by moth and other insects-- in a special, big basket plaited of a certain liana and provided with a cover. This basket, called tukupi, is kept hanging from the ceiling by a liana, being lowered as occasion requires."

1: Karsten--98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342 (1928-29)

"Such is, in its main features, the interior of a Jibaro house. It is intended to lodge a considerable number of people, not only the family-father himself with his wives and their children, but also the married daughters with their husbands and children and some older relatives, especially in the male line. At the great feasts a Jibaro house may shelter anything up to a hundred persons."

1. and 2. Clay pots for cooking tobacco leaves (yukúnda), of two different types. 1/3.

1: Karsten--98
116, 415

Jivaro

3. A small clay dish used at the feasts by such persons as are obliged to fast. The Jivaros. Rio Upano. 1/3.

4. Small clay pot for drinking manioc-wine. Jivaros.

1: Karsten--98 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342, 352 (1928-29)

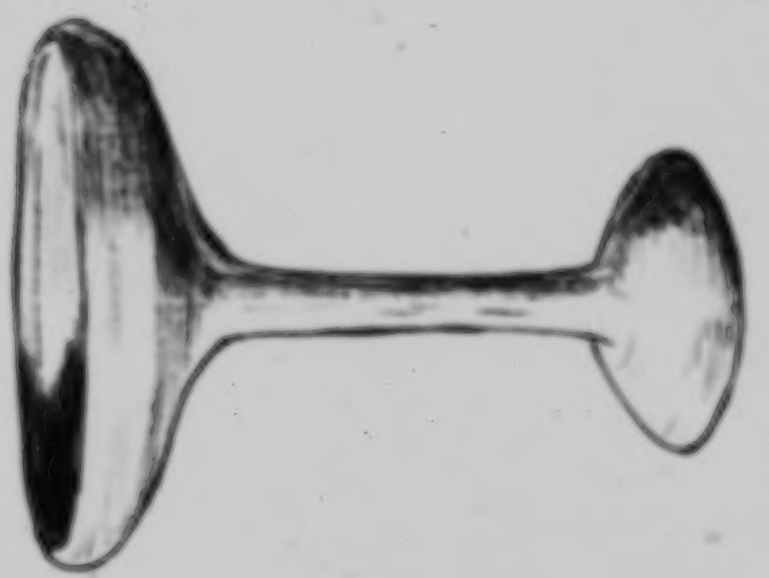
"As to the houses of the CANELOS INDIANS (huasi), they differ from those of the Jibaros proper chiefly in that they are much smaller and that walls are usually lacking. These Indians have not the same interest in fortifying their houses as the Jibaros. In the interior of the house the sleeping benches are almost the only kind of furniture seen, but what at once attracts the attention in the houses of the Canelos Indians is the great number of all sorts of clay vessels which are arranged on shelves under the roof, many of them beautifully ornamented."

I: Karsten--99 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462, 774 (1928-29)

"In the industrial art of the Indians, just as in their agriculture, appears the strict division of labour which is characteristic of their social life and which has its ultimate foundation in their animistic views. According to this division of labour, pottery-making is the most important of the industrial tasks incumbent on the women, whereas for instance spinning and weaving, basket-making and different kinds of wood-work are occupations which, according to the idea of the Indians, are only suitable for men."

1: Karsten--99
116, 415

Jivaro



1. Eating dish provided with a foot. 1/3. Achuares. Rio Pastaza.

I: Karoten--99
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

2. Ornamented eating dish (pinings) provided with a foot. Achuarco. Rio Pastaza.

"The ceramic art among the Jibaros, and especially among the Canelos Indians, is brought to a remarkable degree of perfection. The superiority of the Canelos Indians shows itself above all in their way of painting the clay vessels, or more properly speaking, in the ornamental designs with which they decorate them. It may be added at once that on this particular point the pottery to a certain extent varies with different Jibaro tribes. Whereas the tribes of the Upano and the Morona, and similarly the Aguarunas, seldom apply ornamental designs to their clay pots and dishes, the Achuares of the Pastaza ornament theirs in a peculiar way, as we shall presently see, and even in shape their pottery is partly original, probably owing to the relative isolation in which the Achuares have lived.

For the making of their pottery the JIBAROS and Canelos Indians use a special kind of clay which is found only at certain places on the [100] river. At least some tribes, e.g. the Achuares, try to make it more durable and more suitable for its purpose by mixing with it the ashes of burnd bark obtained from certain trees, but in general the clay vessels of these Indians are very fragile. However, certain magical or animistic ideas seem to be associated with the very material used for the making of them. When I asked the Jibaros why only women make pottery, I received the answer, "The clay is

obtained from the earth and the earth is a woman; hence the women have to make clay vessels." It is interesting to note on this point that 'clay' in the Jibaro language is oui and 'earth' sunga, from which word also the name of the Earth-mother Nungli is derived. 'Woman' again, is nua. There can be little doubt that all three words are derived from the same root, a fact that the Jibaro women themselves seem to be aware of. When further we consider that, as we shall presently see, the ornamental designs painted on some clay vessels, have obviously a magical significance, we realize that a whole primitive 'philosophy' is connected with the making of these important utensils.

The technique for making clay vessels is the same as among other primitive South American tribes. No potter's wheel is used. A base of clay is prepared and the vessel is formed by the addition of thin rolls --obtained by the clay being rolled between the hands -- to that base, the intermediate spaces being filled with smaller rolls of clay and smoothed out with the fingers. When complete, the vessel is dried in the sun, whereupon it is painted and lastly fired for a while by placing it on the ground and piling the fuel round it. In this way the Jibaros make for instance the great urns or jars with bulging sides, narrow neck, and wide mouth, in which they keep the manioc substance from which the manioc-beer is prepared. Next to these in importance are the shallow dishes, called pinings, from which the Indians drink the beer and which are used as plates. Normally such a dish contains about one litre, but for the feasts special smaller

dishes are made to be used by those persons who have to fast. The women make with special care those quite small clay pots in which the tobacco juice necessary for the great feasts is kept, and which is only handled by the 'priest' or 'priestess', or by the medicine-men. These pots are called nattípya.

The cooking utensils are mainly of two kinds: the ordinary black cooking pots (ichingaña) already mentioned, and the smaller pots called yukuñda in which the Jibaro men prepare tobacco water by boiling the leaves. Since the taking of tobacco juice is always ceremonial, these [[101] pots are also made with special care, at any rate for the feasts, and they are of somewhat different forms, some being short, others tall, as appears from the photographs (Pl. XVIII, 1. and 2).

The Jibaros paint the outside of their muitsa [JKM: large pots in which is kept the manioc-beer] and pininga [JKM: shallow dishes from which beer is drunk] red with roucou (Bixa orellana), inside again they coat them with a special, beautiful, reddish-yellow varnish which they call yukaípi. This varnish is prepared in the following way. From the top of a certain forest tree they obtain, by parting it into small fibres and squeezing out the juice, a clear, glutinous white matter which is boiled in a small clay pot together with the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and some water. Thus the liquid becomes red or reddish-yellow in colour and makes the varnish called yukaípi. When

congealed, it forms a fine glazing upon the surface of the clay dish. In this way the Jibaros not only embellish clay vessels, but also certain wooden objects, especially the shafts of a special kind of lance with points of a jaguar's or bear's leg-bones.

Again, the small black cooking-pots called yukuńda are painted inside with a black polish or varnish called sekaťa. It is a black wax produced by certain wild bees which make their nests in holes in the earth. When warmed up at the fire this wax melts and forms a lustrous varnish. It is the same kind of black polish which the Jibaros apply to their blowguns, to be described later on.

On the other hand, the Jibaros very seldom embellish their clay vessels with ornamental designs or patterns. The only exception I have noticed to this rule, for instance among the Upano and the Santiago tribes, are certain very vague triangular ornaments applied in dark brown colour inside the yukuńda after they have been painted black with sekaťa. It is otherwise with the Achuares on the Pastaza, whose ceramics differ in many respects from those I have found among other Jibaro tribes. Thus the small round clay dishes or cups standing on a foot which are seen on Pl. XVIII, 5. and 6., are not to be met with among any other Jibaro tribe and are, I believe, unique in South America. The Achuares told me that they were formerly used by them as food-plates; now they were no longer used, but had still been preserved as the Indians keep many old things which have gone out of fashion. Upon these plates the Jibaro women

placed different kinds of food when serving their men: on one some boiled manioc was placed, on another some fish, on a third some boiled Indian pepper, etc. As appears from the picture, the eating-cups were painted both inside and outside. Upon a brown bottom, produced by painting the vessel with roucou, [102] certain patterns were applied in white. The use of a white clay-- a clay which, as far as I know, only exists in the country of these Indians -- is a peculiarity in the ornamental art of the Achuares; at any rate I have not seen it anywhere else in Eastern Ecuador or Peru.

In the same way the Indians paint the shallow dishes represented on Pl. XIX, 1. and 2. As is seen, however, these are only ornamented inside, the designs being painted with white clay. The patterns are those customary among the Jibaros, although the technique for painting them is partly different. The designs appearing in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and Canelos Indians are in fact always the same: they either represent human spirits, certain dangerous snakes, certain birds, especially the macaw, or certain insects, as for instance butterflies, millepedes, and scorpions. As to the snakes, such species are mostly represented which for one reason or another particularly inspire the Indians with fear. The snake that plays the most important part in the ornamental art of the Indians--being represented especially on clay vessels and in facial paintings, etc. --is the great water boa or anaconda (Eunectus murinus). Thus the broad snake-like figures appearing in the shallow dish in Plate XIX, 2, represent

the anaconda (pangi), whereas the designs on the other dish (Pl. XIX, 1), and the snake-like figure encircling the outer border of the painted clay cup in Pl. XVIII, 6, represent the very venomous snake ekis (Lachesis, called yamunga in the Jibaro language). On the foot of the same cup among other things a human spirit and a millepede are represented."

I: Karsten--100 (1916-18) (1928-29) 1935 Jivaro
116, 415, 531

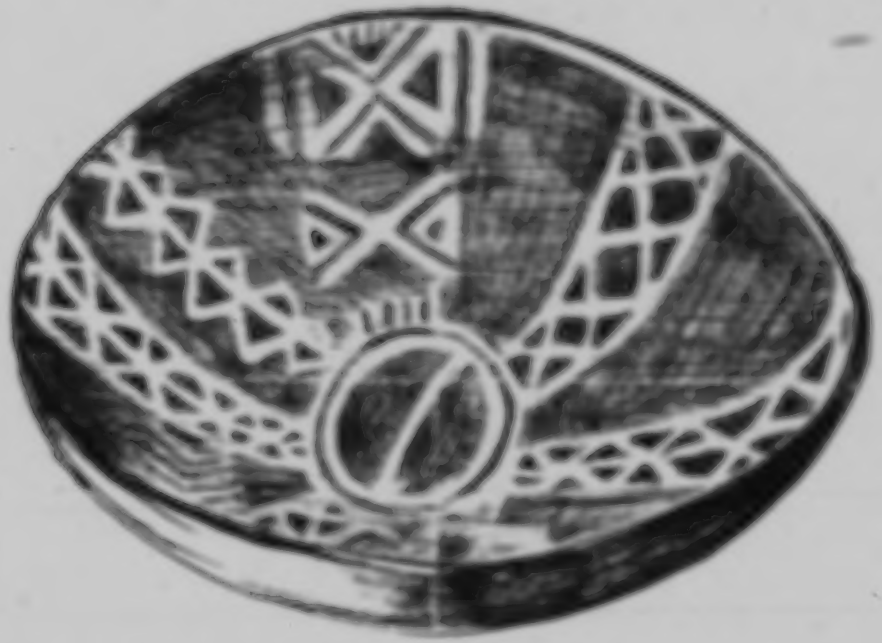


Fig. 1. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

I. Karsten--100
116, 415, 531

(1916-18) (1928-29) 1935

Jivaro

Fig. 2. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

1 Karsten--102
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

Fig. 1. Big ornamental clay pot for the keeping of the fermented manioc substance. Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza. (about 1/10).

Fig. 2. An ornamental clay pot. Canelos Indians. (about 1/2).

I: Karsten--102-103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 323, 531 (1928-29)

"Like the Achuares, the CANELOS INDIANS nearly always apply ornamental designs to their clay vessels, but their ornamental art is easily distinguished from that of the Achuares and even the clay they use is different. The big jars in which they keep the masticated manioc substance (asua) are generally without ornaments and only have the outside painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as appears from the beautiful, ornamented jar represented on Pl. XX, 1. Among the ornamental designs figures of snakes predominate, the great anacondа (amaŕun) being the reptile most often represented. Even human spirits with the arms stretched out, birds, tortoises, and certain poisonous insects are represented much in the same way as among the Achuares. Generally the Indians are themselves able to tell which particular reptile, bird, etc. a certain figure represents. Thus the women at once informed me that the brown rings [103] which encircle the big jar on Pl. XX, 1. represent the spots of the great boa, amaŕun, a monster which has struck the imagination of the primitive Indians more than any other member of the animal world. The smaller dishes from which the manioc-beer is drunk are nearly always ornamented with figures in black or brown colour. White designs are unknown, and the white clay used for the purpose by the Achuares does not exist at all at Canelos. Generally the outside is ornamented; more rarely the dishes have ornamental patterns inside and when they have,

they are always simpler. In the smaller dishes also the snake patterns predominate, poisonous snakes like the Lachesis (called pitalaía by the Canelos Indians) being most often represented. These dishes are called mucahua by the Indians. (See Pl. XIX, 3. 4. 5).

Of particular interest is the small but elaborately ornamented clay dish represented in Pl. XX, 3. and 4. Diminutive cups or dishes of this kind are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians only at the great feasts, a special sacred drink being drunk by means of these small cups. How the manioc-wine is prepared and how it is consumed at the end of the most important feasts will appear from descriptions given later. I only add in this connection that the magical ideas which are associated with the Indian clay vessels in general, appear among other things from the extraordinary care with which the small clay cups used for the drinking of manioc-wine are made and ornamented. The same may be said of the small clay pot in which the Jibaros keep the tobacco juice which is ceremonially given to the principal persons at the great feasts. The vessels used on these occasions must be specially made and painted for each feast, and they must be made by the old woman, the 'priestess', who administers the sacred drinks at the feasts. Not only these, but also the most important of other clay vessels used at the religious feasts have to be specially made.

To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know,

only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

1; Karsten--104-105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro /-
116, 386 (1928-29)

"Another work which, according to the idea of the Jibaros, can only be done by the women is dyeing. When the cotton is spun, it has to be dyed in different colours before the men can start weaving, since patterns of different colours are woven into the stuff. It is a remarkable fact that although spinning and weaving are strictly male occupations, it is the women who have to dye the yarn. If we consider that for dyeing the Jibaro women use partly clay, partly certain leaves of the forest, and that women are mysteriously associated both with the clay and with certain plants, we may perhaps understand the peculiar division of labour observed by the Indians on this point.

The Jibaro women dye the yarn by soaking it in a solution obtained by boiling the leaves of certain plants in a clay pot with water, the bark of certain trees or other ingredients being generally added. The vegetable ingredient most often used for producing red colour is the seeds of Bixa orellana (called ipyaku in the Jibaro language), and this is also used for painting clay vessels. For dyeing, the seeds are boiled in water with some of the bark obtained from a big tree called kuai. When soaked in this solution the yarn will get a deep, red colour of great durability. The Achuares obtain the same colour by boiling the red Bixa seeds with the bark of a tree which they call payas.

A yarn of brown colour is produced by soaking the natural cotton yarn in a solution

obtained by boiling in water the leaves of a cultivated vine called tai.

A solution obtained by boiling the leaves of a plant called yamakaí gives the yarn a beautiful dark brown colour.

Again, a dark grey or black colour is produced in several ways. The yarn may be soaked in a genipa solution alone. The juice obtained from the fruit of the genipa tree (Genipa americana, called sua by the Jibaros) is especially used by the Indians for facial and body-painting, but besides this it is often used as a dye-stuff and produces a black or grey colour in the yarn. Generally, however, the genipa is not used alone; it is mixed either with a special kind of clay or mud (nui, tsakuśa) or with a solution obtained by boiling in water the black bark of a tree called chiańgrapi. Frequently all three, that is, the genipa (sua), the clay (nui), and the chiańgrapi solution are mixed so as to make the dark colour more durable. Besides the bark chiańgrapi, another bark obtained from a big tree called ukuḿcha is used for the purpose. [105]

The work of dyeing has to be done with great care lest the yarn be spoiled or fail to assume the colour intended. The Jibaro women therefore have to fast strictly on the day when they are engaged in this work. Thus, it is believed, the dye will stick fast to the yarn and remain unchanged for any length of time."

1: Karsten--105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 283, 462 (1928-29)

"Spinning and weaving have been mentioned as occupations incumbent solely on the men. The yarn is spun from a sort of cotton wool cultivated by the Jibaros and called uruchi, and since the cotton tree and consequently the cotton wool obtained from it is 'a man', it follows from this peculiar view that the men have both to spin and to weave. This was the explanation I received from the Indians when I asked them the reasons for the division of labour observed by them in this respect."

1: Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 286, 531 (1928-29)

". . . . a few words may be said about the patterns woven in the stuff. The loin-cloths of the men (itipi) and the women's taraćhi in fact always show certain ornamental patterns which are rather stereotyped, being always in the main the same. They form different systems of colours which are distinguished from one another by their names.

The colour or colours which occupy a central place in a bigger system are underlined by me. These systems are the following:

The arrangement of colours which in the section of the loin-cloth represented in Plate XXI, 1. is found on the extreme left, in the middle, and on the extreme right, and is marked with the letter a, consists of the colours black + reddish brown + black-white-black-white + reddish brown + black and is by the Jibaros called puítsah.

The arrangement of colours which consists of white (or light red) + brown + black + brown + white (or light red) is called yambítsa hī ('the pigeon's eye'). (1) As appears from the picture, these arrangements are the most common in the loin-cloth, and they are here marked with the letter b.

"1. The eye of the pigeon is black, and is surrounded by feathers in brown and white colour."

The arrangement of colours which is marked with the letter c and consists of alternate black and reddish brown stripes is called yauakina. [106] Some of the yauakina arrangements, as we find, are broader and consist of seven black or brown stripes. These are called unta yauakina ('the big yauakina'), whereas the narrower yauakina arrangements, consisting of five black or brown stripes, are called uchichi yauakina ('the little yauakina'). They are in the picture marked with c, 1 and c, 2 respectively.

The white, undyed yarn is by the Jibaros called pufsuh. Sometimes it is slightly coloured with roucou so that it is rather light red or yellow than white, as in the picture.

These colour arrangements are found on all original itipi. Like the 'pigeon's eye', so the rest of the designs are no doubt taken directly from nature. Thus the design called puítsah evidently denotes a snake's skin, but I have not received positive information on this point. The Jibaro Indians themselves apparently ascribe great importance to them. When the family father is at leisure in the afternoon, and while he is sitting after the day's work is finished, waiting for the meal to be brought by the women, he may sometimes be seen singing at a low voice and in a special tune passing with his fingers along the different designs woven in his itipi and repeating their names.

especially the name of the 'pigeon's eye' (yambitsa hi), just as if the designs were to him a kind of verse. That the itipi designs have a magical or mysterious significance may be taken as certain, considering that most other ornamental designs of the Jibaros have such a significance: they are believed to keep off evil spirits, to give the body strength, and so forth. I shall have an opportunity to point out this again in the part dealing with religion."

1: Karsten--106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462 (1928-29)

"Among other industrial tasks incumbent on the men basket-making may be mentioned."

1: Karsten--106-107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
M6, 285 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros use baskets of two kinds, both being plaited of a vine which the Indian call kapi. Baskets of the kind called chanqina are simpler. These baskets are used solely by the women when they carry home manioc, sweet potatoes, and certain other fruits from the fields. Although the men have to make them, it is not considered proper that they should use them, since such fruits as are regarded as 'women' cannot be carried home by the men. On the other hand, the vine kapi itself is a 'man', and therefore the basket made of it can only be made by a man. The other basket, which is called tukupi, is made of the same material but with greater care. It is the kind of basket which is kept hanging from the ceiling and in which the men keep such articles of clothing, ornaments, etc. which are easily attacked and destroyed [107] by insects. For this reason it is lined inside with banana leaves, so that there are no holes through which insects can penetrate, and it is provided with a cover of the same material as the basket itself."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 322, 412 (1928-29)

"Similarly, woodwork of every kind is a man's occupation. Various objects of Indian ergology reveal great technical skill, which is all the more admirable as the implements that the Indians have at their disposal are very primitive. Formerly, when the Indians did not yet know such iron instruments as the axe and the knife which are nowadays common among all tribes, their resources for making various wooden objects were of course still more limited. Their principal implements at that time were sharp snail's shells, axes or clubs of stone of the kind which are still found in some Indian huts or occasionally encountered in the earth in old Indian settlements, and a kind of knife of split bamboo, called shingyaña.

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 531 (1928-29)

".... I shall only include here a few words about a small object which is partly regarded as an ornament and partly serves a practical purpose, namely, the comb, timaśhi. The Jibaro comb is a real piece of art that cannot be described in detail. It is made of a special kind of cane growing on the river bank, called pata, which is carved into a number of tiny sticks. These are connected with one another by means of other parallel transverse sticks which are fastened to the prongs by means of cotton thread, the intermediate space between the latter being embroidered in various triangular and other patterns of the same kind as the Indians put on their face and clay vessels.

The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--107-108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover exhibit their industrial art in the way in which they make their weapons. Of weapons used for attack the lance (nańki) is the most important, or was so before the Indians learnt to know the firearms of the whites. These lances, like the principal weapon of defence, the shield (tandaŕa), will be mentioned again in connection with the [108] Indian wars and I shall therefore not deal with them more closely here. I only add that formerly the lances were thrown by means of a special propellant made of a kind of cane called waćhi. This object is now never used and hardly known to the majority of the present-day Jibaros. Nowadays they always throw their lances without the aid of any instrument with the right hand, showing thereby remarkable dexterity. Ordinary bows and arrows of the kind used by most other South American Indians, are entirely unknown both to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians.

The principal hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun (uḿi, in the Quichua language pucuńa) which is made with very great care. The making of blowguns has become a special industry which is developed among only a few Jibaro tribes, and in these is followed by only a few individuals. Thus I myself found that only the tribe at the Arapicos and the Achuares at the central Pastaza were makers of blowguns, with which a trade was carried on with other tribes."

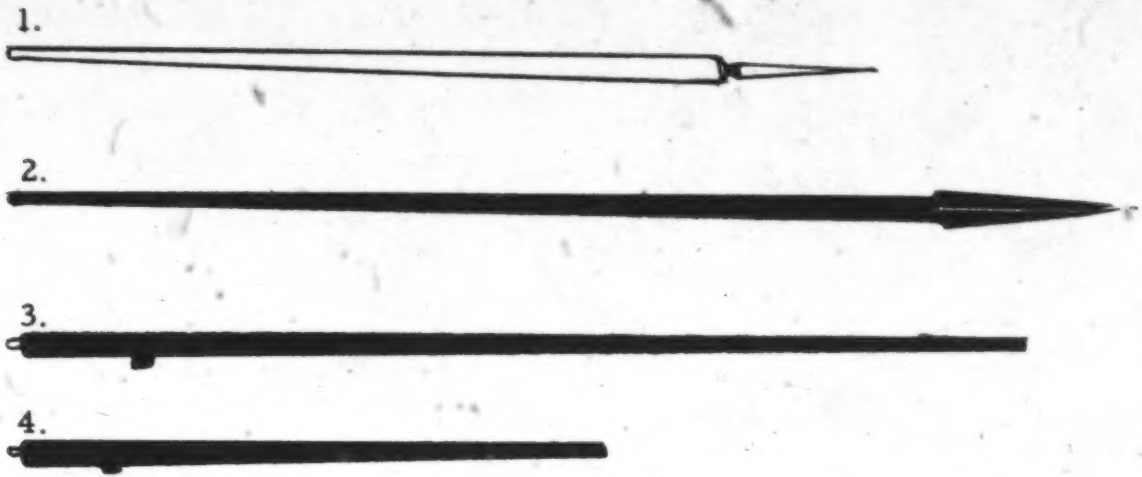


Fig. 1.

1. Lance with shaft of yukaipi and head of jaguar's bone.
2. An ordinary Chonta lance.
3. A blowgun.
4. Small blowgun used by boys.

1: Karsten--108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 784 (1928-29)

"A peculiarity of the Jibaros, which is of great psychological interest, is the idea that when a person makes an object which is considered of special importance he must fast or restrict his diet in some way lest the work turn out badly. For instance, when a Jibaro Indian makes a lance, he does not diet because this work does not need particular care and seldom fails, but it is otherwise when he has to make a shield or a blowgun. Since these objects may easily get spoiled through some carelessness or lack of skill, the Indians strictly observe certain rules in making them. The same holds true in regard to certain other wooden objects, for instance the great signal drum and the canoes, which have to be made with special care. The Indians are of opinion that their own physical condition at the time when the object is being made will in some mysterious way be reflected in and exert influence upon the quality of that object which will turn out good or bad accordingly. In dealing for example with the agriculture and the social customs of the Indians we shall find numerous instances which illustrate this peculiar, primitive view."

1: Karsten--108-110 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 202, 534 (1928-29)

"The great signal drum (tunduí) of the Jibaros is among those objects which especially attract the attention of a visitor in a Indian house. It is made of a light kind of wood called shimúta and varies in length. The one brought home by me from the Aguarunas and now in the museum of Helsingfors measures 160 centimetres, including the handles, [109] and has a diameter of about 40 centimetres; the drum in the Gothenburg museum is a little smaller. The sound-holes are always of a serpent-like or curved form, and consist of four round holes connected with one another. The hollowing out of the trunk is tedious work and requires much skill and patience; it can only be done by means of fire, the burned [110] and carbonized parts of the wood being again and again scraped off with a snail's shell or an iron instrument until the cavity is sufficiently large. Since there is always the danger that the drum may not turn out sonorous enough, it is considered necessary that the Indian who makes it should diet for several days and observe other rules of abstinence. If, for instance, he drinks manioc-beer (nihamańchi) in the quantities normally consumed by a Jibaro Indian every day, the drum will be dull and not sonorous. His stomach must be empty, like an empty barrel. Similarly he must abstain from cohabiting with his wife during these days, for otherwise, it is believed, the drum will burst. When the drum is ready, all the grown-up men of the family assemble and a feast is arranged for the inauguration of the drum. Each man steps forward and beats the drum for a while in the slow time customary at the drinking of the narcotics natéma and maikoa."

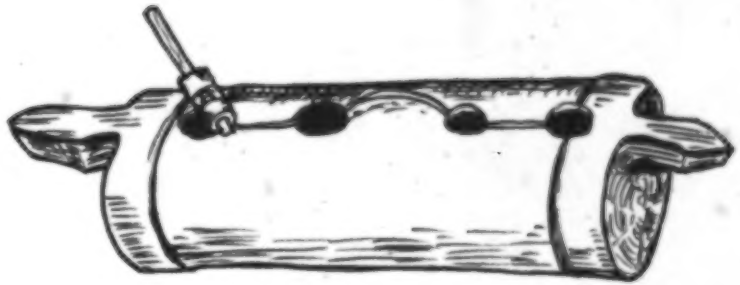


Fig. 2. The signalling drum.

1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

"The tunduí [JKM: signal drum] of the Jibaro Indians is not merely a signalling instrument in the ordinary sense of the word, but its greatest significance is religious: it is a means of communicating with the spiritual world. From this point of view I shall deal with this drum again in the chapters devoted to the religion of the Indians. Here I will only point out the interesting fact that the drum among other things is closely associated with the spirit (iguańchi) which appears in the shape of the great water boa or anaconda, and that the drum itself is supposed to be a representation of the great serpent. The very holes dug out of the drum, as I have said, form a snake-like figure and, moreover, the handles with which it is provided represent, respectively, the head and the tail of the dreaded reptile. Everybody who sees a real Jibaro drum in an ethnographic museum is able to note to what extent one of the handles is like a snake's head. [111]

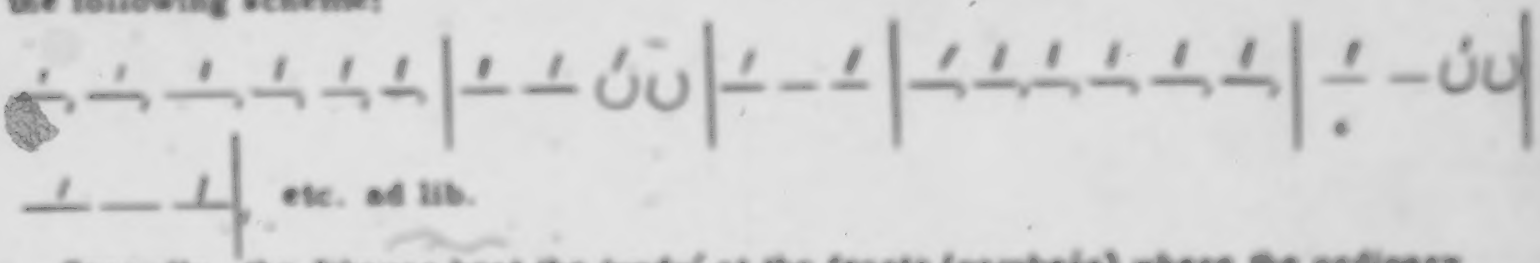
I may add that these ideas are connected with the signalling drum among all Jibaro tribes and that the form of the drum is therefore everywhere the same. Of the drums in the museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, the one is from the Jibaros of the Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and the other from the Aguarunas in

Peru, that is, they are from the northernmost and southernmost Jibaro tribes respectively; but still they are alike in all details. (1) "

"1. In Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru, p.123, there is depicted a 'Jibaro Indian drum' which is without handles and with a sound-hole differing from that described by me above. I wish to point out, however, that this drum is not from the Jibaros, but probably from some of the Ucayali tribes. Since Farabee never visited the Jibaros his mistake is easy to understand."

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

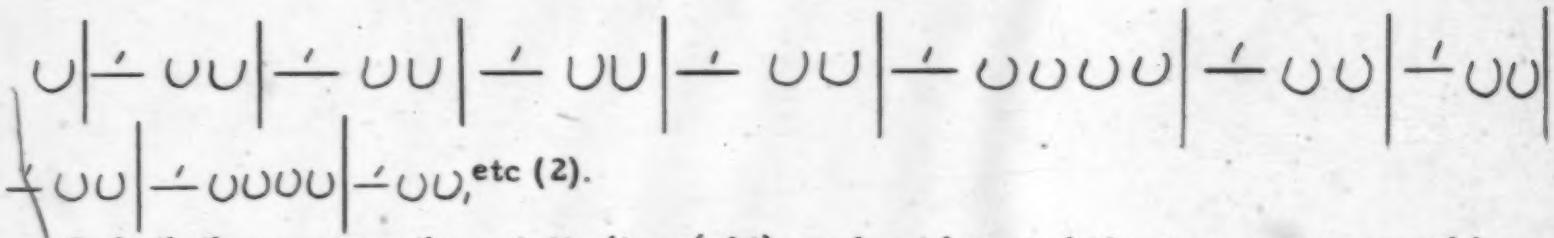
First, the tundui is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics natema or maikua are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:



etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tundui at the feasts (nambera) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamanchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruiru palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:



etc (2).

In both these cases the spirits (iguańchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two

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"2. —in regard to its quantity = ∪∪ ; ∪∪ = ∪ ; ´ means that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--112-113 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 501, 396 (1928-29)

"The making of canoes is another important task incumbent on the men which requires great patience and skill, and this was especially the case in former times when the Indians did not possess the iron tools of the whites. The canoes of the Jibaros are dug-outs of the same type as is commonly used by the Indians in tropical South America, and they are skilled canoeists. For canoe-making only certain big trees with a straight stem can be used, and of these the cedar is the most sought after. The felling of the huge tree and the excavation of the stem was tedious work before the Indian had the iron axe and knife, and was chiefly carried out by means of stone axes and fire. The Indians still commonly use fire in digging out the stem after it is dry, but great care is necessary lest the edges should become too thin and the vessel burst. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians therefore consider it necessary that the men taking part in the work should restrict their diet and observe sexual abstinence. During the days that they are engaged in felling the tree they can take nothing but roasted green plantains and tobacco water. Manioc-beer, which in normal cases serves the Indians both as food and drink, they are forbidden to consume; otherwise, it is feared, the stem will burst. Afterwards, when the men are engaged in digging it out, they are not only forbidden to have intercourse with their wives, but no woman is allowed to come near the place where they are working; if they do come near, the canoe will burst and become useless.

Besides this, the Jibaros, at any rate the tribes of the Upano, practise the following

custom when the canoe is ready for use. When the vessel has to be taken down to the river, the Indians first only do it 'in play', that is, they pretend to do it and go down to the river behaving the whole time as if they were dragging the canoe. When the vessel is really taken down, the women tie a rope to the stem and drag the canoe by it, calling in the same way as when they are calling their swine. This, [113] according to the Indians, is done 'in order that the canoe may not break'. At the same time the men walk on each side of the canoe striking incessantly on the ground with lances and sticks 'in order to prevent the anaconda(pańgi) from upsetting the canoe'. This rite of course has reference to the future use of the canoe. If a canoe is upset in the cataracts of the river, the Indians generally ascribe this accident to the powerful demon living in the river, the great water boa or anaconda."

1: Karsten--114 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 511, 262 (1928-29)

"Scarcity of food is an almost unknown thing to the Indians of Western Amazonas. As to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, the extraordinary fertility of the soil, the richness of the forests in all sorts of game, and the industry of the Indians, enable them to live easily and fairly well as far as food is concerned. On this point they are much better off than for instance the Chaco Indians, who in certain months of the year approach the very verge of starvation. The Indians of the Amazon territory appreciate vegetable and animal food equally. Their agriculture is well developed, although their methods of cultivating the soil are simple, and meat is secured to them by their domestic animals, the swine and the hens, as well as by the game they catch by hunting. Fish is also an important food. Their vegetable and animal food will shortly be treated separately, and I shall then give a more detailed account of their agriculture and their hunting and fishing practises."

1: Karsten--114-115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 372 (1928-29)

"Fire is made--or has been made up to recent times--by the Jibaros in the same primitive way as by other savage Indian tribes, by friction, two sticks of the tree called uruchi numi being rubbed against or drilled into each other. Uruchi numi means 'cotton tree'; this tree however is not identical with the cotton tree they now cultivate, and from which they obtain their yarn by spinning, and I have not been able to identify it. As previously stated, the two sticks used for drilling fire were called uyuña and the bag in which they were formerly carried is still called by the same name. The Jibaros very seldom make fire afresh; generally embers are found in some of the numerous fire-places in a house and, as we have seen, the fires are as a rule kept burning the whole night. The fire-places are on the earth, one before each sleeping rack, and are formed by three or four big logs of the [115] chonta palm pointing to a common centre, and the ends of them serve as a basis for the cooking-pots. To light the fire in the morning, if it has gone out, the Indian has only to push the ends of the logs together, to place a few chips in the centre, and blow gently."

1: Karsten--115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 252, 462 (1928-29)

"The Indians prepare their food either by boiling it in a clay pot or roasting it at the fire. The latter method is resorted to when the Indians are in camp, hunting, fishing, or working, and it is the only way of preparing food which is considered proper for a man. Boiling the food at home is exclusively a woman's business, the only things cooked by the men at home being the tobacco water and the weisa solution (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), the natema, and certain other magical medicines which according to their ritual can only be prepared by a man."

1: Karsten--115[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 241 (1928-29)

"A considerable number of edible plants are cultivated by the Jibaros, and vegetable food is as a matter of fact never lacking in a Jibaro house. The most important of these plants are the manioc and the plantain or banana, but in addition they raise crops of sweet potatoes and another kind of potato which is a vine and called kingi, maize, a kind of carrot, earth-nuts, beans, and some other edible plants of minor importance."

"The manioc is the most highly appreciated food, and it is difficult to see how the present-day Indian could do without this very nourishing root. They prepare the manioc either by boiling it in water or roasting it at the fire, the former method being by far the commonest. They also utilize the leaves of the manioc plant which are boiled in water, generally together with the leaves of another cultivated plant called sańgu. This kind of dish is known under the name nańaka. Next to manioc in importance is the plantain of which there are many varieties, one being the sweet banana which is eaten raw. The kind of plantain which is most appreciated by the Indians is generally eaten green, being either boiled in water in the same way as the manioc, or roasted at the fire or in the ashes. Prepared in the latter way the plantain serves as bread and its taste somewhat reminds one of bread. Besides this 'green plantain', which is eaten in ordinary life, the Indians also eat 'ripe plantain' (tsańa, tsamańma) either raw, boiled in water, or roasted. 'Ripe plantain' is considered indispensable at the great feasts, and one of the preparations for such a feast is that some bundles of [116] plantain are taken into the house and hung up at the roof about two weeks previously in order that they may have time to ripen.

The earth-nut is frequently eaten raw, but the Indians prepare a dish of roasted and pounded earth-nuts called michaka which is much appreciated. --Sweet potatoes, beans, and other cultivated vegetables are prepared by cooking in the same way as the manioc.

The only tree producing edible fruit cultivated by the Jibaros is the chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui by the Jibaros. Its extremely nourishing fruit ripens in February and March, and the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians appreciate it to such an extent that they reckon the beginning of the year from the ripening of the fruit of the chontaruru palm. This red apple-like fruit cannot be eaten raw and is always boiled in water, but although it certainly makes a most important and tasty food the Indians still more appreciate the fermented drink, the chontaruru-beer, which they prepare from it.

The virgin-forests of Western Amazonas produce very few edible fruits and the vegetable food they offer the natives, apart from the plants cultivated, is therefore insignificant. The most important is the palm cabbage which really plays a definite part in the economic life of the Indians. It is obtained either from the top of the young tarapoto palm, called tingimi by the Jibaros, or from the top of another palm called ihu. The palm cabbage is rich in oil, and when boiled in a little water yields a very tasty and nourishing soup; but it can also be eaten raw. During their wanderings in the forest the natives frequently have recourse to this vegetable food, so easily obtained, especially when other stores of food have been exhausted, and on certain occasions, when the Indian has to diet and to abstain from other kinds of food, he is allowed to eat ihu or tingimi."

"Pigs and fowls were early introduced among the Jibaros by the Spaniards, at any rate among the tribes of the Santiago and ~~the Upano~~, where they are still commonly kept as domestic animals. That these animals have long been known to the Jibaros, may be inferred from the important part that the ceremonial slaughter of the swine plays at the great feasts, in which old customs are conservatively kept up. All Jibaro tribes, however, do not seem to possess swine. At any rate the [117] Achuares, at the time when I visited them, had not these domestic animals, nor did I see any among the Aguarunas of Peru.

Although the flesh of swine and hens is an animal food much appreciated, there are still many occasions when the Indians, according to the strict rules prevailing as regards food, has to abstain from eating this kind of meat. The flesh of the swine is, on these occasions, particularly regarded as dangerous, a fact easily explained from the harmful effects that the eating of pork may have upon the stomach and the liver in a tropical climate.

In addition to the swine and the fowls the Jibaros, being clever hunters, highly appreciate different kinds of game. The most important of the animals whose flesh is eaten are the wild hog and the smaller peccary, different kinds of monkeys, the agouti (Dasyprocta aguti) the paca (Coelogenys paca), as well as a great variety of birds. The most important of the latter are the paugi (Crax paugi), different kinds of wild turkey

(Penelope etc.), and a kind of partridge, the trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans), the tucan, and different kinds of parrot, among which the great macaw (Arara) is the most appreciated. As a general rule all small birds of the forest are eaten, being shot with blowguns and unpoisoned arrows.

On the other hand, it must be remarked that there are certain animals, even such as from a European point of view are nice eating, which are religiously shunned by the Jibaros, or can only be eaten by certain people. It is a curious fact for instance that the innocent deer, the flesh of which is commonly eaten by the whites, is never eaten by the Jibaros, who for superstitious reasons generally avoid even touching its flesh. About the same holds true of the tapir, although the fear of this animal is not equally great. If the Jibaros in the neighbourhood of Macas shoot a deer or a tapir, it is chiefly to barter with its flesh at Macas. The skin of the animals, however, may be used. The reasons why the Jibaros shun the deer and the tapir will be mentioned in the chapters treating of their religion.

As is the case with the swine and the fowls, there are many animals and birds of the wood which are in some cases eaten, in other cases again--that is, when the Indians for one reason or another have to observe ceremonial abstinence--are forbidden as food. Such animals and birds are for instance the boar, the paca, the agouti, and among birds the macaw, the tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the parrot, the pigeon, the

umbrella-bird, etc. [118]

Quite peculiar in this respect is the position of the armadillo. It is eaten by ordinary people, but shunned by the medicine-men to such an extent that they even avoid looking at the animal.

Again, among fishes the most common and largest are valued, chiefly such as the sheat-fish, the dourado or golden fish, tha paco or bocachupa (its name in Spanish) as well as the smaller bocachico, the most common fish in the South American rivers. In addition to these there are a variety of small sardine-like fish caught with varvasco poison, which are also appreciated. In regard to these different kinds of fish similar rules prevail as in regard to animal food: in some cases, or to certain persons, they are forbidden as food, in other cases again a person may even be recommended to eat a special kind of fish, as we shall see later on.

Besides this, the following kinds of food, some of which are from a European point of view rather peculiar, may be mentioned.

Of small alligators the Indians eat the tail which, when boiled in water, has a taste somewhat reminiscent of fish. *Tortoises are greatly valued* as food and similarly their eggs are eaten. The iguana lizard is regarded as a delicacy.

Of frogs there are two kinds of which the one, which is spotted, is said to be poisonous and therefore not eaten. The other again, called poáchi, is regarded as edible.

The same may be said of a crab living in sweet water called uriki, and of the snails, both the one living in water, called tsuńtsu, and the one living in the forest, called kuńgu. The latter is also valued because of its shell which the Jibaro women use for their important rattle cincture, the kungu. The Jibaros moreover eat fish roes, frog's roes, a fat larva living in the top of certain palms called mukindi, and a flying ant called uku.

As a general rule it may be stated that the Indians shun all animal beings as food the flesh of which is directly harmful or of which they have superstitious ideas of some kind. For this reason for instance venomous reptiles and other kinds of snakes, beasts and birds of prey, vultures, and most nocturnal birds are regarded as unfit for food. I shall have an opportunity to return to this question later on.

I have in the first place spoken of the Jibaros proper, but I have to add that much the same rules as regards food prevail among the CANELOS INDIANS. It may be remarked however, that the latter Indians, nowadays more civilized than their savage tribesmen, have no hesitation in eating the deer and the tapir, which they eagerly hunt. But [119] they are aware themselves that formerly they had the same aversion to these 'demoniacal' animals as the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 619 (1928-29)

"The Indians in their natural state never use salt as a spice. The half-civilized Canelos Indians have learned to use it and are accustomed to make the long journey down to the Huallaga on the Amazon to fetch salt. To these Indians, however, who have much communication with the whites, the salt is at the same time an important article of trade, and the same may in part be said of the Jibaros proper, at any rate those living on the Upano and upper Morona.

These savage Indians, although they never put salt in their food for the sake of making it more palatable, still have developed the preparation of salt into a sort of industry. Salt to them has value exclusively as a remedy, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is especially used as an emetic. Besides this, they [JKM: Jibaros] carry on a sort of trade with salt, their customers being the mestizos of Macas, who obtain all their salt from their savage neighbours."

1: Karsten--119 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258 (1928-29)

"The JIBAROS obtain their salt from certain saline springs the water of which is boiled and allowed to evaporate gradually. In the part of the Ecuadorian Oriente inhabited by the Jibaros there are two springs of this kind, one at the confluence of the river Mayaiku with the Zamora, an affluent of the Santiago, and another more towards the east, at the spot where the small river Curi-Curi unites its waters with the Mangosiza, which in its turn runs down into the Morona. Most of the salt arriving at Macas comes from the Curi-Curi. The saline spring existing here is small and generally it is wholly covered by dirty water, slime, and brush heaps brought there during inundations. The first thing to be done therefore, when salt is prepared, is to cleanse the spring. A large piece of bark is formed into a sort of tube and stuck into the spring in an erect position, whereupon the dirty water is drawn off. From the pure salt water rising in the tube the salt is prepared."

1: Karsten--119-120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258, 784 (1928-29)

"The obtaining of the salt is a real ceremony. Great care is considered necessary, since there is always the danger that the clay pots in which the salt water is boiled may burst. A number of clay pots are arranged in a long row, placed on fires made with chonta wood; another kind of wood would not do. Since the salt is produced by [120] allowing the water to evaporate gradually, it must be boiled at a slow fire, and as the water in the pots dries up they must again be filled. The pots, however, cannot be filled except by a man who is specially qualified for this work: it is an old experienced man who has prepared or obtained salt before and is considered to have a 'steady hand'. He must fast for the whole timethat the boiling goes on, for if he filled his stomach with food or manioc-beer the pots would burst and the salt be spoiled. The same would happen, according to belief of the Indians, if an inexperienced man filled the pots. Other men may carry the salt water from the tube placed in the spring, but the old man must pour it into the pots. The boiling begins at five o'clock in the morning and is continued without interruption the whole day and the following night until dawn. Then all the pots should to be full of salt and the boiling is finished."

1; Karsten--120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 784, 752 (1928-29)

"A full-grown Jibaro man has a special reason for avoiding salt. Salt is regarded as an antidote against arrow-poison and the Jibaros therefore are of opinion that if a man eats salt, the arrow-poison he uses in hunting will become useless. Children, on the other hand, have a special liking for salt, and when they get it, they may be seen eating salt with pleasure just as children among civilized peoples eat sugar."

1: Karsten--120 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263 (1928-29)

"Although it would never occur to the Jibaros to put salt in the food, they, on the other hand, consider another kind of spice almost indispensable, namely, Indian pepper (Capsicum), called himya in the Jibaro language. Different varieties of Capsicum are cultivated by the Jibaros and they are all exceedingly strong. One variety is so strong that it is only used for the preparation of arrow-poison. If a white man frequently finds the food of the Indians--especially their soups--almost uneatable, this is chiefly due to the fact that it is so peppery that a European palate and throat can hardly stand it. When the Indians eat meat and fish, they generally have some boiled Indian pepper placed on a special plate or banana leaf and eat some of the spice according to taste. More frequently still they eat the pepper crude, taking a few seeds directly from the sheath.

The CANELOS INDIANS, although nowadays they understand the use of salt (cachi) as a spice, at the same time appreciate Indian pepper also. The pot containing boiled Indian pepper (utchu manga) plays as important a part at the meals of these Indians as salt, ordinary pepper, pickles, and other kinds of spice play at the dining-table of civilized peoples."

"In the life of the Indians of the Amazon territory certain drinks play almost as important a part as the food. The beer brewed from the manioc root is in fact the 'national drink' of these natives, without which they could not exist. It is brewed in the way known from many South American tribes: the roots are boiled, a part of them is carefully masticated and mixed with saliva, the liquid is spat out into a special pot and mixed with a quantity of mashed, but not masticated, manioc, whereupon the whole mass is carefully stirred with a stick and the pot covered with banana leaves while the contents ferment. On the following day the substance is generally sufficiently fermented to be used. As mentioned before, it is kept in a special big clay pot which has its place in the women's department.

The manioc-beer cannot be brewed except by the women, a custom which the Indians themselves explain by pointing out that the manioc has to remain soft (nuhuli) and that therefore only a woman can properly influence it for the purpose of bringing it to fermentation. But when ready, the drink is particularly appreciated by the men, serving them as food as well as a drink. When the Indian goes out on a journey, on a hunting, fishing, or war expedition, he never fails to take with him a quantity of the fermented manioc substance enveloped in banana leaves. By diluting some of the substance with water he can, while on a journey, prepare the beer whenever he likes, and as long as he has his nihamaóchi he is able to do without any other food for days.

Exactly the same may be said of the Canelos Indians, who call the fermented manioc-beer asua.

Both tribes also brew a kind of beer from the boiled fruits of the chontaruru palm. The Jibaros have a special chontaruru feast which is celebrated at the time when the fruit of the chontaruru palm grows ripe, in February and March.

Similarly both tribes know, besides the ordinary manioc-beer, a special manioc-wine, called sangućha shiki by the Jibaros and shutušhca yaću by the Canelos Indians. How the manioc-wine is prepared will appear from the descriptions I shall give later on of the feasts of the Jibaro Indians. On these occasions, as we shall see, the manioc-beer is also brewed with special ceremonies."

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

"The agricultural practices of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are founded on a special animistic view in regard to the plants which they cultivate. All trees and plants are animated by spirits--the Jibaros call them wakaní, the Canelos Indians aya or supai (1)--who affect their growth and the ripening of their fruit. These wakaní, aya, or supai are to the Indians nothing but spirits or souls of men which have taken up their abode in the plants and have thus become plant souls. The animistic philosophy of these Indians does not recognize any particular kind of plant spirits as distinct from spirits of men, just as it does not recognize particular animal spirits or spirits of inanimate natural objects. There is only one kind of spirit or demon, who inhabits men, animals, plants, or inanimate objects, and who may also permanently or occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. This view which, of course, is intimately connected

"1. In the Quichua language aya means 'soul' in general, whereas supai means 'demon'. All supai are aya, but all aya are not supai. According to the idea of the Canelos Indians, poisonous plants--for instance those ofwhich they prepare their arrow-poison-- and plants with extraordinarily strong properties are animated by supai, the rest by aya."

with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, forms a characteristic feature of the religion of the Jibaros, as, in fact, of the Indian religion in general. According to the mythology of the Jibaros, all animals have once been men, and although there is not a similar myth in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that animate them have once inhabited human bodies, just as they may once more, either for a longer period or only incidentally, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thoughts and feelings, and when intoxicated by certain narcotic [123] drinks--made of tobacco and two other narcotizing plants--the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definite human form, namely as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with this belief. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be men, others--and in fact the majority of them--are said to be women.

This idea also explains the division of labour which prevails among the Jibaros with regard to agriculture. Those plants which are 'men' must be sown and tended by the men, whereas those which are 'women' must be cultivated by the women. Of those fruits that form the staple food of the Indians, most are regarded as female. Hence

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

among the Jibaros, as in fact among most Indian tribes, agriculture is essentially, although not exclusively, a duty incumbent on the female sex."

1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192, 137, 241 (1928-29)

"The following trees and plants are cultivated by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians; the names in the Jibaro and in the Quichua language are indicated with Jib. and Qu. respectively:

Manioc (Manihot aipi, Jib. máma or tsanímba, Qu. lúmu) of many different classes, plantain (Jib. pa'ándama, Qu. palánda), batatas(Convolvulus batatas, Jib. ínchi, Qu. kumál), mani or earth-nuts (Jib. nussi, Qu. ínchi), beans (Jib. mika, Qu. poroto (1), sanahoria (Daucus carota, Jib. maya, Qu. sanahoria), maize (Jib. sháya, Qu. sara), mandi (2), (Jib. sangu, Qu. mandi), a kind of sweet potato (a vine), (Jib. kingi, Qu. papa chambo), pumpkin (Jib. yui, Qu. sapallu (3), the chonta palm (Jib. uí, Qu. chunta-rúru), and the sugar cane (Jib. pa'ata, Qu. huiru).

The Indians also cultivate the Capsicum or Indian pepper (Jib. hímya, Qu. uíchu), the naranhilla (Solanum quitense, called narangi in both languages), and the tomato which the Jibaros call kukuchi.

The gourd tree (Jib. tsappa, Qu. pilchi) is also cultivated, but only because of the dishes and water-bottles which are prepared from its large fruit, and which the Indians use in their daily life."

"1. Spanish poroto.
2. A plant producing a fruit similar to the manioc.
3. Spanish zapallo."

I: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

"Of the numerous cultivated plants which play a part in the magical medicine and the religious customs of the Indians the following deserve to be mentioned:--

First of all we have the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsańgu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. nateḿa, Qu. aya huaśca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huańtuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians.

How the tobacco, the nateḿa, and the maikoa are used, will appear from descriptions given later on.

Varvasco is a common name for certain poisonous plants which play an important part in Indian fishing. They will again be dealt with in the chapter on the Indian fishing practices.

Tsinsímba is the name of a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, to which a magical power is attributed. The leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva (in the same way as the leaves of the tobacco), and given to the women and children at certain feasts to make them strong and active.

There is another similar plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called chikí. The root of the plant is warmed up in a clay pot half-filled with water, together with some leaves of tobacco, and the drink is given to a woman at the 'feast of the women'. This

drink has the effect of a vomitory and is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman.

Among the magical plants cultivated by the Jibaros and Canelos Indians must also be reckoned the roucou shrub (Bixa orellana; Jib. ipyaku, Qu. manduru), the fruit of which affords the red dye which the Indians use for painting the face and the body.

Of the plants mentioned above, the following are regarded as 'women', that is, as being animated by a female wakani (aya): the manioc, the camote, the sanahoria, the bean, the earth-nut, the sweet potato, the mandi, the pumpkin, the gourd tree, the tsinsimba, the chiki, and the roucou shrub; whereas the following are regarded as 'men', that is, as animated by a male wakani or aya: the plantain, the maize, the chonta palm, and the narcotic plants tobacco, Banisteria caapi, and Datura arborea, as well as the varvasco.

Consistently with this idea we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Mama (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nussi (earth-nut), Ipyaku (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paandama (plantain), Ui (chonta palm), and Maikoa.

As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the

1: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--125-126 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 773 (1928-29)

"All agricultural practices of the Jibaros centre round the particular deity of the women, the great Earth-mother Nungüi. She has not only taught the women agriculture, but also all kinds of housework and duties incumbent on the married Jibaro women, especially how to feed and tend the principal domestic animals, the swine and hens, and the hunting dogs. In order fully to understand the Jibaro customs relating to agriculture, it seems therefore necessary to know the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi.

In the chapters on the myths of the Jibaros I shall relate this myth in full. Here it may only be necessary to mention its main points.

Nungüi, the Earth-mother, is the being who is worshipped by the Jibaros as the originator of that important part of the Jibaro culture which is represented by the women. In ancient times, we are told, the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruits which they cultivate to-day and they had nothing to eat. At that time there lived a Jibaro woman called Ungucha. When wandering on the bank of the river looking for food she met the Earth-mother Nungüi and asked her for manioc. Nungüi gave her manioc-beer ready made in a clay pot; she gave her plantations ready worked up and sown with manioc, plantain, batatas, maize, earth-nuts, and all other fruits which the Jibaros now cultivate; she gave her all kinds of game ready prepared. Everything was given to Ungucha gratuitously, without her having to work. But Ungucha proved ungrateful and made unjust demands on Nungüi, so that at last Nungüi left her and retired to the

interior of the earth where she still lives. Now the *Jibaros* would again have suffered from famine after the Earth-mother left them. But she had already taught them agriculture, to make plantations and to sow the seeds, and the fruits thus grew of themselves in due time.

Nungki is still worshipped as the great Earth-mother by the *Jibaro* women--the word Nungki itself is derived from the same root as the [126] word nunga, 'earth'. When new plantations are made, when the plants are sown, the women never fail to invoke, in special incantations, Nungki herself and also her mythical husband, Shakafma, who formerly did the same agricultural work as the *Jibaro* men still do, namely, clearing the ground for making new plantations. When at the 'feast of the women', or on other occasions, the married *Jibaro* women drink the narcotic natema, Nungki afterwards appears to them in a dream and teaches them how to tend the fields in order that they shall be very fertile. When the crops fail owing to dryness or from other causes, and famine threatens the *Jibaros*, then Nungki again appears to the women in a dream consoling them: 'You will not die, the fields will again prosper all right and give you food.'"

1: Karsten--126 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

"I have mentioned that an intrinsic connection is supposed to exist between the woman and the plants which she cultivates, just as she is believed to exert a particular influence upon the domestic animals that are confided to her care. This especially holds true of the married woman. When a Jibaro marries and has to found a new household, to make new plantations and breed domestic animals, swine, chickens, and hunting dogs, his first business is to make a special feast for his young wife, through which power and ability is, in a mysterious way, imparted to her for her future obligations. This feast--next to the head-feast the greatest feast of the Jibaros-- is called Noa tsángu, that is, 'the tobacco feast of the women'. Fully to understand the ideas the Jibaros have about agriculture it is necessary to know the general significance of this feast."

1: Karsten--126-131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241 (1928-29)

"The most important of the domestic plants is the manioc, and when new manioc fields are made for a feast, the work is done with special ceremonies.

To plant the manioc, two pieces of the stem of the shrub about ten inches in length, are cut off and fixed in the ground in an oblique position close to each other. Such manioc sticks are planted all along the field at a distance of one to two yards from each other. --The plant bears fruit in about six months.

The rough work, as pointed out before, is done by the men, who fell [127] the trees and clear and level the ground selected for the new plantation --extremely heavy work which takes a long time. This was especially the case in former times when the Indians had only stone axes and knives of chonta wood to use in clearing the virgin forest to make plantations. After this the work of the women begins, who further prepare the ground for the planting.

The young Jibaro woman, in whose honour the feast is to be held, is assisted at the work by an older women who will also lead the ceremonies at the coming feast and is called whuéa. Moreover, her mother, sisters, and other female relatives living in the same house, generally take part in the planting.

To begin the ceremony, the old woman (whuéa) brings a pole or stick, elaborately made of the hard wood of the chonta palm. With this pole, which is called shingi, holes will first be made in the ground for fixing the manioc stems. The latter are, at the

beginning of the work, heaped at one end of the new plantation. Close to these stems the chonta pole (shingi) is fixed well into the ground by the whéa. Each woman is provided with a fully ripe manioc fruit upon which she sits when planting. The woman who is to make the feast and her assistants also are painted red in the face with roucou (Bixa orellana) and have red stripes on the breast and the back.

Before proceeding to work [JKM: planting manioc] the women sit down round the heap of the manioc stems, chanting first to the stems and afterwards to Nungüi herself, calling upon her to be present and to help them in the work:

> 'Don't touch the stems with hard hands,
> slowly, with caution may you touch them.
> Although we have cut them with the iron of the whites,
> may they not take it amiss;
> only to cut the pieces have we used the knife
> May it do no harm; may you grow well,
> may you bear abundant fruit', etc.

Then follows the chant to Nungüi herself. Besides the heap of manioc stems and the shingi, there is a third sacred object. This is a small round stone red or brown in

colour, which has clearly been found somewhere in the ground. The Jibaro women, however, pretend to have got it in some mysterious way. Nungüi herself has given it to a woman [128] in a dream, when she was intoxicated with the narcotic natemá, in order that she should have luck in agriculture. This wonderful stone is called nantará and is regarded as the special symbol of Nungüi, containing her soul and at the same time the soul of the manioc plant (tsanimba wakání). The stone is therefore supposed to have the power of summoning Nungüi to help in the work, and consequently of making the manioc grow well. The nantará is covered with an upturned gourd, and the women sit around it while chanting the song to Nungüi:

'Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we are going to sow.
Nungüi, come thou and help us,
come and help us!
Art not thou, art not thou our mother,
are not we thy children?
Whom should we call upon?
We only behold wood and hills.
Thou art the only one who can help us,
us that are going to plant the fruit'.

In the following chant the women mention all those different kinds of manioc which the Jibaros know and cultivate, i.e.: the apáchi maña (1), chiañgrapo tsanimba, huambañgtsi tsanimba, parmáchi tsanimba, wambuchara tsanimba, kapañdinyu tsanimba, chachira tsanimba, nungüimera tsanimba, sukimaña, sütinyu tsanimba, mukuñdra tsanimba, ikiañchama tsanimba, suamara tsanimba, kanüsara tsanimba, and ayañdkashi tsanimba. Each kind of manioc, or rather the soul (wakani) of each manioc plant, must be especially called upon by name in order to secure a good crop.

When the chants are finished, the women proceed to plant the stems. One of them, the first that the woman who is preparing for the feast will fix in the ground, is taken out from the rest and painted red with roucou. In a small clay pot the whuená has prepared some juice of tobacco by chewing the leaves and mixing them well with saliva. The whuená first gives the younger woman a small quantity of this medicine to drink. The latter, who is bent down for the work, has her manioc fruit placed [129] in the joint between the leg and the thigh. The whuená now takes her by the wrist and guides her hand to the chonta pole, with which she slowly and cautiously makes a hole in the ground.

"1. 'The manioc of the whites'."

Immediately afterwards the whueá guides her hand to the manioc stem, painted red with roucou, which is held ready, and makes her place it in the hole with the same caution. Even during the latter operation the whueá is holding her arm by the wrist.

The first manioc stem having thus been ceremonially put in the ground, the work of planting is continued in the ordinary way by the women, each of whom sits upon the manioc fruit with which she is provided, or holds it between the leg and the thigh in the same way as the first woman.

After the work [JKM: planting manioc] is finished, the old woman fixes the chonta pole (shingi) well into the ground at the end of the field where it is then left. The idea is that just as the shingi is firmly planted in the ground, so also the manioc which the women have planted will grow steadily and without disturbance. It still remains, however, for the women to chant to the shingi itself. Sitting round the pole they sing the following chant by which, at the same time, Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma are 'awakened' in order that they may take notice of the planting just finished and promote the growth of the crop.

This chant in the Jibaro language runs as follows:

Shingi wairu tu tahei,
'Lifting up the earth with the shingi we have
done the work (of planting),
tu aweiru shindyantamrya',
Thus we have digged in the earth to awaken thee.
tu tahei, ty tahei.
Thus we have done, thus we have done.
Nungüi noachi assana
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
huí tu tahei, tu tahei.
thus here we have done.
Mamankutu'untsuaheita',
May thou multiply our crop of manioc,
shindyantamrya', shindyantamrya'.
wake up, wake up!
Aishiru'kutu', tsukahei vaitya', [130]
Dear husband (1), myself I am hungry,

"1. i.e., Shakaëma, the husband of Nungüi, whom the women invoke as their own husband."

aishiru 'kutu,' taukama 'huahua.'
my husband, hungry is also my child.
Shindyantamrya,'
Wake up, wake up,
wari kureitkura.'
quickly appear!'

This chant is sung to the same melody as the other incantations at planting and sowing. An example of it will be given later on.

The shingi, as we note, is used not only for making the holes into which the manioc stem are planted, but also with a view to awakening, by the digging, Nungki herself and her husband, who are supposed to dwell in the earth and may perhaps be sleeping.

When the women return to the house, each of them carries in a basket (changina) the manioc fruit on which she has eat at the planting. The manioc is at once cooked and eaten by the women, who in eating do not touch the food with their fingers, as is generally done, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

For some time the woman who is the owner of the plantation and is preparing for the tobacco feast, besides observing the rules of diet mentioned above, takes care not to drink the strong tonic guayusa (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), which the Jibaros

use as a vomitory and for washing out the mouth. If she takes guayusa, the tender manioc plantation may dry up. The same would happen if she tasted the brandy of the whites. Nor does the woman, after the work of planting, paint her face with sua (genipa). The black paint prepared from this fruit is very astringent and would therefore make the manioc dry up. Some Jibaro women also take care to loosen the cotton bands (called patáki), which they usually have tied round their upper arms. If the arm is tied with this band, the manioc will likewise be 'tied', so that it cannot grow and develop.

Later on, when the women tend the new manioc plantation and clear it of weeds, they likewise usually chant incantations to Nungüi and the manioc spirit.

Moreover, there is a special danger threatening the tender plant [JKM: manioc] from the machinations of evil witches. A witch-doctor of an enemy [131] family or tribe comes and sees the new plantation, grows jealous, looks at it with an evil eye (tuna hĩ ísama), and pronounces a curse that the whole thing may be spoiled.

'I have seen the shingi which they have fixed at the end of the field. May everything get spoiled, may the whole plantation rot away, may it turn into forest, may nothing grow there, so that they may have nothing to eat.'

In order to counteract the effects of this malediction and the evil eye of the witch, the women also chant incantations while tending the plant. --"

L: Karsten--131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241, 462 (1928-29)

"Next to the manioc, the plantain is the most important of the fruits that are especially sown or planted for a tobacco-feast. The sprouts of the plant are put into the ground by the men, namely, by the husband of the woman assisted by other male relatives, without particular ceremonies. The success of the work, however, the rapid growth and fruitfulness of the plantation, depend to a great extent on the strict observance of the rules of diet which are imposed upon the husband as well as upon his wife.

After the Jibaro has planted the plantain he, moreover, for some time after takes care not to drink guayusa (weisa) or to wash the mouth with this tonic, believing that otherwise the root of the plantain will rot away. The same would happen if he painted his face or head with genipa (eua), which therefore he avoids using."

"The Jibaros also try to promote the growth of the plantain by incantations, directed to Shakaĕma, the husband of Nungüi. This, however, does not take place at planting, but some months later when the plantain has already grown large. Both the women and the men sing, sitting inside the plantation. The incantation has reference not only to the plantain, 'the son of the tumba', but also to the manioc, now half-grown; hence, besides Shakaĕma, Nungüi is also mentioned in it.

The incantation, which is sung to the same melody as the last one, runs as follows:

Tumbá uchiru apuhkahei,
'The son of the tumba I have planted,
pingéra ahásahei.
nicely I have put the sprout in the earth.
Shakaĕma aismanguchi, aishmangú,
Shakaĕma, man in the earth,
aramú ityursan tsapaicheindyá, [132]
why don't you promote my plantation?
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
Why don't you make it grow, why don't you make it flourish?
Tumbāru, waiari, waiari,

1: Karsten--131-132 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 241, 539 (1928-29)

My plantation of tumba (1), promptly make it grow,
winchúra, waiari, waiari;
my plantain, promptly, promptly make it develop!
pand'machiru, pand'machiru
My little plantain field,
ityursán tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, also, the woman, we sing:
wambagrura (1), waiari, waiari,
Our manioc sowing, quickly, quickly make it grow!
Shakaĕma, aishmanguna, apusa,
To Shakaĕma, the husband, as well, who planted the plantain.
pingera, tsapaitsi, tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow, make it flourish!

"1. The Jibaros here poetically speak of the tumba, the mythical ancestor of the plantain, as if they cultivated also that plant."

winchura (2), waiari, waiari.
My plantain field, quickly make it grow!
Araki, ityursan tsapaicheindya,
My sowing, why don't you promote it,
(i) tyursangi tsapaicheindya.
why don't you promote it?
Ivyarkamirusmá, ityursanginú
Having nicely cleared the ground,
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?'"

"2. wambagrúra and winchúra: poetical expressions for the manioc and plantain fields, instead of mamáru (mamanchíru) and pand'máru (pandmachíru)."

"A Jibaro woman who is preparing for a tobacco feast generally sows also batatas (inchi), sanahoria (maya), the kind of potatoes called kingí, beans (mika), earth-nuts (nussi), and the root called sangu. Besides this the men have to sow maize (shaya). Of these plants, the beans, the earth-nuts, and the maize are of special interest because of the rules in regard [133] to fasting to which the women or men are subject after the sowing, and which must be observed whether the sowing is done for a tobacco feast or not. Sundry plantations of manioc, plantain, beans, earth-nuts, maize, and so forth, are of course frequently made by the Indians without particular reference to a feast.

I shall presently give an account of the practices which the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians observe at the sowing of beans, earth-nuts, and maize, especially as regards fasting. For the moment it is necessary to mention certain other customs connected with the making of new plantations, which take place especially when the work has been done on a large scale for a feast.

When the whole work of sowing and planting is finished, the women perform certain ceremonies in the house, consisting of dancing and chanting, in order to make the new fields grow well and secure a good crop. During five successive nights, from sunset to dawn, they perform a ring dance called Ihiámbrama in the house of the principal woman (i. e., the woman who will make the feast), wearing festival dresses and rattles

round the cincture, and singing incantations to Nungüi and her husband Shakafma. These incantations are much the same as those sung before when sowing the plantation, and they are also sung later, at the great fertility feast itself, the Noa tsangu.

The following is an example of these incantations.

Kashi ningi
'At night united we sing,
Nungüi noa assana,
being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
Nungüi noachina:
to Nungüi, the woman, we sing:
mama unteuaheita,
Multiply the manioc,
inchi unteuaheita,
multiply the camote,
nussi unteuaheita,
multiply the earth-nuts,
kingi unteuaheita,
multiply the potatoes,

sangu untsuaheita, [134]
multiply the sangu,
ashi, ashi untsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Nungüi noa assan kutú,
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we imya untsumarahei.
we thus have called upon her.
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, the woman,
arutama nunganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungüi noana tu tihei:
to Nungüi, the woman, thus we have sung:
yurúmgachi úntsuaheita,
Promptly multiply thou our crops,
mamankutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of manioc,
inchikutú úntsuaheita,

multiply our crop of camote,
nussikutú únteuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
sangu, sangu, únteuaheita,
multiply our crop of sangu,
ashi únteuaheita,
everything multiply!
Shakaʔma aishmanguchi,
Shakaʔma, the husband, as well,
amisha húi únteuaheita,
may thou fructify the crops!
Amisha ni, kambungisa,
Thee also, who hast felled the trees,
ivyarsamunmá,
who hast cleared the ground,
imya unteumárahei:
thus we have called upon:
Mamankutú únteuaheita,
Multiply our crop of manioc,

inchikuté ántouheita,
multiply our crop of camote,[135]
nuenikuté ántouheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
achi, achi ántouheita,
everything, everything multiply"!

Other chants, sung on the same occasion and in connection with the dance, are directed against certain enemies of the new plantations, the rats, rabbits, and other rodents, which eat the tender sprouts or dig [136] up the seeds sown in the fields of the beans, the earth-nuts, and the maize.

The plants, however, are more infested with these enemies at a later period, or more strictly speaking, when the fruits are ripening. The rats then especially damage the maniac, plantain, and camote fields. In order to exercise this danger and protect the crops the Jibaro women perform the following ceremony. They take the shell of a maniac fruit, which has been eaten by the rats, and put some ashes into it. Upon this shell they put the shell of a plantain, gnawed by rats, together with some ashes. Lastly, upon these shells they put a third shell of a camote, gnawed by the same rodents, the shell being likewise strewn with ashes. All three shells are Then placed in a piece of an old, broken clay pot (called bakáchi). The women now form a ring round the broken

clay pot containing the three fruit shells and begin to dance, singing a sort of chant or incantation to expel the rats.

This incantation runs as follows:

Katipichi, pand'machiru,
'Little rat, my crop of plantain,
Katipichi, inchichiru
little rat, my crop of camote,
takareeipya, takareeipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Mamanchiru takareeipya,
My little manioc crop, don't touch it,
takareeipya, takareeipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Winya mamaru,
My manioc field,
winya pand'maru,
my plantain field,
winya inchiru,
my camote field,

takareeipya, takareeipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Yapamikipya,
Don't eat my crop at night,
Yapamikipya,
don't eat it at night!" [137]

After the dance is finished the broken clay pot, with the fruit shells which it contains, is thrown away into the forest. The rats are now believed to leave the plantations unmolested.

With regard to the ceremony just described it must be mentioned that the Jíbaros make use of broken clay pots (bakáchi) at certain cathartic rites, when they want to get rid of something that is dangerous, impure, and detestable. Ashes, again, are regarded as an antidote against evil spirits.

Among the Jíbaros and the Canelos Indians the earth-nuts, the beans, and the maize are sown with special care, and the men or women who do the work must afterwards observe certain strict rules with regard to their diet, even when the sowing has not been done particularly for a feast. This seems to be due to the fact that the plants mentioned are more delicate than other domestic plants, the sowing being easily damaged or spoiled from various causes.

1: Karsten--132-139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 241 (1928-29)

When earth-nuts are sown among the Jibaros, the women who take part in the work have their faces painted red with roucou, transverse red strokes being likewise painted over and below the chest and on the [138] back. Moreover, each seed put in the ground is painted red with the same dye. If one asks the reason for this practice, the Jibaros only answer that it is a custom handed down from their ancestors that when earth-nuts are sown both the women themselves and the seed must be painted red in this way. Otherwise the plant would not flourish.

When the work is finished, the women perform the dance Ihiámbrama for five successive nights in the house, incantations being sung to Nungüi, just as after the planting of manioc. Chants are likewise sung to prevent the rats from harming the new sowing.

For some months afterwards, or until the plant [JKM: earth-nuts] is nearly full-grown, the women have to observe the following rules of diet. They are not allowed to eat the flesh of the howling monkey (yákuma) or of the squirrel (kunámbi); nor must they eat the intestines (ambúhe) of any animal, blood, the fat of swine, tadpoles (wambúcha), fish roes (tēri námaka), a crab living in fresh water called uriki, or snails (tsúntsu), nor chew sugar cane. Of vegetables they are forbidden to eat palm tops (ihu). As to fish, they must not eat the two large fishes wámbi (Spanish bocachupa) and the sheat-fish (nápi).

These rules of diet are based on the following ideas. The fell of the howling monkey and the squirrel is reddish-yellow, as if it had been burned by the sun. If the women eat the flesh of these animals after having sown earth-nuts, the new plants will soon have the same reddish-yellow colour, that is, they will be burned by the sun and dry up. If the women eat the intestines of various animals, the plants will soon fall asunder in small pieces and be spoiled. The same will happen if they eat things that flow, or that easily melt away and vanish, like blood, the fat of swine, and the sweet liquid contained in the sugar cane; or that are of a very loose consistency so that they easily dissolve, like tadpoles, fish roes, and the flesh of the crab and the snail. The plants will lack consistency, dissolve, and be spoiled. For the same reason the women must abstain from eating the palm top, which consists of loose fibres and easily falls asunder.

That the women are forbidden to eat the fish wámbi is due to the fact that this fish has a red tail and red fins, though the rest of it is entirely white. The Jibaros fancy that the leaves of the tender shoots will soon get the same colour as the tail and the fins of the fish, that is, they will dry up.

Again, the large and strong nápi is a very lively fish, which, when caught, sprawls violently and is difficult to restrain. If the woman eats this fish after having sown, the seed will get no rest, and will not be [139] able to grow quietly, but will be continually

disturbed by some enemies (animals, violent winds, etc.) and consequently spoiled(1).

When the Jibaro women have sown the beans, they are subject to the same rules of diet for some months afterwards, or until the crop is well developed and begins to bear fruit."

"1. It is worth mentioning that when, among the Jibaros, a child is born, the father and mother for some time afterwards abstain from eating the fish nápi for the same reason. Otherwise the delicate new-born child would be tired out and get no rest."

1: Karsten--139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

" Similar restrictions in regard to food are laid upon the men after they have sown the maize. Thus they do not eat Indian pepper (hīmya), because otherwise the maize would become red and inferior in quality. Indian pepper (Capsicum), as is well known, is red in colour. They abstain from eating the larva mukindi, which lives in the tops of certain palms, because otherwise the maize would be infested with worms. They moreover abstain from chewing sugar cane, because in that case the maize would rot away, and from eating the top of the palm called tunduśma, because if they do eat it, the cobs of maize will become empty (without grains) owing to the effects of violent winds."

I: Karsten--139-140 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

"As to the sowing of the maize, it may be mentioned that the Jibaros formerly used to put in the seeds with the same care as is still used with the manioc, the trees being felled first, the ground cleared, and the plantations elaborately made. Even a chonta pole (shingi) was then used for making the holes in the ground, and the same ceremonies observed with it as at the planting of manioc. This mode of sowing the maize still prevails among the Canelos Indians. On the other hand, the Jibaros proper nowadays simply throw the seeds on the spot in the forest selected for the field and let them grow, without previously clearing the ground. It is not until later on, when the plant has a length of about 20 to 30 cm., that the trees are felled. The trunks, however, are not removed but left on the field, as they protect the new plantation against the violent hurricanes which might otherwise destroy it.

When the maize is ripe, the plant is frequently infested by maggots which enter the maize-heads under the leaves and eat the fruit. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians then try to exterminate the maggots in the following way. They take a maize-head which is particularly infested with maggots, put some chewed tobacco leaves together with some Capsicum or Indian pepper round it, envelop the whole thing in some other leaves and take the bundle into the house, where it is hung up [140] in the smoke over the fire. Here the bundle is left for some time, until it is quite dried and half consumed, after which it is thrown away. By this procedure the maggots are supposed to disappear from the whole plantation."

I: Karsten--140-142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241 (1928-29)

"The rules of precaution observed by the CANELOS INDIANS in connection with agriculture differ in some details from those in vogue among the Jibaros. When, at Canelos, a woman has planted the manioc, she abstains for eight days from touching a broom to sweep the house. All dirt and waste is left untouched until the eight days have elapsed. If she cleaned the house, the manioc would fall asunder and be spoiled. For the same reason she refrains, during the same period, from sharpening a knife with a stone, nor does she split the fire-wood with an axe, but instead of that uses a big knife (machete). If she touched the axe, the manioc would not grow thick but very thin like the handle of the axe.

Again, when the men have planted the plantain, for eight days they abstain from eating roasted plantain, since otherwise the fruit in the new plantation would grow very thin and small. Nor do they bathe in the river during the eight days, lest the new plantation should get too much water and rot away.

When the Canelos women have sown earth-nuts (inchi) and beans, they take care not to taste sweet things, brandy, and other strong drinks, the fat of swine, blood, the intestines of any animals, a snail living in the water (chúru) and a fat worm or larva called tuku, living in the top of a certain palm and generally eaten by the Indians. If the woman infringes these rules, the earth-nuts and beans will grow very small, or the whole crop be spoiled; they also take care not to eat a certain fish called náchi which

has very sharp teeth and eats hard seeds and kernels. If the woman eats this fish, the new crop will be badly infested with rats and rabbits. For the same reason she does not eat the squirrel and the guatusa (agouti), rodents that are great enemies of the plantations of the Indians, or the parrot, which likewise has a sharp beak and eats seeds of any kind.

Having sown earth-nuts, the Canelos woman also abstains from eating and touching the flesh of the deer as well as of the nose-bear (Nasua rufa). If she eats the flesh of these animals, or even touches it with her hands, a certain ant which the Canelos Indians call rahual añangu, 'the blood ant', will infest the sowing. The deer was formerly, and the nose-bear is still, to the mind of these Indians a demoniac animal.

[141] All these precautions are observed for two or three months, until the new plantation has grown and is well developed.

When the men have sown the maize, they too for a couple of months are subject to certain precautionary rules. They do not eat palm tops (yúyu), for otherwise the maize would grow very small, nor the larva túku, for then the new plants would rot away, the túku making the palm tops where it lives rot. Similarly they abstain from eating the harmful rodents, the agouti and the squirrel. Nor do they eat a large fish called hándya which has very sharp teeth, for then some rodents will eat the maize. When a Canelos Indian has been out hunting and returns home with some birds, he takes care

not to pluck the birds in the forest or on the way, but take them home feathers and all. The men themselves cannot pluck them; this is done by the women or the children of the house. If the man himself plucked the birds, the leaves of the maize plant would fall asunder like the plumes of the bird, and the plantation be spoiled. With regard to a sort of woodpecker, called chili, it is considered necessary that it should be plucked in the maize plantation itself, where the feathers are then left. When afterwards the man who has sown the maize and caught the bird happens to come to the plantation and see the feathers, he immediately takes the precaution of blackening his hands with carbon and, moreover, makes cutting movements all around them with a knife. In his having seen the feathers it may seem as if he had himself plucked the bird, and the precaution mentioned will counteract the evil consequences arising from this.

Even certain plants that do not serve as food, but are cultivated for other purposes, require that the person who has planted them should, before or afterwards, observe certain rules with regard to his mode of life.

When among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians the men plant the varvasco, they afterwards abstain from eating the intestines and blood of animals. They are also forbidden to eat the small fish called sachma, nor do they drink strong drinks like brandy, guayusa, and the narcotic natéma (aya huasca). They cannot touch the blood of the

agouti nor skin that animal or take out the intestines. Roasted plantain they do not eat; in that case the varvasco will dry up. The intestines of animals--also parts like the lungs, the heart, the liver--they cannot eat because the plant would rot away. Brandy, guayusa, and natéma they cannot drink, because these strong drinks would have harmful effects upon the plant. [142]

These rules must be observed until the varvasco is half-grown. After the Indians have put the shoot in the earth they blow chewed tobacco and strew mashed Indian pepper upon the plant, which will have the effect of making the varvasco poison strong.

When the Jibaro men have to plant the narcotic plants natéma and maikoa, they abstain for some days previously from cohabiting with their wives. When engaged in the planting work they must be 'chaste as youths', otherwise the plant will soon dry up. This custom is, at all events, observed by some Jibaros. Others, on the other hand, have asserted to me that they do not observe particular precautionary rules in connection with such planting.

When the Indian women have planted the gourd tree, they afterwards strike themselves with the hands on the breasts, in the belief that thus the fruit of the gourd tree will grow large like the breasts of the women. When the tree has grown big, the Canelos women are in the habit of hanging the shells of the forest snail (called chéru) upon its branches, in order that it shall bear large and abundant fruit."

1: Karsten--142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 828 (1928-29)

"All the rules in regard to fasting mentioned above originate in a special idea, deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians with whom we are dealing. Not only do they believe that a man, by eating a certain animal or a certain vegetable, may acquire the characteristic qualities of that animal or vegetable even in minute details. They are firmly convinced that there exists such an intimate relation between a man and the work he is doing or has just done that his own qualities, both the essential and usual ones and those temporarily acquired--through eating a certain food or in other ways--may literally be transferred to the object or result of his work. A man in the most real sense of the word puts something of his soul into the work he is doing, the effects of this transference making themselves felt even for some time after it has been finished. Numerous other instances referring to different departments of the domestic industry of the Indians have already been mentioned which illustrate this view, and others will presently be mentioned. A custom like the couvade, for instance, which occurs among the Jibaros in an interesting form, will be found to rest upon similar ideas."

1: Karsten--143 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 221 (1928-29)

"Next to agriculture, hunting and fishing are the principal means of subsistence of the Ecuadorian Indians. The virgin forests of Western Amazonas are in general rich in game, except in those parts which lie close to the Indian habitations where, owing to the steady persecution of the native hunters, it is scarcer. Similarly the rivers abound in fish, and as a matter of fact could give the Indians half of their food supply if they devoted themselves to fishing more than they actually do."

1: Karsten--143 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

"Besides firearms, which are now known to most tribes, the lance and the blowgun are the most important hunting implements of the Ecuadorian Indians. The lance is used for killing big game like the tapir, the wild hog, and the deer, as well as beasts like the jaguar and the bear. With the blowgun and poisoned arrows the Indians hunt birds, monkeys, and other smaller quadrupeds.

For hunting big game and smaller animals the Indians commonly use dogs of a special mixed race which are bred with great care. This is particularly the case with the Jibaros, who are in the habit of making a great feast in honour of their dogs, called 'the feast of the dogs', by which strength and ability for the tracing and pursuing of the game are supposed to be imparted to them."

1; Karsten--143-145 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 171 (1928-29)

"The arrow-poisons in vogue among the Indians of Western Amazonas seem to belong to the class known under the general name of 'curare', [144] of which one of the most important ingredients is the alcaloid poison found in various Strychnos species. The Macusi Indians of Guiana are the best known of the South American arrow-poison makers, and it is possible that this invention--one of the most ingenious of those of savage peoples--was originally passed on to the Indians of the Amazon territory. However this may be, it must be stated at once that even in Eastern Ecuador and Peru the 'curare' poisons differ considerably; nay, there are even arrow-poisons of which we do not know with certainty whether they can be called 'curare' at all, for instance the one used by the savage Avishiries living in the region of the river Curaray and its affluent Villano. According to the statements of the rubber collectors who have been in contact with this little known tribe, their arrow-poison is exceedingly effective, and their blow-guns, which I have seen myself, are of a type differing greatly from those used by other Indian tribes in the Ecuadorian Oriente. In general, the arrow-poisons used by the Indians of these regions are very imperfectly known, so that the information I was able to gain about those in vogue among the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros of the Pastaza, although incomplete from a pharmacological point of view, may be of considerable interest.

Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison, only a few of

them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza. [145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes.

Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots'(1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesús en el Marañon Español, p. 87."

"Naturally, to be able to study the Indian arrow-poison properly, one needs to be, not only an ethnologist, but also a botanist and pharmacologist, and since I am not an expert in the latter respect, my study of the Indian arrow-poisons must be imperfect. Only in exceptional cases have I been able to identify scientifically the plants which the Indians use for the purpose. As a rule I can only give their names in the language of the Indians and a short general description--e.g. whether a vine, a shrub, a big tree, and so on--as well as the necessary data for preparing them in order to obtain an effective arrow-poison. Yet even so I believe I have done future students of the Indian arrow-poisons a good service, since a botanical expert, guided by my data, will, helped by the Indians, easily obtain the necessary material for his investigations. Considering the very imperfect knowledge chemists and physiologists at present possess of the vegetable ingredients of which, for instance, the so-called curare poison is composed, I can only hope that some properly trained botanical expert may some time have an opportunity to study them on the spot. It would also be very important to obtain and bring home, not only, as hitherto, samples of the prepared poison, but all those different vegetables from which the different tribes prepare it, and to have them separately examined. Only in this way can it be established, for instance, which ingredients have really practical effects, and which are, perhaps, only used for superstitious reasons.

[146] I shall first give an account of the mode of preparing the arrow-poison among

the CANELOS INDIANS.

These Indians prepare their poison from 25 to 30 different ingredients, all of which are obtained from the plant world. Of these at any rate the most important I noted down. My Indian informant, although himself an old poison-maker, declared that there is scarcely an Indian who can from memory enumerate all the plants required in preparing the arrow-poison. As they roam about in the forest in search of the necessary material they recollect, little by little, in conversation with one another, the different vines, roots, herbs, and other plants which will produce the desired result.

The Canelos Indians, just as other Quichua-speaking Indians of the Ecuadorian Oriente, call the poison pucúna hámbi. Pucúna is the name of the blowgun with which the poisoned arrows are blown; hambi is the general name for a magic medicine to which supernatural powers (due to the presence of a spirit or demon) are ascribed. The name hámbi is applied both to real drugs and remedies obtained from the plant world and to poisons like the arrow-poison.

The Indians of the Napo and some Canelos Indians call their arrow-poison ticúna, because formerly they obtained it from the Ticuna Indians on the Amazon.

Huásca is the Quichua name for a 'vine' or 'liana'; rúya signifies any 'big tree' with a straight stem, whereas cáspi is a more general name for a 'tree' or 'shrub'. Múyu is the 'fruit' of a tree or the 'seed' of a plant; cára signifies the 'bark of a tree'.

The following plants and trees, with their Quichua names, are those used by the Canelos Indians in preparing the arrow-poison.

1. Varvascu. This name includes two or three different plants which are also used in fishing, the fish being stupefied with the poisonous juice squeezed from the root. The plant used for the arrow-poison is probably Cracca toxicaria, a small, leguminous bush containing an alcaloid called rotidona. In order to get the juice, the root is crushed with a club and boiled for a while in a special pot; when the poison is extracted, the roots are taken out, leaving the liquid.

2. Hámbi lállu is a bush, growing wild; its poisonous properties are obtained as follows: - - a piece of the stem is cut off, the bark removed and thrown away, the wood substance crushed and boiled for some hours. [147]

3. Pála huásca is a big flat liana, about 12 to 15 cm. in breadth, which creeps up the giant trees of the virgin forest. Because of its flatness it is called 'the shovel-liana' (pala = 'shovel'). A piece of the stem is cut off, crushed with stones and boiled for some two hours in a special pot.

4. Cáñu huásca, a liana of about the same size as the pála huásca. Along the middle of this liana there runs a deep channel from which it takes its name (cáñu = 'channel'). Cáñu huásca is prepared in the same way as the pála huásca.

5. Payángshi is a big yellow liana creeping under the earth. A small sprout pro-

truding from the earth indicates its presence. It is prepared in the same way as the lianas already mentioned, a piece of the stem being cut off, crushed and boiled.

6. Ilúchi is a small shrub. There are two species of it, differing in size, the larger being called hátun ilúchi (1) about 1 1/2 m. long, the smaller one, uchílla ilúchi, about 1/2 to 1 m. long. The root of both these shrubs is used; the bark is useless, and is therefore scraped off and thrown away; the yellow substance under it is taken out and boiled for a while.

7. Tunísbpa huásca (tunishpa ='mixed') is a shrub which is so called from its resemblance to the shrub ilúchi. When it is used for arrow-poison the bark is scraped from the stem and boiled.

8. Ápa huásca (ápa = 'old', 'ancient') is a big liana prepared in the same way as the pale and the cafu huásca.

9. Cüilin huásca (cüilin = a bird of the tucan family) is a small liana, about 3 to 4 cm. in diameter and is prepared in the same way as ápa huasca and the other lianas.

10. Hámbi huásca is a long thick liana creeping up the biggest trees of the virgin forest. At the top it is thicker than at the lower end, and the thick parts of the stem

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"1. hatun ='big', uchilla ='small'. "

are especially used. A number of small pieces are cut off by two Indians, so many that they are quite a burden. These pieces are prepared in the usual way, i. e. crushed with clubs and boiled for a while in a small pot. The woody pieces are then taken out leaving the liquid.

11. Lispúngu múyu. Lispúngu is the name of a tall, thick tree of the forest with fruit about the size of that of the gourd tree. The fruit is cut up, the small seeds taken out, ground, and boiled separately in a special pot. Then the liquid is strained through a piece of linen and the essence carefully pressed out. [148]

12. Hámbi múyu. Of this plant there are three species, of which two are used for the arrow-poison. The one is a tree called hátun hámbi múyu the other is a shrub called uchílla hámbi múyu: of both the red and comparatively small fruit is used. In preparing the hátun hámbi múyu, the fruit is cut open, its seeds taken out and ground. A considerable quantity, say a small wooden basin full, of these ground seeds is boiled in a special pot, then it is strained and the essence, which is white, pressed out just as in the case of the lispúngu múyu.

In using the uchílla hámbi múyu the small red fruit is cut open and the seeds taken out and ground.

13. Tarapútu cara is a vine the leaves of which are similar to those of the tarapoto palm. There are several varieties of this vine and all of them are used in preparing

the arrow-poison. The black bark is scraped off the vine with a knife until the desired quantity has been obtained; this is then boiled.

14. Cicuánga caspi, 'the tucan tree' (cicuánga = 'tucan') is a beautiful high tree. A certain quantity of the bark is scraped off and boiled.

15. Hámbi cára cáspi. A small shrub. The rind is scraped off and prepared exactly in the same way as the Cicuánga cáspi.

16. Yána hámbi cáspi. A small shrub. The root of it is used, being crushed with a club and boiled, just as was done with the rind of the hámbi cára cáspi and other shrubs.

17. Chilíca cáspi. A big tree. The bark is scraped off and prepared in the same way as the previous ones.

18. Chíhun cáspi. A shrub. The root is cut into small pieces and boiled for about half a day in a special pot until its poisonous juice is set free, in the form of a concentrate.

19. Ahuiríngri caspi. The ginger shrub (Zingiber officinale?). The root is cleaned and boiled for about two hours.

20. Hámbi pahuága. A big tree. The thick bark is detached from the stem, crushed with stones and boiled.

21. Mándi. There are two species of this plant. The one is small with edible fruit

and leaves, and cultivated by the Canelos Indians for its nutritive value. The other one is bigger and poisonous and only used in the preparation of the arrow-poison. The rind of the stem is taken, carefully cleaned, and then boiled.

22. Pála pánga rúya. A small shrub of which the root is used. Up to ten roots are taken, the small fibres separated and boiled in a special [149] pot on a slow fire for a long time--nearly two days; a concentrated poisonous liquid results.

23. Huaránga quihua. A small plant of which the root is boiled.

24. Hámbi útchu, Indian pepper (Capsicum). The Indians cultivate different species of Capsicum. The one called hámbi útchu is small, yellow in colour, and so strong that it cannot be used as spice. It is exclusively used in preparing the arrow-poison. The whole fruit is boiled for a while and then mashed.

25. Matíri útchu, another kind of Capsicum. This is bigger than the hámbi útchu, red in colour, and also used as spice. When it is used for the preparation of the arrow-poison the seeds are taken out, mashed, and boiled in a little water.

Of these liquids and mashes nearly all, after being boiled separately, are placed together in a large pot for further boiling.

The exceptions are:--

No 10. Hámbi huásca--the liquid obtained is evaporated over a little fire until only a small concentrate is left, and this is dropped into the large pot, a little at a time.

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 278 (1928-29)

No. 12. 2nd species--uchílla hámbi múyu--of which the ground seeds are placed in the large pot without being boiled first.

After thus learning the different plants which yield the ingredients necessary for the arrow-poison, we must examine somewhat more closely how the poison is prepared and what ideas the Indians associate with it."

"1 Varáso[illegible] in fishing, the fish be[illegible] plant used for the a[illegible] bush, containing a[illegible] crusted with a [illegible] the roots are taken [illegible]

2 Hamb[illegible] follows: a p[illegible] substan[illegible]

3 Pá[illegible] the giant [illegible] liana (pa[illegible] for some [illegible]

4 [illegible] dle of th[illegible] net) [illegible]

5 Pará[illegible] truding from the [illegible] lianas aircat[illegible]

6. Ilúchi is a small shrub. There are two species of it, differing in size, the larger being called hátun ilúchi (1) about 1 1/2 m. long, the smaller one, uchílla ilúchi, about 1/2 to 1 m. long. The root of both these shrubs is used; the bark is useless, and is therefore scraped off and thrown away; the yellow substance under it is taken out and boiled for a while.

7. Tunishpa huásca (tunishpa = 'mixed') is a shrub which is so called from its resemblance to the shrub ilúchi. When it is used for arrow-poison the bark is scraped from the stem and boiled.

8. Ápa huásca (ápa = 'old', 'ancient') is a big liana prepared in the same way as the pala and the cañu huásca.

9. Cüílin huásca (cüilin = a bird of the tucan family) is a small liana, about 3 to 4 cm. in diameter and is prepared in the same way as ápa huasca and the other lianas.

10. Hámbi huásca is a long thick liana creeping up the biggest trees of the virgin forest. At the top it is thicker than at the lower end, and the thick parts of the stem are especially used. A number of small pieces are cut off by two Indians, so many that they are quite a burden. These pieces are prepared in the usual way, i.e. crushed

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"1. hatun = 'big', uchilla = 'small'."

1: Karsten--149
116, 415

Jivaro

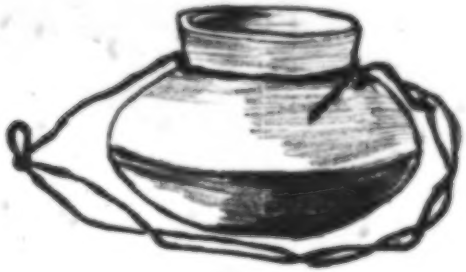

Fig. 3. Clay Pot for keeping arrow-poison. Canelos.

"The poison cook is not an ordinary medicine-man, he is nevertheless a kind of sorcerer, since the making of the poison, as we shall presently see, is a sort of magical or religious ceremony. It is clear that the poison can only be prepared by a man who possesses the necessary knowledge and experience. Among the Canelos Indians the poison cooks are generally two men, both elderly, who know how to influence the particular demons active in the poisonous plants. The cooking cannot take place in the house, but only in the forest, where the sorcerers can enter into direct communication with the spirits of the plants. Similarly, the pots in which the poisonous ingredients are boiled must be specially made for the purpose by the cooks themselves. Pots which have been previously used [150] for other purposes, for instance for cooking food, will not do. Ordinary cooking pots would also be useless because of the salt which the Canelos Indians put into their food, for salt, which is regarded as an antidote against the arrow-poison, must not come into contact with it. The poison cooks prepare themselves for their work by fasting one day previously, being allowed to eat only roasted green plantains without salt. Nor can they have intercourse with their wives.

The cooking takes place in a shelter of palm leaves made in the interior of the forest about half a day's march from home. At a short distance from this shelter, nearer to the home, there is another shelter. The latter may be visited by other men and even boys who help in the work by carrying pots and fuel, and especially by bringing

the enormous quantity of material of all sorts of lianas, roots, fruits, and rinds from which the poison is prepared. Into the second shelter where the cooking takes place, only the two poison cooks may enter. Women again are strictly forbidden to come near either of the shelters and must keep away from the work as much as possible.

Four large new clay vessels, like those used for brewing manioc-beer, are necessary for the boiling. These are brought to the second shelter by the poison cooks, who also carry thither the different plants required, and these are already partly prepared.

The cooking requires a period of eight days in all. The first two days are for the preparation of the material, since, as we have seen, the numerous plants, roots, and lianas have first to be cleaned, peeled off, mashed, and so forth. This rough work is mostly done in the first shelter and, as already mentioned, even boys may assist at it.

The cooking can only take place at night, and the fuel used must consist solely of the hard wood of the chonta palm; only thus, it is believed, will the poison be effective. Towards the night of the second day the fires are kindled, the boiling begins and continues the whole night until dawn. Nothing further is done during that day, but on the following night the cooking is continued. After the poison has thus boiled for two successive nights, there is an interval of two days and two nights during which it is untouched. Then the cooking begins again and continues for two successive nights, when the cooking is finished and the poison is ready.

During the whole of the boiling only a small fire is kept burning; the process must be slow and gradual. When different poisons are boiled together in the big pot, the boiling is done over a slow fire until part of [151] the liquid evaporates and it becomes as thick as syrup or honey. The colour of the arrow-poison when boiled is dark brown.

All this time the cooks remain in the forest. They have to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only two roasted green plantains a day without salt; they are also allowed to drink manioc-beer. This food, however, must be consumed in the first shelter whither it is brought by a man; in the shelter where the cooking is done they may not eat or drink anything. If they do not fast strictly, and particularly if they eat salt or sweet things, the poison will be useless. During the work the cooks chant conjurations and incantation formulae by which the demons (supai) of the poisonous plants are summoned and favourably influenced. Besides this, they may speak only when absolutely necessary and then they must talk in a subdued voice.

Those days when the cooks are not engaged in boiling the poison, they are busy carving the arrows for which the poison is to be used.

They are strictly forbidden to have intercourse with women, and the latter, as pointed out before, are not allowed even to come near the place where the important ceremony is being performed. If a woman does come near, the poison will be completely spoiled, and if the woman has a sucking babe at home, the babe will die. The

poison cooks retire to the forest partly in order to be safe from the curiosity of the women.

The Indians believe that each of the plants used in preparing the arrow-poison is inhabited by a spirit or demon (súpai) to whom its poisonous properties are due. It is this demon that kills the victim when the poisoned arrow pierces his body. This is why the arrow-poison is also called súpai hámbi, 'the devil's medicine'. The spirit inhabiting the plants is influenced, as it were 'developed', compelled to concentrate its power, by the way the poison is prepared, and by the conjurations and incantations pronounced, just as, for instance, the spirit of the manioc plant is concentrated in the fermented manioc-beer. The poison cooks are thoroughly convinced of this fact, and the precautions they observe as well as the secrecy in which they veil their operations are due to this very belief. The spirit which is conjured and coerced is very angry and tries to harm its subduers. The poisonous gases which rise from the boiling pot are an expression of the anger of the tormented demon. The cooks therefore try to avoid, as far as possible, inhaling the harmful vapours which, they assert, make them ill. When they come home from the forest they are in fact pale and weak and behave as if they were more or less sick because they have had intercourse with the demons [152] of the poisons. It is probable, however, that their weak state is due more to the strict fasting than to the effects of the poisonous vapours.

As soon as the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested upon a frog, which is shot with a poisoned arrow. If the frog soon dies, this is a proof that the poison is strong, since frogs are tenacious of life.

Salt and sugar are antidotes against the poison or are, at any rate, regarded as antidotes. If an Indian has accidentally been wounded by a poisoned arrow, a small quantity of salt is dissolved in water and given him to drink. The Indians assert that in this case the harmful effects of the poison will fail to appear.

The same holds true of sugar. Real hunters among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians abstain entirely from chewing sugar cane and eating sweet things, because they believe that they will lose the power of catching animals and birds of the forest with poisoned arrows.

Only edible animals can be brought down with poisoned arrows. If some 'demoniacal' or otherwise useless animal, bird, or reptile--for instance a vulture of a snake--is shot with it, the poison will completely lose its efficacy and it will be impossible to bring down any game with it.

The poison works only when it enters the blood where it brings about an instant coagulation and a paralysis of the muscles, and the Indians realize that--just as happens with the venom of snakes--it spreads rapidly round the whole body through the circulation of the blood. If the poison does not penetrate into the blood it does not

cause death, at any rate not so quickly; it is even possible to swallow an insignificant quantity of it without risk, if only the person doing it has no wound in his mouth or in the intestines. When the Canelos Indian buys poison and wants to try whether it is active and strong, he takes a little of it on his tongue, to form an opinion as to its quality from its taste. (1)"

"1. The sample of the arrow-poison of the Canelos Indians which I brought to the Gothenburg museum has recently been physiologically examined by Professor C. G. Santesson in Stockholm. See his 'Pfeilgiftstudien. Eine Kurareprobe aus Ecuador' in Skandinavisches Archiv für Physiologie, 1934. Band LXVIII. --The great number of different plants used by the Canelos Indians in the preparation of the arrow-poison, of which at any rate the majority are poisonous, clearly stamps as erroneous the opinion held by many toxicologists, that the alcaloid existing in the Strychnos species is the only really effective ingredient in the arrow-poison. See my articles 'Notes on South American Arrow-poison' in Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Comment. Human. litt. VI. 4. 1933, and 'Addenda to my Notes on South America Arrow-poison' Ibid. Comment. Hum. Litt. VI. 7. 1934, the latter article being a reply to Santesson's article 'Bemerkung über südamerikanisches Pfeilgift', Ibid. VI. 5."

1: Karsten--153-155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros on the middle Pastaza and those living on the upper Morona also gave me some information about their arrow-poison.

The lianas and shrubs used by them are the following, which I give under their Jibaro names.

1. Yarrier, one of the biggest lianas of the virgin forest (probably identical with the tarapútu cara of the Canelos Indians). A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off with a knife and boiled in a pot with other poisonous ingredients.

2. Yaririáhua; 3. Tsaueimera; 4. Papúra; 5. Nupáma; 6. Machápi; are all thick lianas of about the same size as the Yarrier just mentioned. They are all prepared in the same way, a quantity of the bark being scraped off and boiled with the poisonous ingredients obtained from the other plants.

7. Páingis is a smaller liana about 2 to 3 cm. in diameter. It is prepared in the same way as the other lianas.

8. Ëimera is a small wild shrub. The Jibaros use the root of it, scraping off some of the rind which covers it, and then preparing it in the same way as the rinds obtained from other plants.

9. Yeistseásа (seásа = 'poison') is another small shrub with poisonous properties. A quantity of the rind is detached from the stem and beaten with stones. The juice is thus pressed out and then boiled.

10. Tachira is likewise a shrub. The rind is scraped from the stem and boiled with the rest of the poisons.

These are the ten plants used by the Jibaros of the Pastaza in preparing the arrow-poison. I have no doubt that some of them are identical with the lianas and shrubs used for the same purpose by the Canelos Indians, and one or more of them are probably Strychnos species. Still it is remarkable how differently composed the 'curare' poisons of these two neighbouring tribes are. The Canelos Indians mix a good many more vegetable ingredients in their arrow-poison than do the Achuares and on the whole seem to prepare it with greater care. However this may be, the poison of the Achuares also had the reputation of being strong and active, and the Canelos Indians not only bought blowguns from their savage neighbours but also appreciated their poison. It is evident that many of the plants used for the purpose by the Canelos Indians do not grow at all in the country of the Achuares, and vice versa. Even within a comparatively limited area, like Eastern Ecuador, the plant world varies to a certain extent, so it is natural that the arrow-poisons also vary. [154]

The method of preparation employed by the Achuares differs to a certain extent from that customary among the Canelos Indians; the latter always prepare the poison in the forest, but the cooking only takes one day. As the liquid gradually evaporates, the solid parts are removed, and the residue is boiled further on a slow fire until only a

small but concentrated and thick quantity is left. For the rest, many of the details are the same as we have just learned with reference to the Canelos Indians. The pot used for the cooking must be quite new and not previously used for any other purpose. The fuel used for the fire must be chonta wood. The cook prepares himself for the work by fasting for one day; he eats only a few plantains boiled in water and mashed, and takes tobacco water in repeated doses. He has also to observe sexual abstinence. The actual day that he stays in the forest cooking the poison he eats nothing at all. No woman is allowed to come near the shelter where the poison is cooked. If a woman comes there, she exposes herself to supernatural dangers and the poison will be entirely spoiled. The same would happen if the cook ate salt or sweet things, or if such things came into contact with the pot in which the poison is boiled.

The Jibaros have the same ideas as the Canelos Indians regarding the nature of the poisonous plants and the prepared poison: in each plant there is a spirit or soul (wakáni) which effects its growth and which, at the cooking of the poisons, is influenced and developed. The demon, being coerced and constrained by the conjurations of the medicine-man, is very angry and tries to revenge himself on his tormentor. This anger finds expression in the poisonous vapours rising from the pot. The fasting to which the cook submits, as well as certain other precautionary measures, aim at protecting him from the evil demon. Thus for instance, before he starts cooking, he

divides his hair into the three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros and are believed to enhance a man's power of resisting evil spirits. For the same reason he paints himself red in the face with roucou, and stops his nostrils with cotton so as to avoid inhaling the noxious vapours. When the cook returns home in the evening he is still haunted by the demon, who sucks him on the shoulders the breast, and the back, and torments him at night with unpleasant dreams and hallucinations. Even on the following day, therefore, he is obliged to diet and to observe other rules of abstinence. He takes tobacco water repeatedly and eats only plantains boiled in water and mashed, just as on the previous two days. When he eats, he does not touch the plantains with his fingers, but avails [155] himself of a small wooden stick so as not to defile the food and expose himself to danger. He also avoids sleeping with his wife and passes the first night in the men's department, tangámasha.

When the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested on a tucan. A small boy is sent out into the forest and imitates the scream of a tucan wounded to death by an arrow. In this way, the Indians believe, the poison will be effective and strong enough to kill tucans and other birds of the forest."

1: Karsten--155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 754 (1928-29)

"Certain demoniacal animals and birds, like snakes, the nose-bear, vultures, owls, and hawks, are never shot with poisoned arrows. The poison in that case would entirely lose its efficacy and it would become impossible to bring down any edible animals and birds with it. The animals mentioned, it should be understood, are particularly detested by the Jibaros because they believe that the witch-doctors are in the habit of sending off their magic arrows by these very animals. This superstition of the Jibaros will be further dealt with in the chapters on their religion.

Nor are poisoned arrows nowadays used by the Indians in war. If a human being is killed with a poisoned arrow, that poison can no longer be used for hunting animals that are eaten. An animal killed with such poison would assume the same taste as human flesh, and no Jibaro Indian would dare to touch it."

1: Karsten--155-156 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"If the arrow-poison is kept for a long time and is exposed to humidity--which is always more or less the case in a tropical climate--it easily loses its original efficacy and may even become entirely useless. The Indians, however, know how to improve such poison by reboiling it and mixing with it certain new ingredients. Even those Jibaro Indians--for instance the tribes of the Upano--who do not prepare their arrow-poison themselves but buy it from other tribes, know how to make an old and useless poison efficacious again. Among the Jibaros of the Upano the following two ingredients are used for the purpose:--

1. Seása kunápi. Kunápi (in Quichua tzigta), a shrub of which there are various species. Some of them are only slightly poisonous and are used by the Indians as ordinary medicines. A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, the decoction being taken as a remedy for catarrh, head-ache, and other ailments. The species which the Jibaros call seása kunápi is more poisonous than the others and is exclusively used for improving the arrow-poison. The rind of the shrub is boiled and the poisonous liquid extracted, just as is customary in regard to other plants used in the preparation of the poison. [156]

2. Ambi (in Quichua pucúna útchu), Indian pepper (Capsicum) of the particularly strong and poisonous variety which the Canelos Indians also use as an ingredient for the arrow-poison.

The old, dry arrow-poison is powdered or crushed into small pieces and boiled with the new ingredients in a small pot for a whole day, so that they form a chemical compound, which is then allowed to congeal and thicken. The poison cook has to fast and observe the same precautionary rules as when new arrow-poison is made. After the poison is ready it must stand for some days in order to get thicker and 'ripen', and during these days the cook has to continue observing certain precautionary rules. He does not leave the house, but remains in his bed (peáka) in the men's quarter warming his legs over the fire, just as the Jíbaros are wont to do when they are in a state of ceremonial uncleanness. His food consists, as usual, of boiled and mashed green plantains, and when he eats he uses a small stick instead of his fingers. If he does not strictly fast and if he is not cautious in other respects, the new ingredients will not mix properly with the old ones and the poison will fail to improve."

1: Karsten--156-157 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 411 (1928-29)

"Some words may be added as to the arrows used for the poison and the blowgun with which they are shot off. The arrows bear no similarity to the ordinary long arrows known from most South American tribes and let off with a bow, a type of weapon entirely unknown to the Jibaros. The arrow or dart is a long thin stick carved out of the hard wood of the chonta palm and somewhat resembling a knitting-needle.

The blowgun, called pucúna by the Quichua-speaking Canelos Indians and úmi by the Jibaros, is about 2 1/2 to 3 metres in length and round like a musket-barrel, although a little thicker. Its making requires great skill and, as I have stated before, it is only manufactured by a few Jibaro tribes, the rest obtaining it by exchange. The Canelos Indians, although they make the poison themselves, do not make the blowguns, but buy them either from the Achuares on the Pastaza or from the Jibaro tribe living on the Arapicos. The blowgun is made of the hard chonta wood, and usually of that particularly strong chonta cultivated by the Indians --the Guilielma species--which also bears the much appreciated contaruru fruit. The blowgun consists of two halves, which are carved separately and then joined together by strips of bast. Lastly the tube is covered with a layer of black wax (sekáta) obtained from wild bees, and carefully polished with so much art and skill that it would be impossible for an uninitiated person to know that it consists of two different pieces. The inner channel through which the dart runs, is 8 to 10 mm. [157] in diameter. This bore is formed by each half being rubbed with a

long and perfectly even chonta stick of the same size as the channel desired. The end from which the dart is blown out is somewhat thicker than the opposite end and has a mouth-piece about 4 cm. long, made of the leg-bone of the jaguar or the deer; any other animal's bone would not do. The jaguar and the deer are to the Jibaros 'demoniacal' animals and their bones are supposed to have some mysterious 'poison' properties. Into this mouth-piece the poisoned dart is placed when the Indian wants to blow it out. About 20 cm. from this mouth-piece there is a small knob of black wax, which serves as a sight when the Indian shoots.

The making of a blowgun is said to require about two months and the work can only be done gradually. The chonta wood must be perfectly dry before the channel can be bored, otherwise there is always a danger of the wooden pieces warping, in which case the channel may become crooked and the whole weapon quite useless. Great care is considered particularly necessary when the channel is bored in the 'gun', which takes eight to ten days. It is especially prescribed that during these days the maker of the blowgun must not cohabit with his wife, lest the channel of the blowgun become crooked.

The dart (tsinsáka) is 25 to 27 cm. long and is carved of the hard and even wood of certain palms. The Jibaros told me five different palms from the wood of which the darts can be carved. The best of these is the ináyu palm. The wood of these palms, and especially of this last, is believed to possess certain 'poison' properties and

therefore to be the proper material for poisoned arrows. The ináyu palm (Maximiliana regia) however is rare in the country of the Jibaros proper. On the other hand, it is quite common in the region of Canelos whence the Achuares on the Pastaza, for instance, obtain it by exchange."

1: Karsten--157-158 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

"When the Indian wants to go out hunting he prepares a number of poisoned arrows. The night before starting, their points are smeared with poison to a length of 2 to 3 cm. and the arrows are then stuck into the earth round the fire so that the poison may partly dry. Otherwise much of it would be brushed off when the arrows are placed in the quiver. The opposite end of the arrow is wound round with wild cotton (ceibo) so that, when the arrow is put into the blowgun, it fits the bore tightly and can be blown out with force. The arrows are kept in a quiver about 25 or 26 cm. long consisting of wild bamboo cane and worn hanging on the stomach from a band round the neck. To the lower end of the quiver [158] a round gourd is attached, provided with a small hole. In this gourd the wild cotton needed for the arrows is kept and pulled out through the hole as it is required.

At the upper end of the quiver hangs a small tool which is of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians it consists of the extremely sharp jaws of the fish paña (Serrasalmo), among the Jibaros again of the equally sharp nippers of the fresh water crab uriki. When the Indian wants to shoot an animal or a bird he first makes a cut in the arrow with this sharp instrument at the point where the poison ends, so that it will break with the least effort. Experience, it should be noticed, has taught the Indian that certain animals, especially monkeys, but also the bears, when hit by a poisoned arrow, at once pull it out from the body in which case the poison cannot

develop its full efficacy. If, on the other hand, the small operation just mentioned is performed, the arrow at once breaks when the animal tries to extract it, and the poisoned head remains in the body.

With the blowgun the Indians are able to shoot as far as 30 or 40 metres, and in general they display remarkable dexterity with it. The power of resisting the poison is of course different in different animals, and also varies according to the efficaacy [sic] of the poison. Small birds fall at once to the ground in agony, bigger birds generally after a few minutes. Even if the poison does not immediately cause death, yet it brings about a certain paralysis of the muscles and stupefaction, causing the bird to move reluctantly, and if it manages to fly away, it usually does not go far and the Indian, following the direction of its flight, can be sure to catch it in a few moments. Monkeys possess little power of resistance to the arrow-poison and fall to the ground in about five minutes. Bigger animals like the wild hog and the bear cannot be killed with one single arrow, but require several. The bear, for instance, I was told, can only be brought down with some 10 to 30 arrow-shots, according to the action of the poison. The animal is shot after it has taken refuge from the pursuing dogs in a tree. The largest wild animals, like the jaguar and the puma, are seldom hunted with poisoned arrows; to kill them requires a great number of arrows and even then they

1: Karsten--157-158 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

would be able to retire to the thickets of the forest where they will die only after several hours."

1: Karsten--158-159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 231, 278 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians told me that domestic fowls and swine are immune to their arrow-poison. This statement has been confirmed by a physiological examination of the poison, although the immunity is [159] only relative. (1) The same is probably true of the arrow-poison of the Achuares."

"1. See Santesson, Pfeilgiftstudien, p. 213."

1: Karsten--159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 278, 784, 411 (1928-29)

"All Indians seem to observe the rule never to use poisoned arrows against snakes, vultures, and other similar animals, which are considered unfit for food and concerning which they have certain superstitious ideas. The arrow-poison in that case would lose its efficacy entirely. Similarly the idea seems common to all Indians, that the blowgun and poisoned arrows cannot be used in war. The arrow-poison with which a human enemy has been killed, it is believed, can no longer be used to kill an edible animal; in this respect the arrow-poison resembles lances and rifles. If an enemy has once been killed with such a weapon, it can no longer be used in hunting. A wild hog, for instance, if killed with such a lance or rifle, would have the same taste as human flesh and would not be eaten by anybody. The Jibaros therefore exchange the lances they have used in war as soon as possible. The Indians told me that in former times they used their blowguns and poisoned arrows in war, but the same rule was valid in regard to them as to the lances and guns, namely, that afterwards they could only be again used in war, never for killing game, since the same weapon cannot be used for both purposes."

Fig. 4. A quiver for poisoned arrows.

I: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

"In studying the Indian blowgun in detail and the ideas connected with the arrow-poison, one is necessarily led to the question of how the Indians of tropical South America originally came to invent such a thing as the poisoned arrow and to use it in the way they do. An answer pre-[160]sents itself to any one able to enter into their theory of witch-craft and magic in general. In this respect there are three phenomena especially which greatly influence the imagination of the Indians: the first is the bite of the venomous snake, the second the mysterious magical arrow which the wizard lets off against his victim, causing his death, the third the poison he himself uses to bring down animals and birds. That to the Indian mind there is an intimate connection between these three phenomena becomes clear to everybody who is acquainted with the magical ideas or 'superstitions' of the Indians. Moreover, there can be no doubt as to which of the three was the primary link in the association series: it is the bite of the venomous snake. In all parts of tropical South America the venomous reptiles occupy the same important place in the native's world of demons; few others of the surrounding natural phenomena have stirred the imagination of the Indians in the same way as these. The venomous snake attacks its victim noiselessly, the wound inflicted by it is quite insignificant and yet causes death. In the whole action there is something mysterious or, to the mind of the Indian, supernatural. As a matter of fact, all Indian tribes in different parts of South America seem to have the same idea about poisonous snakes: with the venom of

the reptile an evil demon enters the body of the person bitten and causes his death. This demon is called súpai by the Quichua-speaking Indians, wakáni or iguánchi by the Jibaros. But they go still further in their theory: the súpai or wakáni in question is in reality nothing else than the soul of an evil wizard, perhaps still living, who temporarily takes the shape of the reptile in order to kill or harm an enemy. The bite of the snake was only the magical arrow of the sorcerer, the súpai or wakáni which killed the patient was really his demoniacal soul, identical with the poison permeating--according to the Indians--his whole organism. I found this belief among all the Indian tribes I studied, and I have no doubt that it is common to all tribes of tropical South America. These primitive ideas will be further elucidated in the part dealing with the religion of the Indians. In this connection I only wish to point out that there is also an interesting parallelism between the operation of the sorcerer and that of the Indian hunter who, with his 'natural' poisoned arrow, brings down the creatures of the wood. The Jibaros, for instance, call the poisoned arrow tsinsáka, and they give the same name to the mysterious invisible magical arrow used by the wizards, although there is also another name for it: tunchi. The magical arrow (tsinsáka) of the sorcerer, it is true, may assume different forms, but mostly it is sup-[161] posed to be like a small arrow. The wizard shoots his arrow from his mouth by blowing and a movement with his finger, just as the Indian, shooting with his blowgun, lets off his poisoned arrow by blowing it out.

In short, the venomous snake inflicting a deadly bite on his victim is nothing but an evil wizard operating through that snake, and vice versa, the Indian wizard, in his mysterious manipulations with the invisible magical arrow, is imitating a snake. On the other hand, the Indian hunter, who noiselessly lets off his poisoned arrow against an animal and kills it without inflicting any visible wound on it, is also a kind of wizard, since the poison with which he operates is believed to possess supernatural demoniacal effects.

The Indians, like primitive folk in general, are keen observers. It seems highly probable that precisely the mysterious way in which the venomous snakes operate, when by an insignificant bite they bring death to their victim, has suggested to their mind the idea that they may imitate them and invent a weapon which will act in the same way as the snake's poison. The thorough knowledge they possessed of the poisonous properties of certain plants helped them in their endeavours to construct that weapon, and it is evident that the arrow-poison is meant as an imitation of the venom of the snake. It is significant that according to the statement of the English traveller Waterton --the first, I believe, who studied the ourali poison of the Guiana Indians--the Macusis in preparing their arrow-poison not only used vegetable ingredients like the Strychnos toxifera, but also certain animal ingredients, namely, the fangs of the counacouchi and

labarri snakes, two of the most venomous snakes of tropical South America, which were pounded and mixed into the poison. When the Macusi Indian killed one of these snakes, he always extracted the fangs for use in the preparation of the arrow-poison. (1) This of course was pure superstition, but the association of ideas is interesting and shows what part superstitious ideas in general, and especially those prevailing in regard to venomous snakes, has played in the invention of the Indian arrow-poison."

"1. Cf. Waterton, Wanderings in South America, London, 1828, pp. 55 sqq."

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224 (1928-29)

"Among the Indians of Ecuador large hunting expeditions are especially undertaken for the great feasts in order to secure a good supply of food; these expeditions last from eight to fifteen days. Among the CANELOS INDIANS the following preparations are made.

Early in the morning of the day when the expedition is to start all hunters assemble in the house of the Indian who makes the feast (called chayu, 'feaster'). Their wives bring with them the drums which are to be beaten in the house of the 'feaster' at the small drinking-feast that precedes the starting. The hunters, dressed in festival style and each holding his drum, wander in a circle in the middle of the house in slow time, incessantly beating their drums but without chanting. Meanwhile manioc-beer (asua) is being drunk by the hunters and by the other people in the house, the women preparing the drink and serving it to the men. The beer-drinking and the beating of the drums are continued for about one hour. Before leaving the house, the hunters range themselves in a row. An old woman has a gourd ready, containing some mani or earth-nuts. Each grain in the gourd is painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). In another small gourd she has prepared some crude roucou with which the hunters' faces are to be painted. The old woman also holds a branch of a certain tree with large soft prickles, which the Indians call chini papaya. (1) Each hunter in turn steps forward to

"1. The Canelos Indians call it by this name owing to the similarity of its leaves to the leaves of the cultivated tree Carica papaya."

the old woman, who paints the whole lower part of his face red with roucou and then slightly strikes him on the head, the shoulders, the arms, and the legs with the prickly branch, at the same time saying to him: sinchita callpángi, 'may you run fast'. The hunter thus treated now starts to run away from the house, all the women throwing after him the red mani grains. Then the next hunter steps forward to the old woman, to be treated in the same way, then the following one, and so forth, until the last of them. After the hunters have left, the women pick up the mani grains and eat them.

The hunters, on leaving the house, have gone down to the river where their canoes have been held ready. Afterwards the women also come down there, each carrying the drum of her husband. The drums must go with the hunters on the expedition, but the women must carry them down to the canoes, just as previously they had carried them to the house of the 'feaster'. [163]

It is considered necessary that the hunters should be painted in the face with roucou before they start on the expedition, otherwise they would not be able to catch any game. Similarly, when the women throw upon them mani grains painted red with roucou, this is done for the same purpose, or more strictly speaking, in order that the hunters shall have good luck in general, and especially that they shall be able to catch female monkeys with young. Young monkeys are much appreciated by the Indians who keep them for the purpose of taming them.

While the hunters are away on their expedition, the wife of the 'feaster' takes care not to sweep the house with a broom, but leaves all dirt and waste lying untouched until the hunters return. If she swept the ground and removed the waste, the hunters would be unable to bring home any game.

The Indians on their hunting expeditions travel far away, to uninhabited and often quite unexplored parts, since in the home regions there is little game to be found. Arriving at the district where they propose to hunt they make some provisional shelters whence they undertake smaller expeditions in different directions every day. In the afternoon the hunters return to the shelters with the game killed or the fish caught during the day, and at once prepare and roast it at the fire, preserving it in this form until they arrive home. If the hunters have had good luck, they beat their drums again in the evening and rejoice by drinking manioc-beer.

When the hunters return home from their expedition, they announce their arrival by beating the drums. As soon as the game is brought up, some of the oldest men of the tribe are elected to count it. Each piece of the roasted meat, each bird, each fish caught, is counted by the old men, who form the authorities of the Indians and are called huarayu. Each of the men elected is also to have a share of the game. The 'feaster' now prepares a big banquet, called camari, to which all are invited. When the guests arrive, they are received in a festive way. A table loaded with game and

other kinds of food stands in the background of the house. Close to it one Indian is beating a drum and another playing a flute, while the rest of the men dance slowly to and fro in front of the table. Then they all sit down to eat.

Before the Canelos Indians start on a hunting expedition, they abstain for eight days from eating salt and Indian pepper (útchu). If they eat these things, the dogs will suffer and be unable to scent and hunt anything. During these days of preparation the dogs are also kept tied up in order that they may not eat excrements. If they eat excrements they will, [164] according to the idea of the Indians, be incapable of tracking and hunting animals. --During the eight days mentioned the hunters also abstain from cohabiting with their wives. Otherwise they are supposed to become unable to aim at and shoot the animals and birds with gun or blowpipe.

Whether the hunting expedition is undertaken for a feast or not, the Canelos Indian never omits to paint his face red with roucou before starting. The red paint is supposed to attract animals and birds, and thus to give good luck in hunting. For this reason even the dogs used for hunting are painted before leaving, the fell being profusely coated with crude roucou. The Canelos Indian says that if he does not paint himself with roucou before going to hunt, he will be unable to kill any game.

Besides the body-painting with the seeds of the Bixa orellana, various other charms

are used in hunting by the Indians of Canelos. These charms most commonly consist in small round stones or pebbles, small balls of hair, pieces of wood, etc., found in the stomachs of certain birds or animals. The small stones are generally taken from the stomachs of the birds, especially of the tucan, the paugi, and the wild turkey, which are most appreciated as food and because of their feathers. As soon as the Indian finds such a stone, he washes and dries it carefully and then puts it into a small round gourd which is closed with a tap or a cover and sealed with wax. The Indian only removes this seal and cover when he is to start on a hunting expedition. Then he takes out one of the small stones, and with the powder which has formed itself round it he paints certain ornamental figures on the face, which figures of course are scarcely visible on the skin of the Indian. Then the stone is again put into the gourd, the cover of which is carefully sealed with wax as before. This charm is also taken on the hunting expedition, being kept in the small bag of chambira which the Indian always carries when travelling. He is thus able to renew the facial painting with the small stones whenever he likes. The charms described, which are called misha by the Canelos Indians and yúkka by the Jibaros, are believed to have a wonderful power to attract those very birds from whose bowels the stones have originally been taken. Thus there is a special misha for the tucan, another for the paugi, a third for the wild turkey, and so on, all of which are kept in different small gourds and carried by the Indian hunter when he goes out in the

forest.

Again, the misha of certain big animals generally consist of other small objects. Thus in the stomach of the tapir (sacha huagra) small balls [165] of hair are frequently found, probably owing to the habit of these animals of licking the sweat off each other's skin and swallowing the hairs. When the Canelos Indian goes out to hunt the tapir, he rubs the fell of the dogs with such a ball of hair. The dogs' noses are by this means supposed to become particularly keen in tracing the tapir.

Again, in the bowels of the deer the Indians say they sometimes find certain small round wooden pins the existence of which they cannot explain in a natural way. These pins form the misha for attracting and killing the deer. Consequently they are kept with the same care as other similar charms, and when the Indian wants to hunt the deer he scrapes, with a knife, a little powder from each pin and puts it into the food given to the dogs before starting. The charm will attract the animal, and the dogs will have ability and strength to trace and pursue it.

The misha for attracting certain birds and animals may also consist in a small parasite, the garapata or tick, living on these birds or animals. This small insect is said to be especially found in the down under the wings of the tucan, a bird much hunted by the Indians both on account of its flesh and its brilliant feathers. The tick living on the

tucan is, however, said to be very difficult to catch. As soon as the bird, killed by the shot or the poisoned arrow, falls to the ground, the parasite quits the body of the bird and disappears. Sometimes, however, it happens that a wounded tucan, when it falls down from the tree, still keeps the little insect, and the experienced Indian hunter, who quickly seizes the bird and knows where to seek the tick, is able to catch it. He immediately shuts it up in a small gourd in the same manner as is done with other kinds of misha. When the hunter goes out in the forest to shoot a tucan, he carries this charm, and whilst wandering about seeking the bird he shakes the gourd containing the tick in the belief that it will attract the bird. The tick is therefore called aicha mama, 'the mother of the game'.

The aicha mama which is a tick is also said to be found in the coats of certain quadrupeds, like the wild hog (huangána), and is used in the same way for hunting that animal.

The Canelos Indians appreciate their misha extremely, considering their whole luck in hunting bound up in a mysterious way with these small objects. An Indian who sells or gives away his misha thereby not only gives away the power of killing game with this particular charm, but his whole luck in hunting in general. He will not be able to kill any more birds or animals with gun or with poisoned arrows. It is, therefore, very difficult to induce an Indian to sell these charms, and a price [166] must always be paid

for them which stands in no reasonable proportion to their real value.

Another charm for attracting and killing the tucan is a small plant which is called by some Canelos Indians sicuánga ahuiringri, by others sinsimbu. The juice contained in this plant is pressed out with the fingers and taken as a 'medicine' by the Indian hunter eight days before he starts hunting. It is supposed to attract the tucan and to make it tame, so that it can be easily shot. During the following eight days, or until the Indian starts, he has to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only boiled plantain. If he does not fast, the plant sicuanga ahuiringri or sinsimbu will fail to attract the bird.

There is a fowl frequently hunted by the Indians, called by its Spanish name mondete by the Canelos Indians, and ayáchu by the Jibaros. When the Indians have killed and eaten this bird, they take care not to let the dogs eat its bones, since otherwise the dogs will deteriorate and become unable to trace the bird. This bird generally lives on the low bushy banks of the river near the forest, and when it is disturbed by the dogs it flies up into a tree where it can be easily shot. But if the dogs have previously eaten the bones of the bird, then the bird, when scared by the dogs, flies up into a tree, but is immediately drawn again to the ground, from where it again flies up into a tree, again falls to the ground, and so on, so that the hunter gets no opportunity to shoot it. This peculiar behaviour of the bird is due to the dogs having previously eaten its bones.

The Canelos Indians have the same superstition in regard to the great macaw, guacamayo. The dogs are therefore never allowed to eat the bones of this bird.

When the Jibaros and Canelos Indians go out hunting on hills, especially on some they have never visited before, they take care not to speak loudly but keep strict silence. Nor do they use their firearms on those hills but merely their blow guns with which they can kill the animals without making any noise. If they speak loudly or shoot with a gun, the spirit of the hill will be angry and immediately send a heavy rain, the hunters being then unable to kill any game. The hills and high mountains, according to the ideas of the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros, are inhabited by particularly malicious spirits (supai, iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers or medicine-men.

A good Indian hunter is supposed to be able to transfer his skill in shooting birds and animals with the blowgun to another younger Indian by taking some juice of tobacco into his mouth and blowing it directly [167] into the nose of the other Indian. This custom is due to the superstitious ideas the Indians have about tobacco in general, which is one of their great 'medicines'.

When a young Indian feels that his sight is not strong enough to aim at the birds and animals with the blowgun, he goes to the oldest man of the family, or to a medicine-man, tells him what is the matter with him, and asks for a remedy. The old man then generally takes the fruit of utchu or Indian pepper, parts the pod, takes out some of the

seeds and puts them straight into the eyes of the younger Indian, at the same time whistling and chanting a conjuration. This operation, owing to the strong properties of the pepper, at first makes the young man almost blind, but afterwards, it is supposed, he will become extremely keen sighted in aiming and shooting with the blowgun.

When a son is born among the Canelos Indians, the father has to fast for eight days and is not allowed to go out hunting in the forest or to do any work. When the eight days have elapsed and the father goes out hunting for the first time, he takes some ceibo (wild cotton), which he uses to fit the arrow into the blowgun when he shoots, makes a small ball of it and throws it upon his new-born son. This is supposed to make the child a very good hunter in the future."

1: Karsten--167-169 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224 (1928-29)

"...the wild JIBAROS also use those charms for hunting which consist of small stones and other objects found in the stomachs of animals and birds, calling them yúkka. The Jibaros however, do not seem to attribute the same extraordinary importance to these charms as the Canelos Indians. Likewise, although the Jibaro Indian never fails to paint his face and his body with roucou before starting on a journey through the forest or a voyage on the river, believing that the body-painting will give him strength, he does not do it especially with the idea that it will attract the game. On the other hand, all Indians are imbued with the idea that the bones, and especially the skulls, of animals killed in hunting have the power of attracting the same species of animals. This is the reason why almost in every Jibaro hut one can find a number of skulls and other bones of animals killed in hunting during recent months and even years. The different skulls are connected with each other by a string and the whole row is hung from the ceiling, [168] where the bones are thus kept after being carefully freed from flesh and washed. The feathers and heads or beaks of birds are kept in the same way and for the same purpose. These objects not only serve as charms for continued good luck in hunting, but at the same time are trophies which fill the Indian with pride and show the visitors what a skilled hunter the head of the house is.

Sometimes, when the Jibaro Indian is out hunting and has killed for instance a monkey and eaten it in the forest, he afterwards makes the skull of the animal clean

and suspends it, tied to a vine, between two trees in the neighbourhood of the place where he shot it. The skull is then supposed to draw other monkeys to the same place.

All Indians, when hunting, make great use of the method of imitating the sounds of the birds and animals they are seeking in order to attract them, and they generally do it with unrivalled skill. They especially imitate the cries of different birds, but also the sounds of various quadrupeds, the grunt of the hog, the whistling of the tapir, the peiping of the small rodent aguti, etc. This of course is really a good way of decoying the game, but to the mind of the Indian the method is also mixed with superstition: in his religion he imitates the spirits in the same way when he wants to summon them.

To catch certain birds and small animals the Jibaros use a kind of trap, just as in their wars they make use of other traps to defend themselves against their enemies. There are two different small traps which play a part in the hunting of these Indians. The one is called timbya: generally speaking it consists of two sticks or tree branches, one larger lying on the ground and often covered with dry leaves, the other smaller lying on the first one when the trap is closed. When the trap is open, one end of the thinner stick is bent upwards, so as to form an angle of about 30 degrees ground, with the [sic] and is connected with the lower stick by means of certain strings. The trap is so constructed, that when the bird or the animal steps upon the stick lying on the

ground, the upper stick falls upon it with force, crushing it or keeping it fixed. The mechanism by which the upper stick is kept bent and released is rather complicated and cannot be accurately described in words. This trap is placed in the forest on the narrow path frequented by pigeons, partridges, and certain parrots, or small animals like the agouti and the squirrel. Sometimes it is also placed in the house with a view to catching rats and frogs coming in at night.

The other trap is called kuáka. It consists essentially of a small [169] flexible branch of a tree fixed in the ground in a vertical position. To the top of this stick a thin liana or a chambira string is attached, the end of which forms a snare. In order to make the trap ready to operate, the stick is bent down against the earth and in a certain simple but ingenious way fastened to another small stick fixed in the ground. The latter, again, is connected with a thin stick lying on the ground, upon which the end of the string, forming a snare, is laid. When the bird steps upon this stick on the spot where the snare is laid, the branch bent against the earth is released and flies up, the bird being thereby caught in the snare by the legs and lifted in the air. Pigeons and partridges are the birds most frequently caught with this trap."

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

"Of greater importance to the Jibaro Indians for hunting than all charms and traps are, however, their dogs, which, as pointed out before, are bred with extraordinary care. The 'feast of the dogs', Yawápani, is one of the five great feasts of the Jibaros, and takes place when the training of a young dog is completed and it is supposed to be able to track and hunt game. Just as the Jibaro, when he is about to marry, makes a special feast for his young wife to impart to her strength and ability for agriculture and other work incumbent upon a housewife, [170] so he makes a feast for his young dog when it is full-grown, in order to give it a keen nose for tracking game and strength and endurance for pursuing it.

When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must

they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch. As soon as the little dog has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals[sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die. The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die.

When the dog is full-grown and supposed to be able to track and hunt game, the feast Yawápani takes place. When this feast is made on a large scale, it is almost as grand as the head-feast or the feast of the women. Even the ceremonial drinking of natéma formerly took place at the Yawápani, just as it still forms a ceremony at some of the great feasts. It is preceded by the usual preparations, the planting of manioc and plantain, the brewing of a large quantity of manioc-beer, the making of new clay

vessels, and so on. The feast proper lasts three days, and the ceremonies, as is the case at all feasts, are led by an old man or priest, called whuéa. [171]

Three days previous to the feast proper a conjuration takes place consisting of a special dance, called Wuimchi, at which different birds and animals, which the Jibaros most generally hunt, are enumerated. The dance begins when darkness sets in and is continued the whole night, until dawn. It is performed by young men, invited to the feast, who move round one of the pillars in the middle of the house holding each other by the hand. The conjurers, whilst thus moving round, again and again mention certain birds, valued by the Jibaros, like the tucan (tsukánga), the paugi (máshu), the wild turkey (kúyu), and the parrot (kávashu), and of animals especially the wild hog (pákki) and different kinds of monkeys, which are much hunted by the Indians on account of their flesh, their teeth, which are strung into necklaces, and their skin, which is used for drums and for making small bags which the Jibaros carry when travelling.

The object of this conjuration, which also takes place at the victory feast and the feast of the women, is of course to give the 'feaster' good luck in hunting with the new dog.

During the feast proper the principal ceremony consists in a magical drink being repeatedly given the dog. This drink is prepared from a small plant, specially cultivated for this purpose by the Jibaros, which is called kungúna. The leaves of the plant are boiled together with the leaves of the guayusa (Ilex), a tree which plays an important part

in certain magical rites of the Indians. It is the priest, whuéa, who has to give this medicine to the dog. For this purpose he first fills his mouth with tobacco smoke and blows it upon the dog, then he opens its mouth and puts a little of the liquid into it, at the same time chanting an incantation or conjuration adapted for the occasion. This ceremony is repeated several times in the course of one or two days of the feast. Again, each night from about 6 o'clock till dawn, a general dance, called Ihiámbrama, is performed, which takes place at all feasts of the Jibaros. Both the men and the women take part in this dance wearing the usual festal ornaments, moving in a ring in the middle of the house and chanting incantations. On the third and last day of the feast the priest washes the eyes of the dog with a special solution, prepared by soaking a leaf, called shishíngya, in water. Other Jibaros, again, make a certain poisonous ant bite the dog in the eyes. By this procedure the dog is supposed to get strong eyes and a good nose for tracking the game. This done, the priest initiates the mistress of the house into her coming duties with regard to the dog, since she has to take care of the hunting dogs and to feed them. The priest [172] first gives the woman tobacco juice to drink, then grasps her by the right hand, makes her take a piece of boiled manioc from a gourd held ready and give it to the dog, whereupon he makes her caress its back with her hand. Finally the priest paints the dog with genipa, as is done with men and women at all great feasts,

applying the black dye to the fell of the animal from the nose downwards along the stomach. This ceremony brings the feast of the dogs to an end.

This feast, however, is not always celebrated on such a large scale, nor is it exclusively made for young dogs which are to be initiated for hunting. When an old dog is growing too lazy to pursue game and losing the power to track it, is [sic] owner may improvise a small feast for it, at which he himself gives the dog the medicine prepared from the kungúna and the guayusa leaves, accompanying the ceremony with the usual incantations and conjurations. He may give the dog kungúna repeatedly during the day, whereupon he takes it out in the forest to see whether it has regained its power. If the result is not satisfactory, he may give it the same medicine the next day, and so on, until it takes effect and the dog recovers its power.

The drink prepared from the kungúna, owing to some extraordinary properties ascribed to this plant, is supposed to exert a mysterious, favourable influence upon the dog, making it strong and vigorous to pursue game. The kungúna thus plays much the same part at the 'feast of the dogs' as tobacco plays at other great feasts of the Jibaros. The idea that underlies all feasts of these Indians is that the magic medicine then taken will fill the person in question with supernatural power, which is automatically transferred to every sphere of his life. It is the same with the feast Yawápani. The mysterious power which is imparted to the dog will, as it were mechanically, display itself

in the good luck which ever afterwards follows its master in hunting: in his house there will thenceforward be no lack of game. At least this will infallibly be the case if the ceremonies have been duly performed and the owner of the dog as well as his wife have, during the time of preparation, fasted in the way prescribed by custom. Should the result of the feast be unsatisfactory and the dog prove of little use for hunting, their explanation is that its masters have infringed the rules of diet, or else committed some fault in celebrating the feast.

As already mentioned, it is the duty of the housewife to feed and take care of the dogs. Just as the married Jibaro woman is believed to have a mysterious influence upon the fields which she cultivates, so she is [173] supposed to exert a similar influence upon the hunting dogs confided to her care. The competence of the dogs and the plentifulness of game in the house thus correspond to the ability of its mistress. Hence, when at the 'tobacco feast of the women' (noa tsángu) the newly married Jibaro woman is initiated for her coming obligations as a housewife, mention is made not only of the fields and of different domestic plants, the swine, and chicken, but also of the dogs, and special incantations are addressed to the Earth-mother Nungüi on behalf of these domestic animals.

After the feast Yawápani the dog is taken out in the forest together with other older dogs to hunt, the wild hog being the game then especially sought. As soon as a hog or

some other animal has been killed with the aid of the dogs, the back of the newly-initiated dog is thickly coated with its blood. By this procedure it is supposed to become keen in hunting that animal.

The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house.

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (tũnchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them. --"

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

I: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani."

"The customs of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians in regard to fishing can be more briefly described. Generally speaking, there are five methods of catching fish which are practised by all the tribes: catching it direct with the hands in diving; with hook and line; with harpoons; with nets; and with poison.

In the small affluents of the bigger rivers, with a stony bottom, there lives a kind of small fish which the Indians are in the habit of catching simply with the hands. Moving about in his canoe and watching the bottom through the clear water, the Indian with his keen sight and experience is able to perceive the fish hiding the main part of its body under a stone. He immediately throws himself into the water, removes the stone with his hands, and catches the fish, which he kills by a bite in the neck. The Canelos Indians and the Jibaros usually have recourse to this mode of fishing when they are travelling or when they want some fish quickly. This kind of fish, which is called shächma by the Jibaros, is eaten by these Indians especially on occasions when they are bound to observe ceremonial fasting.

Most Indian tribes in Eastern Ecuador nowadays practise angling, using hooks received from the whites. Before the iron hooks were introduced, crooked bones were used for this purpose. Pieces of flesh and certain seeds serve as baits when angling. When the Indian throws out the line he whistles a chant in order to attract the fish.

Harpooning is an ancient and very common Indian method of catching large fish. The

Napo and the Canelos Indians use for this purpose lances about four metres long, made of the hard wood of the chonta palm. The harpoon itself consists of a barbed iron head fixed to a piece of wood, which is holed so that the shaft can be loosely inserted into it. One end of a long string or line is fixed to this head, the other [176] end of it being attached to the shaft. The struggle of the fish, when hit by the harpoon, immediately causes the head to be detached from the shaft, and the latter floats on the water, but remains connected with the fish by the line, thus serving as a buoy to mark the position of the fish. The fish is then gradually tired out and drawn nearer to the harpooner who is then able to kill it. This is especially the method of catching the paichi (Arapaima gigas), an enormously large fish living in the great rivers and lagoons of Amazonia, as well as the somewhat smaller sheat-fish, called sungarópu by the Quichua-speaking Indians and tungá by the Jíbaros. --The great water boa or anaconda--when the Indians dare to attack it at all--is caught and killed in the same way.

The lance must necessarily be of chonta wood, not only because it is very hard, but also because the chonta palm is to the Indians a demoniacal tree owing to its large thorns. A harpoon made of this wood is therefore supposed to hit and kill the fish better than one made of any other wood.

Before iron harpoons were introduced among the Indians, they used harpoons or

lances wholly made of chonta, the end of the lance being pointed and provided with barbs. Smaller harpoons of this kinds [sic] are still used at least by the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros, who make them of a kind of wild cane or bamboo called shingyána. The original knife of the Indians, which is still used on certain ceremonial occasions, was made of the same kind of cane.

Before the Canelos Indian goes out to harpoon the paichi or the sungarápu, he ties round the wrist of his right hand the rind of a certain tree which these Indians call nina cara cáspi ('the fire rind tree'). This rind is believed to make the arm very strong and steady to point and throw the harpoon at the fish.

Net-fishing is also commonly practised by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The nets are always spun of the strong fibres of the chambira palm. There are, two ways of using these fibres; sometimes they are used in their natural state, directly taken from the chambira leaves and dried. Of these crude fibres the Indians also make the large bags (shigra) in which they carry their clothes when travelling. For making nets, on the other hand, the string is prepared in a special way. The chambira leaves are first boiled for many hours, so that the fibres dissolve and, pulled with the fingers, produce a soft flax-like pulp, which is spun in the ordinary way into a fine but exceedingly strong thread. It is from this thread that the nets are made. The nets have much the same [177] shape as those used by the whites, but are generally smaller, at least

among the Jíbaros. These Indians, living as they always do on the banks of small rivulets or affluents of the bigger rivers, mostly catch with their nets (called nohha) only small sardine-like fish. The Canelos Indians, who use their nets (llica) in the big rivers Bobonaza and Pastaza, make them somewhat larger, several metres in length. Along the lower edge of the net small round stones are attached so as to keep it down in the water. To the upper edge are tied pieces of a light kind of wood, called balsa, which serve as floats.

The Indian uses his net in different ways. Sometimes he closes the mouth of a small rivulet or affluent with it, leaving it suspended there for some hours or a whole night, in order to catch the fish entering the main river. His favourite method of using the net, however, is by throwing it. The Indian, having the net folded in his hand, is able to throw it upon the water like a lasso in such a way that by a single cast it becomes extended almost to its whole length. Thus he surprises and catches the fish gathered on a certain spot, which he recognizes from certain movements on the surface of the water. The bocachico (called challua in Quichua) is the fish most frequently caught in this way. This fish is in the habit of gathering in great numbers especially on the spot where a small river empties itself into a larger, or close to the flat banks of the rivers. The Indian then approaches with great caution in his canoe or wading in the water, and throws his net in such a way, that it either falls directly upon the fish if the ground is

flat, or remains floating above them if the water is somewhat deeper, thus barring the way for the escaping fish and catching them.

Frequently when the Indians, travelling in a canoe, come to a spot in the river where many fish are evidently collected, and where the water is not so deep that it is necessary to swim, they use their nets as in trawling. The Indians jump into the water extending the net across it. It is held by three men, one at each end, and one in the middle. They then pass the net slowly down the river trying to catch the fish going up against the stream. As soon as the Indians feel that a fish is caught in the net, they at once loosen it and kill it by biting it in the neck, and throw it into the canoe following them."

I: Karsten--177-178 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 226, 278 (1928-29)

"The last and most interesting method used by the Indians in fishing is by poisoning the water in the river. The poison most commonly used for this purpose is the one known under its Spanish name barbasco, a name also used by the Quichua-speaking Indians in Eastern Ecuador. [178] Under this name, however, various poisonous plants are comprehended. The plant most commonly used is probably Cracca toxicaria, which is cultivated both by the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The same plant, as we have seen, is used at the preparation of the arrow-poison. The root of the bush is the part used. Several roots are first crushed with a club in a hole made for the purpose in the ground, to free the poisonous juice they contain. Then they are put into one or several baskets woven of forest vines, of the kind used by all Indians.

There is also a wild varvasco plant which has the form of a vine. For the purpose of extracting the poison the vine itself is crushed and the juice is pressed out, just as is done with the roots of the cultivated barbasco plant. The scientific name of this vine is unknown.

The savage Jibaros, however, have two fish poisons more, of which the one is called massu (probably Paulinia or Sejania species, of the family Sapindaceae). The leaves and the stem of this plant are the parts used; they are crushed with clubs in a hole in the ground, the mass is soaked in some water and the poisonous liquid used in the same way as the ordinary varvasco poison. The other fish poison is by the Jibaros called

payashi (*Paullinia pinnata?*), of which the root is used in the same way as the root of the varvasco."

"The small river or rivulet, where the Indians propose to fish, has previously been barred with stones and sticks arranged so as to form a kind of fence, the whole thing forming an angle, the point of which is placed in the middle of the river. At this point there is a kind of small platform made of split bamboo placed in an oblique position with the upper side outwards. On this platform, which is called barbacoa, the poisoned fish will appear and be caught, brought there by the stream.

At a little distance above this spot the poison is put into the river, the baskets containing the varvasco roots being repeatedly sunk in the water, again beaten with clubs, again sunk, and so on, until the main part of the poison has run through the holes of the basket into the river. The poison is rapidly spread all over the water with the stream and drops downwards, thus poisoning the whole river at that particular spot. The fish, of whatever kind it may be, have little power of resistance against the varvasco poison, although they are generally not killed but merely stupefied. About a half an hour after the poison has been thrown out all sorts of fish are generally seen floating on the surface of the water, all being brought by the stream towards the barbacoa. The Indians at once start to catch them, some moving about in canoes, others wading in the water, and seizing some of the fishes with the hands, whilst the larger ones are speared. The rest are taken up at the barbacoa.

Sometimes the Indians do not deem it necessary to construct any barbacoa at all,

but they simply throw the varvasco poison into the river, allowing it to flow down with the current. After a while they go down the river in their canoes, catching the fish which is seen to float on the surface of the water, stupefied and half dead. The Indians told me that the large sheat-fish is almost the only fish that cannot be caught with varvasco poison. It seems to feel instinctively when the water has been poisoned and speadily [sic] gets away down the river so as escape the effects of the poison.

By this method enormous quantities of fish are often caught in a few hours. The Indians have recourse to it especially when they want to provide a large supply of fish for a feast.

The varvasco is also poisonous to man, but does not in any way affect the flesh of the fish killed or stupefied with it.

Fishing with varvasco poison is a genuinely Indian method of fishing on a large scale. The discovery of this poison and the use made of it reveals, in its way, the Indian's wonderful knowledge of pharmacology [180] which also, and still more strikingly, appears in his preparation of the arrow-poison.

The Indians, especially the Jibaros, preferably choose moonlight nights for fishing, experience having taught them that the fish are then more easily caught."

1: Karsten--100 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 226, 777 (1928-29)

"Just as the Indians use misha for hunting, they use such charms also for fishing, consisting of peculiarly shaped stones and other hard objects found in the stomachs of fish caught. A Canelos Indian showed me once such a misha, which he himself had bought at a high price from the Napo Indians. It was a small round coloured stone, in which the water had engraved certain spiral lines and formed in such a way that it was somewhat like a snail. The stone had been swallowed by a bagre and was found in its stomach by the Indians who caught it. The Canelos Indian would not sell the stone to me at any price, believing that it would give him extraordinary luck in fishing the bagre. Such a charm is used by the hook being rubbed with it before it is throw [sic] out in the water. This treatment is believed to draw the fish to the hook.

Charms consisting of the spines and heads of large fishes are also frequently found in the Indian huts together with the skulls and bones of animals killed in hunting. The spines are believed to have the same effect, namely, to attract the fish and to give good luck in fishing."

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organisation is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

I: Karsten--184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 721, 186 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different Jibaro tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

1: Karsten--185 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 611 (1928-29)

"A consequence of the endogamic rules is that the persons who marry among the Jibaros are generally relatives. As a matter of fact, it was looked upon as the duty of a Jibaro man to marry his daughter to a youth who claimed her by virtue of his relationship. Custom prescribes that a near male relative shall be preferred to a more distant one. A family father is of course anxious to marry his daughter to the young man he likes best and of whose qualities he has a high opinion, and it is natural that for this reason he is not always inclined to give her to one of his nearest relatives. In such cases there may be complaint on the part of the man thus neglected. 'I am your nearest kin', he may say, 'and still you give your daughter to So-and-So who is a more distant relative.' Still there are degrees of kinship within which marriages are forbidden. Cousins on the male side cannot marry; they are looked upon as brother and sister and marriage between them would be regarded as incest. On the other hand, there is no prohibition to marriages between children of a brother and sister or of two sisters. On the contrary, such marriages are looked upon as perfectly natural. Similarly, although a paternal uncle may never marry his niece, he is not prohibited from marrying his sister's daughter. The Jibaros,...are a strictly paternal people: they reckon descent only in the male line, women being wholly left out of account."

1: Karsten--185-186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 835, 684 (1928-29)

"Incest and any illicit sexual intercourse is regarded with the greatest horror and severely punished by cruel ill-treatment, sometimes even by both parties being put to death. One case of this kind came under my notice when a young Jibaro Indian eloped with his father's sister. All the male relatives of the family were pursuing the couple, and they assured me that if they got hold of them they would kill them. The Indians declared to me that such a marriage was a 'very bad thing'. [186] On further inquiry I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 583, 628 (1928-29)

"....capture of women in general, within the sub-tribes, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Jibaro communities. The same may be said of elopements with another man's wife, an unlawful form of marriage which may give rise to lengthy and sanguinary feuds between the families."

"The Jibaros are polygamous. The first wives are however in many cases sisters, since a Jibaro readily gives his other daughters to a son-in-law whom he likes. Still it is of comparatively rare occurrence that a Jibaro man has more than two or three wives. Only old chiefs who have taken part in many wars in which they have captured young girls and brought them home may have four or even more wives. It may therefore happen that such old chiefs have wives who are several tens of years younger than themselves. As to the reasons for keeping many wives, I once received the following answer from a Jibaro when I asked him about the matter: 'I have a big house and I want many wives to keep it. One of my wives has to go out to the fields where she works nearly the whole day. In the meantime I want another to take care of the house, of the children, and of the domestic animals, and to serve manioc-beer to guests who arrive. Sometimes someone of my wives is ill or with child and then I want another to perform her work. It is otherwise with us than with white people.' This answer gives us to understand that it is in part purely practical considerations which lead an Indian to keep many wives; they in a way replace female servants which these Indians do not keep. But it cannot be denied that another motive for polygyny is also at work among these Indians, namely, the man's taste for variety. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians--who are however in the main monogamous --more than one man explained to me that he desired a fresh wife simply because the first one had

grown old and he was tired of her. Further, the Jibaro Indian generally wants a large progeny, and when he marries many and young women he has of course hopes of getting many children.

As to the women who are wives of the same man, I never noticed any jealousy or hostility between them; they seem to regard it as a [187] perfectly natural thing that a man shall have various wives, each of whom performs her share of the common work. A Jibaro woman calls each of her co-wives by the name kai, which seems to denote a particular kind of relationship."

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 826 (1928-29)

"Levirate prevails among the Jibaros, custom prescribing that a man shall marry the widow of his brother. Only if the husband has left no brother is the woman allowed to marry a man of another family. If the widow unlawfully marries or has sexual intercourse with another, the consequence, according to the belief of the Indians, may be the birth of a deaf and dumb or monstrous child (nētsi, pasúna), and the man who married the woman is likely to die soon afterwards. This is due to the belief that the spirit of the dead husband, who is jealous of the wife he left behind, will not cede her to any other man than his brother, who forms with himself as it were one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. The custom of levirate among the Jibaros is thus due partly to superstitious reasons and partly to the close relationship which is supposed to exist between two brothers.

A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 591, 583 (1928-29)

"It is customary among the Jibaros that after his marriage a man takes up his residence with the parents of his wife. The work he performs for his parents-in-law is at the same time looked upon as a compensation for his wife, since a bride-price is never paid among the Jibaros. The son-in-law as a rule continues living with his wife's parents until one or two children have been born. When the family grows, and especially if the man wants to take one more wife, he moves from his parents-in-law and settles with his family in a new house in the neighbourhood of theirs. However, as I have said, it frequently happens that the second wife is a younger sister of the first one, in which case the man continues to live with his parents-in-law."

"The Jibaro youth generally selects his future wife while she is still a child, 5 to 10 years old. Child-betrothals even at a still earlier age, or [188] shortly after the girl is born, occur, the matter being arranged between the parents of the girl and the suitor or his parents. This custom has evidently originated in the desire of the young man or his parents to secure a wife for him in time, since there is on the whole a great demand for women in the Jibaro tribe. Such an arrangement of marriage is of course facilitated by the fact that both families are as a rule closely related, and that the suitor has a certain right to claim the girl on account of his relationship. The father of the young man may procure a wife for his son by negotiating with her parents, or the son may himself appear as a suitor. When I visited the victory-feast at Rio Chiguaza, the head of the house, a Jibaro named Shakaëma, told me that he had just procured a wife for his young son, the victor and principal person of the feast. As we shall see it is considered necessary that the victor should be married on account of the important part that his wife plays at the feast. Shakaëma told me that he had taken natéma for the purpose and seen, in the dream produced by the narcotic, the girl who would be the best wife for his son. It is more common, however, that the young man himself appears as a suitor. When visiting an Indian named Angoasha on the Rio Upano I had an opportunity to witness a proposal of marriage. Angoasha was preparing a 'tobacco feast' for one of his married daughters and some of the guests had already

arrived. Among these was a nephew of Angoasha, a young man, called Huanga. Later on it appeared that Huanga had arrived at Angoasha's house with the intention of courting his daughter, a young girl of 9 or 10 years. The proposal was made early in the morning when Angoasha was sitting at the fire, preparing his tobacco water as usual. A third person sitting by the fire and taking part in the conversation was Angoasha's son-in-law Mucuimbi. Angoasha's first answer seemed to be an absolute refusal. In the morning when I awoke I heard him emphatically repeating again and again the word tsa, tsa, tsa (No!, No!, No!), whereas the two younger men were eagerly speaking, contradicting the old man. Mucuimbi incessantly and with the same emphasis exclaimed: soásta, soásta, soásta (Give her to him! Give her to him!). It soon became clear to me that the old Angoasha was unwilling to marry his daughter to Huanga who, on the other hand, had an ally in Angoasha's son-in-law.

'You are still too young to marry', Angoasha continued, 'how can I know whether you are able to work and to feed your wife? And perhaps you will not stay in my house but leave us with your wife [189] and build another house for your family? I am old and so is my wife. We want a son-in-law who is able to work for us. Can you clear the ground and make plantations? Can you bring down birds and monkeys with your blowgun? Can you catch fish with varvasco poison?

Now a female voice mingled in the conversation. It was the mother of the girl, who from the women's quarter had listened to the dispute of the men and wished to have a word in the matter. She seemed to take her husband's part.

'You are still a child', she said, 'you are not able to work and to feed a wife. And perhaps you will treat her badly and beat her, or abandon her for the sake of some other woman.'

The conversation, which may be said to be typical, was continued in this way for a couple of hours, until at last Angoasha seemed vanquished. Besides, it seemed to be a point of etiquette that the parents should not, when treating with the suitor, yield at once or appear too anxious to have their daughter married, and their first refusal may in fact have been more apparent than real.

However this may have been, even the mother yielded at last and ended by giving her future son-in-law some well-meant motherly advice.

'Treat your wife well,' she said, 'and take care of her, and don't abandon her for the sake of some other women. May you help her in her work, may you shoot birds of the forest for her with your blowgun and catch fish for her in the river.'

The person who seemed to have least to say in this arrangement was the young bride herself, as was natural taking into consideration that she was yet a child. Still, both in this and in other cases which came under my notice the girls betrothed appeared to

be contented with their lot. Early in the morning the young couple went out to the sand-bank on the river and remained away the whole day. This is a general custom among the Jibaros in similar cases. The fiancé now had to show the practical capability which his desired parents-in-law had questioned. He had to catch small fish with varvasco poison in the rivulet, to collect palm cabbage by felling young tarapoto palms with edible tops, and to show his dexterity in managing the blowgun. Late in the afternoon the young ones returned home, and now the fiancée in her turn had to show her ability to perform the duties of a future family mother. At a special fire in the house she prepared the food brought home, fish, game, and palm cabbage, which she thereupon ate [190] with her young fiancé. She prepared manioc-beer in a dish and brought it to him, and, likewise performing the functions of a hostess, she offered it to arriving guests, like the other women of the house.

The betrothal being thus arranged, the young girl's education for her coming duties can properly begin, and it is supervised by her future husband who continues to stay in the house as a member of the family, working like the sons and the other sons-in-law. When the girl has her first menstruation a new important epoch in her life begins. Certain minor ceremonies, which will be described later on, take place. The most important thing, however, is that from this time the preparations for the great feast begin which the Jibaros call 'the tobacco feast of the women' (Noa tsangu) and which has the character of a nuptial feast."

1: Karsten--191-192 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 784 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the 'tobacco feast' require as a rule two or three years. This is due to the fact that they mainly consist in breeding domestic animals, swine and hens, and in making new plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruit. The small pigs must grow big and fat, and the fields must be fully developed, fruitful, and in a flourishing state before the feast can take place.

During the two years of preparation the girl has to diet, being subject to certain restrictions in regard to her food. The rules of diet are the following:--she must not drink manioc-beer (nihamánchi), she is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, i.e. the flesh of the most important domestic animals, she must likewise abstain from eating the flesh of the wild hog (unta pakki), of any kind of monkey, and of those big birds of the forest which the Jibaros mostly hunt. On the other hand, she is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi), the rodent agouti (kayuka), and quite small birds of the kind the Jibaros hunt with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows. Of large fish she can eat the one called by the Jibaros wámbi, a white fish with a red tail and fins, but is forbidden to eat the smaller white fish kánga (in Spanish bocachico), the most common fish in the South American rivers. She is also allowed to eat sardines (chumakai) and certain other small fish called sháchma. With regard to vegetables, her food consists mainly of cooked and mashed manioc, called nauma, of beans and maize, and of a dish prepared of the leaves of a wild plant which the Jibaros call épo.

Not only the young woman herself, but also her future husband must observe the above rules of diet because of the intimate relation which exists between husband and wife.

The swine and the chickens are the principal domestic animals upon which the spirit of tobacco, conjured during the coming feast, will exercise its favourable influence, making them numerous and fat. [192] Precisely because the power of the tobacco is in a mysterious way active in the swine and the chickens, the woman must, during the critical period, abstain from eating the flesh of these animals, lest the tobacco should prove harmful to her. In infringing these rules of diet, therefore, she would expose herself to danger, and the tobacco might prove useless, or rather harmful, even with regard to the animals, so that, instead of increasing, they would pine away and die. The flesh of the wild hog the woman is forbidden to eat because of its great similarity to the domestic swine. Since during the period in question she is supposed to be in a delicate condition, she must wholly avoid eating all animals in which--according to the idea of the Indians--evil spirits could possibly be incarnate, such as monkeys and many big birds of the forest. On the other hand, she may eat all animals regarding which no superstitious ideas are held, such as the peccary and the agouti and, among fish, the sardine.

The prohibition of the fish kánga to the woman is due to causes connected with the

mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to their tradition, all animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes have in ancient times been men, that is, Jibaros. In that remote antiquity they also used to wage war upon each other, to make reduced trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, and to hold victory feasts, just as the Jibaros do still. Then in a fight the fish kánga was killed by one of his enemies, who was later changed into a bird, the umbrella-bird, ungúmi who made a trophy of his head. Therefore the mouth of the fish kánga is still very much like the reduced mouth of a human trophy (tsantsa), and this is the reason why a woman preparing for a tobacco feast must abstain from eating that fish. She would otherwise come into intimate contact with the angry spirit of a killed Indian.

First of all, however, the tobacco spirit will exert a favourable influence upon the crops, making the plantations grow rapidly and bear fruit abundantly (áha pamboártinyu). The rules of diet mentioned above have also special reference to the agricultural preparations for the feast. If the woman infringes these rules, if she does not fast carefully, the whole tobacco feast will prove a failure; the spirit of the plant will not promote the growth of the fields and make them fruitful, but will bring about the very contrary result. Every Jibaro woman who prepares for a tobacco feast is therefore anxious to observe, as strictly as possible, the rules in regard to fasting which custom prescribes for her."

1: Karsten--193 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 585, 535 (1928-29)

"The tobacco feast proper lasts four days. It is preceded by certain ceremonies which have the character of preliminaries but are looked upon as being essential. Among these preliminaries the dance Wuimchi is the most important. It is a ring dance performed by the younger men and boys in which they move round one of the central pillars of the house, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, incessantly mentioning such animals and birds of the forest by name which the Jibaros mostly hunt, as well as details of the industrial arts incumbent on the men. This dance is performed every evening for several hours about eight days before the commencement of the feast, and is supposed to exert a favourable influence upon the household and the industrial art of the Indians. It is regarded as a necessary preliminary of all great feasts of the Indians..."

"Another preliminary [WPM: to the tobacco feast] is the ceremony called Nauma, i.e. the chewing of the manioc root for the purpose of brewing manioc-beer, a ceremony that takes place three days before the feast proper begins. Early in the morning all the women of the house, headed by the girl in whose honour the feast is to be held, march out to the manioc fields in the neighbourhood with their baskets (changina) to fetch the great quantity of manioc roots necessary for the purpose. When the women have arrived at the field, the young bride first receives some juice of tobacco from an old woman. The first manioc root is pulled up and placed in the basket by the girl, her hand being held by the older woman. Thereupon all the women proceed to fill their baskets with manioc roots and carry them home.

Here the ceremony takes place which is called by the Indians Nauma, i.e. the ceremonial chewing of the manioc, in which women from different houses in the neighbourhood are invited to take part. First the roots are peeled and boiled in big clay pots placed on different fires in the house. When the manioc is soft, the pots are removed from the fires and the roots mashed, as is done with potatoes. The pots are arranged in a circle on the floor, some empty ones being placed in the middle. The women now sit down on the floor, each in front of a clay pot of manioc, and the chewing of the fruit begins. Each woman fills her mouth with the mashed fruit and masticates it for a long while with great care, over and over again, more or less like a ruminating cow. She

does not stop until the masticated substance is in a liquid state; then she stoops down towards the empty pot in front of her and [194] spits the white liquid into it. When the pots are more or less half full of this fluid, unmasticated mashed manioc is added until the vessels are full, and the whole mass is stirred. The mouths of the clay vessels are carefully covered with banana leaves and they are then placed in a particular place in the women's department close to two of the pillars supporting the house. Here the fermentation will take place, that wonderful process which to the Indian mind is supernatural and sacred, and is ascribed to the soul animating the manioc plant. In order that the fermentation may proceed quickly and without disturbing influences, the women finally sit round the clay pots covered with palm leaves and sing a sort of prayer or incantation to the spirit of the manioc plant.

Not only ordinary manioc-beer is brewed for a feast, but also a special manioc-beer and a kind of manioc-wine, both prepared from roasted manioc. While the pots were boiling in the house, the men had been roasting manioc roots outside, the roots being placed over a big fire on a frame made of tree branches and called pingána. A number of the biggest roots have been selected for the purpose and of these again two particularly well developed have been chosen, to be laid on the roasting frame by the young girl with the assistance of the priestess. Thereupon other roots are added without ceremony. As

soon as the roots are sufficiently roasted, they are placed on big banana leaves and taken into the house. Here two baskets (changina) are ceremonially filled with the roasted manioc roots by the girl, whose hands are constantly held by the priestess. The first two manioc roots, however, are prepared in a special way before being laid in the baskets. The bride, whose hands are held by the priestess, cuts up the root with a knife and puts into it a little salt, which she bites off from a bigger piece and puts into the manioc with a little saliva, a little bark from the stem of the manioc plant, and a little mould which has formed upon some old roasted pieces of manioc enveloped in leaves and kept for the particular purpose of preparing manioc-wine. Some more of the roasted manioc roots are treated in the same way, the rest being placed in the baskets as they are. When the baskets are full, they are covered with certain big leaves and hung up at the same pillars in the house where the clay pots containing ordinary manioc-beer are. They are left there for three days, in order that they may 'ripen' and become impregnated with the power of the salt and the other things put into the manioc roots. I was able to establish for [195] myself that this way of preparing them was by no means merely an empty ceremony, or due to superstition. When some days later I tasted one of the roasted manioc roots I found it had a peculiar sweetish flavour, and the Indians assured me that the wine to be prepared from these roots would be particularly strong.

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

The preparation both of the manioc-beer and the wine is continued on the first day of the feast, three days later,..."

"I shall now describe shortly the ceremonies which take place on each of the four days devoted to the feast.

....the young bride is, at the principal ceremonies performed at the feast, regularly assisted by an old experienced woman, who acts so to say as a priestess and in this capacity is called whuéa. Besides this there is an old man who has to assist at certain ceremonies and thus in a way acts as a priest. The young girl in whose honour the feast is held is called teángrama. A sister of hers and another young female relative also take part in the principal ceremonies, and the teángrama, her sister, and the third young woman are often mentioned in connection with one another.

The first day of a great feast is always called Utsándowai, i.e. 'The opening of the feast'. It begins early in the morning with the solemn entrance of the guests into the house. All guests invited to the feast have arrived on the day before, but they have passed the night in provisional shelters outside the house. Having arranged their dress and their ornaments and renewed their facial paintings, they enter the house headed by the old man who acts as priest at the feast. Once in the house, they arrange themselves in two rows from the door towards the centre and sit down on small seats (kutánga) placed there for the purpose. They are welcomed in the usual way with manioc-beer (nihamánchi), which is offered to them ceremonially by the women. In the middle of the room, close to the first central pillar, a number of big clay pots (muitsa) have been

placed; they contain food, pork and chicken. In front of these four women take their stand; the first of these is the principal person of the feast, the young bride, the second her sister, and the rest near female relations of hers. Each of them has a clay dish (pininga) filled with manioc-beer in her hands. The men now have to step forward to drink a little from the clay dish of each woman. The future husband of the young girl takes them there in their proper turns, beginning with the eldest guest and finishing with [196] the youngest; lastly he himself drinks. When this is done, the men start to eat. Some banana leaves are spread on the floor in front of the clay pots containing food, and upon these a number of clay dishes are placed. The dishes are filled with meat and boiled manioc and are thereafter distributed among the men, who also partake of the manioc-beer which is being constantly carried round by the women. While the eating and drinking is going on, some Indians beat the drums incessantly, as is customary at the Indian feasts.

The drinking-bout is continued the whole forenoon, the men retaining their seats. On the space between them various parties of women appear dancing. The dance--which is called Ihiámbrama--is started by the bride, her sister, and the priestess, whom three other women have joined. The women stand, three in each row, against each other moving alternately towards and from each other at a slow pace and making steps which

cannot exactly be described in words. Two Indians, who also move to and fro on the floor, accompany their dance by beating drums or playing flutes. The women, having danced for a while, are relieved by others, but the number of women appearing varies. Later on only four, three, or two appear at a time, and sometimes a woman is seen dancing solo, always accompanied by some men beating the drums. The dance and the drumming is thus continued for several hours.

In the afternoon the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine is continued in so far as the roasted roots hung up in the two baskets are chewed, i. e. a new Nauma ceremony takes place. Of the masticated fruit a part is separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing the special manioc-beer referred to above, whereas of the rest of the masticated fruit the manioc-wine is prepared by the essence of the masticated substance being distilled. Since the procedure thereby will be minutely described in connection with the great victory feast, I shall not dwell on this detail here, and the same may be said of the manioc-beer which is brewed by using a special ferment of chewed manioc substance prepared earlier. The special manioc-beer prepared from roasted manioc roots is drunk on the third and fourth day of the feast after the principal ceremonies, whereas the manioc-wine, sangucha shiki, is drunk at the end of the feast before the guests depart.

In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed

round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

1: Karsten--197-200 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276 (1928-29)

"The second day of the feast is assigned for the ceremony which is called 'the drinking of the chiki medicine' (chiki umártinyu). Chiki is the root of a plant with the same name, specially cultivated by the Jibaros, to which magical properties are ascribed. Early in the morning three clay dishes (pininga) are placed in a row on the floor, one for the bride, another for her sister, and a third for another female relative of the bride. At the most important ceremonies taking place on this and the following days of the feast these three women appear together, and they are assisted by the priestess (whuéa). A cooking pot is half-filled with water, placed on the fire by the bride whose hands, as usual, are held by the priestess. Into this pot the following things are placed, in the same ceremonial way, by the women: 1) a small piece of manioc; 2) a small piece of camote or sweet potato; 3) a piece of the chiki root; and 4) two tobacco leaves. The water in the pot is not allowed to boil, but is only warmed. When it is luke-warm the tobacco leaves are taken out and the liquid is poured into the three piningas by the bride whose hands are held by the priestess. The latter thereupon passes one of the piningas to the bride, who drinks up its whole contents and immediately runs outside to throw it up; the chiki medicine, it should be understood, has the effect of a vomitory which is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman and favourably prepare her for the dreams. Thereupon the priestess in the same way allows the second and the third woman to empty the contents of their piningas, and they likewise

at once go outside to throw it up. The women are now considered to be properly prepared for the taking of the tobacco medicine itself, which is called savinya. During this and the following day, or until the feast is ended, both the bride and the other two women have to fast more strictly than before, their only food being a little boiled and mashed manioc. When they eat they take care not to touch the food with their fingers, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

After the drinking of chiki is finished, the guests are entertained with manioc-beer. A great number of piningas are placed in two parallel rows and filled with manioc-beer prepared from the roasted manioc roots and offered to the guests by the women. With this drinking-bout the morning's ceremonies are finished. [198]

Early in the evening the priestess prepares the tobacco medicine called savinya. From a bundle of tobacco which has been kept in a special place in the house she takes some leaves, chews them carefully, mixing the chewed mass well with saliva, and lastly spits it out into a small clay pot (nattipya), specially made for the purpose. When she has obtained a sufficient quantity of this strong medicine, which is thick like syrup, she covers the clay pot with a cover made of clay, which at the same time serves as a cup from which the women have to take the medicine reached them by the priestess. The small clay pot, with its cover, is first placed in a basket (changina) which is hung up at one of the pillars of the house until the tobacco medicine is needed.

Late in the evening the bride and the two other women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outside in the neighbourhood of the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pass the night, each woman in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there and gives them the savinya medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong medicine, taken on an empty stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams to which the Jibaros ascribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', Nungüi herself and the other spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They will see the swine and the hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by flourishing plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will be produced more easily when they sleep alone in the plantations. Early in the morning the old woman goes to the shelters to look after the women and again gives them tobacco juice, whereupon all return to the house.

Now the ceremonies of the third day begin, which essentially consist in the women receiving savinya in repeated doses and songs being sung to the Earth-mother. The bride sits down on a seat opposite the priestess, the two other women taking seats beside the former. The hair of the bride is tied up by her fiancé by means of a band, and her head and shoulders are wet with water 'because earlier, in the plantation, she had been vomiting'. The priestess now gives her juice of tobacco and similarly portions of it to the two other women. Thereupon the songs to the Earth-mother Nungüi

begin, which are led by the priestess, sometimes assisted by another old woman. These songs are continued, with small intervals, for several hours, being led by the priestess who first recites them without singing, so that the younger women may learn them, whereupon all women sing them. Between [199] the songs the three women repeatedly receive juice of tobacco from the hand of the old woman. Sometimes she even rubs their fingers with the juice and blows upon them; then the songs are again continued.

The songs sung are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaëma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees

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"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaĕma, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,
send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungüi, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
multiply my crop of manioc,

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See infra, p. 351)."

multiply my crop of camote,
multiply my crop of earth-nuts!' etc. [200]

These are the main themes of the incantations, somewhat varied in different songs, but always essentially the same. Similarly the melodies to which they are sung are the same as those mentioned before. The incantations are chiefly interrupted for the sake of giving the women repeated savinya doses. The women are not allowed to take anything but this medicine during the whole day; thus, it is believed, they will be favourably prepared for the dreams in the following night. In the evening the priestess, as usual, takes the three women to the shelters in the fields outside the house, whither they are accompanied by other men and women. The priestess, before she leaves them, again gives them tobacco juice. The women now sleep in the shelter till about 3 o'clock in the morning, when the priestess again takes them to the house. At this hour the important ceremony occurs which is called 'the slaughter of the swine' (cuchi matinyu), and which forms part of all great feasts. The ceremonial slaughter of the swine will be described in detail in connection with the great victory feast.

Until the slaughter of the swine takes place the night has been spent in dancing the dances Wuimchi and Ihiámbrama, just as in the night before."

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungüi and her 'husband', as above (p.135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamárma,

our manioc plantation is still young,
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young,
nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,
Yeita másanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyúka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!'

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!' (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

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"1. *This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jíbaros,* that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on

her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of piningas, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at

the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other

women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking

of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

1: Karsten--206-207 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276, 774 (1928-29)

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilies [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

1: Karsten--208 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 584, 177 (1928-29)

"The customs observed at marriage by the Indians of Canelos essentially differ from those of the Jibaros proper. The former have on this point been influenced by the mountain Indians, as is also the case with the Napo Indians, whereas the latter have kept up usages which have been followed within the Jibaro nation since times immemorial. As to the Canelos Indians, we have to remember that they are now nominally Christians and that their marriages as a rule sooner or later receive ecclesiastical confirmation. The practices described below, however, are in the main genuinely Indian and of considerable interest."

1: Karsten-- 208 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 584 (1928-29)

"At Canelos it is the parents of the young marriage candidate that have to ask the parents of the girl for her hand on behalf of their son. Early in the morning, while it is still dark, they repair to the house of the girl's parents to negotiate about the matter. As is frequently the case among the Indians, the mother of the girl has just as much to say as the father when the daughter is given away in marriage, sometimes even more. Similarly the brothers and sisters of the girl must give their consent before the matter is settled. If all have given their consent, the young man is informed; he waits upon his future parents-in-law, and kisses their hands and feet, and the betrothal is sealed with a drinking-feast."

1: Karsten--208-209 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the nuptials begin at once, and these take place eight days later after a considerable supply of provisions has been procured by hunting and fishing, great quantities of manioc-beer have been brewed, and new clay vessels have been made by the women. The nuptial-feast itself is considered absolutely indispensable, for, if the traditional marriage ceremonies are not arranged, it is believed the young husband will soon die. This belief is due to the idea, deeply rooted in the minds ot the Indians, that the contracting of marriage is an extremely critical occasion because of the evil spirits which are then on the alert to spoil human welfare and happiness. [209]

The nuptials are mainly celebrated with eating and drinking, making music and dancing. The 'music' is performed partly by means of drums, partly by means of a primitive wooden instrument called sigi-sigi. The latter is a small table of chonta wood about 30 cm. in length and 5 cm. in breadth with incisions made on one-side at regular intervals so that, when the instrument is worked upon with a chonta stick which is rapidly passed from one end to the other and back, a rattling sound is produced. The dance again is of that ceremonial kind which is customary among the Indians on such occasions: one man and one woman appear at a time dancing solo, directed by the Indian conducting the ceremonies. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the woman alternately moving to and from each other in a slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum and the sigi-sigi instrument. This solo dance and the

drinking-bout are continued the whole day and are supposed to have the effect of keeping off supernatural influences and promoting the happiness of the young couple.

The ceremonies at the nuptial festivity are led by a 'bestman', elected by the parents of the fiancé, and his wife. The leader, who is as a rule an elderly man and frequently a medicine-man, goes about the room the whole day playing the instrument sigi-sigi and inviting the guests to dance solo in their proper turns. His wife is sitting among the women at the other end of the room; she has a piece of linen about one yard and a half in length. When the leader wishes some one of the men to dance he puts his own hat on his head; this for his wife is a sign to put the piece of linen on the shoulders of the wife of that guest. Both now rise and dance solo for a while, accompanied by the leader playing sigi-sigi. Then the guest again restores the hat to the leader, who puts in [sic] on the head of another guest, and the latter in his turn has to dance solo for a while with his wife, who has been invited to dance by the leader's wife with the piece of linen, and so on. In this way the whole day, a good deal of the following night, as well as the following day, is spent in dancing, eating and drinking."

1: Karsten--209-211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 754, 845 (1928-29)

"The ceremonies practised on the wedding-night itself are of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians custom forbids the bridegroom to spend the first night with his bride. That night is spent by him not only in another room but even in another house. The practice is due to fear of evil, supernatural powers. If the bridegroom spends the first night with his young wife, it is believed he will soon die, and his wife too is exposed to supernatural dangers. The Indians of Canelos know a sort [210] of jus primae noctis, but the 'right' in question is not claimed by the medicine-man or chief but by the evil demon, called supai, and the bridegroom, fearing the revenge of the demon, voluntarily cedes the right to him. However, the following night is also critical, since it is believed that the demon wants to continue having the woman and is jealous of her husband. The first nuptial embrace, which takes place in the presence of the whole assembly invited to the feast, is therefore, at any rate in some cases, arranged in the following way. The bride is placed in the bed which is made of split bamboo. On her bosom two bananas are placed in such a way that they easily fall down at her movements. These bananas represent the first children to which the woman will give birth and which, it is feared, may possibly be twins owing to the interest taken in the woman by the supai. The bananas are therefore called palánda huahua, i.e. 'the banana babes'. Under the bed a little boy is placed. When the young couple embrace each other the bananas fall to the ground, one after the other, and the boy hidden under

the bed at once catches them crying out, 'Now the babe arrived '! Then he comes forth and presents the first banana to the assembly, the other one being thrown away. A man steps forward and offers himself as comparu (god-father) of the newborn child. He receives the banana which is carefully wrapped in a cloth, and gives it a name. The 'banana babe' is afterwards placed above on the roof of the house, where it is kept until the real firstborn child arrives. Then the same Indian presents himself to be the god-father of the child, and the same name is given to it as was before given to the banana.

In order to understand this curious custom we have first of all to take into consideration that the Canelos Indians have a superstitious dread of twins, owing to reasons which will presently be explained more fully. By thus dramatically representing the very thing they fear may happen, namely, that the bride shall first bring forth twins, where the supai or demon is the father of the second child, the Indians hope to prevent that ominous eventuality. The incident has in mimicry been anticipated in the arrangement with the two bananas and will not therefore take place in reality. The fact that the first nuptial embrace is public in the way we have seen, is due to the idea that thus the evil spirit may be prevented from harming the couple.

The ceremony at the wedding-night is not always the one just described, when two bananas are used to represent twins. In some cases the Canelos Indians by the

ceremony in question only aim at neutra-[211]lizing in general, the possible harmful effects proceeding from the demon, and to secure a happy first delivery. Instead of using two bananas, they only use a manioc root which is wrapped in a piece of linen and placed on the bride's bosom, just as is in [sic] done other cases with the bananas. The rest of the ceremony is the same, a boy being hidden under the bed, who has to catch the manioc and present is [sic] as the 'first-born babe', and so forth.

It is not only the first nights that are believed to be critical for the newly-married pair. Generally the demon is supposed to continue molesting the young woman for some time, visiting her at night in dreams and trying to have intercourse with her even though she sleeps with her husband. In the morning the woman tells her husband that the supai has molested her in a dream. The husband summons a medicine-man, who first drinks the narcotic aya huasca to ascertain the true nature and origin of the importunate demon. Thereupon he prepares a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called pétun cara, and gives the decoction to the woman to drink. This medicine is supposed to kill the demon and thus to rid the woman of his nightly visits.

The decoction of the vine shigshi huasca or the rind pétun cara is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have

been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition.

For the husband himself there is, owing to the jealousy of the demon, the constant danger that he may die on the spot on having intercourse with his wife, and this is particularly supposed to be the case if the woman is young and pretty. Sometimes the danger is not believed to be wholly over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.

As I have stated before the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

1: Karsten--212 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 589 (1928-29)

"Neither among the Jibaros nor among the Canelos Indians have I known persons who have been obliged to remain unmarried their whole life. In regard to the women such a state of things is almost out of the question for the very reason that the Jibaros are polygynists and that there is, on the whole, a scarcity of women in their communities. But even bachelors are practically unknown, and a man who never obtained a woman would be ridiculed by all. The Jibaros, as we have seen, in the first place want to marry girls of their own sub-tribe, but in case of need they procure young girls from other Jibaro tribes, sometimes even stealing them from enemy tribes vanquished in war and taking them home."

1: Karsten--212-213 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 783 (1928-29)

"If a woman becomes a widow she cannot marry again at will but is bound by certain restrictions. First and foremost, owing to the close relationship assumed between brothers, she is believed naturally to belong to the eldest brother of her deceased husband, who is bound to marry her. If he had no brothers she may marry another man, generally in some way related to her former husband, but not at once. The prohibition of her remarriage when or with whom she likes is due to the superstitious ideas mentioned in the last chapter. Generally the widow has to wait for one year before she can marry again, or until the hair of her head which at the death of her husband was cut short, has again grown long. Besides this, she has to pass through a certain purificatory ceremony with fire. The widow has to sit down on a seat, her head is covered with a cloth, and a termite nest is set on fire, the smoke of which she has to receive in her face until she is nearly suffocated. This smoking ceremony is believed to purify her from the taboo attaching to her after the death of her husband and she can now remarry. If the woman marries before the year has elapsed, or does not pass through the purification ceremony just mentioned, the consequence may be that the new [213] husband will soon die and that the child she gives birth to will be a monster. The demon operating in this case is again the spirit or soul of the dead husband, who jealously watches his former wife. Among the Jibaros therefore untimely marriages of widows are as strictly prohibited as marriages between near relatives."

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly, [sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu,

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

1: Karsten--214-215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 832, 302, 824 (1928-29)

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

1: Karsten--215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 832, 302, 825 (1928-29)

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 831 (1928-29)

"From what I have stated about the love charms we gather that free love, seduction of women, etc., are not unknown in the Jibaro society. But from this it must by no means be inferred that sexual licentiousness in general is characteristic of our Indians. The very reverse is true. The Jibaros especially are very decent in sexual matters. They do not consider it proper to discuss such questions publicly, and obscene gestures or language, which are no rare thing for instance among the Chaco Indians, one does not witness among the Jibaros. At any rate this is the impression I have received myself during the years I have lived in close contact with the Indians in their own houses."

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 836, 582 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros premature sexual intercourse is prohibited to a youth until he has passed through the initiation for manhood and become what is called a tsémbrama. If a boy has intercourse with a woman before that time, it is believed, he will soon die. Generally a Jibaro youth marries when he [sic] 18 to 20 years old."

"It has generally been assumed that among the majority of savage races the sexual instinct is very strongly developed and 'sexual life carried on very intensely' (1) and this generalizing statement is naturally meant to apply to the savages of the New World also. My own impression is that this assertion at any rate does not hold true of the Indians of South America, and particularly not of the tribes with which I am concerned here. When a Jibaro Indian has caught a woman whom he particularly likes, it is natural that at first he gives vent to his passion for her, and he may then have intercourse with her even several times during a night. But excesses of this kind are by no means the general rule among the Jibaros, who on the whole do not indulge in sexual relations more than most white people do, rather less. There is in fact on this point a notable difference between the whites and the mestizos on the one hand and the Indians on the other. The Jibaro Indian's capability of exercising control over himself in the sexual domain is shown by his readiness to submit himself to the prohibition of sexual intercourse during more or less protracted periods. We have already seen the Indians observing

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"1. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, I.495 (quoting Malinowsky). Dr. Malinowsky calls his own book, where one single Melanesian tribe is treated of, 'The Sexual Life of Savages.'"

sexual abstinence on many occasions, and other similar instances will presently be mentioned. To the Ecuadorian white or mestizo such control over himself would certainly be impossible."

1; Karsten--216-217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 834, 784 (1928-29)

"A married Jibaro man not only abstains from cohabiting with his [217] wife for instance when he is preparing his arrow-poison or making a shield or blowgun, after he has planted the narcotics natéma or maikoa, and when he is preparing for a great feast, but also on several other occasions. Thus at an advanced stage of pregnancy he generally abstains from cohabiting with his wife, lest the still unborn child may thereby be harmed. When the child is born he likewise abstains from sleeping with the mother for some time--in most cases, I believe, as long as the child is suckled--nor can he have sexual relations with any other woman. This would have harmful effects upon the newborn child so that it might die. The father's continence in this case is closely connected with the rules of diet he has to observe for some time after his child is born, and which will be described in the next chapter. Similarly, as we shall soon see, a Jibaro has strictly to observe sexual abstinence for a long time after he has killed an enemy, and for some days after a death has occurred. A Canelos Indian likewise has to observe sexual abstinence on many occasions, among other things during the wedding-night itself, as we have just seen."

1: Karsten--217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 164, 177 (1928-29)

"Unnatural vices are rare or wholly unknown both among the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. Thus I have never heard either of homosexual customs or sodomy. As to venereal diseases, they are, as far as I know, as yet unknown to the majority of the Jibaro tribes. Among the half-civilized Canelos Indians, who have been more in contact with the whites, they seem to be more prevalent, but even among them they are at present rare."

1: Karsten--217-218 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 842, 775 (1928-29)

"The ideas which the Indians entertain about the physiological significance of the sexual act are of particular interest and it may be proper to mention them here. The Indians certainly realize, in a general way the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy, but about generation and conception they have their own peculiar theory which among other things appears in their belief in a 'supernatural' birth. Their ideas of animal and plant spirits who partake of the nature of human souls and are even regarded as the souls of ancestors, as well as their custom of naming newborn children after animals and plants and at the same time after ancestors, seems to point to a general belief, now perhaps half forgotten, in the return of departed souls through a new birth. In fact, traces of the existence of a belief in such a rebirth are still to be found. 'After a long time the souls of the dead are again reborn in some of their descendants; this is the reason why we give to a newborn child the [218] name of one of its forefathers.' Such was the explanation which was given me by an old medicine-man with whom I discussed these questions. Other Jibaros again assured that they did not know anything about the rebirth of the departed. Evidently these are questions to which common people in the Jibaro society, and especially younger persons, devote but little thought."

"Their ideas about conception and pregnancy are more definite. Conception according to their idea is brought about by the new moon in connection with the natural sexual intercourse. The new moon is also believed to effect the menstruation of the women, of which physiological process the Jibaros use the expression nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her.' The time most suited for cohabitation and conception is that falling between the 'dying' moon and the following new moon. During this time the Jibaro usually has intercourse with his wives with a view to begetting children. He is however of opinion that as a rule a woman cannot be made pregnant by one single act of sexual intercourse. Several are necessary; the new being has to be created as it were by degrees, the moon always playing the part of a promotor of the creating process. When the Jibaro has cohabited with his wife in the period between two moons, the following new moon will in some mysterious way bring about the first development of the foetus. Every following new moon, in connection with repeated cohabitation, adds a little to it until in the course of nine months the foetus is full-grown and the birth takes place.

This statement of the Jibaros must be understood to mean that the germ of the new human being comes from man, who at the sexual act simply puts it into the woman, just as a seed is sown in the earth, the new moon thereby effectively aiding in developing the foetus. This primitive view, which in South America is by no means limited to the

Jibaros (1), is of interest in so far as it explains a custom which among these Indians also occurs in a modified form, namely, the custom of couvade. If the child, at least physiologically, has its proper origin in the father, we can understand the close connection or 'sympathy' existing between the father and his newborn babe, manifesting itself in that for instance the food eaten by the former will affect the latter for good or for evil. These ideas we shall consider again in the chapter on the birth customs.

The present-day Indian is thus firmly convinced that a woman can-[219] not conceive without having intercourse with a man. But the mediator of the process of conception need not necessarily be a living man, he may also be a dead one, that is, a spirit or demon. From this point of view we may speak of a supernatural birth in regard to the Jibaros, namely, in so far as they believe that a spirit or demon can have sexual intercourse with a woman and generate a child. This belief is quite common among the Jibaros and the Indians of Canelos, as among various other tribes in Ecuador, and has influenced the customs they observe at the birth of a child and even their marriage customs, as we have seen in the case of the Canelos Indians."

"1. See my Civilization of the South American Indians, p. 445 sq."

1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

"Conception through a demon, resulting in an evil birth and a monstrous child, may take place under different circumstances.

When among the CANELOS INDIANS a woman is menstruating she is obliged to diet and does not leave the house except for the most urgent needs. If she goes alone into the forest she may meet the demon, supai, in the shape of a white man dressed in black clothes, who grasps her by the hand, leads her away, and seduces her. The women themselves are said to have a special liking for the supai meeting them in this shape and to yield readily to the temptation. They are, therefore, guarded by their husbands while menstruating.

The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive.

Generally, however, the demon appears to a woman in the shape of a beautiful Indian, painted red with roucou in the face and wearing a feather crown (tawasámba) on the head.

He mostly meets the woman in a dream, while she is sleeping, and tries to seduce her. If he has had intercourse with her two nights in succession, she will soon feel pains in the womb, and some time afterwards she will either die or give birth to a supai huahua.

The Canelos Indians told me about a young Indian woman who had lived alone with the supai in an uninhabited region on the Rio Rutúnu, [220] a small tributary to the Bobonaza. The supai had the shape of a beautiful Indian, well dressed and painted red in the face. He stayed with the woman one week as her husband, and every day brought her all sorts of game from the forest as well as fish. The woman had previously been beautiful and fat, but after that time she began to get thin and pine away and finally died. This was due to her having had intercourse with the supai.

One of the most formidable demons known to the Indians is the huge water boa, called amárum by the Quichua-speaking Indians. It is the original source of witchcraft and the souls of sorcerers especially are believed to take up their abode, temporally [sic] or permanently, in this monster. Now, in the imagination of the Indians the rainbow (cuichi) is nothing but a huge boa in the air or, as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the boa'. One superstition held about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are menstruating ought not to go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone at night in some shelter of palm leaves in the forest they are

liable to be visited by the cuichi supai (the rainbow demon) who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being as usual, a supai huahua. (1)

The Canelos Indians moreover believe that the demon, when he wants to visit a woman, may take the shape of a black, nocturnal bird which they call tulúlu. The tulúlu supai at night enters into the house where he assumes human shape and has intercourse with the woman while she is sleeping. Soon afterwards the woman falls ill, and some time later she will give birth to something evil.

"1. This superstition prevails both among the Napo and the Canelos Indians, but is particularly held by the mountain Indians from whom it has, perhaps, been propagated to the primitive tribes in the virgin forests of the east. At Pelileo, a village situated in the mountain regions of Central Ecuador, I was told about an Indian woman who had given birth to a dreadful monster, half a hairy pig, half a human being. The Indians explained the phenomenon by the woman having exposed herself to the embraces of the demon of the rainbow.

The Quichua-speaking women of the mountain regions also believe that they may be made pregnant by lizards and other similar animal beings entering into them. When an Indian woman sees a lizard therefore she jumps far away for fear of coming in contact with it."

1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

Sometimes the demon takes the shape of a hawk (anga) and then has intercourse with a woman at night, during sleep. Afterwards she [221] gives birth to a supai huahua which is grey in colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk and deformed legs. Such a monster, as already mentioned, is buried alive or at any rate killed."

1: Karsten--221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847 (1928-29)

"In order to be able to cohabit with a man without getting pregnant the Canelos women are in the habit of taking a medicine prepared from the small piripiri plant. The root knots of the plant are crushed and soaked in water, and the woman takes a quantity of this drink. Afterwards she has to eat only roasted plantain without salt and small birds of the forest. If she infringes these rules of diet, she is believed to be particularly exposed to the very danger against which the piripiri drink was to protect her. When she goes to the river to bathe--which the Canelos Indians as a rule do every day--the supai [JKM: demon] may enter her in the water in the form of a small fish or a water insect, the consequence being that she will sicken and die, or get pregnant and give birth to a monster."

"It is, however, not only monstrous and defective children that are thus regarded as the direct result of demoniacal action. The same superstition is held about twins, even when there is nothing abnormal in their outward appearance. The primitive Indian is unable to grasp the idea that one man can be the father of two children born at once. Hence when twins are born in a family only the child arriving first can be the offspring of the husband of the woman; the other one must have been begotten either by another man or, more generally, by a demon, and is therefore killed. This belief is found among Indians in different parts of the South American continent and affords the true explanation of the common practice of infanticide in the case of twins. In Ecuador it seems to prevail among all tribes except among the Jíbaros.(1) As to the Canelos Indians, it has among them inter alia given rise to that interesting marriage custom which has been related above. In regard to the fear of twins I may add that at Canelos the married men never eat two bananas which are grown together, believing that if they do eat them their wives will give birth to twins.

"1. The superstition in question exists for instance among the Napo Indians and the Záparos. The latter not only kill the second child, but are in the habit of chanting and beating drums every night during a whole month after the birth of twins, in order to counteract the evil consequences arising from the house having been polluted by a demon."

On the other hand, the savage JIBAROS do not seem to share this superstition. On the contrary, they say that they are pleased when twins are born, because they want to have as many children as possible. But [222] even the Jibaros are firmly convinced that children who are born deformed or defective in any way have been begotten by demoniacal operation. Such a child is called nētsi, pasúna, 'deformed', 'monstrous', or iguánchi uchi, 'the son of a demon'. Nētsi properly speaking means 'deaf and dumb', but also 'deformed' in general, and is thus particularly used in the same sense as iguánchi uchi. The Jibaros always kill a deformed 'demoniacal' child by crushing it under the feet, and bury it in the forest.

How the conception through a demon (iguánchi) takes place, the Jibaros cannot explain with the same realistic details as the Canelos Indians, but as to the fact itself they have no doubt. Most generally the birth of a nētsi, pasúna, or iguánchi uchi follows as the consequence of unlawful marriage, especially a marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship, when brother and sister, or cousins on the male side marry, or when a man marries his niece or a woman her nephew. Such marriages are therefore looked upon with horror and strictly prohibited by Jibaro custom. The birth of a demon (a monstrous child) is regarded as a disgrace and an unfortunate incident not only for the parents but for the whole family and tribe."

1: Karsten--222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 574 (1928-29)

"I have stated before that jealousy is not particularly characteristic of the Jibaro women who are the co-wives of the same man, which may in part be due to the fact that in many cases they are sisters or near relatives. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the Jibaro men, who generally are very jealous of their wives. The jealousy of the Jibaro men forms part of their general suspiciousness and treacherous character. They can never trust a visiting guest who, even when he seemingly comes as a friend, may nevertheless nourish evil designs, trying to bewitch the women with the evil eye or to seduce them with his love charms. If the Jibaro Indian has found, or believes he has found, his suspicions confirmed, he is terrible in his revenge, and this revenge turns not only against the supposed seducer but also easily against his own wife."

1: Karsten--222-223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 595 (1928-29)

"If the Jibaro man treats his wife well and does not neglect his duties towards her, she is as a rule faithful and a model housewife. It is otherwise when she finds herself neglected by her husband, as not seldom happens. The Jibaros not only live in polygyny, but it may happen that an elderly man, especially an old chief, procures several young wives, even quite young girls captured from enemy tribes, towards whom he cannot duly perform his marital duties. It is no uncommon thing that such young, neglected wives engage in sexual relations with other men, [223] in spite of the risk that they incur thereby. Intelligent as the Jibaro woman is, she may display extraordinary acuteness in deceiving her husband."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 562 (1928-29)

"The cruelty with which the deceived Jibaro husband treats his unfaithful wife is all the more noteworthy as otherwise the social position of the Jibaro woman is by no means that of an oppressed slave, as we shall presently see. She has much to say even in matters which do not directly concern her own domain within the household. But in a case of adultery only brute force and the law of the desert is valid. The Jibaro Indian treats his unfaithful wife simply in the same way as he treats his enemy to whom no mercy is shown."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common punishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

R: Karsten--224 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 842, 863 (1928-29)

"After the 'tobacco feast' the conjugal life of the Jibaro couple generally begins, in some cases--that is to say, when the girl is not very young--even immediately after betrothal. As a rule, however, the Jibaro woman does not become a mother until she is 16 or 17 years old; at any rate I have not among these Indians seen younger mothers. --The Canelos woman generally marries at a more mature age."

1: Karsten--224 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 843, 784 (1928-29)

"When a new member is expected in a family this is an important incident which is connected with many interesting ceremonies and many taboos. They deserve particular attention as illustrating in a typical way the general Indian idea of a close and mysterious relationship existing between the parents, especially the father, and the newborn child. Just as the Jibaro or Canelos Indian fasts and observes other rules of abstinence after he has planted and sown his fields or while he is breeding his dog, so he submits himself to similar restrictions in regard to his mode of life after a child is born to him, and naturally with still greater rigour.

These restrictions have special reference to the diet. Among the JIBAROS the woman starts dieting even before the child is born, and at any rate in some tribes her husband joins her therein. As soon as the woman feels herself to be pregnant she abstains from eating salt and sweet things like the papaya fruit (Carica papaya), sugar cane, and a kind of wild grape called shuya. The reason which the Indians give for this abstinence is that if the woman eats salt or sweet things 'the foetus will grow very big' and delivery become difficult. The woman also has to abstain from eating palm cabbage and the intestines of animals, especially of the paca and the wild hog, because, if she eats, the child will get diarrhoea. These rules are, at least among the Jibaros of the Santiago, observed by the father of the future child also."

"When the mother begins to feel the pangs of childbirth she is at [225] once taken out from the house, to a special shelter of palm leaves constructed in the neighbourhood of it, in the plantain or manioc plantation, whither she is accompanied by an elderly woman who acts as a midwife. The house must not be polluted by the childbirth, nor are other persons of the family, and still less outsiders, allowed to be present. The bewitching arrows of sorcerers and the 'evil eye', which may seriously complicate matters, are especially feared on such occasions. Generally the Indian woman bears children with ease, and should the birth be difficult this would be a sure sign that evil spirits or mysterious influences have been at work.

In order to facilitate delivery, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are in the habit of scraping off with a knife a little of the poisonous sting of the ray and mixing this powder with the drink or food of the woman. This will have the effect of promoting the exit of the foetus.

The Jibaros moreover practise the following custom for the same purpose. A medicine-man is called in; he takes a hen's egg, blows upon it and mutters a special conjuration over it, holding it close to his mouth; thereupon he breaks the egg allowing its contents to pour directly into the mouth of the pregnant woman who, sitting on a bench, has to swallow it raw without touching it with her hands. The idea is that the woman will now be delivered of her foetus as easily as the hen is delivered of its egg.

There is a special kind of banana which the Indians call palanda noa, 'the female plantain'. Generally the banana belongs to those plants to which the Indians ascribe the male sex, but the palanda noa forms an exception owing to the tendency of its shell to burst open when the fruit is boiled. At Caneloe the men avoid eating this banana, otherwise, they say, their wives will bear only female children. On the other hand, they readily let their wives eat it because it is believed to facilitate their delivery.

When the child has arrived, the woman is washed with hot water and the flow of blood is stopped by heated lava stones. The umbilical cord is cut off, not with a knife, but with a sharp split of wild bamboo (shingyána). The iron of the whites is to the Indians in a way taboo and therefore not used at certain important ceremonies. 'With the knife we cut flesh into pieces', a Jibaro explained to me, 'we do not therefore touch our delicate children with it'. If a knife or some other iron instrument were used to cut the cord with, this would be the same as cutting off the life of the child: the little one would die. The bit of cord remain-[226]ing with the babe is attended to with great care, and when it falls off after some days it is, like the after-birth, placenta, buried 'in order that the dogs or other animals shall not be able to eat them', an eventuality which likewise would imply danger for the life of the child.

Before the newborn child is laid to the breast of the mother to suck, a medicine is given it, prepared from a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is

called tsinsimba. The leaves of this plant are carefully chewed and mixed with saliva, and a little of this medicine is put into the mouth of the child by the oldest person in the family, who must be a man if the child is of male sex, and a woman if it is of the female sex. The tsinsimba to which the Jibaros ascribe wonderful properties is believed to strengthen the newborn child. The same medicine is also later given to children of different ages at the 'feast of the children'."

1: Karsten--226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"When the delivery has taken place without complications and the woman is recovering, she is taken into the house where she remains in complete inactivity without going out. On the third day after the birth the oldest man or woman in the family gives the child a name which has before been borne by some member of the same family and which generally is the name of an animal, bird, or plant, animal and bird names being most common for men, plant names most common for women. Animals and plants are believed to be animated by human souls (wakáni) some of which are of the male, some of the female sex, and male and female human children are named accordingly."

1: Karsten--226 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 551 (1928-29)

"As instances of Jibaro names the following may be mentioned. For men: Jawára (Tiger), Pangi (the great anaconda, Eunectes murinus), Tsungi (a mythical water monster, said to be 'the brother' of the Pangi), Yákuma (the red Howling Monkey), Kunámbi (Squirrel), Ambúsha (Owl), Ungúmi (Umbrella-bird), Máshu (Paugi, Crax elector), Etsa (Sun), Yangámi (Big Star), Cuishi (Ear), Nauicha (Foot), Maikoa (the narcotic plant Datura arborea). For women: Mama (Manioc), Inchi (Comote), Mika (Bean), Nússi (Earth-nut), Ipyáku (Bixa orellana), Sua (genipa), Chiki (a root of magic power), Núngai (Earth), Nungüi (the Earth-mother), Yánua (Star), Intsa (River)."

1: Karsten--226,-227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 828, 852 (1928-29)

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jibaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black. The genipa fruit yields the black dye with which the Indians paint their body on certain ceremonial occasions and, mixed with the solution prepared of the piripiri root, it is [227] supposed to strengthen the hair. In the case of a newborn child it is believed, in general, to strengthen its constitution and to protect it against evil influences."

1: Karsten--227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 304, 852 (1928-29)

"On the same occasion [JKM: when the child is named] the old man or woman pierces the ear-lobes of the child with a thorn and a small stick is inserted into the hole so as to prevent the wound from closing. Later the holes are more and more extended for the insertion of the ear-tubes when the boy or girl is received among the full-grown persons. Female children have also the nether lip perforated, but this operation is not done until the girl is 6 to 8 years old."

1: Karsten--227 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro tribes of the Pastaza (the Achuares) have the following custom at the birth of the first son, called iweri. The woman, as usual, is taken out from the house to be delivered in the manioc plantation, where she remains for three days. On the fourth day she returns to the house and the newborn child is also taken there, not through the door, however, but through a hole made especially for this purpose above in the roof of the house. The father himself hands his firstborn son through this hole, the child being received inside the house by the grandfather, or the oldest member of the family. The old man, holding the little one in his arms, puts himself at the head of the male members of the family assembled there, and all start to walk round in the house chanting, beating drums, and playing on flutes. Then the old man gives the child a name borne before by some important member of the family. When the mother goes for the first time to the manioc plantation to fetch the manioc, carrying her babe on her back, she is followed there by all the men, who carry lances and other weapons. This is done with a view to protecting the newborn child and the mother against the demons (iguánchi) and evil sorcerers who might harm them on the way. This only takes place the first

time they leave the house, which is regarded as a critical moment, especially for the child. (1)"

"1. Among the Kandoashis, a tribe on the nether Pastaza closely related to the Jibaros, the woman, after having been delivered in the plantain or manioc plantation, is immediately taken back to the house. Here three large clay pots, containing warm water, are held ready at the fire. The woman sits down and washes her whole body with the water in these clay pots. She remains sitting at the fireplace without doing work for three days. After the lapse of the three days she can go to the plantations and she also begins to look after her husband who is passing his time under the mosquito-net in complete inactivity, only chanting a special incantation on behalf of his newborn child and fasting strictly. This mode of life is continued by him for a whole month. A real 'couvade' thus exists among the Kandoashis."

"The other Jibaro tribes of Eastern Ecuador and Peru, although they do not practise the couvade in the sense that the father must lie in bed after the birth of his child, still deem it absolutely necessary that both parents should observe certain rules in regard to their diet and their mode of life. In regard to the diet, the rules are the following: --as to birds, the father and mother of the child must abstain from eating the tucan (tsukánga), the mango (chui), the wood-pecker (tatáshama), the umbrella-bird (umgúmi), the cock-of-the-rock (sumga), the wild turkey (kuyu, áwacha), and the pigeon (yámbitsa); nor must they eat the intestines of any animal, hen's eggs, or fish roes; as to fish, two common fishes are especially mentioned as prohibited food, namely, the large wambi and the sheat-fish (napi or tungá).

The dietary prescriptions just mentioned are due to the following ideas. The tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the umbrella-bird, and the cock-of-the-rock belong to those birds which, although they are normally eaten, are yet regarded with superstition, because it is believed that they may serve as abodes or vehicles for the magical arrow (túnchi) which the sorcerers let fly against persons whom they want to harm. By the parents eating these birds, therefore, the child may be bewitched, pine away, and die. The Jibaros use for this the expression tapiktinyu. Again, the wild turkey and the pigeon produce very loose feces and constantly excrete as if they were suffering from diarrhoea. If the parents eat these birds, therefore, their offspring will likewise have

diarrhoea--an illness to which small children are particularly exposed--and perhaps die. Similarly the child would be likely to contract diarrhoea if the parents ate the intestines of animals, or hen's eggs. As to the latter the Jibaros have the same superstition as the Canelos Indians: the feces of the child would become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, which would be the sign of some disease of the stomach. Again, if they eat fish roes, the child will get scrofula (kánchа) of the head, a disease fairly common with Indian children.

The reason why the parents [JKM: after the birth of a child] must not eat the fish wámbi is connected with the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. In ancient times, when all animals had human shape, the wámbi was attacked and wounded by some of his enemies while trying to escape from the lagoon where he lived. He was badly hit by a lance, but contrived to draw it out from his body and escaped. However, he lost much blood and, owing to the wound received, has still a red tail and red fins, though the rest of him is quite white. Now if the parents eat the fish wámbi, their delicate [229] child will likewise lose blood, become anaemic, and die. Again, that they abstain from eating the sheat-fish, tungá, is due to the same considerations as make the Jibaro avoid that food after he has sown his maize fields. Since this large fish is extremely restless and violent, the consequence would be, if the parents ate it, that their babe would be 'tired out' and not get the rest necessary for a newborn child.

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

The sort of food just mentioned is particularly regarded as dangerous, but in their general diet the parents are extremely careful during the whole time that the child is suckled. Meat, for instance, of whatever kind it may be, they generally refuse to eat, and particularly food prepared in a strange house is always looked upon with suspicion. Frequently, when I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians, I noticed their reluctance to eat certain kinds of animal or bird, certain kinds of fruit, etc., and when I inquired about the reasons for this I often received the answer, 'I cannot eat it, for I have a sucking babe at home.'"

1: Karsten--229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro father has also to observe several other [JKM: besides dietary restrictions] precautionary rules in his mode of life. Although it is not necessary that he should lie in bed, he must keep quiet, not go out hunting in the forest, not handle poison, nor touch a knife or any other iron instrument to do work. He must not kill a venomous snake or a jaguar, or even risk meeting such an animal, for otherwise his delicate son in the house will be frightened and die."

1: Karsten--229 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The latter precautions [JKM: no hunting or working] are observed for a shorter period, but those relating to fasting must be observed by the father not only for a few days, as among most other Indians, but for two, sometimes three years, or more strictly speaking, during the time that the child is suckled."

1: Karsten--229 [3] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 862, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

1: Karsten--229-230 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 828 (1928-29)

"According to the idea of these Indians the parents, and especially the father, form with the newborn son, as it were, one single personality. [230] The soul of the latter is intimately associated with the father's own, and everything that happens to the father during the critical days is supposed directly to affect his tender son.

This view is much easier to understand when we take into consideration that the Indian not only assumes an intimate connection or sympathy between himself and his newborn child, but that the same mysterious 'sympathy' is believed to unite him more or less closely with almost any object which is the result of his work. Thus we have seen that when an Indian has bought a little dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast and submit themselves to certain other rules in their mode of life of much the same nature as those observed when a child is born. Similarly he fasts after he has sown maize and certain other plants, while he is making a drum, a blowgun, and so forth."

"The same peculiar view appears perhaps still more clearly in some of the birth customs of the CANELOS INDIANS. On the evening of the day of delivery as well as on the following morning various medicines are taken both by the mother herself and her husband, the object of which is partly to cure the former of her weakness, partly to strengthen and promote the development of the child. Thus the woman herself, on the day of delivery, has to take a drink prepared of the rind of a shrub called tzigta. Of this shrub there are various kinds, some of which are poisonous and used by the Indians for the preparation of the arrow-poison. The one given to a woman in childbirth is commonly used as a remedy for headache and other illnesses. The rind of the shrub is scraped off with a knife and boiled in water, and the woman has to drink a mucahua (clay dish containing nearly a litre) of this decoction. The remedy is supposed to have fortifying effects both upon the woman herself and the newborn child.

Early in the following morning another similar medicine is given to her. The rind of a shrub called petun cara is crushed with a club and soaked in water and a quantity of this solution is given the woman to drink. Immediately after that she has to take a similar quantity of another remedy prepared of the rind of the tree called pacai cara, boiled in water. Usually the solution of petun cara and the decoction of pacai cara are mingled and the woman has to drink a mucahua of this medicine. The medicine has the effect of a vomitory which will remove the evil from the stomach of the woman.

Again, the father of the newborn child has to take certain other [231] magical drinks, which are believed to exert a favourable influence upon the latter. The rind of a tree called tsinsála is scraped off with a knife and soaked in water, and the drink is taken by the father in the afternoon after the child is born. This medicine will have the effect of strengthening the child.

On the same evening the father takes some leaves of a tree or bush called sinchi cáspi ('the tree of strength'), which he chews and swallows raw. Lastly, on the following morning the root of the same bush is taken, crushed, and boiled in water, and the decoction is drunk by the father. The sinchi caspi is supposed to have the effect of giving much strength to the newborn babe."

1: Karsten--231-232 (1916-18) 1935 . Jivaro-1
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"During the following eight days, or until the navel of the child is perfectly healed, the parents [JKM: of a newborn child] have to diet, and the father is obliged to observe certain other rules of abstinence. Thus they abstain from eating the tucan (sicuanga), normally so much appreciated by the Indians, because this bird may sometimes serve as the abode of a demon or as the seat of the chonta thorn (chúnta), which the sorcerers use to bewitch people with; therefore, if the parents eat the tucan, this may have the effect that the newborn child will be bewitched, pine away, and die. For the same reason they do not eat the mango, another beautiful bird of the forest used for food. They also abstain from eating the wild turkey, as well as a special kind of duck emitting a disagreeable odour, because otherwise the babe will have diarrhoea and die. Of quadrupeds they do not eat the tapir or the lumucha (Coelogenys paca), animals that are also regarded with superstition by the Indians, although they are generally eaten. Of other things forbidden to them hen's eggs are especially mentioned. If they eat eggs, the feces of the child will become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, that is, the child will have diarrhoea and die. Similarly, the parents must not drink the brandy of the whites, for this strong drink would do harm to their delicate offspring. As to the native manioc-beer (asua), they can drink it, but it must not be too strong. After the woman has been delivered, warm asua is given her.

As to fish, the parents are allowed to eat the bocachico (challua) as well as certain

sardine-like fish (called umbúni, chúti, túgshi; and shigli in the Quichua language). Small birds of the forest of the kind the Jibaros are in the habit of shooting with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows are also regarded as harmless food. A worm or larva living in the top of certain palms, called túku, the parents are even recommended to eat. The larva [232] is very fat, and therefore the parents' eating it will have the effect of making the child fat."

1: Karsten--232 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846 (1928-29)

"During the three first days after delivery the woman does not leave the house and does not work. After that she is generally able to go to the plantation, carrying the babe on her back. The father, again, must restrict his mode of life for eight days. He does not go out hunting in the forest, for if he shoots an animal or a bird with a shotgun or blowgun, he may at the same time shoot his little child so that it dies. Nor does he undertake any work in the forest with his machete, for if he did he might kill his own son with the knife. He must not on any account kill a poisonous snake or the demoniacal animal paca (lumucha), for then his little child, although kept safe in the house, would be frightened and die.

When after the lapse of the eight days the father goes out in the forest to work for the first time and seizes his machete, he makes cutting movements with it in the air over his son before leaving the house. The little one is thus 'hardened' against the knife, so that he will not be harmed by his father using it."

1: Karsten--232 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 163, 842, 177 (1928-29)

"The number of children in a Jibaro family is generally great, partly of course owing to the existence of polygamy. The Jibaro man wants to have as many children as possible and it may happen--although of course only in exceptional cases--that he has ten children from the same woman. He is rightly of opinion that richness in wives and in children means richness in general, and that it adds to the power of the family and the tribe. He appreciates female children just as much as male children; both are in their way equally useful, and for the same reason he has, as we have seen, no objection to the birth of twins, against whom the Jibaros have not the same prejudice as most other Indians of Western Amazonas. If nevertheless the Jibaro tribes have constantly diminished, this is due to particular reasons, partly to the great mortality of Indian children in general in the first years of life, partly to the wars of extermination carried on between the different Jibaro tribes. The contact with the white race not only indirectly promotes a diminution of the Indians, but seems to have a direct, unfavourable influence upon nativity. This we may infer from the fact that in the families of the Canelos Indians the children are as a rule far fewer than among their savage neighbours, a state of things that can be observed almost everywhere in South America."

1: Karsten--233 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847, 837 (1928-29)

"That abortion is not unknown to the Indians has appeared from my previous statements, but it is naturally most commonly practised by unmarried women. A Jibaro would not normally allow his wife to practise abortion. It only takes place in exceptional cases, for instance when a woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to an enemy tribe, or when marriage has been in some way unlawful so that there is the danger of the future child being a monster (pasúna, nētsi).

Abortion is among the JIBAROS effected by mechanical treatment at a comparatively advanced stage (probably in the third or fourth month of pregnancy). An older woman grasps the pregnant woman from behind round the waist and gradually presses out the foetus. The operation is said to be very painful and I was told that sometimes it happens that the woman dies from this radical treatment. Besides this, the Jibaros in such cases have recourse to the same harmless operation with the hen's egg by which they try to facilitate delivery: a medicine-man makes the woman swallow the contents of the raw egg which are poured directly into her mouth. Poisonous drugs are not used for the purpose by the Jibaros, but this, on the other hand, seems to be the case among the CANELOS INDIANS. They prepare a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called petun cara, and give this decoction to drink to a woman who wishes to rid herself of the consequences of sexual relations outside marriage."

1: Karsten--234 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861 (1928-29)

"It is evident from what has been stated in previous chapters, that in regard to the Jibaros we can speak of a real education of children. From the very moment of the child's birth--nay, even before it is born--its physical well-being and normal development is constantly kept in view by the parents, and later systematic instruction is begun, the general aim of which is to make the young man or girl capable of properly performing the various duties incumbent on a full-grown man or woman in society."

1: Karsten--234 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The first period in the education of the child, ... is that between birth and the 'feast of the children', which is held when the little one is two or three years old. Until that feast has taken place both parents have to submit themselves to the most rigorous diet according to the rules mentioned in the last chapter. Dieting, it should be understood, forms part of the actual preparations for the feast. The rest of the preparations are similar to those for other feasts: as usual, new plantations have to be made, and domestic animals, swine and hens, have to be bred before the feast can be held, which of course takes a long time. The child itself has to diet; above all it is not allowed to eat pork and hen's flesh, nor can it eat ripe plantain or chew sugar cane as Indian children usually do."

1: Karsten--234-235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 862 (1928-29)

"The 'feast of the children' is called Uchiáuratai or Uchiáuka. Uchiauratai (áuratahei) is literally: 'I will give (the child) drops of tsinsimba'. The very name indicates that the medicine prepared from the plant tsinsimba, which was given to the child immediately after it was born, also plays the most important part at the 'feast of the children'. As we have already seen, the leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva by the old man or woman who acts as a priest or priestess; this medicine has a particular name: ambára. It is ceremonially dropped into the child's mouth twice during the two days that the feast proper [235] lasts, early in the morning and at noon. Drinking manioc-beer and eating also form part of the 'feast of the children'. Its general significance is the same as that of other great feasts: mysterious powers above all power to resist evil spirits--are believed to be imparted to the young child, not only for the time being but especially for the future. This power is chiefly due to the magical properties ascribed to the tsinsimba plant itself, but naturally also to the saliva of the old man or woman, the incantations, etc. After it is over the father is no longer obliged to diet, at least not so rigorously as hitherto, and the child is allowed to eat any kind of food. It definitely ceases to be a sucking-child and is henceforward reckoned among the bigger children."

1: Karsten--235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 854, 751 (1928-29)

"Since children are always delicate and liable to fall ill the Indians try to protect their sucking babies by, among other things, different amulets consisting of animals' teeth and claws, 'medical' collars of fragrant seeds, shells etc. Still more common is prophylactic body-painting with roucou mixed with certain other ingredients, and accordingly called karawira, áratinyu, etc. Since small children are very liable to fall ill through witchery, the parents generally take care not to show their babes to strangers visiting the house, lest they should be harmed by the 'evil eye' or in some other mysterious way. As a rule the Indian woman never leaves her sucking babe alone in the house when she goes out, but takes it with her wherever she goes, carrying it at the breast if it is quite small, on the back when it is a little bigger. Thus when she goes to the manioc plantation to fetch manioc she nearly always has her babe with her, carrying home both the heavy basket with manioc roots and her child. "

1: Karsten--235[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 754 (1928-29)

"When the first teeth of the child get loose, they are not thrown away but carefully kept on the roof of the house 'in order that the rats or other animals may not eat them'. This custom is due to the belief in a mysterious connection between the child and the detached teeth."

1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236] cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

1: Karsten--236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 841, 276 (1928-29)

"When the first signs of puberty appear, an important epoch in the life of the Jibaro girl begins. As among all Indians, menstruation is looked upon by the Jibaros as a mysterious process, and when it appears for the first time in a girl various precautions are considered necessary. I have mentioned before that the Indians ascribe menstruation to the moon (nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her'), which is also believed to have a mysterious influence upon conception. The first menstruation is called numbuén (from númba, 'blood') and generally appears when the girl is about 8 to 10 years old. When the mother realises what is the matter with the girl she at once takes her down to the river, where she washes her with a big leaf called yambáki. She has now to submit to certain taboos for four days. She is not allowed to pass the nights in the house, but sleeps in a small shelter specially made for her in the plantation in the neighbourhood, whither she is accompanied in the evening by the other women. While in the shelter, she can eat or drink nothing except tobacco water, which is given her in repeated doses by an old woman. The girl, however, is not obliged to stay there during the day. As soon as the sun rises she can leave the shelter and return to the house where she spends the day, but she is obliged to diet strictly. At the same time a small drinking-feast is arranged. Several piningas with manioc-beer are placed in a row; among these there is a small one containing only the 'cream' of the beer and a piece of manioc. This pininga is for the tsángrama, as the girl is called. She is allowed to eat nothing during the four

days except this small quantity of manioc, and she is considered so taboo that she can touch no objects in the house with her hands. In the evening, as usual, she has to go to the shelter where she again receives tobacco water from the hands of the old woman, and so on. The tobacco medicine is supposed to fill her with power and to protect her against evil spirits who are attacking her, but it is also calculated to produce dreams for her, since the Numbuén, feast has reference at the same time to the girl's future obligations as a housewife."

1: Karsten--236-237 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881 (1928-29)

"If the girl is not betrothed, no further feast is arranged for her. On the other hand, if she has a fiancé, the appearance of the first menses is, for the latter and for the girl's parents, a sign to start preparing the great feast Noa teangu which has already been described. As I have stated, it is at this epoch that her education properly begins, being supervised by her future husband and carried on very methodically. The [237] girl accompanies her mother and other older women everywhere, especially to the plantations, and is constantly receiving instructions from them as to how the manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, earth-nuts, and other roots and plants shall be planted and tended. At home she takes part in all those occupations which are incumbent on a married woman, and when guests arrive and the women of the house step forward to serve them nihamánchi, the young girl is always one of them."

1: Karsten--237 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 841 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the first menstruation of girls, we must add that at the following menses too a Jibaro woman is always taboo to a certain extent. She has to diet, abstaining from eating meat, and contenting herself during the days of menstruation chiefly with mashed manioc and plantain (nauma). She is likewise sexually taboo, her husband avoiding her during these critical days. Much the same rules are observed among the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--237[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562 (1928-29)

"We now have to say a few words respecting the education of the boys, to which the Jibaros attach even more importance than to that of the girls. If one asks a Jibaro father what the education of his boy aims at, he will in most cases answer: 'That he may become a real man and a brave and skilful warrior'. Of this the young boys are constantly reminded in the speeches which the father at certain periods addresses to them every day, and which have special reference to the revenge they must take on the enemies of the family.

The art of warfare and all manly exercises in general, the ability to throw the lance, to bring down the animals and birds of the forest with blowgun and poisoned arrows, etc., the Jibaro boy acquires by associating with his father and other older men, his constant endeavour being to imitate the full-grown men and to do what he sees they do. When the boy is six or seven years old his father makes or buys for him a small blowgun with which he assiduously practises shooting, using unpoisoned arrows. With such arrows the boy easily shoots small birds which he immediately prepares and eats. Only after he has passed through the initiation and is received among the full-grown men is he allowed to use the arrow-poison."

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

"It has frequently been said that savage peoples, bringing up their children in complete liberty, never punish them for disobedience or faults committed. This may be true of many Indian tribes in South America also, but it would certainly be a mistake to hold such an opinion of the Jibaros. It is true that as a rule the boys seem to understand remarkably [238] well what tribal custom demands of them and easily accommodate themselves to the moral views of their people, but there may be exceptions to this rule. The treatment of mischievous boys who openly defy their parents, tease their younger brothers and sisters, break clay vessels, climb up on the roof of the house damaging the thatch, wring the necks of fowls, etc., is sometimes very severe. It is quite a common thing for a father to seize his disobedient boy by the neck and pour tobacco water into his nose or his eyes. Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects. In more serious cases the following form of punishment is resorted to. A small shelter of palm leaves is constructed for the young offender at the bank of the river. Here he is obliged to stay for two days and nights quite alone, eating nothing; he is allowed to drink only water from the river. The strict fasting having in this way made him more tractable, he must finally take a dose of maikoa, the strong narcotic of the Jibaro Indians. The intention behind this radical cure of course is that the youth shall have the usual dreams and visions, see

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

the arútama, the spirits of the forefathers, who will admonish him and instruct him as to what the custom of the forefathers requires of him as a member of the tribe."

"Both maikoa and another narcotic medicine, tobacco, is however chiefly taken on another occasion in the life of the Jibaro youth, namely, when he is initiated into manhood at puberty, at an age of about 15 or 16 years. On this occasion one of the great feasts of the Jibaros is arranged, the one known under the name of Kusúpani and corresponding to the Noa tsangu of the women. The preparations for this feast are the usual ones: new plantations must be made, new domestic animals, swine and hens, must be bred, etc. It is natural therefore that these preparations should require a long time, and in fact, the feast does not take place until after the lapse of two or three years. During these years the young boy has to diet strictly, the rules as to what kind of food is forbidden to him being much the same as in other similar cases. Thus the flesh of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the hens, is forbidden to him, precisely because the object of the feast is in part to augment the numbers of these animals. Other animals which are taboo as food to him are the wild hog, the paca, concerning which certain superstitious ideas are held, the armadillo, and most birds of the forest. Nor is he allowed to eat big fish like the sheat-fish and the one called wambi; [239] he has to content himself with small sardine-like fish of the kind the Indians eat when they are dieting. If one asks the Indians what will happen if he infringes these rules, the answer is invariably that the object of the feast will not be attained, the crops will not grow well, the swine and the hens will not increase, the

young boy himself will not become a man but will soon die, etc. Such being the consequences of ignoring the rules of diet, it is natural that the boy in whose honour the feast is arranged should conscientiously submit to them and do everything that custom demands of him. When we further consider that during some months previous to the feast he has to behave like a penitent, that he cannot even keep his long hair untied or wear the clothes and ornaments of full-grown men, that he is forbidden to go out hunting and to use lance and blowgun and poisoned arrows, we can understand that the very preparation for the feast is for the young Indian a remarkable exercise in privation and self-control.

The first day of the Kusúpani has the same name as the first day of all feasts: Utsándowai, 'the opening of the feast'. Early in the morning the invited guests enter the house in solemn procession, whereupon a drinking-bout takes place, which is followed by an ordinary meal. The principal ceremonies are performed on the second and third days, and they mainly consist in giving the novice tobacco in different forms and in repeated doses; the old man who acts as a priest (whuéa) makes him take tobacco juice, and he must inhale tobacco smoke. The priest has made a number of big cigars and attached them to a string at regular intervals from one another, the string hanging from one of the central poles of the house. Every time that he wishes to give the novice tobacco he takes one of the cigars from the string, puts it into a long tube of bamboo,

and lights it, using the tube as a mouth-piece. He first draws the smoke into his own mouth and then blows it directly into the mouth of the novice, who has to swallow the smoke and is nearly suffocated. This is repeated several times until the whole cigar is consumed. Immediately after this the priest gives the novice tobacco in liquid form. For this purpose he chews the leaves carefully, spits them out, together with much saliva, into a maize leaf, blows some more tobacco smoke on it, and stirs the whole mass carefully with his finger, whereupon he gives it to the novice to drink. This ceremony is repeated six to eight times on each of the two days of the feast proper, and the strong tobacco medicine cannot of course fail to produce very powerful effects on the youth who receives them on an empty stomach. In the narcotic sleep which [240] will follows, [sic] and in the visions provoked by the drinking of maikoa, with which the feast will end, the novice will see both the arútama and other spirits, who give him advice and information concerning his future.

Among some Jibaro tribes the old man, when blowing smoke, does not use any bamboo tube; he places the burning end of the cigar in his own mouth and the opposite end in the mouth of the novice, blowing vigorously, and the novice has to swallow the smoke.

The Kusúpani ends, like all feasts, with the slaughter of the swine; the novice is ceremonially dressed and painted with genipa, and lastly comes the solemn drinking of

the manioc-wine, whereupon the guests leave. After the feast is thus ended, the novice still has to undergo a concluding ceremony which is rather of a private nature: the drinking of maikoa. This at any rate is the custom among the Upano and Santiago tribes, who celebrate the Kusúpani feast. The drinking of the narcotic generally takes place in the house, but if the youth wishes, he may go to the forest. In the first case all weapons, knives, and dangerous objects are removed so that the youth, in his narcotic condition, may not do any harm. The oldest man in the family prepares the drink in a pininga and gives it to the boy to drink, having muttered an incantation over it. The old man also takes care of him after he has become intoxicated. The effects are soon visible: the old man seizes the narcotized boy from behind with both arms and holds him in this way until he falls asleep. The boy incessantly shouts: tuh, tuh, tuh, tiga, tiga, tiga, as if he were summoning the demons. The old man, again, tries to hasten the coming of the favourable visions by frequently repeating the following words: Tu puhústa, kanárta, wuimekta, aha ista, mama ísta, pa'ándama ísta, kuchi ísta, atáshi ísta, muitsa ísta, nihamánchi ísta, and so on, that is: 'lie down, fall asleep, behold (in visions), behold fields, behold manioc, behold plantains, behold swine, behold hens, behold manioc pots, behold manioc-beer!', etc. Thus both of them, the old man holding the boy with his arms from behind, stagger to and fro in the house, until at last the narcotized boy completely loses consciousness. But even during sleep he has to be

watched attentively because the supposed visions often make him start up out of his sleep and he frequently even becomes violent.

If the novice goes out in the forest the old man accompanies him, gives him tobacco water, makes him take a bath in a waterfall, and then prepares the maikoa in the shelter, looking after him when the effects [241] of it begin to appear. They remain in the forest for three days and nights.

Great attention is, of course, paid to the dreams of the Jibaro youth because in a way they decide his whole future. It is the business of the oldest men of the family to interpret them and to state whether they have been good or bad. The question as to what kinds of dream are regarded as 'good' or 'bad' and the kinds of vision seen will be discussed in the chapter on divination."

"Among the Achuares of the Pastaza the initiation into manhood consists only in drinking maikoa. When the boys attain the age of puberty, which means that they are received among the men and warriors, are allowed to marry, and so on, the following drinking-ceremony takes place. The oldest men of the family or tribe arrange themselves in two parallel rows facing each other. Each man holds a pinings containing a small quantity of maikoa. The novice must now go from the one to the other in due order and take a sip from each pinings, starting with the oldest member of the family. Generally it is easy for him to do this with the first ones, but frequently it is impossible for him to drink from the clay vessels of the last men in the rows. Their contents are then given him in the form of a clyster, the maikoa quantity being injected into his rectum by means of a tube (nángu) consisting of the hollow stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus). It is considered absolutely necessary, it should be understood, that the novice should receive something from the clay vessel of each man.

When the young man has finished drinking the oldest man says to him: 'Do you know now why you have drunk maikoa? 'Yes', the youth answers, 'it is in order that I may become a real man and a brave warrior and that I may be able to marry.'

When the effects of the narcotic manifest themselves in the Jibaro youth and he begins to behave in a foolish way or threatens to become violent, the old man seizes him by the arm, restrains him, and says to him: 'Don't you remember that you have taken

maikoa, what do you intend to do, where are you going?' Then the youth tries to control himself and sits down.

After the lapse of some weeks or months the novice must again drink maikoa in the same way as before, some time later for the third time, and after the lapse of the same period for the fourth time. It is not until then that his noviciate ends and he is allowed to marry.

I have related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaros, and I have [242] now to add a few words as to the significance of the Kusúpani feast, especially as far as the tobacco rites are concerned. The significance of these rites is essentially the same as that of the tobacco ceremonies performed at the feast Noa tsangu. The spirit of tobacco is conjured and its wonderful power is transferred to the boy, who will be filled with it not only for the moment but for many years to come, nay, for his whole life. This power will automatically show itself in all the work and occupations incumbent on him as a male member of society. He will be a brave and successful warrior and be able to kill many enemies; he will be skilled in managing the lance and the blowgun and bring down much game in hunting; he will be dexterous in spearing the big fish and in catching small fish with varvasco poison. But this is not all. The spirits who appear to him in narcotic sleep are believed to teach him such matters also as normally concern directly

only the women, above all as regards the breeding of domestic animals and the cultivation of the fields. This also explains the fact that the newly-initiated Jibaro youth is for some time the adviser of the women in the work and occupations which properly belong entirely to the female domain. Just as the feast Noa tsangu and--as we shall presently see-- the great victory-feast, so the Kusúpani among other things is believed to have the effect of 'increasing the swine and the hens' (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu) and of favourably influencing the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

1: Karsten--243-245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 512, 276 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros begin their day very early, about 3 o [sic] 4 o'clock in the morning, when the crowing cocks announce that a new day is dawning. The house-father is the first who gets up and wakens the other people in the house, especially the women. He arranges the logs forming the fireplace, and blows upon the embers so as to revive the fire. The first thing he does is to prepare his tobacco water. For this purpose he places a small clay pot (yukúnda), half-filled with water, on the fire and puts some tobacco leaves into it. After the water has boiled for a short while, it is allowed to cool somewhat and he then pours a little of its contents into the palm and draws it in through his nose, allowing it to flow out through the mouth. This is repeated three or four times. The tobacco medicine, taken in the early morning, is supposed to have a wonderful power of clearing the head and preserving from disease and witchcraft. Then follows a similar procedure with the guayusa solution. The leaves of this important tree, which grows wild everywhere in the Ecuadorian forests, are likewise boiled in water, and the decoction is appreciated as a tonic and as a purifying medicine. The Indian washes out his mouth with it and sometimes drinks a small quantity, throwing it up afterwards. While the tobacco or the guayusa is boiling, the house-father is generally seen doing some work. He may sit down at the distaff to spin for a short while, or at the loom to weave, or cut arrows, etc. [244]

Meanwhile he considers it is time for his house people to get up too. He shouts in a loud voice: tsaráwi, tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, nandákta, (i. e. 'it is dawning it is

dawning, get up, get up!'). These words are particularly addressed to the wives sleeping in the women's department, but at first they seem to pay no heed to them. After a while therefore the husband again repeats his tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, and later a third time. Gradually the women awake, get up, and start to work, their first task being to bring the house father his usual nihamánchi (manioc-beer). Meanwhile the younger men in the house, the unmarried sons and the sons-in-law, have assembled at the fire-place and all drink the manioc-beer brought by the women. It is now about 6 o'clock in the morning.

At certain times, and especially if the family is threatened by enemies, the house-father, while he is cooking his tobacco water and guayusa, not only awakens his house-people but also delivers a sort of speech to them in which he reminds his sons and sons-in-law of the outrages committed by this and that enemy against the family in former times, and exhorts them to prepare for revenge. The essence of this speech, which is repeated for days and weeks in much the same form will be related in the part dealing with the wars of the Indians.

About 8 o'clock the first meal of the day is taken. As a rule it consists of boiled manioc and boiled or roasted plantain, meat, or fish. This food is prepared by the women in the 'kitchen' (ekínturu) and is taken by them to the men's department, each kind of food on a special, big banana leaf. The leaves are placed on the floor and the

men sit down on small benches to eat. The men and women generally eat separately, the former in the big ante-room (tangámasha), the women and children in the women's department.

After the 'breakfast' the day's work begins. If the weather is fine, the men take their forest knives, lances, and blowguns and go out, some to hunt, others to work in the forest or in the fields; the majority of the women leave for the plantations carrying their baskets and their small babies on their backs. In the middle of the day therefore a Jibaro house is generally almost empty, some old man or woman and some of the bigger children being the only occupants. If a man has several wives, however, one of them as a rule stays at home to look after the house. --All stay away until about 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when they return one after the other, the men usually carrying with them some animal or birds which they have brought down with their blowguns, or fish [245] caught in the river, the women carrying heavy baskets full of manioc, sweet potatoes, and other fruits. It is not until at 4 or 5 o'clock that the second meal of the day is eaten. While out of doors the Jibaro has generally only drunk the manioc-beer he took with him in the form of fermented manioc substance wrapped in banana leaves.

If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc. Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a

rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterized as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros.

The Jibaros generally pass the evening conversing, drinking manioc-beer, and doing some unimportant work in the house by the light of the fires. After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night. Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

"There is hardly a day that the Indians do not receive guests of some kind. In fact, the reception and entertainment of guests fills a good deal of their time and forms a side of their social life which especially attracts the attention of a white visitor. There is a certain difference in the reception, according as the visitors are known to the inhabitants of the house or are complete strangers, but in either case certain ceremonies are considered absolutely necessary. Strangers must announce their arrival by a loud signal when they approach the house, in the way I had to do myself for instance when I visited the Achuares.

If the visitors are friends of the owner of the house or at least known to him, they can enter without further notice. Generally three or more come together; seldom does an Indian pay a visit alone. The guests always come armed with lances, guns, or rifles, and the arms are always taken into the house. When staying in a strange house the Jibaro Indian [246] is never separated from his weapons. This is considered perfectly

natural by the hosts and does not arouse any particular attention. (1)

As soon as the visitors enter, each of them pronounces the word: Winyáhei, 'I have arrived', whereupon they remain standing motionless at the door in a row. Then generally some of the younger boys step forward and hand a small seat (chimbúi) to each of them. They now sit down at the door with their lances stretched out, but do not utter a word. The host of the house at first pays little attention to the guests, but calls out to the women to bring them manioc-beer and starts to arrange his dress. He plaits his long hair in the usual three pigtails, puts on his ear-tubes, paints his face, and puts on

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"1. It is surprising to find, in G. M. Dyott's book On the Trail of the Unknown (p. 180) the following passage: 'On one of my expeditions a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare.' Everybody who has travelled among the Jibaros knows that this statement is the very reverse of the truth. According to local custom it is perfectly natural that all weapons should be taken inside, and I myself and my companions always took our rifles and guns into the Jibaro houses we visited."

a new itípi. Then he seizes his lance, steps up to the guests, takes a seat and sits down in front of them, saying the one word Winlti, i.e. 'may you come'. This for the guests is the 'word of release'. They now start to speak, one at a time, as they are addressed by the host. The speaker explains the aim of his visit, adding that besides this he wanted to see his friends, how they live, whether they are healthy and all right, etc. As long as the guest speaks it is not considered proper for the host to interrupt him except by certain grunts representing assent or approbation, and with confirming words like ita (yes)--ah--um--turáma ('so you have done')--ah--nîkasneiti ('it is true') --máketi ('quite so'), etc. After the guest has finished, it is the host's turn to answer him, the guest only listening and interrupting, as his host had done, by the usual grunts of assent. This conversation lasts for five to ten minutes and must be carried out with each guest separately. Only after the last guest has been greeted in this way and had an opportunity to speak, can all of them leave the door and freely move about the men's department.

The most curious thing in this greeting ceremony, however, is the tone in which the men speak and the way in which the whole conversation is carried on. It is not the ordinary conversational tone; the Indian who is speaking for the moment shouts loudly, and the words follow [247] each other so quickly that to a person who is not well acquainted with the Jibaro language it is extremely difficult to understand what they are saying. During the conversation the host and the guest regard each other with stern

looks just as if they were angry or excited, while they speak they hold the hand to the mouth, and after every fourth or fifth word they spit on the ground, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A listener unacquainted with the customs of the Indians might believe that two madmen are conversing. It may be more to the point however to liken them to two lions, doing their best to arouse mutual respect. The guests drink manioc-beer the whole time they are conversing, it being offered them by two or three women who move continually between the men's ante-room and the 'kitchen' with their piningas."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests part each of them has to address the host in a short speech, the essence of which is always the same and has been related before in connection with the Indian feasts. Generally they address other members of the family too, and other persons staying in the house, with a word answering to our 'Good bye'. This word is Weáhei, 'I go', to which is generalby [sic] added the word Puhústa, 'May you sit down', 'May you stay here in peace'."

L: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--248 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 562 (1928-29)

"Women have no particular greeting ceremonies when they come or go. Still at the great feasts I noticed that parting women took leave of the hostess by fanning her gently on the arms and shoulders with a big leaf, at the same time blowing and spitting on these parts of her body. The hostess returned these expressions of affection which, I was told, are customary at leave-taking among the Jibaro women."

1: Karsten--248-249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 576, 609, 521 (1928-29)

"Ceremonial greetings also take place when two parties of Jibaro Indians suddenly meet on the trail in the virgin forest, even when they are well known to each other. On the other hand, if the Indians are totally unknown to one another the greeting ceremony assumes the form called Enéma. The Enéma is properly a war dance and is especially a preparation for war, so this peculiar ceremony will be described in detail in connection with the wars of the Indians. The Enéma greeting ceremony differs from the war dance Enéma especially as regards the words uttered, though in the former case, too, there is always a menace behind the words and movements. For each party there is the possibility that the other one is travelling with hostile intentions and the very aim of the 'greeting' is to find out whether this is so. Assuming as haughty and arrogant an attitude as possible and facing each other with fierce looks, the Indians in turn and with a thundering voice call out certain questions to one another, accompanying these with threatening movements of the lances. The conversation is generally carried out much in the following manner:

Amuesha ya?, 'Who are you?'
Wétei (Andicheiti), 'I am (my name is) Andiche'.
Amínyu wikáhei, 'I am coming to see you',
Chamurstai--chamursti, (movements with the lance).
Waritkunái --waritkuni, etc. (movements with the lance).

Úruka irúndra wikéima, 'Why do you go united (in a party)?'
Mésechasi, 'Is it in order to make war?'
Tsa, tsa, méseta wikáchahei, 'No, no, we are not going for war',
Pingichichàma wikáhei, 'We are coming to speak nicely (with you)',
Wari sumáktinyu, 'To buy something',
Mésetaka nakítahei, 'We do not like to make war',
Wàriki, wáriki, wikáhei, 'We go only for things (to barter)';
Wínya eíntsu ístinyu, 'To see our own people';
Seàsa itàhei, 'We bring arrow-poison (to sell)';
Nanki itàhei, 'We bring lances (to sell)', etc.
Seasa, akàru sumáktinyu, 'to buy arrow-poison, guns', etc.
Maketi, 'It is all right'. [249]

The conversation having gone on in this way for a while and the peaceful intentions of the strangers having been manifested, the Indians can enter the house and sit down to have manioc-beer, or, if they met in the forest, both parties continue their march."

1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 592, 577 (1928-29)

"Social sympathy and the feeling of solidarity is quite strong within the family and the sub-tribe, the members of which are united by the blood-tie. For instance the close relation between two brothers, and the duties arising therefrom, has already appeared from the custom of levirate, and will be further illustrated in connection with the institution of blood-revenge. Still, even within the family conflicts sometimes arise, it may be on account of the women or the dread of witchcraft, and in a few cases may lead to bloody tragedies. Fights may also arise at the drinking-feasts. In general, social sympathy has not developed among them those extreme forms which it assumes among the more primitive Chaco Indians, where it has led to a sort of practical communism or socialism, at least as regards food; but the Jibaros, supporting life with ease with their own work, are not dependent on one another to the same extent. We have seen for instance that great hospitality is shown to such strangers as are regarded as friends; but this hospitality is not, so to speak, a natural virtue, but a matter of etiquette, or more strictly speaking, a custom forming part and parcel of Indian 'diplomacy'. Ownership is strictly respected: everybody in the house, not only the family-father but also the wives and the children, have their private property--mostly consisting of ornaments of some kind--over which they have full control. Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at

variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

1: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--251 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 565, 621 (1928-29)

"Since there exists no society in the strict sense of the word apart from the family, it is natural that social classes, distinctions between fich and poor, etc, are also non-existent, like the distinction between rulers and ruled. If we may speak of a 'government', it is a purely patriarchal one, the head of the family and the owner of the house being at the same time the 'chief' of this small community, theoretically even with absolute power. It is of particular interest to see how he exercises this power in practice."

"According to the primitive view prevailing among most South Ameri-[252] can tribes newborn infants are the exclusive property of their parents, who therefore have the right to kill them if they choose. Thus infanticide exists both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, although it is restricted to the more or less exceptional cases I have mentioned before. The former frequently put the child to death when the woman has become pregnant by a man belonging to a strange tribe; but above all monsters and deformed children are made away with directly after birth, i.e. children which among the Jibaros pass under the name of pasúna. We have seen that such children are often believed to be born as the result of unlawful marriages and that they are ascribed to mysterious demoniacal influence. In these cases consequently infanticide is due, not to the lack of parental feeling, but to pure superstition. Such a child, according to their opinion, is in fact not a human being at all, but a demon whose appearance in the tribe is regarded as extremely unlucky. The birth of a pasúna is one of the cases where not only the individual family but the whole sub-tribe is concerned; epidemics and general misfortune may be the consequence of it. Among the Canelos Indians it is the same with twins, of which, as I have stated, the second is always killed as being a supai huahua, 'the son of a demon'.

That infanticide is not due to the lack of parental feeling is evident. Even the savage Jibaro father is very fond of his children and takes care of them in every possible way,

subjecting himself even to considerable privations for a long time for the sake of a new-born son. The customs practiced in connection with the birth of a child at Canelos show that these Indians also constantly have the welfare of their young children in view."

1: Karsten--252-253 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 888 (1928-29)

"The position of old people, and more particularly of old men, is of special interest. How the power of a man increases with age appears nowhere more clearly than in the Jibaro society. We have frequently noticed that at the great feasts the ceremonies are always conducted by some old man or woman (generally called whuéa and ohâha) who, for instance, have to administer the juice of tobacco and other medicines taken on these occasions. The great victory feast, described in the next part of this work, will give us further instances of it. It is difficult to define more closely the true nature of the 'power' which, according to Indian belief, is increased in man with increasing age, and which explains the respect paid to old people and especially to old men. It is natural that, owing to their experience of life, they represent the wisdom of the tribe, just as they are the sole authorities on religion as well as on [253] custom. But 'experience' to the Indian means something more than to civilized man; it means mysterious magical or supernatural power. Every action of an old person, experienced in a particular sphere of activity, has therefore special emphasis, and every important rite or ceremony at a feast must consequently be performed by such aged persons, specially elected for the purpose. Even if an old man is not a professional medicine-man he is, according to Indian views, always more or less versed in magic. This to him means social influence and authority, or at any rate secures for him respectful treatment, although he may be physically decrepit and unable to work. Thus both the Jibaros and the Canelos

1: Karsten--252-253 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 888 (1928-29)

Indians believe that old men may, after death or even in their lifetime, appear in the shape of jaguars, anacondas, or other formidable or dangerous animals and in this disguise punish their relatives for neglect of duty. --The peculiar view that the Jibaros have about old men will be referred to again in connection with their war chiefs."

"Some words may be added as to the position of the women. Those few writers who have touched upon the social position of the Jibaro woman have described it in that biassed and erroneous way which has been the rule especially among missionaries when they have dealt with the position of women in savage societies: she is nothing but an oppressed slave, without rights, and hardly regarded as a personality at all.(1) The truth is that the married Jibaro woman is not only completely independent within her own sphere of activity, but exercises a remarkable social influence and authority even in matters which mainly concern the husband. It is interesting to state in this respect that a family-father never sells fruit or other articles of food without the consent of his

"1. It is difficult to give a more incorrect idea of the position of the Jibaro woman than Rivet gives in the following words: 'Méprisées par leurs mari elles ne sont que des esclaves destinées à le servir, à préparer le chicha et les aliments, à filer et à tisser le coton, à cultiver le chacra qui entoure la maison.' (Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 59). The ignorance of the customs of the Jibaros upon which this statement is based may be inferred even from the fact that spinning and weaving ('filer et tisser') are occupations exclusively incumbent on the men. A similar erroneous account is given by Vacas Galindo in Nankijukima, p. 121 sq., who was probably Rivet's authority."

wife. There are, I think, few civilized societies where the man so unfailingly asks his wife's advice, even in unimportant matters, as among these savages. It occurred very frequently during my travels in the forest that I paid visits to the Jibaro houses to buy manioc or bananas, and received from the 'autocrat' of the house the answer: 'I must first ask [254] my wife.' Frequently the wife happened to be absent for the moment and then the answer was: 'Wait a while until my wife arrives.' I saw that there was a store of manioc and bananas in the house, and it would have been an easy thing for the man to give me immediately what I wanted to buy; yet he compelled me to wait for a long while, perhaps for hours, only to be able to ask his wife's permission to make the insignificant bargain. Still one can understand this consideration for the housewife when articles of food are in question. Since the wife is the keeper of the food and is responsible for the existence of a store sufficient for the needs of the family, it is natural that she should also be allowed to decide how much of it can be given to strangers. But her influence seems to be about the same in other matters. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when I tried to find an Indian to go with me on a certain journey, I frequently received the same answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.' On one occasion a middle-aged Indian at Canelos had already given me a half-promise to accompany me on a long journey by canoe. The definite arrangement depended on the assent of his

wife. When later he asked her, however, she made objections, the result being that the Indian finally declined to enter into my service. When a thing, however insignificant, was to be bartered, the women always wished to have a voice--and their decision was generally final. It might seem natural that the men alone should have the right to decide, for instance, respecting feather ornaments and other ornaments which they themselves make and only they use, things which in fact are always regarded as strictly personal property. Still even when trying to barter for such ornaments I frequently received the usual answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.'

Such instances unquestionably make the theoretical 'autocracy' of the Jibaro husband appear in a somewhat curious light.

It would therefore be a great mistake to infer, from the cruelty with which adultery is often punished, that the Jibaro women are generally badly treated by their husbands; the very reverse is the rule. Of the relations between husband and wife in the Jibaro family it may be proper to say that it is regulated according to the principle: 'The man governs, but the woman holds sway.' That the Jibaro woman is by no means a slave to her hubband but is able, when the situation requires, to maintain her independence, appears for instance from the following incident which I witnessed on my last journey among the Indians. The wife of my old friend Angoasha, Yanua by name, had gone out to the [255] fields to fetch fruit with the younger women. When they returned late in the

evening. they were received with reproaches by Angoasha because he and the other men were running short of manioc-beer and the women had not arrived in time to brew any more. But Tanua who had been working hard the whole day was not disposed to accept any blame which in her opinion was wholly unjustified.

'Brew manioc-beer for yourself', she called out in indignation. 'Who would clean the fields and who would carry home the manioc, the sweet potatoes, and the earth-nuts if we women did not do it?'

'Why must the women always brew the manioc-beer?' asked one of the younger women. 'The men themselves may do it; then they will not be dependent on us'.

Angoasha answered nothing, probably because he realized that the objection was justified."

1: Karsten--255-256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

"That conjugal love and affection also exist among savages like the Jibaros, I was frequently able to confirm myself. Thus even young girls of 8 or 10 years seemed to be most tenderly attached to their husbands or fiancés, who were many years older than themselves. When I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians they sometimes took their wives with them, especially to carry the fermented manioc substance, indispensable on all their journeys. On these occasions I had an opportunity to witness how my Indian baggage-bearers took care of their wives on the way, helping them to wade across the rapid streams and to climb the steep hills.

It may perhaps still be objected that the division of labour is unfavourable to the Jibaro woman, the heaviest work being incumbent on her. Precisely this assumption must be termed erroneous, as ought to be sufficiently clear from my previous statements. Thus the heaviest work in agriculture is no doubt the rough work, the felling of the giant trees and the removing of the trunks, as well as the clearing of the ground. This work, which requires great bodily strength, is always--among the Jibaros as among other Indians in Western Amazonas--performed by the men. Agriculture in the proper sense of the word, the sowing and planting, the clearing of the land, etc., is work that must be done by the women. The latter have also to carry home the fruits they cultivate--though not the plantain which is cultivated by the men--and it must be admitted that the baskets containing manioc are frequently very heavy. The big trunks and other kinds of material required for the constructing of houses, on the other hand,

are always brought by the men, [256] like the heavy logs of chonta wood used as fuel in the houses. As a general rule it may be stated that the heaviest work in the Indian society is done by the men, whereas occupations requiring less physical strength or more adapted for the weaker sex are incumbent on the women. But whatever the division of labour may be, it has nothing to do with the 'egotism' of the men and their desire to oppress the weaker members of the community.

The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of bloodguiltiness, e. g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance.

The high esteem which the Jibaro woman enjoys cannot, however, be properly understood unless we realize that it has, so to speak, its foundation in the Indians' view of the world. When describing the 'feast of the women' I mentioned the mysterious influence

a family-mother is believed to exert upon all those departments of life where she is active, an influence which is increased by artificial means. Only a woman can act upon the female spirit of the manioc plant so as to make it produce an abundant crop; cultivated by a man it would yield but a meagre harvest. Only under a woman's care will the swine and the fowls increase and thrive, and the hunting-dogs become able to trace the game. With no education by a prudent and skilful mother, the sons and daughters would hardly grow up brave men and intelligent family-mothers. The man who does not own a good wife, properly initiated during the 'feast of the women', will soon find himself deprived of the necessaries of life, nay, will see his whole household ruined, however well he may have been provided in the beginning with fields and domestic animals. Hence the extraordinary importance and the great social influence of the Jibaro woman."

1: Karsten--259 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 181 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are no doubt at present the most warlike of all Indian tribes in South America. The blood-feuds within the tribes and the wars of extermination between the different tribes are continuous, being nourished by their superstitious belief in witchcraft. These wars are the greatest curse of the Jibaros and are felt to be so even by themselves, at least so far as the feuds within the tribes are concerned. On the other hand, the wars are to such a degree one with their whole life and essence that only powerful pressure from outside or a radical change of their whole character and moral views could make them abstain from them. This one may judge even from the fact that from a victory over his enemies the Jibaro warrior not only expects honour and fame in the ordinary sense of the word but also certain material benefits. The head trophy which he takes from his slain enemy is not merely a token of victory, but becomes a fetish charged with supernatural power, and the great victory-feast itself with its many mysterious ceremonies in fact forms a part of the practical religion or cult of the Jibaros.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusúpani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house, 'etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

I: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place."

1: Karsten--260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 787, 276, 726 (1928-29)

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

"That the Jibaros are professional warriors also appears from the way in which they construct their houses and from the defensive measures to which they have recourse when particularly threatened by their enemies. The houses themselves are constructed with great care, and as we have seen, even in times of peace are provided with walls of strong chonta poles. When a family is particularly threatened by enemies the house is fortified in a special way. On the outer side of the ordinary wall another wall is made, consisting of big chonta stems, so that the house has two walls, one close to the other (Pl. X, 3,4). Within the houses, all along the walls, a number of small rooms or partitions, about 1 meter in height, are likewise made of chonta poles, each having a small hole in the outside through which the warrior can shoot his attacking enemy. There is one such small room for each defender of the house. The partitions will afford the warrior protection in case the enemies are able to penetrate into the house. As to the doors, there are two in each Jibaro house, one at each end of the house, one for the men, the other for the women. These doors generally consist of six chonta poles, the upper ends of which are united by means of strong lianas, while the nether ends are free and can be separated from each other, three to each side, making an opening of triangular form. The whole opening is so small, however, that only one man at a time with some difficulty can enter the house. During the night the poles forming the doors are always carefully closed and fastened by a transverse pole applied to the inner side,

so that the entrance of undesirable persons is made impossible. Even the outer wall in a fortified house has a special door consisting of similar poles, which can be closed from the inside.

Not only the houses themselves but also the manioc and banana plantations situated close by are protected in a similar way by high fences [262] of strong chonta poles. The aim of this arrangement is to prevent the enemy from approaching the house through the plantations.

Formerly, before the use of firearms was so general among the Jibaros as it is now, the chiefs especially were in the habit of constructing a sort of war tower at one end of their houses. These towers were of quadratic form and sometimes 20 or 30 meters in height. On the top of it there was a small room about 4 meters in quadrate and with walls about 1 meter in height, made of strong chonta poles, which protected the defender against the lances of the enemies. The whole thing rested upon pillars of the stem of the chonta palm, and the warrior ascended along a stair consisting of wooden logs with incisions which gave him foothold. These war towers were called kumbinta. After the Jibaros began to make use of firearms in their wars these measures of defence proved less fit for the purpose, and consequently were no longer used."

1: Karsten--262-264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116 712 411 (1928-29)

"It is still common among the Jibaros to arrange a kind of trap on the way which leads to the house and where one expects the enemy will try to approach it. One such trap consists of a round hole in the ground, about 1 1/2 meters deep and large enough for a full-grown man to fall into it. At the bottom of the hole three pointed sticks of chonta, resembling points of lances, are arranged in an erect position. These pointed sticks are called ashi. The part which sticks out from the earth has a length of about half a meter. At the surface of the earth the opening of the hole is covered with small sticks and leaves which makes it difficult or impossible for the enemy, creeping along in the darkness, to discover its presence before he falls into it. When he falls his feet are transfixed by the pointed sticks and he is not able to get out. Besides, the defenders of the house are often keeping watch at these holes, ready to dispatch the enemy when he is caught in them. The Jibaros call these traps mesértinyu whua, ' a hole of death'.

Another kind of trap, which likewise is arranged on the narrow path leading to the house, is the following: it consists of a small tree, growing close to the path, which is bent down; or of a big branch of a tree, one end of which is fixed in the ground so that with the latter it forms an angle of about 30°. To the upper end of this branch eight pointed chonta sticks are attached in such a way that they form as it were a comb. The branch is bent back like a bow against a couple of poles fixed in the ground for the purpose, to which it is attached by means of a strong liana in a certain ingenious way that

cannot be fully described in words. Across the path a few inches over the ground another liana is stretched [263] and tied at one of the poles just mentioned. Between this liana and the liana holding the bent branch there is such a connection that when the foot of the enemy touches the former, the bow is released, and the comb with the pointed chonta sticks will strike him with terrible force in the face or the chest. The liana stretched across the path is sometimes covered with leaves in order that the enemy may not notice it, but besides, even this weapon is calculated to operate mainly in the darkness, since the attacks are nearly always made at night. The trap described (Fig. 7) is called tambunchi by the Jibaros and singbraru by the Quichua-speaking Canelos Indians.

Whereas the tambunchi has been used by the Jibaros since ancient times, the following defensive measure is of modern origin. Across the path along which the enemy is expected to come a blackened string is stretched at such a height that it is level with a man's chest. At the tree where one end of the string is fastened a charged and cocked rifle is tied, with the barrel fixed in the direction of the string. The end of the string is fixed in such connection with the trigger of the rifle that when the enemy, coming along in the darkness, gives it a push, the shot is discharged and is likely to hit him in the chest. Even if he should [264] escape being hit, the shot would warn the inhabitants of the house that enemies are approaching."

l: Karsten--264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 181, 722 (1928-29)

"All these precautions in their way illustrate the almost maniacal suspiciousness and dread of enemies which dominates the Jibaros. The mere discovery of mysterious footprints in the neighbourhood of the house, left by unknown Indians who apparently have gone sneaking about at night, may cause an indescribable excitement in the inhabitants. The footprints are carefully examined for the sake of ascertaining from what tribe they originate, message is sent to neighbouring houses, where further inquiries are made. 'We have found such and such footprints near our house, they are not like the feet of anybody from our own tribe, no one of our relations walks in that way, they must originate from strangers, may be of that and that tribe. Have you noticed anything exciting suspicion in the neighbourhood of your house or seen any strange Indians?', and so forth. Assuming that the mysterious footprints might possibly have been left by enemy spies who are planning an attack against the house, the inhabitants continue their inquiries with the energy that the Jibaros generally display when an important enterprise is in question, and take measures of defence."

1: Karsten--264 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 534, 722, 202 (1928-29)

"The big signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, also plays a part in the wars, although originally it seems to have been a purely religious instrument. At times when there is fear of an attack of enemies it is placed outside the house on the hill, and the beats may then be heard at a distance of several miles. The drum tundúi is beaten when the Jibaros drink the narcotics maikoa and natéma--in which case the object is to summon the spirits that inhabit these sacred drinks--also after a death, and lastly to give friends notice of an attack by enemies. In the latter case the signalling consists of a series of short and fast beats at a time which is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. When the friends in the other houses hear these beats they say: Pakinmawae, 'they are killing'. Hence this whole mode of signaling is called Pakinmawae. As soon as the inhabitants of a house get knowledge of or suspect the presence of enemies, and also during the attack, if there is time for it, they try by beating the tundúi to summon their friends for rescue, and the singalling may sometimes cause the enemy, fearing the arrival of help, to give up his evil intention and take flight."

1: Karsten--264-265 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116. 411, 177 (1928-29)

"The principal weapons of war of the Jibaro Indians are the lance (nánki) and the shield (tandara), the former being used for attack, [265] the latter for defence. Nowadays the Jibaros, besides these weapons, also commonly use firearms (akáru) received from the whites, generally in exchange for a human head (tsántsa). The lance should be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, if possible the kind of chonta cultivated by the Jibaros (called ui). The head is of prismatic shape and with the shaft forms a single piece. Formerly the Jibaros also used lance-heads made of the leg-bones of the jaguar or the bear, which were fitted into shafts of chonta, or shafts made another kind of wood and painted red with the paint called yukáipi. These lances were moreover frequently adorned with showy parrot feathers. Lances adorned in this way are no longer encountered anywhere, but on the other hand those provided with iron heads and shafts of yukáipi are not seldom seen. A special power is ascribed to the chonta lance owing to the belief that the spiny chonta palm itself is a demoniac tree, the seat of a spirit (wakáni or iguánchi). The chonta lance therefore inspires not only men but also spirits and demons with fear. Hence at the Tsantsa-feast the head-trophy is always kept tied to a chonta lance at those moments when it is not needed for the ceremonies."

"The shield (tandára) is made of the enormously big air roots of the giant tree which is called kámaka by the Jibaros and llanchámа by the Indians of Canelos (Bombax ceiva), a kind of wood which has the advantage of being at once light and strong. It is always round in form and wrought of one single piece, although the shields are sometimes very large, 80 to 90 centímetres in diameter." Just as is the case at the making of other important objects, the Indian has to observe certain rules of abstinence while he is making the shield, work which of course requires a long time. During the days that he makes the rough work he partly fasts, especially abstaining from eating batatas or sweet potatoes (Convolvulus batatas), called inchi by the Jibaros. If he eats this fruit, the shield will mould, rot, and become useless. This superstition is due to the fact that the sweet potato has the same appearance as mouldy or rotten wood. During the same days the maker likewise abstains from cohabiting with his wives, for if he has intercourse with a woman the shield will get warped or burst, and consequently spoiled.

The CANELOS INDIANS, at the making of the shield, formerly observed the following rules. The rough work was carried out in four days. The Indian worked every day from early morning until noon. During the whole forenoon, until the work was finished for that day, he fasted and did not eat or drink anything. As soon as the work was finished at noon [266] he had chincha (manioc beer), and in the afternoon he could also eat other kinds of food. While working upon the shield he observed the rule not to speak

to anybody, but kept strict silence. Nor did he, during the four days and nights, cohabit with his wife. If he infringed these rules the shield would get lumpy or burst, or be attacked by mould.

As soon as the shield is made it is often painted on the outside with the black dye obtained from the genipa fruit, called sua by the Jibaros. The patterns represent spirits (wakani, supai), giant snakes (pangi, amárun), butterflies (wambishku), and other animals. These patterns are supposed to inspire the enemy with fear and to give strength and courage to the warrior himself. Nowadays such ornamented shields are no longer made and seldom encountered in Indian houses. A unique shield of this kind which I obtained from the Jibaros is now in the ethnographic museum of Gothenburg.

The Jibaros use shields of two kinds. Some are very large and somewhat heavy and are used only for defence within the house. The shield rests against the ground or against a round seat of the kind the Jibaros use, and the warrior with his lance tries to defend himself against the enemy penetrating into the house. Other kinds of shields are smaller and lighter and are carried by the Indians on war expeditions.

The shield of the Jibaro Indians is not only a weapon of defence, but also a religious instrument, a fact that everybody who takes part in their victory-feasts is able to establish. The tandára is full of magic power, and when is [sic] is beaten with the lance in a particular way, this is in fact a sort of religious or magical ceremony which is

believed to inspire the spirits--first of all the spirit of the slain enemy--with fear. The ceremony referred to is called Yáktinyu."

1: Karsten--266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 713 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros never use blowpipes and poisoned arrows in their wars, but only for hunting. They believe that if they kill a man with a poisoned arrow that poison will no longer do for killing an animal or bird of the forest. Besides, it seems that the poisoned arrows are not regarded as a sufficiently effective weapon to fight men with. The Indian, when killing his enemy, desires to inflict as large wounds and to shed as much blood as possible, a fact that explains his predilection for the lance as a weapon of war."

b Karsten--267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701, 827 (1928-29)

"The dignity of a chieftain is hereditary in a relative sense, in so far that the son of a chief is generally elected chief in time of war after his father has died or grown decrepit. This, however, can only take place if he has proved a valiant and skilled warrior and has killed enemies. No Jibaro is selected as a chief if he has not killed at least one enemy. The Jibaros have absolute faith in the heritability of prominent qualities, and ascribe extraordinary importance to education and the power of example. The son of a great chief, they say, must necessarily also become an able warrior because he is, as it were, a direct continuation of his father, has received a careful education for the deeds of war, and has always had the good example of his great father before his eyes."

1: Karsten- 267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 592, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros as we have seen each family father is theoretically absolute ruler over his house people, and in times of peace there is no recognized common chief even within the tribe, and still less any exercising authority over several tribes. The Jibaros have not even a proper name for a chief. The word capitu, which is sometimes used, is borrowed from the Spanish and is used principally to denote a white man of importance. It is only in times of war that a chieftainship exists; that is to say, during those great wars of extermination which are carried out against other Jibaro tribes. Such a temporary chief of war is generally only called únta, 'the old one', because the chiefs are nearly always old, experienced men who have killed many enemies and captured many heads. The small blood-feuds within the tribe, on the other hand, have a more private character and as a rule are not fought out under the leadership of a common chief."

1: Karsten--267-268 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"The authority of the chief elected for a war is very great. It is he alone who arranges everything for the expedition planned, who decides [268] about the time for and the mode of making the attack, and the younger warriors oblige themselves to obey him in everything. But as soon as a war has been carried to a successful end the power of the chief ceases, and he has, in spite of the great repute he always enjoys, no more authority or right to decide about the doings of his tribesmen than any other family-father among the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--269-270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 627 (1928-29)

"Since supposed sorcery is nearly always the nearest cause of murders within the tribe, it is clear that the professional sorcerers or medi-[270] cine men are those members of Jibaro society which are most frequently exposed to the revengeful attacks of their enemies. As a matter of fact, in large Indian societies sorcerers are very often assassinated, or at least threatened with death, by their enemies. When a medicine-man has undertaken to cure a sick person and the latter dies in spite of the treatment, the 'doctor' is also generally made responsible for the death, the relatives of the dead reasoning that the medicine-man, instead of curing the patient, on the contrary used his art to kill him. The unsuccessful curer is therefore murdered unless he escapes by flight. Since the Jibaros, on the whole, do not recognize what we call a natural death but always attribute a death to supernatural causes, any death among them tends to give rise to a murder, the relatives of the deceased considering it as their duty to take revenge upon the supposed author of the accident."

1: Karsten--270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 887 (1928-29)

". . . . among the Jibaros the professional medicine-men are not the only persons who know about sorcery and witchcraft. Most old men, and especially the chiefs, are more or less initiated in the art."

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (súngura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (sungura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i.e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused wilfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out

against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

1: Karsten--271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116 775 152 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc.--we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

1: Karsten--272-274. (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 672, 627, 828 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros blood-revenge is not strictly individualized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the slayer. The Jibaro certainly first of all wants to take revenge on the person who committed the crime, but if he cannot be caught it may instead be directed against some one of his relatives--his brother, his father, even his mother or sister. To understand this we have to consider that the conception of individual personality, and consequently of individual responsibility, does not exist among the primitive Indians in the same sense as among civilized peoples. The individual forms an inseparable part of a whole, namely, of the family or tribe to which he belongs. Especially the members of the same family are regarded as, so to speak, organically coherent with each other, so that one part stands for all and all [273] for one. What happens to one member of that social unit happens to all, and for the deed of one member the rest are held equally responsible. How the Jibaros conceive this connection appears from certain of their social customs. For instance, custom requires that after a child is born the parents shall fast and observe other rules of abstinence for a couple of years, or until the child is weaned. This is due to the idea that something of the souls or essence of the parents inheres in the child, so that all three in one way form a single organism, a single personality. But this mystic connection between the parents and the child also subsists after the child has grown up, although perhaps less intimately. Similarly the tie which unites brothers and sisters

in a family is so intimate that they may be said together to form one organic whole. Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when one member of the family is sick the rest have to diet in the same way as the patient himself, for if they eat unsuitable food it would be the same as if the patient ate that food, and his condition would grow worse. From the same point of view we have to explain the custom prevailing among the Jibaros that when a man dies his brother must marry the widow. The departed husband, who is still jealous of the wife he left behind, does not cede her to any other man than his brother, who with himself forms one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. When a younger Jibaro is murdered by his enemies the duty of revenging his death is also first of all incumbent on his brothers.

The Jibaro cannot even distinguish his own personality from his material belongings, at least not from things he has made himself. When he makes a shield, a drum, a blowgun, or some other delicate object, he has to diet and observe abstinence in other ways; for, according to his belief, he actually puts something of his own personality, his own soul, into the object he is making. His own properties, both the essential and habitual ones and those occasionally acquired through eating a certain food, etc., will therefore be transferred to that object. The division of labour existing among the Indians depends on the same peculiar view. Thus, for instance, the Indian woman has

to make the clay vessels and manage these utensils, because the clay of which they are made, like the earth itself, is female--that is, has a woman's soul. She is connected with the fire and has to cook the food, because the fire has a female soul, etc.

Such a view prevailing among the Indians, it is easy to understand that a Jibaro, in regard to the murder of one of his relatives, asks not [274] so much which individual has committed the deed, but rather reasons in the following way: 'A member of that family has murdered my relative; consequently, in revenge, some member of that family must die'."

1: Karsten--274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 672 (1928-29)

"When a murder committed by tribesman is to be avenged, the social morality of the Jibaros requires that the punishment shall be meted out with justice, in so far that for one life which has been taken only one life should be taken in retaliation. Thereupon the blood-guilt is atoned for (tumáshi akérkama) and the offended family is satisfied. Consequently, if a Jibaro Indian wishes to avenge the murder of his brother, it may well happen that he, if the slayer himself cannot be caught and punished, will assassinate his brother or father instead of him, but he does not take the life of more than one member of the family, even if he has an opportunity of killing more. If he, for instance, killed not only the murderer himself but also one of his brothers, this would awaken indignation in the whole tribe, and it would be considered just that the family thus offended in its turn should take revenge. The blood guilt in such a case has passed to the original avenger. This principle, which requires that there shall be justice in the retaliation so that life is weighed against life, in itself of course has a tendency to limit blood-revenge. It happens, however, in many cases, and especially when supposed witchery is in question, that the person accused of the crime does not admit the guilt, but asserts that he and his family are innocently persecuted by the relatives of the dead. If then he or a member of his family is murdered, his relatives try, in their turn, to take revenge, and so on, in which case the blood feud tends to become prolonged indefinitely."

1: Karsten--274 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 602 (1928-29)

"Though, as we have seen, among the Jibaros blood-revenge takes place with regard to members of the same sub-tribe, this is not so when a crime is committed within the family. Among these Indians it sometimes occurs that a man kills his brother, if the latter, for instance, has seduced his wife or bewitched one of his children. But in this case blood-revenge is not generally taken, inasmuch as the natural avengers--that is, the father and the remaining brothers--abstain from carrying it out. 'It is enough that one member of our family has died, 'they say, 'why should we deprive ourselves of one more?' The slayer is consequently pardoned. The absence of blood-revenge in a case like this is due to the natural sympathy which the avengers feel for the slayer, as well as to the consideration that by killing him they would only harm themselves, by weakening the power and influence of the family."

1; Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

1: Karsten--275-277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 619, 721, 754 (1928-29)

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called túnchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would,

gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 619 (1928-29)

"Often the hostility between two tribes is only latent, becoming suddenly active through some chance incident, when a war ensues. Thus, as already mentioned, a series of deaths, which are attributed to the evil art of the treacherous enemy, may occasion a war. It also occurs that an Indian, travelling through the territory of a foreign tribe, with which his own stands on no friendly terms, is assassinated by the secret enemies of his own people, who cannot abstain from taking the opportunity. Such an assassination may be the signal for a general war of extermination between the two tribes. This was, for instance, the original cause of the war which, during my sojourn on the Rio Upano, was carried on between some tribes of the Upano and the Santiago on one side, and the Huambiza Indians on the Morona on the other. The son of an influential Indian on the Rio Santiago had, on account of some old quarrel, been murdered while travelling through the land of the Huambiza Indians. The tribesmen of the murdered Indian applied to the Jibaros on the Upano for assistance. The assistance was given, some 40 Upano Indians going down the river to join their friends on the Santiago and marching with them against the Huambizas."

1: Karsten--277-278 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas the small feuds within the sub-tribes have the character of a private blood-revenge, based on the principle of just retaliation, the wars between the different tribes are in principle wars of extermination. In these there is no question of weighing life against life; the aim is to completely annihilate the enemy tribe, all members of which form one organic whole and are animated by the same feelings and mode of thought. The victorious party is all the more anxious to leave no single person of the enemy's people, not even small children, alive, as they fear lest these should later appear as avengers against the victors. As already pointed out, it is also solely in such wars against foreign tribes that trophies are made of the heads of the enemies killed.

The wars of the Jibaro Indians are thus in their nature nothing but wars of revenge, and never aim at territorial conquests. The Jibaros, [278] in reality, fear and detest the country of their enemies, where secret supernatural dangers may threaten them even after they have conquered their natural enemies. The sorcerers of the hostile tribe may have left their witching arrows everywhere, on the road, in the forest, in the houses, with the result that the invading enemies may be hit by them when they least expect it. The land of the enemy is therefore abandoned as soon as possible. Besides, the Jibaros who inhabit endless virgin forests, where they can make new settlements almost anywhere have no need to conquer the territory of other tribes."

1; Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 754 (1928-29)

"When among the Jibaros a family father, especially a chief or a great warrior, dies, and a medicine-man, by drinking natéma, has established not only that death has been caused by witchcraft but also who the wizard is, it is incumbent on his nearest male relations, and first of all on his sons, to take revenge on the supposed assassin. At the death-bed of the father they make a solemn promise to fulfil this duty. Often the sons alone carry out the sanguinary business. If the sorcerer has many supporters they join the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased. Sometimes the conspirators also ask the advice of the chief of the tribe, but the latter generally does not take part in such a private feud unless he has some personal interest in it."

1: Karsten--279 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arútama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself. 'That sorcerer who has bewitched your father you will conquer and kill'. Or they say: 'If you make war against that sorcerer now, you will not succeed in killing him, but you will be killed yourself.' In the latter case the avenger desists from his plan, at least for the present. Again, if the answer is favourable, he with his followers makes the last preparations for the attack."

1: Karsten--279-280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Such an attack is sometimes planned and carried out in the greatest [280] secrecy. Sometimes, and more frequently, the victim is threatened beforehand, the avenger letting him know what fate is awaiting him. He may then save himself by quickly fleeing to another part of the country. But it may happen that he sends his enemies the following menacing challenge: 'I have been told that you intend to assault and kill me. All right; you may come if you have valour. I do not fear you, and I am ready to receive you.' Such resolute behaviour may cause the enemy to desist from the planned attack or to postpone it to another more opportune time. Among the Jibaros there also exists the following custom, through which the Indians try to inspire the enemy they want to kill with fear. Of a piece of manioc the likeness of a human head in miniature is formed, which is supposed to represent the enemy threatened. This head is put on the top of a stick, and the stick is fixed in the ground in the neighbourhood of the enemy's house. This procedure is supposed to have some power of promoting the plans of the avenger."

1: Karsten-- 280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 302, 276 (1928-29)

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

"The attack is carried out in different ways, depending on the circumstances. Sometimes the victim is attacked in his house at night, sometimes while he is working outside or travelling. In the former case the assault is made a little before dawn, at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning. The Jibaros begin their day very early, and the family father is the first who gets up. Since it is difficult or impossible to force the entrance, the enemies generally avail themselves of the opportunity when he opens the door to perform his necessary duties. At this moment they rush upon him and kill him with their lances. If they are armed with guns or rifles and the house is not especially fortified, they creep along to the wall and through an opening in it try to give the sorcerer the death-dealing shot while he is sitting at the fire preparing his tobacco water or his guayusa. Having accomplished the deed, the assassins quickly steal away, leaving the rest of the inhabitants of the house unmolested.

It is, however, easier to kill the enemy while he is outside the house, [281] working or occasionally wandering in the forest. The conspirators beforehand carefully inquire about the movements of the intended victim, and ambush a place along the path where he has to pass. This place is generally one where some natural obstacle appears, consisting of a small rivulet which the sorcerer has to wade across, or of a swamp where he is obliged to go slowly. Sometimes they also put up along the path some of the secret signs which the Jibaros use as road marks, or to give friends indications as to the direction they ought to take. When the sorcerer arrives here, he stops to

examine what the mark means. At this moment the enemies rush forward and pierce him with their lances or shoot him to death. The dead body is left lying on the path or is thrown into the forest.

Naturally it also happens that the sorcerer is able successfully to defend himself, nay, even to kill his assailants. The sorcerers are nearly always also warriors--a fact quite natural on account of the danger of their profession--and always go armed, one threatened by his enemies, of course, being especially on the alert."

1: Karsten--281-282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 784 (1928-29)

"On the return from such a feud the avengers have for some time to observe certain rules of precaution with regard to their mode of life. The restrictions laid upon them are, however, much milder than those a Jibaro has to observe after he has killed an enemy of a foreign tribe, and essentially consist in fasting and sexual abstinence. During the two first days the slayer or slayers must abstain from drinking manioc beer (nihamanchi), the national beverage of the Jibaro Indians. His food consists of boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma, or of another kind of root fruit resembling the manioc, called sangu by the Jibaros and mandi in the Quichua language. He likewise eats a dish prepared of manioc and the leaves of the plant sangu, called ambi. He is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, as well as the flesh of the large wild hog (unta pakki), and of any kind of monkey. On the other hand, he is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the small rodent agouti (kayúka). He eats only the small birds of the forest which are killed with the blowpipe and nonpoisoned arrows. He eats only the smallest kinds of fish living in the rivers, a kind of sardine, and small shellfishes (chumakaí, sháchma). This diet is continued for two or three months. During the first month after having killed the sorcerer the Jibaro is likewise forbidden to sleep in his house, and passes his nights in a small ranch made on the bank of the river. After the lapse of the month he goes to a natural small waterfall (paccha or sasa) and takes a cold bath, letting the water fall on his naked [282] body. After this purification he returns to his home and may sleep in his house, not with his wife, but in the

ante-room or department of the men (called tangámasha). This sexual abstinence is observed as long as the fasting, namely, for two, or, among some Jibaros, three months. If the rules mentioned are infringed by the slayer the soul of the killed enemy, who constantly follows him thirsting for revenge, will take his life."

1: Karsten--282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas this blood-revenge within the tribe is most often carried out simply through assassinations, the feuds fought out between the different tribes are naturally on a larger scale and with more reason deserve the name of 'war'. In all his feuds, however, the Indian, if possible, avoids open fights, having recourse to treachery, assassinations, and sudden, generally night attacks. But if a real combat and hand-to-hand fighting ensue, the Jibaro warrior often displays both valour and contempt of death, a fact that is fully proved by the history of the Indians. Not to take flight, not to abandon his comrades in such a situation, but gallantly to meet the enemy with lance and shield, is the ambition of every real Jibaro warrior, and, as we have seen, the education of the boys from the beginning aims at imparting to them the qualities necessary for such behaviour."

1: Karsten--282-283 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 622, 726 (1928-29)

"The general expression of the Jibaros for a war, and more particularly one that is fought out against a foreign tribe, is meséta, and to make war is nanki hukítinyu, literally 'to carry lance for the combat'.

When a whole tribe, or perhaps several tribes together, prepare a war against one or more other tribes, the first thing done is to elect a common chief. He should be an elderly, experienced man, who has taken part in several wars, killed many enemies, and celebrated at least one victory feast. The rest of the warriors, who are generally younger men, swear him unlimited obedience. During the time the expedition is planned and the preparations are made, the warriors, and especially the chief, repeatedly drink maikoa or natéma to consult the spirits. They pay great attention to their dreams, even to those not produced under the direct influence of the narcotic drinks, tell them to each other, and discuss their possible significance. Only if they believe that they have received favourable answers and all omens are good are measures taken to carry out the war plan conceived. Meanwhile they try, through spies, to acquire as accurate a knowledge as possible about everything concerning the enemy: how many houses there are in the tract, how many fighting men in each house, if the houses are fortified, if the [283] men are well armed, and especially if they have firearms. All these and similar details the spies investigate by making trips into the country of the enemy and by stealing at night to the houses. Everything is prepared

with the greatest secrecy possible, so that the enemy is caught unprepared, for otherwise he will have time to take measures of defence that may defeat the whole undertaking."

1: Karsten--283-285 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726 (1928-29)

"About a week before the warriors start for the expedition they assemble every night in the house of the chief, who develops the plan of the war, gives his men the necessary instructions, exhorts them to take courage, not to fear the enemy, not to abandon their comrades, etc. Part of these instructions are given during the war dance or exercise with the lance, which is called Enéma or Anékma (the corresponding verb is enemártinyu or anekmáktinyu). Enéma is a dialogue between two warriors, who through certain movements of the body, and especially of their lances, give emphasis to their words. Enéma with the lance (or with a rifle) takes place not only as a preparation for war, but also, for instance, when two Indians, who are unknown to each other, suddenly meet while travelling in the forest (Pl. XXV, 1) or when unknown guests arrive at a house. The one party then has to find out who the newcomer is, if he comes as an enemy or as a friend, from where he comes, where he is going, what business he pursues, etc. The conversation all through has a ceremonial character, and menacing movements with the lance accompany each word or phrase.

The dialogue at the Enema is rather stereotyped, the words being always about the same and being repeated several times. The following is the Enéma conversation among the tribes of the Upano, Morona, and Pastaza:

Enemártahei, 'Let us speak loudly!'

Chichama hustai, 'Let us speak words!'

Warita kunai, 'What are we going to say?'
Waru irúrtai, 'Let us quickly assemble!'
Tumáshi akérkatai, 'Let us avenge the blood-guilt!'
Kashíni kanártai, 'To-morrow we will sleep far away.'
Waru nikápsatai, 'Let us quickly take our enemy!'
Waru, chícharnahúomo, 'Quickly, before he is told about it!'
Unta nu, 'So says the Old One (the chief):'
Waru wakítketai, uchitai, 'Let us go, to return quickly, youths!'
Húomokki, húomokki, 'Quickly, quickly!' [284]
Manyáhei, 'We have been fighting!'
Mahei, 'We have killed!
Tumáshi ayambruamákahei, 'We have revenged the blood!
Muka tsupiktai, 'Let us cut off the head (of the enemy)!'
Hukitai, 'Let us carry it with us!'

Enemártinyu (enemártahei) means 'to speak in a loud voice,' which is consistent with the fact that the Indians do not speak in an ordinary voice but shout while carrying out the Enéma conversation. Each phrase is strongly contracted in the pronunciation, so as to consist only of two to four syllables, which naturally makes the conversation entirely unintelligible to one who does not know the words. In return, the phrase thus

contracted is repeated twice, corresponding to the movements of the body. Thus, for instance, the beginning of the conversation:

Chichama hustai,
Warita kunai,
Waru irurtai, etc.

assumes the form:

Chamurstai, chamursti,
Waritkunai, waritkuni,
Warurtai, warurti,

and so on.

At the beginning of the conversation the two warriors face each other, each having the lance resting on the right shoulder. They speak by turn. The Indian speaking pronounces the phrase in a loud voice, holding the hand over the mouth. With the right arm, upon which the lance rests, he simultaneously makes a movement as if to give emphasis to the words, but he does not, in the beginning, swing the lance and does not move from the spot. Again, at the second repetition or the latter part of the conversation the following movement takes place. The Indian who is to speak takes one step toward his opponent, beginning with the left foot, simultaneously raises the right arm with the lance and lets it fall vibrating down on the shoulder; immediately thereafter he goes back

to the original position, at the same time again swinging the lance over his shoulder. This whole series of movements is performed quickly and at one time, accompanying the phrase pronounced: charmurstai-charmursti, etc. One of the conversing Indians having several times repeated this movement with its corresponding phrases, he stops and stands still, the other one then speaking. The whole Enéma conversation lasts about ten to fifteen minutes. [285]

When a war expedition is prepared in which many Indians take part, Enéma is performed on a large scale. The warriors arrange themselves in two rows, one opposite the other, so that at the ceremony they converse in twos. If their number is, for instance, 40, 20 are arranged in each row. Enéma is then performed sumultaneously by all the warriors of one row, while those of the opposite row stand still with the lances on their shoulders, accompanying the movements and words of the other party with slight gestures of the arms. Having performed the Enéma for some minutes, the men of the first row keep silence and those of the second row speak, etc.

The Enema conversation, as we have seen, implies a mutual exhortation for war and the future course of the combat is gone through, in which naturally a successful issue of it is anticipated. It is clear that we are not here dealing with an ordinary exercise with the arms. The whole thing is a magical ceremony by which the Jibaros believe they are able to ensure victory over the enemy. By performing Enéma the Jibaro warrior is

supposed to get strength, courage, and confidence for the coming fight. The war dance is, moreover, believed to enable him to escape the lances and bullets of the enemy in the combat. Besides, the enemy himself is thereby lulled into security so that he will not be aware of the danger threatening, but will be surprised by the assailants. Without Enéma preparation no war expedition is believed to result favourably. Hence also, when a house is assaulted by enemies at night, its defenders hurry to perform Enéma with each other before they go to meet the intruding enemy.

About 1 o'clock in the night, when the new day is supposed to begin, the warriors assembled in the house of the chief start to perform Enéma, which they continue until the break of day. This is repeated every night during one week."

1: Karsten--285-286 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 533 (1928-29)

"Besides this war dance, the Jibaros try to secure victory over the enemy by a kind of war song. This war song, which is called Anéndrata, is sung by the warriors in the house before they start on the expedition.
The Anéndrata runs as follows:

Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother,'
Méseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'
Winya úchiruna chichahei, 'To my son also I have said:'
Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son,' [286]
Kákarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'
Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'
Wika misérchatinyu, 'I will not die!'
Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'
Kànárahei, kànárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'
Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)
Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

Yamai achikahei, 'I have him already!'
Manyasa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'
Wataki, shuarasha winiti, winiti, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'
Winyasha mandoati, 'And may he take my life if he can!'
Winya mandoama assa, 'If he kills me,'
Uchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged).'
Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'
Anéndrata has much the same magical significance as the war dance enéma, it being believed to give victory over the enemy."

"The warriors, moreover, prepare for the expedition by drinking much manioc-beer (nihamánchi), as they do for all big journeys, without, however, getting too drunk. They likewise take much tobacco, partly in the form of tobacco water, which is drawn in through the nose, partly in the form of cigars, which are smoked.

The preparations of the men take place in the large ante-room of the house (tangá-masha). The women the whole time remain in the interior department (department of the women, ekinturu) and do not mix in the activities of the men. The Jibaros on the Upano told me they do not even take leave of their wives before they start on the expedition. If the chief has a wife who is particularly attached to him she may, however, come out, embrace her husband, weeping, and say: 'Perhaps you will be killed by the enemy and never return.' The chief then consoles her, saying, 'I have had good dreams; I won't be killed, but will return with the heads of my enemies. Meanwhile stay you here, quietly making clay vessels'.(2) [287]

The Jibaro chief Nayapi, on the Rio Pastaza, told me that among his people the warrior, starting on an expedition, takes tender leave of his wife, embracing her and

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"2. As if she were already making preparations for the coming victory feasts. The making of clay vessels is the principal preparation of the women for all feasts.

consoling her, but at the same time preparing her for the eventuality that he, perhaps, will never return and never see her again."

l: Karsten--287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 789, 462, 535 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayambruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

1: Karsten--287 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726 (1928-29)

"The warriors march from the house of the chief in a single row, going one after the other, and strictly observing silence. The chief goes out last and shuts the door. During the whole journey to the scene of the war, a journey that takes several days, sometimes even weeks, the warriors are allowed to speak only when necessary, and even then not in a loud voice but in a whisper. Only the chief has the right to speak in a loud voice when at the camping places he gives his men the necessary instructions. As soon as the warriors arrive at the place where they propose to camp that night they arrange themselves in two rows, keeping silence. The chief walks along the rows and gives his instructions, exposes the details of the attack planned and, above all, tries to dispel fear from the young warriors and to inspire them with courage. Although on the march to the war the chief no longer drinks maikoa or natéma, he still pays great attention to his dreams and from them tries to derive favourable presages. Thus he may with the following words try to inspire his people with courage and confidence: 'Take courage and don't fear, for I dreamed this night that I saw the great eagle (unta pinchu) and the tucan (tsukánga). They told me that we are going to take a wakáni (a soul). You are not going to die; you are going to be victors and to kill your enemies.'"

1: Karsten--287-288 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 714 (1928-29)

"On the eve of the day fixed for the attack the warriors arrange their dress. The Jibaro always pays great attention to his dress and his orna-[288]ments, which form a part of his personality, and at the feasts the dressing has a ceremonial character.

When the Jibaro warrior prepares for an attack against an enemy he puts on his head a sort of cap made of monkey's skin, which he prefers to the ordinary head ornament made of parrot or tucan feathers (tawása). The ear-tubes ought to be as large as possible so that their ends nearly reach the shoulders. Around the neck the warrior wears a necklace of jaguar's teeth and round the waist the usual cincture of human hair (akáchu). Old warriors, however, for an attack prefer to cincture themselves with a broad belt of the skin of the great boa. The uncovered part of the body, the face, the breast, the back, the arms, and legs, are finally painted black with genipa (sua).

The hair is divided into the three usual pigtails, and they are tied round with broad bands adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, or with cotton strings which are dyed red with roucu. The Jibaros on the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians, for a battle, are in the habit of tying round the pigtails or the hair broad strips of bast obtained from a plant which the former call chipyáta, the latter chilipanga. These strips of bast, which are of bright colour, are partly used as signs by which the warriors, in the darkness and in the heat of battle, are able to distinguish friends from foes, and are also worn because of some mysterious power ascribed to them or to the plant from which they are taken."

1: Karsten--288-289 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 714, 789 (1928-29)

"In regard to the arrangement of the dress for war there are three objects which are kept in view. Partly, the Indian tries to make his whole appearance as terrifying as possible in order to impress the enemies; partly, certain pieces of clothing and ornaments which he puts on are, owing to some mysterious inherent properties, supposed to give him strength and courage; lastly, some of them will serve as marks of recognition, by which the warriors will be able to distinguish friends from enemies in the battle. The black body painting, for instance, serves all these three aims. More than anything else, it helps to give the Indian warrior a savage and terrible appearance. The Jibaros say that for a combat they paint themselves black in order to resemble the iguanchi (demons), which implies that the body-painting is believed to impart to them something of the savage ferocity and strength of these supernatural beings. Besides, even in semi-darkness it is possible to distinguish the black-painted Indian from one who does not wear that mark of recognition. The strips of bast tied around the pigtails likewise, as already indicated, partly enable the warriors to recognize their comrades in the battle. [289] partly are supposed to eke out that natural power which the Indian always ascribes to his hair and his pigtails. To impart strength and valour to the warrior is also the object of the ear-tubes, the necklaces of jaguar's teeth, and the belt of the boa serpent. 'Wearing our ear-tubes (arúsa), we do not fear anything,' the Jibaros are in the habit of saying. The teeth of the jaguar and the belt of the boa skin

naturally give the wearer something of the demoniac strength of these animals. Again, the power which the Jibaros attribute to the cincture made of human hair is due to the supernatural properties ascribed to the hair, which is regarded as the seat of the soul or the vital energy."

1: Karsten--289-290 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726 (1928-29)

"Having arrived at the tract inhabited by the hostile tribe the warriors, if possible, try to surprise and kill particular persons belonging to the tribe, who, unaware of the danger, happen to be outside the houses, working in the plantations or walking in the forest. The proper attacks are, however, according to the general custom of the Indians, made at night or early in the morning, a little before dawn. Keeping strict silence, the enemies surround the house and lie in ambush in the immediate neighbourhood of it, expecting that someone will come out and open the door. That person is then instantly killed by a lance or a rifle shot, whereupon the enemies speedily penetrate into the house and massacre the rest of its inhabitants. If it proves impossible to penetrate into the house by treachery, the enemies set fire to it by firebrands thrown upon its thatching, obliging the inhabitants to leave it and killing them during the confusion that follows. If in this way the assailants have been able to kill all the people in one house, and there is no fear of other Indians coming to the rescue, they may go to the next house and continue the massacre, for, as already pointed out, the wars carried out against foreign tribes always aim at completely exterminating the enemy if possible.

However, the enemy is not always in this way surprised and unprepared, and is not always annihilated without resistance. Thus the measures of defence described above, may, at least to a certain extent, frustrate the plans of the attacking party.

Not seldom the inhabitants of the house, through the dogs and the hens or in some

other way, get knowledge of the presence of the enemy, and the latter may then to his disappointment suddenly hear the beats of the great signal drums in the fast time which is a sure sign for friends that the people of the house are in danger. The assailants then have to choose between quickly retiring, or pursuing the attack and engaging [290] in a fight the result of which, owing to the possibility of help arriving, is uncertain."

"However, if the enemy [JKM: hostile tribe of warriors] has already surrounded the house, there is little hope for those shut up in it to be saved through the intervention of friends. Their possibility of salvation then consists almost solely in breaking through the besieging ring and speedily fleeing to another house or into the forest. Before making this desperate attempt, however, all inhabitants of the house, men, women, and children, assemble to perform, in haste, a certain dance. Holding each other by the hands they move in a circle in the house in the way customary at most Indian dances, chanting or making a noise and playing a set of flutes made of the leg bone of the jaguar, called tungüi. The words uttered, or rather shouted, are the following:

Masteitimi, 'They won't kill us!'
Mandoastatami, 'They won't take our lives!'
Wuittatai, 'They will retire!'
Himikitai, 'We shall be able to escape!'

The object of this ceremony is to 'tire out the enemy' (shuara pimbiktinyu), so that he gives up the plan of attacking the house and retires. Sometimes it also happens that the besieging enemies who, of course, understand what the dancing and shouting in the house mean, lose courage, give up the plan of attack, and draw off.

Immediately after the dance mentioned has been performed the inhabitants of the house try to escape through one or both of its doors. As soon as the ambushing enemies

notice this, they incite each other with cries:

Shuara hiniwai, 'The enemy leaves the house!'

Awuimaipa, 'Don't let them escape!'

Ihúta, ihúta, ihúta, 'Lance them, lance them!'

During the ensuing fight it may happen that some or the majority of the people in the house are able to save themselves in the darkness and the confusion. Generally, however, some old man or some women, who are not able to run quickly enough, get into the hands of the pursuing enemy, being killed or captured. If the victors are satisfied with this spoil, or if for one reason or another they do not venture to continue the attack, they speedily retire, carrying with them one or more heads which they have cut off or some captured woman, and giving triumphant war cries:[291]

Hetéktatai, 'May they now pursue us!'

Aimiayáhei, 'Now we carry off their comrade!'

Yuhi, uyúhi, uyúhi!

Tuo, tuo, tuo! (War cries.)

It is, however, only if the attacked people have been surprised completely and know they are absolutely inferior to the enemy that they try in this way to save themselves by flight. In other cases it happens that the attacking enemy is received by a number of well-prepared and well-armed warriors who, after having in a hurry performed the

1: Karsten--290-291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 726 (1928-29)

Enéma, gallantly go out to meet the assailants. A fierce hand-to-hand fight then ensues, in which friends and enemies mix with each other in the darkness, and the noise of arms is drowned by the inciting war cries of the men, by the cries of the women and the children, and by the barking of the dogs."

1: Karsten--291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The victorious enemy wreaks his savage vengeance not only upon the fighting men, but also on old people, women, and small children, nay, sometimes even on the domestic animals. Although there are many statements--from the very time of the Spaniards--to the effect that younger women, and especially girls, are spared in the wars of the Jibaros, we must not take this to be the general rule. It is true that there is a scarcity of women in the Jibaro society and that in general they are held in great esteem on account of the work they do. But it must be remembered that the Jibaros are essentially endogamous, members of foreign tribes being detested and looked upon as natural enemies. Besides, experience has taught the Indians that full-grown women of a vanquished tribe cannot always be made to submit to a victor who has perhaps cruelly killed their husbands, fathers, or brothers, but that they retain an invincible hatred against him. There are, in consequence, instances of the wives of vanquished enemies being carried home by the victors only to be brutally massacred. Young girls can more easily be brought up to become loyal wives and members of the victor's tribe. Boys on the other hand are as a rule instantly killed. The Indians understand that a boy would not easily assimilate with the strange tribe and that, when full-grown, he is most likely to take revenge upon the vanquishers of his own tribe and family. Sometimes a victor may take boys of a vanquished tribe to his home merely to allow them to be killed by his own young sons, who thus will early be initiated into the bloody acts of war."

1: Karsten--291-292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 181 (1928-29)

"It may therefore be justly said that in their wars the Jibaros know no mercy. And although the Jibaro Indian does not particularly practise [292] methods of torturing his vanquished enemy, caught in a war, he on the other hand does not content himself with merely taking his life. He wants to shed as much blood as possible and delights in mutilating the body of the slain enemy, being especially anxious to secure his head. The scene of a battle between Jibaro Indians therefore generally offers a dreadful spectacle of a savage lust of destruction and thirst for blood."

1: Karsten--292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 775, 769 (1928-29)

"The lance, a terrible weapon of the Jibaros, inspires not only living men but even the spirits and demons with fear. The soul of an Indian killed with the lance in terror flees far away from the mutilated body and does not remain for some time in the neighbourhood, as is believed to be the case at ordinary death. The relatives themselves stand in such horror of the dead body that they only hurriedly bury it on the same spot where they find it, thereafter speedily leaving the place. The devoted cult which the Jibaros generally pay to their dead relatives is entirely lacking in regard to those killed in war, and food is never put on their graves."

"...the Jibaros never make trophies of the heads of such enemies as belong to their own tribe, that is, with whom they reckon blood-relationship. An Indian who did this would run the risk of being himself killed by his tribesmen, even by those neutral before. On the other hand, it is the rule that when a victory has been attained over a foreign tribe, the heads of the slain enemies are taken. Most Jibaro warriors would consider any victory over such an enemy incomplete, and the whole war expedition more or less a failure, unless they returned with one or several head trophies. Of course, it frequently happens that the Jibaro is able to kill an enemy but not to take his head, because his comrades are able to secure the dead body and perhaps to defeat the slayers. In such a case there cannot be a real victory feast. It happens, however, sometimes, that an enthusiastic Jibaro warrior invites his friends and celebrates a small feast, consisting in drinking bouts and dancing, although he has not been able to capture a trophy but only to kill his enemy.

Contrariwise, it may happen in exceptional cases that a Jibaro, although he has acquired a trophy, does not care to celebrate a feast with it, either because he considers himself too poor to procure the great supply of food necessary for the many guests at such a feast, or because he has not enough people in his house to prepare it or friends to invite to it. Thus the great Jibaro chief Nayapi, of Pastaza, had killed about 20 enemies, but had not celebrated a single victory-feast, evidently in part because his

many enemies had not given him the peace and tranquillity necessary for preparing such a feast.

The rule is, however, among the Jibaros that a warrior who has captured a head (tsantsa) must celebrate a feast. The head feast for the Jibaro opens the road to honour and fame, to material wealth, to new victories over enemies, and a long life. It is the great mystery feast of [294] the Jibaro Indians; as will presently be seen, it has in part a purely religious significance, inasmuch as the Jibaro through the ceremonies then performed believes he acquires the same benefits as most other savage peoples try to acquire by different kinds of cult."

"As soon as a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy of another tribe he at once tries to secure his head, which he cuts off as close to the trunk as possible. The warrior who has cut off the head (muka teupikma) is the 'lord of the head' (muka héindinyu) and the first who, when the victors are many, has the right to celebrate a feast with it. When several Indians have together killed one enemy it is customary for each of them in turn to celebrate a victory feast with the trophy, which in this case is taken from one house to another.

During the speedy return which generally follows upon a successful attack there is not always time for the victors to at once begin with the preparation of the trophy. They first have to put themselves in safety lest the enemy pursue them. Thus it may happen that they carry the bloody head with them for a couple of days before they get an opportunity to 'skin' it (muka eukúrtinyu). In this work only those warriors engage who have taken part in the killing of the enemy. If the victors are many, and they have been able to acquire only one head, some of them may separate themselves from the rest, saying:'We go off to kill other enemies and to capture our own heads.'

Those who remain now start to take off the scalp. First the following small ceremony takes place. The head is placed upon a large leaf on the ground. Upon the head is placed another leaf of the forest which the Jibaros call pingi muka, and to which certain

magical virtues are ascribed. (1) The warrior who cut off the head now seats himself on this 'seat' and receives juice of tobacco mixed with saliva from the chief, who blows it in through his nose. Then another of the slayers takes his seat on the head and receives juice of tobacco through the nose, etc., until all have partaken. This is the first of a series of ceremonies which have for their object the protection of the slayers against the revengeful spirit of the killed enemy.

The tsantsa is now prepared in the following way. Along the back of the head, from the apex downward, a long cut is made with a knife, whereupon the scalp and the skin of the face is slowly and carefully drawn off from the skull, in much the same way as is done with the hides of [295] animals for stuffing. The skinning of the face is said to be the most difficult part of this work, for here the skin does not loosen by merely drawing it off, but has to be cut from the flesh with a sharp knife. The skull and all fleshy parts that adhere to it are thrown away and the scalp obtained is further prepared. It is attached to a vine and immersed in a pot of boiling water, where it is left for a while. By boiling the scalp it is freed from microbes, contracts a little, and thickens. It is then taken out of the pot and put on the top of a stick, fixed in the ground, where it is left for a while until it has cooled.

"1. Pingi in the Jibaro language means 'nice', 'noble', 'fine'."

A ring is formed of a vine which the Jibaros call kapi, of the same size as the circumference of the finished teantea at the neck opening, and this ring is attached to the trophy, at first temporarily and later, as the latter assumes its final size by reduction, more firmly. By means of a needle and a thread consisting of a chambira fibre, that part of the scalp which, for the purpose of the skinning of the head had been cut open, is sewn together.

The reducing of the trophy should now begin. What is first done with it, however, has rather the character of some sort of magical ceremony. At the bank of the river three small round stones are looked for, which are heated in the fire. By means of a cleft stick one of the heated stones is taken up from the fire and put into the head through the opening at the neck. This is done by the first slayer (he who cuts off the head of the enemy), whose hand is held by the chief or an old warrior. The head is kept in motion so that the heated stone rolls to and fro within it, burning off a part of the blood and flesh which is still attached to the scalp. The stone is subsequently taken out and again put in the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third stone. The stones used are each time put back on the fire, where they are left.

Since a similar procedure is afterwards undertaken with heated sand, the use of the three small stones seems somewhat superfluous. Probably the object of this treatment

is only to mortify the soul of the killed enemy attached to the scalp, and to keep it at bay. This explanation is made more plausible by the fact that the ceremony with three stones is repeated at the great feast, and obviously without practical aim.

The proper reduction of the trophy is brought about by means of hot sand. Some fine sand is taken from the river bank and heated at the fire in a piece of broken clay pot (hakáchi). When the sand is sufficiently hot it is poured into the head so as to more than half fill it. The [296] head is kept in motion so that the sand acts uniformly upon all its parts. The object of this procedure is to remove the flesh still attached to the skin, to make the scalp thinner, and to reduce the whole trophy. This is attained by the procedure with the hot sand being repeated many times. As soon as the sand has cooled it is taken out of the head, reheated at the fire in the broken clay pot, and again poured into the head. Each time, after taking out the sand from the head, the scalp is scraped inside with a knife in order to remove from it what the sand has burned off. As the trophy dries and shrinks through this treatment the head, and especially the face, is cleverly moulded with the fingers, so that it retains its human features, becoming like the head of a small dwarf. This work is continued while returning from the war, sometimes also at home, consequently for several days or even weeks, the same sand and the same broken clay vessel being always used. These things are always kept and carried on the march by the first slayer, whose duty it is, as soon as the party arrives

at a camping place, to place the clay pot on the fire and heat sand for the moulding of the trophy.

It is considered necessary that the sand shall be heated in an old broken clay pot. An entire clay vessel, or a piece of a quite new clay vessel would not do.

By this treatment the Jibaros are able to gradually reduce the head to such an extent that it is not larger than an orange, or about one-fourth of its normal size, becoming at the same time completely hard and dry. Through both lips, shrunk in proportion to the rest of the head, three small chonta pins, about 5 centimeters in length and painted red with roucu, are passed parallel with each other, and round these pins a fine cotton string, which is also painted red, is wound. At the great feast both the chonta pins and the cotton string are removed and replaced by three twisted and red-painted cotton strings. Lastly the whole trophy, even the face, is dyed black with charcoal.

During the whole work particular attention has been paid to the hair, which is the most essential part of the trophy. Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power.

The Jibaros of to-day, in cutting the enemy's head and skinning it, avail themselves of knives obtained from the whites, but formerly--in fact, only a few decades ago--

native instruments had to be used for this [297] purpose. The head was severed from the trunk by means of a stone axe and a big knife of hard chonta wood. Again, in stripping the skin from the skull and the face they used snail's shells sharpened against a stone, and flat pieces of split bamboo (guadua) resembling knife-blades and extremely sharp. Such a native knife is still ceremonially used at least on one occasion, as related before, namely, when the navel-string of a newborn child is cut.

Since the tsantsa itself is an object charged with supernatural power, it is intelligible that many arrangements at its preparation are of a magical nature or are due to superstitious ideas of one kind or another. This holds good, for instance, of the ceremony with the three heated stones, described before. Likewise, the arrangement with the red-painted chonta pins, with which the lips are pierced, and the red cotton string wound round them, as well as the blackening of the trophy, hardly serve any reasonable practical purpose, but must be set down to pure superstition. Since the Indians ascribe a special, mysterious power to the hard wood of the strong chonta palm--a power further increased by the red paint--and red-painted cotton strings likewise play a part in their superstitious practices, it is more than probable that the real aim of the ornaments mentioned is to keep the soul of the murdered enemy under constant magical compulsion, perhaps also to paralyze the curses proceeding from the mouth of the victim. With the same view the tsantsa is at the feast generally held tied to a lance of chonta.

The preparation of the head trophy requires great skill and care, for through some slight carelessness, for instance at the removal of the scalp, or at the burning, the whole thing may easily be entirely spoiled. The young Jibaro who has killed an enemy for the first time is therefore instructed in its preparation by an older warrior. Nor can an Indian prepare the head alone. Hence, when a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy alone and taken his head he needs the help of another man, at least for the skinning of the head. This assistant must necessarily be a warrior who likewise has earlier killed some enemy. Another Indian would not have 'a good hand' for the work and would not do.

The stronger the killed enemy has been in life, the more valiantly he has fought, the more difficult it has been to deprive him of life, the greater is the honour the victor earns by his deed, the greater is the power of the trophy made of his head. Notwithstanding this it sometimes occurs among the Jibaros that tsantsas are prepared even of heads of women."

I: Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

"But the Jibaro Indian does not make trophies solely of the heads of his human enemies but also of the heads of certain animals. There is one animal especially which in this respect plays a curious part in the superstition of the Jibaros, namely, the sloth, called uyushi by them. Feasts with trophies made of the head of the sloth are among the Jibaros as common as feasts with human tsantsas. This fact derives its explanation from the mythology of these Indians. In primitive times, the Jibaros say, all animals--quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and so on--were men, i.e. Jibaros. They had human shape, human habits, human thoughts and passions, and human language. They also waged wars against each other, and made trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, just as the Jibaros still do. Later on this kind of folk were changed into animals, the animals which still exist. The Jibaros still have a very vivid consciousness of their supposed relationship with the animal world, a feature which especially appears in their religion and their poetry. But they especially claim to trace the ancient human qualities in the sloth. This helpless animal, according to their idea, is a direct survival from the remote period mentioned. It is still a Jibaro in the shape of an animal, but a Jibaro of a foreign tribe and consequently an enemy. He is a very old man, as

one may judge from his slow movements and from the fact that his hair is partly gray. (1) The Jibaros even profess to know what his name was in ancient times, while a man. He was then called Unúpi, his wife's name was Unúchi, and brother's Uyúngra. When, therefore, the Jibaros meet a sloth, they kill it with a lance, just as they kill their human enemies, and make a trophy of its head. This trophy is prepared in the same way as a human tsantsa, but is only reduced a little, since the head of the sloth is comparatively small. It is no doubt in part the wonderful similarity of the sloth's head to a human tsantsa that has given rise to the superstition the Indians entertain about it. In the trophy made of the sloth the fell of the neck corresponds to the hair of a tsantsa. The fell of that part is therefore preserved and prepared with care. The Indian who has killed the animal has thereafter to pass through exactly the same purificatory ceremonies as one who has killed a human enemy, and even the final great victory feast is celebrated [299] in due time with exactly the same grand preparations and with the same carefully performed ceremonies.

"1. The superstition held of the sloth is partly due to the fact that the animal is extremely tenacious of life. This the Jibaros suppose to be the case with old people in general. When a Jibaro warrior has succeeded in killing an enemy who was an old man and whom it was very difficult to deprive of life, he regards the victory as a special triumph."

There are also instances of trophies having been made by the Jibaros of the head of the jaguar. Many years ago an Indian woman was killed by a jaguar in the neighbourhood of Rio Zamora. The Jibaros regard a jaguar, which in this way attacks and kills people, as the incarnation of the soul of an evil sorcerer which has entered that wild beast with a view to harming or killing his enemies. The Indians consequently resolved to take revenge, arranged a hunt of the animal, and succeeded in killing it. They thereafter made a trophy of its head, and a victory feast was celebrated in the ordinary way.(1)"

"1. It deserves to be emphasized in this connection that the trophies mentioned above are the only ones customary among the Jibaros. It has been alleged that these Indians not only are in the habit of shrinking the heads of their enemies, but sometimes prepare their whole body as a mummy-like trophy, and I have myself seen photographs of such trophies which are even said to exist in ethnographic museums in America. I beg to point out that all trophies of this kind are pure falsifications, wholly devoid of ethnographical value."

1: Karsten--299-300 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 794 (1928-29)

"In regard to the diet of the Jibaro warriors, there is nothing prescribed for the time they are preparing for and marching to the war. They may then eat whatever they like. But as soon as a Jibaro has killed an enemy the fasting begins. All those who took part in the killing of the enemy are, during the return home, allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma. This food has to be cooked exclusively by the slayers themselves. No other man, and still less a woman, may prepare it. When the warriors eat they never touch the manioc with their fingers, like the Jibaros generally do, but they use small wooden pins to eat with. Their hands having been polluted with the blood of their enemies, the food would become impure if they touched it, and they expose themselves to death.

Moreover, the warriors are not allowed to bathe or to wash themselves in any way until they reach home. Dirty and soiled with blood, as they departed from battle, they should arrive home. This, of course, also holds good for their clothing, their loin-cloth (itipi) and other clothes, as well as their weapons, the bloody lance with which the enemy was killed, and the knife with which his head was cut off. It is not until later, at the general ceremonial purification at home, that the warrior himself and his weapons can be washed. [300]

From the hour when the warrior killed his enemy up to the feast which is called Suamártinyu, and which is celebrated some months later, he is not allowed either to have sexual intercourse with a woman or even to sleep in the same room as a woman."

"Immediately after their return the victor or victors have to pass through the purification procedure, connected with a small feast, which the Jibaros call Numbuimártinyu (from númba, blood, and mártinyu, to paint, to coat), the principal ceremony of which consists in their legs being coated with hen's blood. If the victors are many, this ceremony is first performed with the one who cut off the head of the enemy, and thereafter in turns with each of those who took part in the killing. Before the victors, who travel slowly and stop at various houses on the way, arrive home, a message has been sent that the warriors are coming, that a head has been captured, and that preparations for the feast Numbuimártinyu shall begin at once. This feast therefore always has a more or less improvised character.

The first slayer stops in the house of some relations in the neighbourhood of his home until the trophy is definitely prepared. It is not until then that his solemn entrance into his own house can take place. He is in the dress of a penitent, has his hair untied, and wears no body-painting or other ornaments. At his side stands the chief or some other old warrior, who will lead the ceremonies at the following feasts and in this capacity is called whuéa. Behind these two men the rest of the warriors arrange themselves in a row. The whuéa first gives the slayer juice of tobacco through the nose. Thereafter the latter disengages the trophy from the cloth in which it has been wrapped up and with the aid of the old man hangs it round his neck, over the breast. Followed

by the rest of the men, he now slowly and ceremoniously, and continually smoothing the hair of the trophy with the hand, proceeds toward the house, stopping outside the door. From within all the women come to meet him, arranged in a row and holding each other by the hands, all in festive dresses and with rattles of snail's shells round the cinctures. On each side of the women the men arrange themselves in two rows [302]inside the house. The introductory dance with the trophy which is called Ihiámbrama, and which is performed by the victor together with the women, now takes place. From among the women two step forth who have been standing at the head of the rest. Those are the wife and daughter of the victor. For the following dance the daughter grasps him from behind at the cincture with both hands; the wife gives him her hand, standing at the head of the other women. The slayer again seizes the tsantsa with the right hand, holding it up with the arm stretched out; with the left he grasps the hand of his wife. All now pass, dancing or hopping sideways, into the interior of the house, to the accompaniment of drums and the rattles of the women, and immediately return to the entrance. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice. Each time the slayer, led by the women, returns to the entrance of the house. The aim of this dance is to paralyze the danger threatening the victor from the spirit of the murdered enemy at the first entrance into the house, which is regarded as particularly critical (Pl. XXVIII)."

I: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"The slayer now takes off the tsantsa and the latter is tied to a chonta lance which is fixed in the ground close to the door on the inner side. The lance must be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, to which the Indians ascribe a supernatural power. Another kind of lance, for instance one having an iron point, would not do. In this way the tsantsa is kept at the following feasts also during the time it is not needed for the ceremonies. The trophy being tied to the chonta lance, the spirit of the enemy attached to it is brought into subjection and kept at bay.

The whuéa lays his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer and takes him round in the house, as if to manifest that he can now move about there without danger.

Meanwhile, close to the lance with the tsantsa tied to it, two small vessels have been placed. One is a piece of an old broken clay pot (hakáchi) containing a little hen's blood, the other an ordinary small pot with a solution of genipa (sua). These three objects, the lance with the trophy tied to it, the piece of the clay pot containing hen's blood, and the small pot with genipa, seem to be sacred; no unauthorized person may touch them or even come near them.

If among the warriors who took part in the killing of the enemy two or more are from the same house, being for instance two brothers or a father with his sons, a special broken clay vessel with hen's blood and a special small pot with genipa must be placed at the lance for each of them. [303] The ceremony Numbuimártinyu must thus be performed

separately with each slayer from the same house.

The 'washing of the blood' now takes place. The slayer takes his seat upon a small round bench close to the vessel with the hen's blood and the whuéa places himself at his side. Around them the women form a semicircle, having their rattles round the cincture as before. They are led by an old woman, called oháha, who at the feasts directs all those ceremonies at which the women play the main part. The whuéa first gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the hand, brings it down to the vessel containing the hen's blood, lets him dip the index finger into it, and subsequently with the blood draw a broad line 2 or 3 inches in length along the front of one of his legs, from below upward. Thereafter the slayer, with the aid of the whuéa, applies a similar stroke with the blood to his other leg. While this is being done the women, led by the oháha, dance in a ring around them, singing a sort of conjuration, which mainly consists of the following phrase:

Whuéa heingi ikaski numbimarma ihámbratinyu; that is, 'The whuéa, together with the oháha (ikaski), paint you with blood to start the fasting.'

As we shall see, the ceremony Numbuimártinyu introduces a time of very strict fasting for the slayer.

The slayer now in his turn does the whuéa the same service, drawing with his index finger two streaks with the hen's blood upon both his legs.

The blood-painting ceremony having been finished, the piece of broken clay vessel, together with the blood left in it, is immediately thrown away into the forest. It is an impure and harmful substance which need no longer be kept.

The whuea asks the wife of the slayer for water, and she brings it in a clay dish (pininga). The old man takes a little water from the dish with his hand and puts it upon the head of the slayer. Thereupon he does the same with the wife and daughter of the slayer, putting with his hand a little water upon their heads. All three are subsequently sent down to the river to bathe.

That even the wife and the daughter of the slayer have to pass through this purification procedure and afterwards also have to take part in various other ceremonies, is partly due to the close relationship existing between them and the slayer, but especially to the role they have played at the dance Ihiámbrama. By touching the still blood-stained hands and clothes of the slayer they have likewise been polluted by the blood of the murdered enemy, are consequently exposed to danger from the [304] revengeful spirit, and have to be purified from the blood and observe other rules of precaution. From this moment up to the time for the celebration of the final great victory feast they have thus to fast in the same way as the slayer himself, assisting at the said feast

again at the dance Ihiambrama, which then will be repeated.

If the slayer has two wives they generally assist at the dance mentioned. If he is quite a young man, who has not yet married, it is considered obligatory that he should look for a bride for the feast. The part of the other woman in this case is played by some near female relative of his.

In the river the slayer carefully washes his whole body, as well as his clothing, soiled with blood in the battle, and lastly his weapons, the still bloody lance and knife. Together with his wife and daughter, who have also washed themselves, he then returns to the house.

On the way they break off some twigs of guayusa (Ilex sp.), called weisa by the Jibaros, a tree the leaves of which are used for the preparation of an aromatic and tonic drink, with which the Jibaros wash their mouths every morning. This drink has now to be prepared. The slayer as well as his wife and daughter together grasp a small clay pot, called yukúnda, pour water into it from a larger vessel, and together place it on the fire. As soon as the drink has boiled the whuéa takes a little of it in a small gourd, mutters an incantation over it, and passes it to the slayer who washes his mouth with it without swallowing much of it. Thereafter the whuéa in the same way gives of the drink to the wife and the daughter of the slayer, who likewise wash their mouths with it. The small clay pot is then taken off the fire and laid aside. The three persons are

now properly purified for breaking the fast.

The wife of the slayer goes to fetch the edible top of a small palm which the Jibaros call tingimi, which is put on the fire to be roasted, exactly on the same place where the guayusa pot lay. At another fire in the house beans have before been cooked, and at a third manioc, afterwards mashed, a dish called nauma. As soon as the palm top is sufficiently roasted the women move over to this fire, take a dish with beans, and another dish with boiled manioc (nauma). The three principal persons, the slayer himself and his wife and daughter, now have to break the fast after the 'washing of the blood.' The whuea at first gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose. Then with two fingers he takes a little of the palm top (tingimi), spits on the ground, mutters an incantation over it and puts it directly into the mouth of the slayer, who [305] swallows it. Then with two fingers he takes a few beans, and lastly also a small piece of boiled manioc together with a little salt and a little pimiento or Indian pepper, and gives them to the slayer with the same ceremony. Exactly the same action is repeated with his wife and his daughter, each of whom likewise receives a little of the dishes mentioned. The vessels with the food are subsequently carried away by the other women.

Meanwhile food has also been cooked for the guests in the women's department of the house. This food consists essentially of boiled chicken. If there are swine in the house, one is also slaughtered and prepared, but according to old tradition boiled chicken is

the main dish at the feast Numbuimártinyu.

A general banquet now commences, at which the guests eat chicken and manioc, whereas the slayer, his wife, and daughter eat the palm top tingimi, beans, and manioc.

After the banquet the last ceremony takes place, which consists in the slayer being painted with genipa (sua). The slayer seats himself on a bench in front of the pot containing the black dye, and the whuéa places himself at his side, grasps his hand, makes him dip his index finger in the solution and apply a broad stroke with it over the mouth so that both lips are painted black. Thereafter the old man draws a similar black stroke over his own mouth. The women simultaneously dance around the two men, singing an incantation. The pot containing the genipa is now carried away and kept.

The whuéa finally addresses the slayer in a sort of speech wherein he points out that he himself has now fulfilled his mission to wash off the blood from the slayer, but that the latter has now to prepare himself for the celebration of the final great victory feast. He has to breed swine and fowls to be slaughtered at the feast; he must plant fields of manioc and plantain; he must in his life carefully observe certain rules of abstinence from eating certain kinds of food, etc.

When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock in the evening, a general dance commences, which is characteristic of this feast and is called Hantsemáta. This dance will be described later in connection with the Tsantsa-feast proper. The slayer himself takes

part in the dance with the trophy hanging on his back. It has to be continued during the whole night until dawn. That night no one in the house is allowed to sleep and especially not the slayer himself.

The aim of the feast Numbuimártinyu, as already mentioned, is to [306] purify the slayer from the blood which is attached to him after the killing of the enemy, and to protect him against the spirit of the latter, who is thirsting for revenge. The soul of the enemy is particularly supposed to be present in the blood. How this purification can be brought about with the two strokes of blood applied to the legs of the slayer, is something the Jibaros can not explain more closely. Nor can they explain why hen's blood must necessarily be used for this procedure, or why that blood must be kept in an old, broken clay pot. 'Our ancestors have since times immemorial proceeded in this way,' an old Jibaro, whom I asked about the custom, answered me, 'and we have to keep up and follow their customs'. That a magical power and supernaturally purifying effects are ascribed to the hen's blood is, however, clear. The same purifying effects, in a magical or religious sense of the word, are ascribed to the bath in the river and to the washing of the mouth with guayusa, the object of the latter ceremony especially being to favourably prepare the slayer for the breaking of the fast. Again, the painting with the genipa is a direct protection against the spirit of the enemy. Body-painting among the Indians nearly always serves magical ends, being regarded as a protection against disease and witchcraft, and this is especially the case with the black painting. According

to the ideas of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians there is a demon (wakáni, supai) in the black genipa paint, and when the Indian paints his body or face black this is usually a sign that he is either going to kill an enemy or has already killed one. As we shall see, painting with genipa also takes place at the feast Suamártinyu and at the final great victory feast.

In regard to the question why the hen's blood used at the purification ought to be kept in an old broken clay vessel (hakáchi), it may be mentioned that the Jibaros make use of broken clay pots at certain cathartic rites, when they try to get rid of something that is impure, horrible, and dangerous. Since the hen's blood which has purified the slayer is afterwards impure and harmful matter and accordingly is thrown away at once, it is consonant with ritualistic principles that it should be kept in a useless vessel, worthy of being thrown away, like the piece of a broken clay pot. It seems to be due to similar considerations that the Jíbaros use a hakáchi for heating the sand with which the trophy is reduced at the preparation.

Again, if one asks what ideas underlie the choice of the slayer's food--palm top, beans, mashed manioc, etc.--the Indians only give the explanation that he ought to eat such light kinds of food that remain in [307] his stomach and which he does not run the risk of throwing up, which evidently would be regarded as dangerous for him. Their idea is, no doubt, that a very indigestible or irritating food could become a means through

which the invisible, supernatural enemy of the slayer-- the spirit of the killed enemy-- could get an opportunity to harm him, perhaps cause his death. That the guests mainly eat chicken at the feast is probably only due to the fact that Numbuimártinyu is an improvised feast, and that, therefore, such kinds of food is given them as is most easy to procure."

1: Karsten--307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"The prescriptions concerning the diet and mode of life which the slayer has to observe during the time immediately following the 'washing of the blood', or up to the feast called Suamártinyu which is celebrated some months later, are very severe and strict. He is not even allowed to dress completely, but only wears his loin-cloth (itipi), tied up with a cincture, having the upper part of the body bare. The hair is generally kept loose and is not arranged in the three pigtails normally worn by the Jibaros. Only at the neck is the hair occasionally tied up. He must not wear ear-tubes, facial painting, necklaces, or other ornaments of any kind. He cannot carry a lance or other weapon, nor handle poison (1) or other dangerous matter, nor go out hunting or fishing or on new expeditions, nor take part in feasts. When the slayer is out wandering he, instead of the lance without which normally no Jibaro leaves his house, only carries a short staff. He is also prohibited from having sexual intercourse with his wife or even from sleeping in the women's department of the house (ekinturu), but passes his nights in the anteroom or men's department (tangámasha). His diet is the lightest possible and consists only of the palm top (tingimi), which is eaten roasted, of boiled and mashed manioc

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"1. This prohibition especially concerns the arrow-poison (seasa), and the varvasco poison (timo) used in fishing."

(nauma), and of the smallest kinds of fish caught in the rivers (a sort of sardine, chumakái, and another kind of small fish, sháchma). These may be boiled or roasted, but must be eaten without the addition of other kinds of food.

The wife and daughter of the slayer must also fast. Their food during the period in question consists principally of beans and of the leaves of a forest plant which the Jibaros call épo."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 777 (1928-29)

"If the slayer infringes these rules the consequences for him will be fatal. He will soon die; he will not be able to kill any more enemies or to celebrate other victory-feasts. Even his nearest relatives will die [308] through sickness or accidents, one after another (1) His domestic animals, instead of increasing and flourishing, will pine away and die. The manioc, plantain, and other domestic plants will dry up and produce no fruits. In all his undertakings he will be unlucky. In one word, the effects of the trophy will be directly contrary to those generally expected from its supernatural power. All this is caused by the spirit of the murdered enemy (wakáni). The revengeful ghost, who takes no rest, follows his slayer everywhere, always looking for an opportunity to kill or harm him, and the latter believes that he meets him especially in dreams. Generally the wakáni meets him in the shape of an Indian armed with a lance, with which he is continually trying to kill him. But the spirit also appears to him in other shapes,

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"1. Every death that takes place within the family of the slayer during the time following the killing of the enemy is set down to the secret operation of the revengeful spirit (wakáni). At a feast where I was present the slayer told me that within his family seven persons had died of mysterious diseases or through accidents during the two years which had elapsed since he killed his enemy. This wakáni, therefore, was considered to have been a particularly bad one."

especially in the shape of a black monkey, a deer, (2) a bear, or some other hairy animal of the forest. This is one of the reasons why the slayer does not, during the critical time, go out wandering in the forest. The wakáni can in many ways threaten his life there. If, for instance, he wanders to the verge of a precipice at the bank of a river, the revengeful demon may take an opportunity to push him over the precipice. He may also cause a tree or a branch to fall upon him in the forest and crush him. If he wears a lance or a knife the spirit may cause his death with these weapons. If he tries to shoot a bird or an animal with blowpipe and poisoned arrows the enemy may cause the arrow to hit the slayer himself. For the same reason he has to be extremely careful in other respects. If, for instance, he has intercourse with his wife or some other woman, it may happen that the wakáni, who is constantly lurking near him, slays him, so that he dies on the spot. Besides, since there is supposed to exist an intimate connection between woman and the plants which she cultivates, the consequence of his having intercourse with his wife will be that the manioc and other fruits, recently planted

"2. The deer, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is the incarnation of a demon (iguanchi), one of the most dangerous animal demons they know. The Jibaros, therefore, never eat the flesh of the deer or even touch it with their hands."

for the feast, will not reach ripeness, but will dry up. If the slayer eats some unsuitable and forbidden food the spirit may again through this food operate against him, causing indigestion and [309] death. On the whole, the slayer must observe the principle to live as retired and hidden a life as possible, for in this way he may more easily escape his supernatural enemy. This is also the reason why he must not take part in religious feasts, or wear body-painting, ear-tubes, necklaces, and other magical ornaments used by those who enter into relation with the spirits, and through which these, as it were, are challenged.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Jibaro warrior conscientiously submits himself to the severe rules imposed upon him by society, and that the feast itself is prepared and celebrated with all the care which custom and tradition require."

"It may be observed that the practices and rites of the feast Numbuimártinyu and the rules observed afterwards may vary in certain details among different tribes. Thus among the Jibaros of the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians the diet of the slayer after the 'washing of the blood' consists mainly of the fruit and the leaves of the plant mandi (called sangu by the Jibaros). For a whole year the slayer has to abstain from cohabiting with his wife. The lance among these Indians is not washed at the ceremonial bath in the river, but the point of it is roasted in the fire so that the blood is dried or burned.

The lance or the rifle with which an enemy has been killed is always looked upon with superstitious fear by the Indians, and is never again used in hunting. If, for instance, a wild hog is killed with such a lance or rifle, the flesh of the animal is supposed to get the same taste as human flesh, and would not therefore be eaten by anybody. The Jibaro warrior is therefore anxious to exchange as soon as possible the lance with which he has killed an enemy. The rifle he generally keeps, but no longer uses it in hunting, only in wars.

Immediately after the feast Numbuimártinyu the slayer repairs to a natural waterfall in the forest (paccha or sasa), situated at a distance from his home, and takes some baths to further purify himself. He remains here alone for three days, fasting and taking tobacco water, sleeping at night in a small shelter and paying particular attention to his dreams. After the lapse of the three days he returns to his home, but

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

passes the first two nights not in his house but in a small shelter made on the bank of the river. Thereafter he can sleep in his house, not with his wife, however, but in the ante-room or men's department of the house."

"The feast Suamártinyu, which is held three or four months after the Numbuimártinyu, takes its name from the main ceremony performed, the painting of the slayer with genipa (sua). Even at the Numbuimártinyu, as we have seen, painting with sua took place, but that procedure is now undertaken more thoroughly and assumes a greater importance than at the feast first mentioned.

A detailed description of the feast Suamártinyu is not necessary, since the ceremonies which take place are exactly the same as those performed at the final great victory-feast. The Suamártinyu, as a matter of fact, is only an anticipation of the latter. The only difference is that the preparations for the feast Suamártinyu are less grand, fewer swine and chickens are slaughtered, and fewer guests are invited. The principal ceremony at this feast is the washing of the trophy in a magical solution, through which the spirit of the slain enemy is supposed to become the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. Then follows the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine, and the final ceremony when the whuéa or priest helps the slayer to dress himself, cuts his hair, makes him break the fast, and lastly paints his face, breast, stomach, arms, and legs with sua. The feast Suamártinyu lasts three or four days.

At the painting of the slayer's body with genipa the Jibaros formerly used a special instrument consisting of a cylindrical object, made of a special kind of very hard clay, into which certain circular ornaments were incised. The instrument was dipped into

the genipa-solution and rolled along the cheeks, arms, legs, and body, of the slayer, the ornaments incised in the instrument being thereby stamped upon his body. This instrument, which is called payánga, is still known, but it is no longer made of clay but of a kind of wood."

k Karagen--311-312 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The object of the feast Suamártinyu is partly to give the slayer renewed protection against the spirit of the killed enemy; partly to favourably prepare the trophy for what is its proper aim, namely, to promote the material wealth of the slayer, especially for the period immediately following the feast Numbuimártinyu. In the first respect the feast is of significance for him in so far that he need no longer observe the same anxious caution and strict abstinence in his mode of life that was necessary before. Thus he may again dress completely, tie his hair in pigtails, wear face-painting and ornaments, use lances and other weapons, go hunting and fishing, take part in feasts, sleep with his wife, etc. In one word, he can in the main return to his former normal life, with the exception that he is obliged to continue dieting. Even in this respect he has, however, far more liberty than before. With regard to food he has to observe the following rules. The slayer must absolutely abstain from eating pork and fowl. He is allowed to eat all fruits cultivated by the Jibaros, the manioc, however, only boiled, but not roasted. He must [312] not eat the flesh of the tapir (pamá), of the great wild hog (unta pakki), of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called kashai by the Jibaros), or of any kind of monkey. Of birds he must not eat the tucan, the wild turkey, the paugi, or other larger birds commonly hunted by the Jibaros, but only such small forest birds as are shot with the blowgun and non-poisoned arrows. On the other hand, he is recommended to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the rodent guatusa or agouti (Dasyprocta agouti). Of fish he is

recommended to eat the large sheat-fish tungá, and the wámbi (Spanish, bocachupa), but is forbidden to eat the kánga (Spanish, bocachico), the commonest fish in the South American rivers. He may also eat small fish (chumakai). If he infringes these rules he runs the risk of falling ill and dying, and the object of the whole feast will be missed."

1: Karsten--312-313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 262 (1928-29)

"The dietetic prescriptions just mentioned depend on the following ideas. The slayer must, as a general rule, avoid eating the flesh of any animal through which the spirit of the slain enemy may get an opportunity to harm him. The most important mission of the tsantsa [JKM: head-trophy] after the feast Suamártinyu is to promote the increase of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the chicken (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu), and more particularly for the final great feast. For the very reason that the power of the tsantsa is in a mysterious way effective in the domestic animals mentioned, it is considered dangerous for the slayer to eat swine's flesh and fowls during this critical period, for that power may then prove destructive to him. The prohibition especially refers to swine's flesh. If the slayer eats of it, he may fall ill and die, and that is the work of the wakáni. This superstition is seemingly supported by the fact that flesh, and especially the fat of the swine, in tropical regions easily causes affections of the liver and other disturbances of the digestive processes. With the Indians such diseases often end fatally. The danger of a diet careless in this respect must of course be greater for a man who, for many months, has observed that strict abstinence with regard to food which has been described above.

The tapir is an animal which the Jibaros in general look upon with superstition and the flesh of which they therefore rarely eat. Formerly they had almost the same aversion from this animal as they still have from the deer, of which they believe that it is an incarnation of a demon (iguánchi), a belief still held of the tapir also by the

Jibaros of the Pastaza. The flesh of the wild hog is taboo to the slayer on account of the great similarity of that animal to the domestic swine, the flesh of which is strictly forbidden to him. The paca (kashai), although nor-[313]mally eaten by the Jibaros, is looked upon as a demoniacal animal, its flesh being therefore forbidden to persons who for one reason or another are obliged to diet.

That monkeys' flesh is forbidden to the slayer is due to the great likeness of these animals to man. The spirit of the dead enemy may hide in such an animal and cause the death of the slayer if he tries to shoot it in the forest or eat of its flesh.

Similarly the soul of the enemy may temporarily take up its abode in a tucan, a paugi, or some other large bird of the forest, and in this shape threaten the life of the slayer. Their flesh is therefore equally taboo to him.

The rule that the slayer can eat the manioc only boiled but not roasted is due to the fact that at the great feast the Jibaros prepare, from roasted manioc, a sort of manioc-wine (shiki), a magical drink which is ceremonially drunk on the last day of the feast. Since the consuming of this drink forms an important part of the conjurations at the feast, it is considered fraught with danger for the slayer to prematurely come into contact even with the roasted manioc from which it is made."

1: Karsten--313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 825, 727 (1928-29)

"....the rules in regard to the diet of the Jibaro warrior are founded on the idea that by eating the flesh of certain other animals he will acquire qualities characteristic of these animals, which make it easier for him to escape his invisible supernatural enemy as well as his living relatives. From this point of view we have to explain, for instance, the recommendation for the slayer to eat the flesh of the agouti. This small rodent is very shy and runs fast, being rather difficult to catch. By eating the animal the slayer will acquire the same quality, at the time very useful to him. Similarly the fish wámbi is known as very shy and quick, great skill being required for catching it. The large sheat-fish also cunningly hides in the depths of the great rivers and lagoons, thus easily escaping his pursuers. Even this fish, therefore, possesses qualities which are useful for the Jibaro warrior who is trying to evade his enemies."

1: Karsten--313-314 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 773, 727 (1928-29)

"The prohibition for the slayer to eat the fish kánga is explained from the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to these, as already mentioned, all animal beings, even the fishes, have once been men--that is, Jibaros. Even in primitive times they used to wage war on and kill each other, to make trophies of each other's heads and to celebrate victory feasts. The fish kánga, then, in a fight was killed by one of his enemies, who later on was changed into a bird, the umbrella bird, [313] called ungúmi by the Jibaros. The ungúmi also made a trophy of the head of the fish kánga. Therefore the mouth of the kánga has still great similarity to the reduced mouth of a human tsantsa, and this is the reason why the Jibaro warrior, during the time he has to fast, abstains from eating that fish."

1: Karsten--314-315 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"After the feast Suamártinyu the slayer undertakes a short journey, just as he did after he had 'washed off the blood'. Before he can make use of the greater liberty with regard to his mode of life which is conceded to him after the said feast, it is considered necessary that the black painting applied to his body at the feast shall have completely disappeared. The black dye prepared of the fruit of the Genipa americana, owing to its richness in tannin, is very astringent, and in spite of much washing remains for four or five days. The slayer as usual retires to the forest, staying in the neighbourhood of a sasa, where he bathes repeatedly and sleeps at night in a small shelter made close by. After the lapse of some days, when there are no traces left on his body of the painting, [315] he returns to his home, where he, in the main, resumes his former normal life, the only exception being the fasting which he is still bound to observe."

1: Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

"For some time afterwards [JKM: after the feast Suamártinyu] the slayer continually has intercourse with the spirit of the enemy he has killed, whom he meets and converses with, especially in his dreams. Through the ceremonies of conjuration performed, the wakáni is now turned into his obedient slave, and is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at his disposal. The spirit gives his victor instructions and advises him as to how the swine and the chickens ought to be fed and taken care of in order that they may grow quickly, get fat and increase, or how the plantations ought to be attended to, cleaned and irrigated, in order that they may flourish and bear abundant fruit. In the dream the spirit shows to the slayer the tracks of the numerous swine which will be the result of such care, and he lets him hear the sound of their grunting. The latter also believes that he sees his house surrounded by large flourishing plantations of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, and other fruits, even they being the future result of the supernatural power of the tsantsa. The fact that the slayer, through his intercourse with the wakáni, becomes invested with an extraordinary insight into all domestic work, also explains why during this time he becomes the adviser of the women in attending to the domestic animals and in the cultivation of the fields, occupations that normally, according to the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros, are incumbent solely upon the women. With the tsantsa hanging round his neck he now and then goes out in the swine yard and gives the women instructions with regard to details of the care of the

animals, or out to the manioc plantations where he gives them corresponding instructions concerning agriculture.

During all this, however, great caution and care is still necessary for the victor. If he, for instance, is negligent in observing the rules in regard to fasting, it may happen that the result of the whole affair is contrary to the one expected. Through such negligence he not only exposes himself personally to danger, but it may also happen that the swine, instead of growing and increasing in number, will die, through the wakáni, in the shape of a venomous snake, biting them to death, or killing them in some other way. The plantations likewise, instead of flourishing and giving fruit, may dry up. All these calamities are operations of the revengeful spirit, against whom sufficient precautions have not been taken. [316]

If, however, everything has turned out well, if the swine have become full-grown and fat, if the fields have given abundant fruits so that there is a good supply of manioc, bananas, and sweet potatoes, the warrior begins to take steps for the celebration of the proper victory feast, the so-called Einsupani."

1: Karsten--317 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 104, 727 (1928-29)

"The general name for a feast among the Jibaros is Nambéra, which word, however, particularly signifies a drinking-feast. The victory-feast is, therefore, sometimes called Nambéra tsantsa.(1) The technical name for this feast is Einsupani, from ein(t)su, 'folk,' 'people,' and the word 'pani', which also seems to mean 'feast', but is only used in this and a couple of other words.(2) 'To celebrate a feast' means ihiámbrama, whereas the verbal substantive ihiámbratinyu signifies the person who makes the feast, or in whose honour it is held. The principal person at the victory-feast--that is, the slayer--is also entitled mangértoma ('the one who has killed'). As a host at the feast he is called heindinyu."

"1. The word hista, which is now most frequently used for a feast (tsantsa hista, etc.), is borrowed from Spanish (fiesta).

2. Kusúpani, 'the feast of the men,' and Yawápani, 'the feast of the dogs.' "

1: Karsten--317 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 266 (1928-29)

"The victory-feast [JKM: Nambéra tsantsa] is also sometimes called tsantsa yuoma--that is, 'the eating of the tsantsa'--which expression has special reference to the series of conjurations through which the spirit of the killed enemy is trodden under foot, mortified, and enslaved. When the Jibaro is speaking of an enemy whom he particularly hates and wants to kill he says of him: 'Yuotahei', 'I will eat him.' This expression may be a survival from a time when the Jibaros were cannibals, and as a matter of fact at the head feast, as we shall see, a ceremony formerly took place which may be regarded as a trace of cannibalism."

"The final victory-feast generally takes place about one and a half or two, sometimes even three or more years after the Suamártinyu, according to the thoroughness with which the victor wants to prepare himself for the same. One or two months before the preparations proper begin the slayer returns to that life of a penitent which was prescribed for him during the period between Numbuimártinyu and Suamártinyu. He thus is not allowed to wear other clothes than his loin-cloth, keeps [318] his hair untied, gives up all ornaments and facial painting, does not bear a lance, does not go out hunting or fishing, abstains from sleeping with his wife, etc. His diet also is much the same as then. From now until the feast is over he eats only fruits, manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, etc., but only boiled, not roasted.

All preparations for the feast are made by the slayer himself, who also acts as host at the feast. In this quality he has to attend to several representative duties.

One and a half or two months before the feast the women commence to make the many clay vessels needed, work which they continue for some weeks. Among these clay vessels there are large pots (muitsa), in which the great quantity of manioc-beer brewed for the feast is kept, and smaller dishes (pininga), used for the food and the drink.

Some piningas are made quite small, about a third or a fourth of the normal size. These are intended for certain persons, who at the feast take part in important conjurations and hence have to fast afterwards, being allowed to drink only a small quantity

of manioc-beer.

A quite small pot is made with special care. In this pot, guarded by the whuéa or priest, the tobacco juice is kept which is given to the slayer and some other persons at the feast before and during certain important ceremonies. The pot is called nattípya and is provided with a small cover, from which the women taking part in the ceremonies have to drink the tobacco juice. The pot and the cover are likewise painted red with ochre.

More multifarious are the preparatory tasks incumbent on the men. At first they make a number of benches of split bamboo (guadua) almost square in form, each side about 1 1/2 meters in length, which are placed along the walls of the house and also in the middle close to the central pillars of the ante-room (tangámasha). These benches, which are called peáka, serve as seats during the day and as bedsteads during the night. For feasts some new ones must always be made for the guests who pass the nights in the house. Some small round seats (chimbuí), for one man to sit upon, are also made. One of these is made with special care. Upon this stool the principal person of the feast, the slayer, will sit during the ceremonies.

The fetching of a number of large chonta trunks from the forest also belongs to the earlier preparations for the feast. They will serve as firewood at the same, and have to be brought in good time in order that they may dry. [319]

Two weeks before its commencement the younger men are sent to hunt in the forest and to fish in the small rivers. These hunting and fishing expeditions before a feast are considered very important, for a good supply of game and fish must be procured for the guests. Generally these expeditions last for 15 days. The game and fish are always brought home in a dried condition.

The fishing is carried out by varvasco poison, called timo by the Jibaros, or by another poison called masu. With this poison the water is poisoned in a certain part of the small river chosen for the purpose, the river being previously barred with sticks and stones.

Similarly, two weeks previously some heads of green bananas are hung up on the ceiling of the house, in order that they may get yellow and ripen. Ripe bananas (tsamá) form one of the dishes offered to the guests at the feast.

The last work which has to be performed by the men consists in weaving a dozen large baskets (changina), used by the women at the feast for carrying home the great quantity of manioc, camote, and other fruits needed for the daily common banquet. The work is done by the younger male members of the family as well as by their friends from other houses. The slayer himself goes round to the houses inviting the younger men, his most intimate friends, to help at the work. The youths first go out into the forest in order to collect the liana used for basket weaving, called kâpi, and thereafter assemble in the house of the feast-giver, where the work is done. It lasts for two or

three days. When it is finished the slayer expresses his thanks to the young men for their help, addressing each of them separately in a few words and at the same time inviting them to the feast.

During these days the victor has been engaged in inviting other people also to the feast, going round alone from house to house. The invitation is always made in a ceremonial way, the slayer addressing the person concerned in a sort of speech and speaking in a loud voice. While thus going from house to house, the slayer does not carry his lance, but only a staff, in observance of the rules prescribed for him as regards the wearing of arms.

A few days previous to the arrival of other guests, two old persons arrive in the house who will play important rôles at the feast. One is an old man and warrior, who himself has killed some enemies and celebrated at least one victory-feast. This man is called whuéa, and may be said to act as priest at the feast, all ceremonies being carried out with [320] his assistance. In most cases he is the same person who conducted the ceremonies at the feasts Numbuimártinyu and Suamártinyu.

The other person is an old woman, called oháha, who at the feast will conduct all ceremonies performed by the women, especially the incantations and conjurations, acting thus, as it were, as a priestess. She has also led such ceremonies at the earlier minor feasts. Both the whuéa and the oháha are paid for their services, the former

receiving from the slayer an itipi (loin-cloth), the latter a woman's garment (called tarachi). They also receive some flesh from the swine slaughtered at the feast."

1: Karsten--321-326 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"Immediately after the basket work is finished, a dance, or rather a series of conjurations, takes place, which, on account of the word uuimina ('go away!) often pronounced therein, is called Wuimchi. This dance, which may be regarded as an introduction to the feast proper, is performed during the four last nights before the latter commences, and its aim seems to be in part to paralyze the danger which is supposed to proceed from the tsantsa, in part to increase the magical power of the trophy and make it effective in different departments of the economic and social life of the Indians. With the dance Wuimchi, therefore, the victory-feast may be said to begin.

This dance and the corresponding conjurations are performed by the younger men and women, especially by the men, the nearest friends of the slayer. In the first place those youths take part in it who made the baskets. The rest of the guests do not arrive until some days later, when the feast proper begins.

As is the case with most Indian dances, the Wuimchi commences when darkness sets in, about 6 o'clock. The slayer himself, in his quality of host, goes round in the house and invites his friends to take part in the dance.

The men do not dress in festival dresses for this dance; the women again, as usual, wear the rattles of snail shells round the waist.

Wuimchi is a ring dance. All men and women arrange themselves in a circle round the central pillar of the house and move round in slow time, holding each other's hands.

The dance is accompanied by conjurations. The first conjuration especially refers to the game, the dancers enumerating all those quadrupeds and birds which are most hunted by the Jibaros. First of all, different kinds of monkeys are mentioned, which are much appreciated by the Indians on account of their flesh, their fur, and their teeth. The [322] tsantsa thus, by virtue of its supernatural power will, among other things, promote the hunting luck of the victor. From the last incantations it moreover appears that it will also exert a favourable influence upon the home industry of the Indians--weaving, basket raddling, etc.

The Wuimchi is begun with shrill whistles. Thereafter the dancers proceed to enunciate the respective names, moving round the pillar, each word being followed by a sonorous 'hej!'

The conjuration runs as follows:

Hej, hej, hej!
Yákuma a, hej! 'there is the howling monkey' (Yakuma, Myletes).
Kapándinyu a, hej! 'there is the red one'; (the howling monkey is red).
Chuo a, hej! 'there is the brown monkey' (chuo).
Washi a, hej! 'there is the black monkey' (washi).
Sepuro a, hej! 'there is the long-haired monkey' (sepuro).
Tsiri a hej! 'there is the capuchin monkey' (tsiri).

Tsema a, hej! 'there is the gray monkey' (tséma).
Pakki a, hej! 'there is the wild hog' (pakki).
Kávashu a, hej! 'there is the green parrot' (kávashu).
Púsurshu a, hej! 'there is the long-tailed one' (the macaw).
Máshu a, hej! 'there is the paugi' (mashu).
Kuchi a, hej! 'there is the domestic swine' (kuchi).
Kúturama a, hej! 'there is swine's lard'.
Ayandasta a, hej! 'there is the women's clothing'.
Ikichi, a, hej! 'there is the girdle to confine the clothing with.'
Changina a, hej! 'there is the raddled basket,' etc.

This conjuration is continued for about one hour, the dancers meantime moving alternately to right and to left. Every time they stop to move in the opposite direction they give loud whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi, chi,' as if to keep up with these shouts the continuity of the conjuration.

Another conjuration is devoted to women and the fecundity of the women. The fruitfulness of the women, consequently, will be one more of the beneficial effects of the tsantsa.

This conjuration is as follows:
Hej! hej! hej!

Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kanutpia, hej! [323]
Kanutpia, hej!
Nihantsi suruchu kanutpia, hej!
Kanutpani hitia, hej!
Numbitinya, hej!
Nihirseisaka, kahetpia, hej!
Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kahetpia, hej!
Nikasneiti, hej!
Eitgamue, hej!
Pingerati, hej!
Maketi, hej!

The word noa means 'woman'. Kanutpia, kahetpia, numbintinya, nihirseisaka, are different expressions for the sexual act. Nihántsi suruchu 'may the tsantsa grant it;' nikasneiti 'may it be true'; eitgamue 'so you will do;' pingerati 'may it be nice;' maketi 'it is enough'.

Of an altogether different kind is the conjuration now beginning. It is the mysterious song to the bird kungúpi, a word therein repeatedly pronounced. The soft melody seems to indicate that the song of kungúpi is in part a prayer, in part a conjuration. The youths, while singing, dance in a ring round the pillar as before.

....

Kungúpi is a mysterious nightbird which the Jibaros regard with superstitious dread, believing that the soul of the murdered enemy may take the shape of that bird and then send them sickness and death. Whether we are here dealing with a purely mythical bird or a really existing one, I have not been able to ascertain. To the mind of the Jibaros, of course, it is a real bird; but none of the Indians has been [324] able to show me the bird kungúpi or to describe it to me in more detail. Very long ago, the Jibaros told me, one of their ancestors suddenly died at a feast, and his death was ascribed to the bird kungúpi, the shape of which the killed enemy was supposed to have taken. Since that time, at every victory-feast, they sing a special conjuration to the ominous bird in order to prevent the repetition of such an incident.

Having for a while merely repeated the word kungúpi in a certain melody, the dancers continue with the phrases mana, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, and wúimina, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, which is a formula for conjuring away the fatal bird (wúimina go away; michaki 'may you get cold! 'may you stiffen!'--an expression frequently used in

similar conjurations).

Another conjuration of the same kind is the following chant:

Yawá nu ikyáma,	Umaná michakia,
Yawá nu ikyáma,	Wúimina michaki,
Yawártaki takarseipya,	Umaná chiangá,
Wúimina chianga,	Umaná chiasua
Huimya, huimya,	Umaná chianga,
Wúimina chianga,	Núruna chásamana,
Wúimina chianga,	Táhita chíangana, etc.

In this chant it is particularly 'the tiger in the forest' (yawánu ikyáma) that is the object of the conjuration (yawartaki tákarseipya 'tiger, don't touch us!' wúimina, míchakia--'go away, get cold!'), in order that he may not come and kill the Indians. Evidently it is believed that the tiger (jaguar) is another shape which the soul of the killed enemy may assume when trying to take revenge upon the victor.

Now a series of other conjurations follow, the general object of which seems to be to increase the magical power of the tsantsa. A number of short formulas are repeated, the exact meaning of which seems to be unknown even to the dancing Indians themselves. We are here dealing with archaic or ceremonial language which is understood by some, at the most, of the oldest Indians. The dancing youths repeat the same phrase for about an hour. Then some old Indian recites another similar formula of conjuration in

a special melody, and this is in its turn repeated for a while in the same way. Each formula is finished with shrill whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi,' and such exclamations also accompany the interruption which takes place when the dancers change from the right [325] to the left and vice versa. Examples of such formulas, unintelligible as to their exact meaning, are the following:

Mainia mainiatekana.
Kukuyukunta, kuuyukunta.
Sivu, sivu, sivahamba.
Sirumbachi wahe, etc.

The dancers thus, for instance, for half an hour may incessantly repeat the formula mainia mainiatekana, mainia mainiatekana, continuing thereafter with another formula.

Other formulas of conjuration are more intelligible, as for instance the following:

Amue sinchimaka, chikichitantani, aya, aya,
Amue sinchimaka, himeritantani, aya, aya:
'Make thee strong, make thee powerful, my only tsantsa.'

In ceremonial language the Jibaros often make use of certain Quichua words, which are very rare in their language. The word sinchi is Quichua and means 'strong'; likewise the word aya, which means 'soul', 'dead man'. In the formula mentioned the soul of the enemy, materialized in the tsantsa, is spoken to directly.

The phrases are in most cases recited quite monotonously or almost as when one speaks. In other cases they are sung in a special melody, ...

During the days that the dance Wuimchi takes place the tsantsa, enveloped in a cloth, is kept hanging over one of the fires in the house in [326] such a way that it is always surrounded by the smoke from the fire. The object of keeping the trophy in this way is partly to kill the microbes which are likely to destroy it, partly, as it seems, to mortify the spirit of the dead enemy. The spirit (wakáni), according to the idea of the Indians, always keeps in the neighbourhood of the tsantsa and now and then approaches the head in the ghostly, invisible shape of a man. During the dance and the conjurations the Indians at times move away from the chonta pillar round which they dance and make a tour of the house, when they also approach the trophy hanging over the fire and chant to it.

The slayer himself does not take part in the dance, but he is not allowed to sleep at all during the night. Sitting on a sort of chair of honour specially made for him, he merely looks on the performance, only now and then giving the young men a sign to stop dancing or to begin again. Outside the ring some old women take their stand, offering manioc-beer to the dancing men and women, who by turns step out from the ring to empty a pininga of the drink. As a rule, the women only take part in the beginning of the dance; the men, on the contrary, have to continue with it until dawn. At

6 o'clock an older Indian comes and gives three strokes with a staff to the chonta pillar round which the dancers move. This is a signal for them to finish the dance for that night. All the young men and women now run out and down to the river, where they bathe. All the dances of the Jibaros are finished with such a general bath in the river.

The dance Wuimchi is also continued during the following three nights."

1: Karsten--327-331 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 273 (1928-29)

"The following day, that is, three days before the feast proper begins, the manioc-beer to be served to the many guests, and also a manioc-wine which is to be drunk at the end of the feast, are prepared. The preparation of both these drinks, and especially of the manioc-wine, is of a ceremonial character. The main thing is to make them as strong as possible, this being essential for the success of the feast. The slayer himself, therefore, must personally assist in the work in order to transfer his own power to the beverages. The leading principle in the whole Tsantsa-feast, as already mentioned, is that the slayer, by virtue of the close relation established between him and the spirit of his victim, becomes invested with supernatural power and knowledge which he is trying to use for his own ends and to make effective in different departments of his economic life.

Early in the morning all the women, headed by the wife of the slayer and the priestess (oháha), go out to the manioc fields to fetch the manioc for preparing the drinks mentioned. Each of the women carries one of the baskets (changina) just made, and they are accompanied by the men armed with lances. The manioc which is to be brought home by the wife of the slayer, and of which the important manioc-wine is to be prepared, is gathered with especial care. When the woman pulls up the first stalk of manioc--which ought to be particularly large and well grown--the priestess is holding her wrist and likewise helps her to lay it down in the basket. Then she fills the basket with other manioc roots without the aid of the priestess. The women return to the

house with their baskets in about two hours, and at once start the preparations. The fruit is washed and the majority of it is peeled, parted, and boiled in various large clay pots. From this manioc, by masticating and mashing the fruit, fermented manioc substance is later prepared. [328]

The manioc-wine (shiki) is prepared in another way. For this purpose the manioc is first roasted, not boiled, a work performed by the priest (whuéa) at a big fire outside the house, with the assistance of some other Indians. As soon as a sufficient quantity of the fruit has been roasted it is taken into the house and laid on some large banana leaves. At the side of it three baskets (changina) are placed, which are to be filled with the roasted fruit. A heap of certain large forest leaves, called kachini by the Jibaros, and another heap of a smaller kind of leaf called wambá are also placed close by. On a special banana leaf there is a piece of salt and a piece of the stem of the manioc plant with the rind, wich [sic] has previously been roasted.

Now the roasted fruit has to be laid in the three baskets, and at this the slayer himself and his wife and daughter have to assist, the priest (whuéa) conducting the ceremonies. The latter, who has previously prepared some tobacco juice in his nattipya, gives some of this medicine, first to the slayer and then to his wife and daughter, the first mentioned, as usual, receiving it through the nose, the latter through the mouth. The priest subsequently grasps the slayer by the wrist and the latter leans down and

takes one of the large kachini leaves and lays it carefully down upon the bottom of one of the three baskets. Thereupon he, with the aid of the priest, takes one of the smaller wamba leaves and lays it in the same way in the basket upon the first leaf. Then the slayer, whose hand is still held by the priest, takes one of the roasted maniocs and opens it with his fingers. An older Indian holds out the leaf with the salt and the roasted manioc stem, the latter having previously been scraped with a knife, so that a small quantity of a brown powder has been obtained. The slayer with two fingers takes a little of this powder and puts it into the parted manioc fruit. Then he takes a piece of salt, bites off a little of it, and puts this small piece into the fruit. He then closes the latter with his hands and lays it carefully in the basket upon the leaves previously laid there. Exactly the same is repeated with another manioc. The slayer opens the fruit with his fingers, puts a little of the brown powder as well as a small piece of salt into it, and then lays the fruit in the basket at the side of the manioc first placed there. Thereupon he takes a large kachini leaf, as well as a wambá leaf, and lays these in the basket upon the fruit. While all these operations are being performed the wrist of the slayer is held by the priest. Now the same is repeated with the wife of the slayer, whose right hand is held by the old man. She takes a manioc, opens it, sprinkles some of the brown powder and a [329] little salt into it, again closes it, and then places it in the basket upon the leaves last laid down there. A second manioc is in like manner put into

the basket by her. Lastly, she covers the fruit with a kachini and a wambá leaf, just as was done by the slayer. Finally, the daughter of the slayer performs the same action, putting two maniocs into the basket and covering them with the leaves, the girl being in the same way assisted by the priest. In all, six manioc fruits have thus been ceremonially placed in the basket.

An older Indian now continues the work of filling the basket with roasted manioc until it is nearly full, but he does it without ceremony and is not assisted by the priest. Nor is the brown powder or the salt put into the fruit. However, the last maniocs with which the basket is filled must again be laid down by the slayer, his wife, and daughter, and with the same ceremonies as before. Each of them thus, with the assistance of the priest, again places two maniocs in the basket, sprinkling some of the brown powder and a little salt into them and covering them with the leaves. The basket having been filled, the slayer, assisted by the priest, carefully covers it with leaves and ties it over with lianas.

With exactly the same ceremonies the two other baskets are filled, the slayer, his wife, and daughter always laying down the first and the last maniocs and covering them with leaves.

At the other end of the house, in the women's quarters, a sort of shelter or broad shelf has been made of split bamboo, resting upon four poles about 1 1/2 or 2 metres in

height. Under this shelter the large clay pots in which the manioc substance is laid for fermenting are later placed upon the ground. Even the three baskets containing the roasted manioc are brought here. They are not laid on the ground, but are hung up to the roof by means of a special pole fixed in the ground. The slayer himself carries the baskets here from the place where they had been filled with the fruit, the priest holding his hands. The slayer takes the pole and fixes it in the ground close to one of the four poles upon which the shelter rests. Other men complete the work, fixing the pole more steadily in the ground and tying it to the other poles. The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, lifs [sic] up one of the three baskets and hangs it upon the pole. Thereafter, with the aid of the priest, he hangs the two other baskets upon the pole.

The baskets are left hanging here for three days until the beginning of the feast, manioc-wine being then prepared from them in a way to be described later. During these days the fruit will 'ripen' properly; [330] the powder and the salt put into the manioc will impregnate the fruit and exert some mysterious influence to the effect that the wine prepared from it will turn out exceedingly strong. To the kachini and wambá leaves, placed in the baskets, some mysterious influence is also ascribed.

While this work was being done by the slayer, his wife and daughter, and some of the men, the rest of the women, headed by the priestess, have been engaged in preparing the manioc-beer (nihamánchi). After the root has been boiled it has to be masticated,

a work which takes some two hours to perform. The masticating of the manioc for the feasts is a real ceremony and is called Nauma. Generally only the women take part in it, since the preparation of the beer is a work particularly incumbent on the women. Of the fruit, however, only a part, or at the most a half, is masticated. The rest of it is only mashed. The manioc masticated is thoroughly mixed with saliva and then spat into a number of large clay pots (muitsa). To each of these some of the mashed manioc is added and the whole substance is carefully stirred.

Generally the pots are now only covered with banana leaves and the substance allowed to ferment. For the great feasts, however, a special ferment, consisting of previously chewed and fermented manioc, is added in order that the beer may turn out stronger. A small clay vessel with this ferment is kept ready. The following operations are, in the main, carried out only by the women--first of all by the wife of the slayer, who is assisted by the priestess (ohâha). However, even the slayer himself must assist at some actions, to transfer his power to the beverage. The wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the priestess, carries each of the pots containing the manioc substance to the shelter before mentioned, where the fermentation will take place. Six or eight large pots are thus placed under the shelter in holes previously made in the ground for the purpose. In order that the pots may stand more steadily they are supported underneath by pieces of the genipa fruit. These pieces are placed under the pots by the

slayer in a ceremonial way, his hands being meantime held by the priest. The wife of the slayer, assisted by the oháha, now puts a little of the manioc ferment just mentioned into each of the pots, but before the ferment is put in the slayer has each time to taste a little of it. The pots are then carefully covered with large leaves by the wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the oháha, and finally tied with lianas.

Some of the large clay pots are tied on the outside with strips of bast in such a way as to form ornamental figures or patterns like those formed [331] in basket weaving. The real significance of this arrangement is not quite clear. It is possible that its object is only to give strength to the pots so that they shall not burst at the fermentation of the manioc substance. But it is also possible that some mysterious power is ascribed to the strips as well as to the ornaments formed by them--a power which will promote the fermentation and contribute to making the beverage strong. This, at any rate, is the object of the genipa fruit placed under the pots. The genipa--from which the magical black body-paint is prepared--will communicate its power to the pots and the sacred substance contained in them, a power further increased by the fact that the slayer himself places the fruit there.

It is supposed to be of essential importance that the clay pots should be placed firmly in the ground, for then the fermentation also will take place steadily, and no disturbing influences will make themselves felt.

All these preparations have taken the main part of the day to accomplish, and are not finished until the afternoon. The fermentation, which in a way is the most important detail of the whole thing, however, still has to take place. In order to hurry or favourably influence the process of fermentation all the women sit down on the ground around the pots containing the manioc substance and, led by the priestess, sing a sort of chant or conjuration. With this ceremony, which lasts for about half an hour, the preparation of the manioc-beer ends.

The fact that only the women have to brew the manioc-beer--which is the rule among all Indians--is due to the same reason as makes the cultivation of the manioc fields a business solely incumbent on the female sex. According to the animistic ideas of the Jibaros, as we have seen, all plants are animated by human spirits (wakáni), some of male sex, some of female. The manioc, like most other domestic plants, has a woman's soul. Hence--according to the principle 'like is best known by like'--the women have to cultivate this plant just as, in regard to the preparation of the manioc-beer, they are believed to have a special power of promoting that mysterious and, to the Indian mind, unintelligible process of nature which is called fermentation."

"After the slayer has, in the way described, assisted in the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine, his role with regard to the preparations for the feast is finished. The following days and nights he has to spend outside his own house, making on the third day, when the feast commences, his solemn entrance into the same. The first two of the three nights he thus stays outside he passes in another house a few [332]doors away from his own; the third night, again, in a shelter made at a short distance from the house of the feast. The priest (whuéa), who always must remain in the neighbourhood of the slayer and take care of him, accompanies him on this excursion.

All the three nights that the slayer is absent his friends in the house of the feast, and particularly the young men, perform the dance Wuimchi in the same way as on the first night, from the fall of night until the dawn.

On the afternoon of the day previous to the commencement of the feast, when the slayer has been absent for two nights, the following ceremony takes place in a shelter made a short distance from the house of the feast. Some of the older Indians take the trophy which, as usual, is kept hanging over the fire, place it upon a shield and carry it to the shelter mentioned. In this shelter the slayer and the priest now stay, and they will also pass the following third and last night there. Outside it a fire is made. A chonta staff is fixed in the ground close by the fire. The priest gives the slayer tobacco

juice through the nose, then grasps his hand and makes him hang the tsantsa on the top of the chonta staff. With the aid of the priest, he places three small round stones, provided for the purpose, upon the fire to be heated. When they are sufficiently hot, the slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes up one of them by means of a stick cleft at the end, and drops it into the head through the opening at the neck, holding the trophy with the left hand. The small stone is allowed to roll to and fro in the head for a moment; then the slayer takes it out and puts it back on the fire. The priest again gives him tobacco juice, whereupon the same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third one. Every time that the slayer puts a stone into the head the priest is holding his hand, and each stone, after being used in the way described, is again put on the fire, where the stones are ultimately left. The trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta staff. The priest grasps the slayer by the wrist and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa with his hand, at the same time saying: Kakáruma, pangi ishamakaipa, --'Have courage; do not fear the great serpent'. The trophy is subsequently taken back to the house by the other men, but the slayer and the priest remain in the shelter.

As we find, the same ceremony is repeated here as was earlier performed with the trophy previous to beginning the work of preparing it. The procedure with the small heated stones seems to be merely to [333] mortify the soul of the enemy, attached to the

head, to protect the slayer against the revengeful ghost, and favourably to prepare for the important incident which will take place on the following day--the entrance of the victor into the house of the feast.

That the object of the ceremony described is essentially to paralyze the danger threatening the slayer from the dead enemy, may also be concluded from the last words addressed to him by the priest in which he is warned not to fear the 'great serpent.' The great boa serpent (pangi) is the most formidable of all demons who people the spiritual world of the Jibaros. He is the original father of witchcraft; it is from his body that the sorcerers receive the poison with which their organism is impregnated and the invisible arrow (túnchi), which they discharge at their victims. After death the souls of the medicine-men are also believed to enter into the boa. The Jibaros, like all Indians, therefore particularly fear this monster, and when they kill a boa they think that they kill a powerful sorcerer. From the above statement it appears that the giant serpent also is one of those shapes in which the spirit of the killed enemy is believed to meet the slayer."

"Those guests who have come from far arrive at the house of the feast on the eve of the day fixed for the same. They do not, however, enter the house, but pass the night in provisional shelters made outside. It is not until the following morning at 5 o'clock that the doors are opened and the guests can enter. Gradually the guests who live near arrive. Before entering the house all arrange their dress, which the Jibaro Indian always does when he is about to make a visit to another house. In a sort of net-bag (shigra), carried on the back, the men have brought with them their best clothing and ornaments, first of all a new loin-cloth (itipi). In another smaller bag they carry a comb, a small mirror, a small round gourd containing a red dye for painting the body, called mushpa or aratinyu, as well as certain other small things. At a rivulet the Indian makes his toilet; he unties his thick hair, washes it, combs it, and ties it up again in the three usual pigtails. The band with which the big pigtail at the neck is wound round is adorned with tucan feathers and human hair. On his head he places some feather ornament, a crown made of red and yellow tucan feathers, called tawása, or another ornament of yellow macaw feathers, which is tied round the head, and is called tendearma. Older warriors are often seen wearing a sort of cap of monkey's skin or an ornament made of squirrels' tails (kunámbi). The face, and especially the region around the eyes, is painted red in different ways, some Indians simply coating the face with the paint, others applying geometrical patterns to it. A new loin-cloth (itipi) is

always put on before entering the house, a girdle of human hair (akáchu) being used to fix it with. Some additional ornaments are put on later for the dance at night.

The women always pay less attention to their dress and wear fewer ornaments than the men. The principal garment of the women is called taráchi, and a new one is as a rule made for a feast. Since weaving is an [335] industry exclusively incumbent on the men, they always make the clothes of their wives. On the crown of the head the women on festive occasions generally wear a red-painted cotton band, called tiringsa. In the ear-lobes they wear similar sticks (arusa) as do the men, but much smaller, and besides, in the lower lip the small pin of wood called tukúnu. Both the arusa and the tukúnu are mostly ornamented with incised figures.

For the dances the women also paint their faces, although not as much as the men. Around their necks the women wear a necklace of beads called shaúka, and the upper arms are tied round with cotton strings called patáki. For the dances they always put on a broad girdle or rattle of snail shells (kúngu); but these rattles are not ornaments but a means of conjuration."

"When the guests enter the house [JKM: for the first day of the victory feast] they are received by the hosts--the father, brothers, or sons of the slayer--with a ceremonial greeting. The men generally enter three or four at a time. Each of them utters a loud: 'Winyahei,' 'I come,' whereupon all arrange themselves in a row close to the door, with their lances stretched forth, and remain motionless until they are spoken to by the hosts. Some of the boys in the house step forward and hand a small round chair (kutánga) to each of the guests, who now take a seat, but still without uttering a word, and holding their lances between their knees. The hosts, having arranged their dress and painted their faces, take their seats, each sitting in front of the guest to whom he is going to speak, and only utter the word winiti, 'may you come.' This is the signal to the guest that he may start speaking. He mentions that he has been invited to the feast, that he has accepted the invitation and arrived to honour the victor, etc. The conversation mostly turns on the feast, the preparations made for it, the number of swine bred for the same, the number of guests invited, etc. The host and the guest speak in turns not in the ordinary conversational tone but shouting. Each conversation lasts for about 10 minutes, and each guest has to be spoken to separately by some one of the hosts. During the conversation manioc-beer is repeatedly served to the guests by the women in the house. Each guest has to empty at least three dishes (pininga) of this drink. After this ceremonial reception the guests may step forth from the door and move about in the house

at liberty; and other guests arriving are received in the same manner.

Only the men are received in this ceremonial way. The women, following their husbands, fathers, or brothers, enter without any form of salutation and are not particularly spoken to by the hosts."

"All the guests having arrived and been properly received by the hosts, preparations are immediately made for receiving the victor himself, whose solemn entrance now takes place.

Some of the oldest warriors take the trophy, which has been kept hanging in the smoke over the fire, place it on a shield and carry it to the shelter outside of the house, where the slayer and the priest have passed the third night. Here in part the same ceremony is repeated as took place on the previous day. The tsantsa is placed on the top of a chonta stick fixed in the ground. The priest gives the slayer juice of tobacco and helps him to hang the trophy on himself, over the breast. The priest takes his stand immediately behind the slayer, and behind them the other warriors range themselves in a row, armed with lances, shields, and firearms. All proceed, slowly and ceremoniously toward the house, the priest holding his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer. In front of the latter another old Indian goes, holding the chonta stick in his hand. He fixes the stick in the ground a few steps in advance of the slayer. As soon as the latter, walking slowly, has reached the chonta stick, the old man removes it and again fixes it in the ground some steps in front of the slayer, and so on, until they reach the door of the house. During this march the slayer repeatedly receives tobacco juice through the nose, administered by the priest. At the door the procession stops. The slayer takes off his old loin-cloth and puts on a new one which is held ready. Then, with the aid of the priest, he takes off the trophy, which is tied to a chonta lance. The priest

takes the lance, with the trophy tied to it, quickly passes it in through the door, takes it out again, and again passes it inside, fixing it firmly in the ground close to the door (Pl. XXVIII).

Meanwhile the other men and the women arrange themselves to receive the victor, whose entrance into the house takes place under the same ceremonial conditions as at the feast Numbuimártinyu. Now, just as on that occasion, the dance Ihiámbrama is performed, the wife and daughter of the slayer playing the principal part among the women. The women appear from the interior of the house, arranged in a row, holding each other by the hands, with rattles of snail shells round their waists. Foremost of the women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. On each side of them the men stand in two rows.

Immediately before the dance Ihiámbrama takes place, two warriors rush into the house from outside, between the rows, brandishing lances and shields and giving war cries as if they were charging against an enemy. They are followed by a third warrior brandishing a rifle, with which [337] he fires a shot in the air. These warriors are preparing the way for the victor. The latter now receives tobacco juice from the priest through the nose, and his wife and daughter receive it through the mouth. The daughter then seizes the slayer from behind at the waist with both hands, while his wife, heading

the rest of the women, gives him her right hand. All now dance into the interior of the house to the accompaniment of rattles, drums, and flutes, and immediately return to the door. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice more, but the second and third times the slayer holds the tsantsa in his right hand, with his arm stretched out, while proceeding with the women into the interior of the house. The dance Ihiámbrama is thus repeated three times, just as at the previous minor feasts.

The tsantsa is again tied to a chonta lance and the latter is fixed in the ground at the door, the usual way of keeping the trophy when it is not needed for the ceremonies.

All the ceremonies described have one and the same object, namely, to protect the victor from the spirit of his enemy. Within the house those conjurations will take place through which the wakáni is trodden under foot, mortified, and completely made the slave of his conqueror. The first entrance into the house is, therefore, believed to be particularly critical for the latter. When the victor approaches the house the spirit is believed to meet him in the invisible shape of a man, trying to kill him. Tobacco juice is repeatedly given him to increase his power of resistance against the machinations of the invisible enemy. The chonta staff fixed in the ground in front of the slayer, when he approaches the house, has for its object to prevent the wakáni from meeting him. The three warriors, who, previous to the dance Ihiámbrama, rushed into the house brandishing their weapons and shooting, were likewise trying to keep off this enemy and inspire him with terror, for the lance and the shield, and still more shots from firearms,

are feared even by the spirits. Lastly, the object of the whole dance Ihiámbrama, as we have seen before, is to secure the victor's first entrance into the house.

The ceremonies at the 'entrance' of the victor may vary somewhat in certain details. Thus at another victory-feast the proceedings were as follows. Some of the older warriors took the tsantsa, placed it on a shield, and carried it with caution to the shelter outside the house, where the slayer and the priest had passed the third night. The shield, with the tsantsa, was set down on the ground, and all the warriors started to [338]dance around it, making menacing gestures at it with their lances. Thereafter the slayer, followed by the other warriors, began slowly to move toward the house. The priest placed the shield, with the tsantsa, on the ground a few steps in front of the slayer. As soon as the latter had reached the shield, the priest again moved it a short distance from him on the ground, and so on, until they reached the door of the house. Here the slayer exchanged his old loin-cloth for a new one. The priest made him touch the tsantsa with his mouth and helped him to hang it round his neck. Thereupon the dance Ihiámbrama took place in the way described above.

With these introductory ceremonies the official part of the morning's program is finished. A general drinking-bout now commences, manioc-beer being brought in large piningas to each of the guests by the women. Food is also offered them consisting of

boiled manioc and boiled ripe bananas, as well as of meat, game and fish. Those persons who have played some particularly important part at the ceremonies are, however, obliged to fast. This, of course, first of all applies to the slayer himself, his wife, and daughter, who, as mentioned before, have to abstain from every kind of meat and are only allowed to eat certain fruits. The priest (whuéa), who assists them, both now and during the following days must abstain from eating swine's flesh. His most important duty is to prepare tobacco juice, mixed with saliva, which medicine he has continually to give to the slayer, as well as to his wife and daughter. Should he touch swine's flesh, which the persons mentioned are strictly prohibited from eating, the tobacco which he gives them would become polluted and made ineffective. Likewise, the priestess (oháha), who conducts the ceremonies of the women, is prohibited from tasting pork. Like the priest, she during the feast mainly eats chicken, together with manioc and other fruits. The two warriors who, previous to the dance Ihiámbrama, rushed into the house with lances and shields, and the third warrior who followed them firing a shot into the air, are also obliged to fast on that day on account of their having taken part in an important ceremony of conjuration. Thus they are allowed to drink only a small quantity of manioc-beer, which is served to them in small clay dishes specially made for the purpose.

Later in the forenoon the preparation of the manioc-wine, which was begun three days ago, is continued. The roasted manioc which was then hung up in the three

baskets, filled and arranged with so much care, is now supposed to have properly ripened. The slayer, accompanied [339] by the priest and other men, goes to the shelter where the baskets had been hung up. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes down the baskets one after the other and starts to open them, proceeding with the utmost care and being always assisted by the old man. The slayer and the priest both taste the fruit in each basket to convince themselves of its having acquired the necessary virtue for the preparation of the wine. The women start to masticate the roasted fruit in the same way as the boiled manioc is masticated for brewing ordinary manioc-beer. A part of the fruit masticated is then separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing a special manioc substance from it by means of fermentation. Of this substance a kind of manioc-beer will be brewed, to be drunk after the most important ceremony of the feast, the washing of the tsantsa, two days later. Again, of the rest of the fruit masticated the proper manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), to be consumed on the last day of the feast, is prepared in the following way.

A clay pot is placed on the ground, and the slayer and his wife and daughter, as well as the priest, take their stand in front of it. On a banana leaf a number of wooden pins have been laid, made from the twigs of a special wild tree which the Jibaros call shuya and which produces a sweet black fruit similar to grapes. On another banana leaf have been laid some leaves of another forest tree called apai. The slayer, whose hand is

held by the priest, takes one of the shuya pins and slowly and carefully places it inside the pot--about in the middle of it--in a horizontal position. His wife and daughter, whose hands are likewise held by the priest, also put one pin each in the pot beside the first one. Another man completes the work, putting without ceremony some other similar pins into the pot until they have been laid along its whole breadth, with a distance of about half an inch between each. Now the slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes an apai leaf and cautiously places it across the shuya pins. The wife and the daughter do the same, each laying down one apai leaf in the pot at the side of the first one. Several more apai leaves are laid down, until the shuya pins are completely covered with them. Lastly, these leaves are perforated all over with a wooden pin, so that the whole thing becomes like a sieve.

The masticated manioc substance is now laid in the pot upon the leaves. The slayer and his wife and daughter again begin the work, each of them laying down, with the aid of the priest, a small quantity of the substance. The pot is wholly filled with it, and the mouth is covered first with some apai leaves and then with some large kachini leaves [340] (Alocasia macrorrhiza) the whole thing being lastly carefully tied over with lianas. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, now places the pot upon the shelter mentioned before, where it is left for two days and two nights. During this time the essence in the masticated manioc substance will be distilled and drop into the lower empty part of the pot. This essence is the manioc-wine.

In the afternoon, at about 4 o'clock, two swine and some hens are slaughtered to provide food for the guests during the two following days. The proper ceremonial slaughter does not take place until the penultimate day of the feast. The flesh of the swine now killed, however, cannot be cooked until midnight, or about 1 o'clock on the following morning, and will be eaten early on the following day."

"When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock, the general feast dance begins which is called Hantsëmáta. All take part in it, both hosts and guests, man and women; first of all, however, the latter. The slayer himself goes round and invites the guests to take part in the dance speaking separately to each of them. The dance is conducted by an elderly Indian who previously gives tobacco water to the women. All who are going to take part in it are dressed in the proper way. The women, as usual, wear their rattles of snail shells round the waist. Some of the men put on additional ornaments for the dance--first of all a back ornament made of the bones of the bird tayu (Steatornis), called tayukúnchi, which is adorned with human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed birds of the forest with brilliant plumes.

The face and the uncovered part of the body is carefully painted with red ochre (Bixa orellana), animal figures and figures of snakes as well as geometric ornaments being the most common patterns. The older men prefer to paint themselves black in the face with genipa. Some younger men are seen painting themselves, previous to the dance, with tobacco juice, making with their fingers certain linear ornaments upon the face and breast--ornaments which, however, are hardly visible upon the brownish skin of the Indians. The body-painting with tobacco juice is supposed to be a good prophylactic for witchcraft.

The Hantsëmáta, which literally means: 'The killing of the enemy's soul (hantsa).' is a ring dance. The dancers hold each other by the hands and circle around the three

central pillars of the house, forming a large ring, or rather an elliptical figure, and moving alternately to the right and to the left. The women first arrange themselves for the dance, and foremost among them are the wife and daughter of the slayer. Then [341] follow the men, and foremost among them the slayer, who thus during the dance is standing nearest to his wife and daughter. He carries the tsantsa hanging on his back during the whole time. Next to him the other men take their stand. At the dance the Indians move about in the same way as in the dance Ihiámbrama, hopping sideways, moving first the one and then the other foot in quick time. The women hold each other under the arms, jumping with both feet at once in order that their rattles may sound more loudly. Having moved round for a while to the right, the Indians change and dance to the left for a while, and vice versa. The dance is accompanied by a chant or conjuration, and this, too, is first performed by the women. This chant principally consists of an almost monotonous refrain, 'oá, oá, oa-á-áo, 'etc., which is sung by the women in a deep and strong guttural voice, so that the whole song has a disagreeable, almost dismal, howling effect. When the dance reaches its climax the men also chant or shout, and the dancers seem sometimes almost to reach a state of ecstasy. Each time the men, during the dance, reach one of the doors at either end of the house, they stop for a moment, hop up and down on the spot, stamping on the ground and shouting in a loud

voice: 'Hysti, hysti, hysti, hysti!' At the same time the women hop on the spot, sounding their rattles, while the drums are beaten and the flutes played. This procedure is repeated for a long time. The dancers by this action are trying to keep off the spirit of the killed enemy, who, it is believed, is trying to enter through one of the doors to kill the victor.

During the dance certain words and phrases, adapted for the occasion, are also pronounced. Thus the name of the killed enemy is again and again mentioned, as are also the names of his relatives and the name of his native place. Similarly details of the war and of the battle, the lance with which the enemy was killed, or the knife with which his head was cut off, and even the canoe in which the victors went down, etc., are repeatedly mentioned. This dance, with short intervals, is continued until dawn. The men, however, do not take part in the dance the whole time, but sometimes leave the women alone. The latter, who are headed by the priestess, and among whom the wife and daughter of the slayer are the most active, first of all have to take part in the dance. The slayer himself also dances nearly the whole time, with the tsantsa hanging on his back. He is not allowed to sleep during the night.

Whereas even young girls of 8 or 10 years of age take part in the general dance, the half-grown boys seem to be excluded from it. These [342] have another task confided to them. When the older men and women arrange themselves for the dance, the boys

are placed within the ring, and when the dance commences they engage in a savage wrestling match, continually throwing each other to the ground, again rising, again wrestling, etc. This wrestling is continued for about an hour in the same violent manner, but is not repeated later during the night. As to the significance of this wrestling, the Indians only gave the explanation that it is 'part of the feast'. The boys, as a matter of fact, had previously been instructed by an older Indian. The wrestling is thus of a ceremonial nature, and forms part of the general conjurations.

The dance Hantsēmáta is continued without interruption until about 1 o'clock, when there is a short interval. The flesh of the swine slaughtered in the afternoon of the day before has now to be cooked. According to the ritual of the feast, as already mentioned, the flesh of the swine slaughtered at the feast can only be cooked at midnight. On several large fires, made in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed, which are filled with the flesh cut into pieces. During the preparations for the cooking, and while the flesh is being boiled, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued with more vigour than before, all men and women who are not tending the fires being engaged in it. Likewise some hens are killed and their flesh is boiled. The Indian who conducts the dance is seen dancing for a while with two or three recently killed hens tied round his waist. The dance is supposed to hurry on the cooking of the flesh, and probably also to exert a favourable influence upon the increase of the domestic animals in future. As soon as

the flesh is sufficiently cooked, the pots are taken off the fires and lifted up on the shelves to be preserved until morning. It is not until then that the flesh can be eaten.

The dance is then continued without interruption until the morning, being performed particularly by the women. About half past 5, or a little before dawn, all the men and women have to take part in it just as in the beginning. Having moved several times around the central pillars, all rush out from the house, continuing to hold each other by the hands, and run down to the river, where they take the usual bath. With this bath the ceremonies of that night are finished."

"At about 8 o'clock the principal ceremony of the second day, the drinking of the sacred drink natéma takes place. When the drink is prepared for the feast the slayer himself has to assist in order to transfer to it the supernatural power with which he is believed to be invested.

For the preparation of the natéma some pieces of the stem of the vine are cut off, crushed with clubs, and parted into thinner fibres, which are boiled in water for a couple of hours. The fibres are then taken out and the drink is ready. The natéma drink, which has the effect of producing in the drinker peculiar visions and hallucinations which are ascribed by the Indians to certain spirits, is generally mixed with some tobacco water, by which its narcotic effects are increased. At the tsantsa feast the second day is regularly devoted to the drinking of the natéma, and it is prepared and drunk with certain ceremonies which have now to be described.

Some pieces of the stem of the natéma plant are laid on a banana leaf on the ground. Upon another banana leaf a large and a small wooden club are laid, and with these the natéma stems are to be crushed. There is besides a pot in which the drink will be cooked. The priest as usual gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the wrist and makes him seize a club with his right hand and a natéma stem with his left and crush the stem, laying it upon the other club. The slayer divides the stem into three or four fibres and puts them down into the pot, the priest holding

his hand. Another Indian without ceremony crushes some other pieces of the natéma stem and arranges them in a ring within the pot. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, now pours some water into the pot from a water bottle and places the pot on the fire, some other men attending to the pot while it boils. [344]

At another fire close by tobacco is simultaneously being boiled, to be mixed with the natéma. A small clay pot is placed by the fire, and some leaves of tobacco are laid on a banana leaf at the side of it. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes a tobacco leaf and carefully puts it, first on the edge of the pot and then into it. The wife of the slayer repeats the process with another leaf, laying it first on the edge of the pot and then inside it. Lastly, a third tobacco leaf is in the same way put into the pot by the daughter of the slayer. Thereupon the slayer, assisted by the priest, pours some water into the pot and places it on the fire.

On the spot where the natéma is cooked there is also placed a piece of the stem of the manioc plant and two narrow strips of the bark of a tree which the Jibaros call samiki. The slayer takes one of the strips, winds it round his index finger, and ties it into a ring of the same size as the finger. By means of one end of the strip which after the tying of the ring has been left free, he then attaches the ring to the piece of the manioc stem. Thereupon he in the same way makes another ring of the other strip, of the size of his index finger, and attaches it to the manioc stem at the side of the first ring. With

the aid of the priest he ultimately places the manioc stem, with the two rings attached to it, upon the tobacco pot boiling on the fire in such a way that it rests upon the edges of the pot.

The object of this ceremony is to establish a mysterious connection between the slayer, who, as we have seen, is supposed to be filled with supernatural power, the tobacco water to be mixed in the natéma drink, and the manioc plant which the persons drinking of the narcotic will see in the dream. The two rings formed of the rind of the samiki tree will in this connection serve as mediums for the transference of the power. The Jibaros ascribe magical virtues to the samiki tree itself, and a little of its bark is generally mixed with the natéma with a view to increasing the efficacy of the drink. The bast strips of the tree having been formed into rings of the same size as the slayer's finger, are believed to catch his power, and thus to transfer it to the manioc and the boiling tobacco pot. The persons partaking of the sacred drink are afterwards, in the narcotic sleep, supposed to see, among other things, the manioc fields of the slayer in a flourishing state and bearing a rich crop of fruit.

At the tsantsa feast the natéma is only boiled for about one hour, whereupon the pot is taken off the fire. Similarly the smaller pot in which tobacco has been cooked is taken away, the manioc stick with [345] the bast rings having first been removed. The latter is fixed in the wall close to the door, where it is left until it is dry and half

consumed, being then thrown away.

The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, seizes the small tobacco pot and pours its contents into the natéma pot. The drink is now ready to be consumed.

In the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast both men and women, even half-grown children, take part, all 'who want to dream' being allowed to drink of the narcotic. Even the slayer, as well as his wife and daughter, drink natéma. The drinking has throughout a ceremonial character. A number of beautifully ornamented clay dishes are placed on the ground in two rows. The priest and two or three other old men fill them with natéma and give them to the persons who are going to drink. Before they give the dish to a man or woman they each time sing a long conjuration over it, summoning the natéma spirits. The person who receives the dish quickly empties its contents, which amount to nearly half a litre. Immediately thereafter he or she goes out and throws up the quantity drunk (for the natéma at first has the effect of an emetic). Then the person again enters the house, again empties a pininga of natéma, which is given him by an old man with the same ceremony as before, and immediately again throws it up. The same process is repeated at third time. Each person who drinks natéma at the Tsantsa-feast thus has to empty three dishes of the sacred drink.

The persons who drink natéma have not previously eaten or drunk anything, and afterwards also they have to fast strictly until they have slept and dreamed. The majority of those who have drunk the narcotic leave the house and go out to sleep in some shelters

of palm leaves made in the forest at a short distance from the house. Most of these are men, but at least one of them ought to be a woman, a female relative of the slayer. The slayer and his wife and daughter, who also have drunk natéma, do not leave the house, but have their dreams inside. The dreamers remain in the forest sleeping until the afternoon. Then they take a bath in the river and return to the house, where they tell the older Indians what kind of dreams and visions they have had. Now they are also allowed to break their fast. Their food consists only of a dish of boiled and mashed manioc and boiled ripe bananas. The dreamer has to receive the dish containing this food from the hand of the same old man who in the morning had given him or her the natéma.

The object of the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast is to [346] ascertain whether everything will turn out favourably for the slayer in the future, whether he will have a long life, attain material prosperity and be lucky in his undertakings. The slayer, as well as his nearest relatives who have drunk natéma, will see in the dream his house surrounded by large and flourishing plantations of manioc and bananas; they will see his domestic animals, his swine and his hens, numerous and and [sic] fat, etc. But at the same time the persons who have drunk the sacred drink will be benefited themselves, being purified from impure and disease-bringing matter, and gaining

strength and ability for their respective work and occupations.

The drinking of the natéma in the morning is as usual followed by a general drinking-bout--in which, however, those persons who have drunk natéma do not take part--as well as by a general banquet, at which the flesh of the swine and chickens cooked during the night is eaten. With this banquet the official part of the morning's program is finished, and hosts and guests may pass the rest of the day until darkness as they like.

At about 6 o'clock in the evening the preparations for the night's dance commence, the host (i.e., the slayer) again going round in the house and inviting the guests to take part in it. All having properly dressed themselves, arranged their ornaments, and painted their faces, the Hantsémáta begins and is continued through the whole night exactly in the same way as on the previous night. Even the wrestling of the boys takes place for a while. The dance is continued until about half past 5 in the morning, being as usual finished off by a general bath in the river."

"Like all ceremonies at the victory-feast, the 'washing of the tsantsa' commences about 8 o'clock in the morning, or about two hours after the dance of the previous night has been finished. The priest (whuéa) has previously been engaged in preparing tobacco juice mixed with saliva, by carefully chewing the leaves and spitting out the juice into the small clay pot (nattipya), from which he will portion it out to the persons who play the principal parts in the ceremonies. A small clay pot filled with water has, by means of some strips of bast, been tied to one of the chonta pillars in the middle of the house. From this pot the priest now and then takes a little water in his mouth while chewing the tobacco leaves. The priest having in this way provided a sufficient quantity of tobacco juice in his nattipya, the preparations for the ceremony, 'the washing of the tsantsa', begin.

The principal persons of the feast, the slayer, his wife and daughter, the priest, and a medicine-man, assemble at a spot in the middle of the house. The women arrange themselves round them, forming a ring or semicircle, all having their rattles around their waists and being headed by the priestess (oháha). The latter on this occasion wears a feather ornament on her head, which normally is never worn by the women, and also a kind of black collar prepared from the twigs of a certain tree which the Jibaros call múpish. This collar, to which the Jibaros ascribe some magical power, is hung round the neck of the priestess by the priest before the ceremony commences.

Outside the ring of the women, moreover, four warriors, armed with lance and shields, take their stand. The role which they have to play is presently to be described. The first thing to be done is to provide seats for the persons mentioned--the slayer, his wife and daughter, as well as the priest and the medicine-man--and this is done in a ceremonial [348] way. The wife of the slayer grasps her husband with one hand and the priest with the other hand from behind at the waist, and all three go and fetch the seat of the slayer, which has been placed near the wall a few steps from where the ceremony will take place. The slayer, both of whose hands are held by the priest, bends down, grasps the seat, passes his hand round its edges, lifts it up a little, immediately sets it down again, lifts it up a second time and, accompanied by the priest, who continues holding his hands, and by his wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist, carries it to the spot from which they started. Here the seat is ceremonially laid down on the earth, the slayer with the aid of the priest setting it down, again lifting it up and a second time setting it down. Now the seat has been firmly placed, and must not be touched by anybody until the slayer seats himself upon it. During these operations, both when the seat was taken up and when it was placed upon the spot where the ceremony is to take place, the women have been dancing around the slayer and his wife and the priest, incessantly repeating, in slow time and almost monotonously, the refrain: 'Chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba, chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba... 'etc., i.e. 'Take

up the seat, set down the seat, ... 'etc. Thereupon the slayer, his wife, and the priest go and fetch another seat upon which the priest will sit during the ceremony; and this is done in the same way as the first time, the women dancing and singing their 'Chimbuyirumba--yamáyumbá' when the seat is being lifted up from the ground, and when it is placed on the spot where the priest will sit. The slayer's and the priest's seats are placed opposite each other. Three more seats are subsequently brought for the medicine-man and for the wife and daughter of the slayer.

The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the slayer's wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist as before, now go and fetch a shield which had previously been placed by the door and which will serve as a table at the ceremony. The shield is placed on the ground between the seats. Lastly the same persons go and take the tsantsa, which as usual has been kept tied to a lance stuck into the ground at the door. The tsantsa is carefully placed upon the shield. On the latter are also laid the small pot containing tobacco juice and a knife.

The slayer and the priest now prepare to sit down each taking his stand in front of the seat intended for him. The priest lays his hands upon the shoulders of the slayer and makes him sit down on the seat, immediately raise himself, and again definitively sit down. Thereafter the slayer repeats the same with the priest, laying his hands upon his shoulders, [349] making him sit down quickly, immediately raise himself, and

again sit down. Both men now remain sitting opposite each other. The three other persons also take their seats without ceremony, the slayer having the medicine-man sitting on his right hand and his wife and daughter on his left.

The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth, then to the medicine-man through the nose, and finally he himself also takes some. The medicine-man is now the principal person acting. Taking the tsantsa and the knife he takes some tobacco juice with the point of the latter and coats the tsantsa with it at the neck opening. He makes a cutting motion round the neck of the head with the knife as if he were cutting it off. Then he carefully loosens the cotton string attached to the three chonta pins, which have been stuck through the lips of the head (p. 296), and lastly removes the chonta pins themselves, one after the other, putting them down on the shield. Finally he gives tobacco juice to the slayer and hangs the trophy round his neck.

While the medicine-man has been engaged in these actions, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing round him and the other persons sitting around the shield, singing at every important moment of his operations, in the same slow, solemn time as before, certain refrains which are supposed to give them more emphasis. Since tobacco plays an extraordinary role at the feast, we can understand why this magical medicine is particularly mentioned. Among the refrains sung at the washing of the

tsantsa I have noted down the following as being the most important:

Chimbuyirumbá --yamáyumbá,
'Take up the seat! -- set down the seat!'
Shimbágasmé, 'May it not move' ('may it be steady!')
Styugáhosé, 'Put the tobacco cautiously on the floor!'
Wakéketá, 'Unfold the leaves!'
Umbunata, 'Blow tobacco smoke!'
Uráratá, 'Open the bundle'!
Chichutamá, 'Throw saliva upon it!'
Shimbanákachá, 'May it not get damaged.!
Yamámishá, 'Recently enveloped are the tobacco leaves'.
Mishákatei, 'Recently made is the head of the enemy which we are going to wash'!
Yamanhiri, 'Recently we have passed the threads through its mouth.' [350]
Mishóhosé, 'Take up the tsantsa'!
Mishatákuná, 'Hold it up for the dance'!
oa-á --aó."

"Thus, when the medicine-man seizes the trophy, when he makes the cutting motion round its neck with his knife, when he removes the cotton string and the chonta pins, and lastly, when he hangs the trophy round the neck of the slayer, the women accompany all these actions by dancing, singing the refrains mentioned, and shaking their rattles. Again, the four warriors armed with lances and shields at the same time accompany the operations of the medicine-man in another way: at each of the critical moments just mentioned they hold the shield, extended in a horizontal position, with the left hand, and with their lances give it from below three or four powerful resounding strokes. This is the ceremony called Yáktinyu.

The removal of the aforesaid ornaments--the cotton string and the chonta pins--has been necessary for the washing of the tsantsa, a ceremony which will take place outside the house. The slayer has to march out to the place destined for it, performing together with the women the same dance, Ihiámbrama, which we know as one of the principal ceremonies from the first day of the feast. The women arrange themselves in a long column, the wife and daughter of the slayer as usual taking the foremost place. The slayer places himself at the head of them grasping his wife with his left hand and the tsantsa with his right, and holding his arm stretched out. On both sides of them the men range themselves in two rows. A sign having been given, the slayer, followed by the women, proceeds dancing to the door of the house, again returns to the interior,

and again proceeds dancing to the door, where he stops. He goes out, with the aid of the priest hangs the trophy round his neck, and continues a few steps toward the place chosen for the washing ceremony.

The slayer now takes a seat, placed on the ground for his use (Pl. XXXI). On another seat his wife seats herself, and on a third his daughter. The priest and the medicine-man take their stand close to them. Round these persons the women form into a ring, grasping each other by the hands. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony Yáktinyu within the house also take up positions ready for fresh action. The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer and the two women, a procedure that is repeated three or four times during the following ceremonies, so that the said persons at last become narcotized, grow pale, and begin to tremble through their whole bodies. It is considered necessary that they [351] should be brought to such a state, since thus they are supposed to gain power of resisting the angry spirit during the important action which will now take place, namely, the washing of the tsantsa.

The medicine-man fixes a chonta stick in the ground in front of the slayer. The latter takes off the tsantsa from his neck and with the aid of the priest places it on the top of the stick. Close to the stick a clay pot, a round gourd containing water, and a piece of the root of a liana called sikimuro are placed on a banana leaf. The medicine man who will conduct the washing ceremonies receives the sikimuro root from the wife

of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom under her tarächi. When the root is cut in pieces and rubbed in water it produces a white soap-like foam. It is with this soap that the tsantsa will be washed.

The medicine-man cuts the sikimuro root into small pieces. Then the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, grasps him by the wrists, and makes him pour some water into the clay pot from the water-bottle. Thereupon the priest makes the slayer take up some pieces of the sikimuro root and put them into the pot. Now the trophy itself has to be laid down in this solution. The priest again grasps the slayer by the right hand and makes him take up a little water from the pot, with which he wets the tsantsa. The same operation is immediately repeated; but now the slayer also takes up a small sikimuro piece from the pot and touches the hair of the trophy with it. Finally the slayer cautiously puts the trophy itself down into the pot, his right hand then being held by the priest and his left hand by the medicine-man.

The trophy having been laid down in the sikimuro solution with these ceremonies, the washing itself is performed by the medicine-man (Pl. XXXII). He rubs the hair with the sikimuro pieces and washes it with the soap produced by them. Having carefully soaked the trophy in the solution, he takes it up from the pot, places it on the top of the chonta stick, and continues washing it. Thereupon he begins to make it dry, shaking off the

water from it, beating his arms with the hair, and drying it with his clothes. Finally he combs the tsantsa, receiving a special comb from the daughter of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom in the same way as the wife of the slayer had kept the sikimuro root. The hair having been arranged and combed properly, the trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta stick, where it is left for a while so as to get perfectly dry. The medicine-man grasps the hand of the slayer and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa; then he likewise grasps the hands of his wife and daughter and makes them gently touch the trophy. [352]

While all these operations have been performed, the women, led by the priestess, have again formed a circle round the principal persons, accompanying each of the most important actions--when the tsantsa was first touched by the sikimuro solution, when it was laid in the pot, when it was washed and combed, etc.--by dancing, chanting, and shaking their rattles (Pl. XXXII, 2). The refrains, slowly and monotonously sung by the women, are similar to those before sung in the house.

The operations of the medicine-man have also been accompanied by the four warriors armed with shields and lances, who at the critical moments have been striking their shields performing the Taktinyu.

The washing of the tsantsa having been accomplished, the sikimuro solution is disposed of in the following way. The medicine-man seizes the pot with both hands and pours out the majority of its contents, as well as the foam produced by the root, on the

earth. The rest of the warriors start to strike the running water and foam furiously with their lances. The remainder of the solution, as well as the clay pot itself, is thrown away into the forest.

The men now make themselves ready to march back into the house. The slayer receives tobacco juice from the priest. Then with the aid of the latter, he takes the trophy hanging on the chonta stick and hangs it over his breast. Behind the slayer the other men, as usual, arrange themselves in a long row, all armed with their lances and guns. The priest takes his stand behind the slayer, holding his hand upon his shoulder. Some other older warriors also place themselves at the side or in front of the slayer, one of them holding the small pot containing tobacco juice, of which a dose is repeatedly given the slayer. The women have previously returned to the house and made themselves ready to receive the slayer.

The procession now starts to move forward, the slayer walking slowly and solemnly, followed by the other warriors, continually striking the hair of the trophy with his hands. An old warrior goes in front of him, holding the comb, with which the trophy had been combed after washing, before him. The comb, by having been in contact with the victim's hair, is charged with spiritual energy, and is therefore supposed to possess the power of keeping off the spirit of the slain enemy, which according to the belief of the Indians is coming to meet the slayer when he approaches the house, trying to kill

him.

The slayer stops at the door of the house. The priest helps him to take off the trophy, ties it to a lance which he quickly passes in through [353] the door, again takes out, and passes in once more, whereupon he fixes the lance in the ground at the door inside. Within the house, meanwhile, the women have arranged themselves for the dance Ihiámbrama, which the slayer again has to perform with the women in the way described before.

After the dance the priest takes the slayer round inside the house to manifest that he can move about in it without danger.

The object of this ceremony, the 'washing of the tsantsa,' is to 'wash off' the malignity still retained by the spirit of the slain enemy, and definitely to make it the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. This effect is first of all supposed to be brought about by the sikimuro solution, owing to the magical properties ascribed to the sikimuro root itself.

Again, the object of the dancing and chanting of the women while the washing of the trophy takes place, as well as of the ceremony Yáktinyu performed by the four warriors, is partly to keep off the malicious spirit, who is being mortified and definitely enslaved through the washing ceremony and is more eagerly than ever trying to revenge himself, partly to give more emphasis to the ceremony itself. The refrains chimbuyirúhha--yamáyumhá, etc., belong to an ancient ceremonial language, and their exact

meaning is probably unknown to many of the Indians themselves. The different refrains refer to different details of the ceremonies going on within the ring of the dancing women--when the slayer puts the tsantsa on the top of the chonta stick, when he wets it with the magical solution, when he puts it into that solution, when the medicine-man washes it, when he dries it, etc.--and they are supposed to give more emphasis to the action taking place at the moment. That the efficacy of an action is enhanced when it is repeated in words is an idea deeply rooted in the minds of the Jibaros.

After the introductory dance Ihiámbrama has taken place, and while all are still standing in the rows in which they were arranged for this dance, manioc-beer (niha-mánchi) has to be ceremonially drunk. This is not a manioc-beer of the common kind, but a special beer brewed of roasted manioc (p. 339), which is supposed to have a particular efficacy. In front of the men, arranged in two rows, five women take their stand, each holding a pininga filled with the manioc-beer. The first and the second of these women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. The slayer himself is the first to drink of the beer, stepping forth to the women and taking a sip from the pininga of each of them. Then he goes back to the other men, seizes the priest by the arm, leads him forward to the [354] women, and makes him in the same way drink a little from the dish of each woman, whereupon he follows him back to the place where he was previously

standing. The same is repeated with every one of the other warriors, who have to step forward and drink by turns, according to age and dignity, the oldest warriors who have killed many enemies and celebrated many tsantsa-feasts going first and the younger men afterwards. Only the eldest men are led to the women by the slayer, the younger men stepping forth at a sign given by him, or without a sign, in the order in which they are arranged.

With the drinking of the nihamánchi the day's official ceremonies are finished. They are followed by the usual general drinking-bout and by a common banquet. The principal persons of the feast and other men or women who have taken part in important conjurations, however, have to fast as before, abstaining particularly from eating pork. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony Yáktinyu with their shields and lances are not allowed to drink the same quantity of manioc-beer as the other men. The drink is served them, not in the usual large piningas, but in the small clay dishes mentioned before. These dishes are placed on the ground in a row and filled with beer, and the four warriors take their stand in front of them, ranged in a row. A sign being given them, they suddenly run forth, all at the same time seizing their piningas and quickly emptying their contents. The men thus quickly and simultaneously drinking the beer, the revengeful spirit is believed to have more difficulty in doing harm to any of them.

The drinking-bout is continued nearly the whole day, until all, both men and women,

get more or less drunk. In the same degree as the drink exerts its intoxicating effects, the Indians start to dance singly, and this dance goes on the whole forenoon. At first the priestess (oháha) dances alone with the tsantsa hanging on her back, chanting a song, which is in its nature an invitation to the younger men and women to start dancing. This song runs as follows:

Ohahaheitimi, 'Let us sing and dance!'

Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
sinseri natsamáma,
Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó. [355]
Tsingumimáma,
oháhaheita,
untuhára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Untuhára
ivyéramáma,
wakimsihára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Shirimbi nóastaimi,
narángoá,
oháhaheita,
nayápiumau
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

In translation:

'Let us sing and dance!

May all of you come!

Arranged in a file may you come and dance! Arranged in a file may you come without feeling shame!

Well dressed,

having adjusted your tarachi,

having arranged your ornaments,

may you sing and dance!

Grasping one another by the hands

may you dance!

Like the swallow which, (sitting on a bough) is moving his body to and fro (as if he were dancing),

Like the hawk, which is making his circles in the air, may you sing and dance!'

In obedience to the exhortation of the priestess the younger Indians start to dance in couples, one man and one woman, the wife and daughter of the slayer being the most active among the women. The dancing couple wear the usual festival dress, the woman having her rattle of snail shells round the waist, and the man his drum, which he beats in time to the dance. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the

woman alternately moving to and from each other in slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum, the woman simultaneously chanting a song (Pl. XXXIII). At the same time other men accompany the dance by beating drums or playing flutes. In this way one couple after the other makes its appearance in the course of the day. Besides the priestess, other women also appear dancing alone, accompanying themselves with a chant or song. These songs generally have no reference to the feast, but the women sing whatever occurs to them in their intoxicated state. Thus it is common that at the great feasts the [356] women address their songs to certain beautiful birds of the forest, which are then personified and spoken to. Among these birds the tucan (tsukánga), the cock-of-the-rock (súmga), the paugi (máshu), and the wild turkey (kúyu) play the principal roles, and the dancing women address them, giving them all sorts of pet names, praising their brilliant plumage, their walk, etc."

1: Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day the important action takes place which the Jibaros call Cuichi achiktahei matinyu, i.e. 'the slaughter of the swine'.

According to the ritual of the feast, the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine takes place during the night preceding the last day of the feast, or more strictly speaking shortly after midnight, 'when the cocks crow for the first time,' and the new day is supposed to begin. This hour is generally about 1 o'clock in the morning. Since it is, however, difficult both to slaughter a number of swine and to cook their flesh within a short time, the matter is mostly practically arranged so that the slaughtering of the animals takes place on the afternoon of the day before, whereas the cooking of the flesh is done at midnight. That the flesh should be cooked at midnight is considered absolutely necessary, for only in this case will the purpose of the whole slaughtering ceremony, the plentiful increase of the swine for the future, be attained. When the flesh of the animals killed is cooked early in the morning, at the first beginning of the new day, this will have as its consequence that henceforward there will be plenty of swine's flesh in the house of the slayer. The same holds good of the hens, which are likewise slaughtered and cooked during the first hours of the new day; but they naturally are of less importance than the swine.

As has been mentioned before, the swine to be slaughtered at a feast have been procured long before, when the first preparations for the feast began; and they are bred and fed with special care. The victor himself has supervised the rearing of these animals,

giving the proper women instructions which he himself has received directly from the wakáni, the spirit of the killed enemy materialized in the tsantsa, over whom he has acquired complete domination. The number of the swine to be slaughtered at a feast is not exactly fixed in the beginning. Generally a few [358] more are procured and bred than are supposed to be needed for the purpose. Moreover, for the propagation of the race it is necessary that at least a couple should be left alive. When the time for the great feast is approaching, the victor himself decides which of the swine are to be slaughtered and in what order it is to be done. Even respecting these details he receives advice directly from the wakáni, when, with the tsantsa hanging round his neck, he goes out into the swine yard and 'points out' the animals (kuchi anéikama). These swine having been slaughtered in due order and their flesh consumed at the feast, the few remaining ones will increase in number all the more. This is the main idea which the Jibaros connect with the ceremonial slaughter of domestic animals at their feasts.

For a feast at which I was present 11 or 12 swine had been bred, of which 9 were slaughtered, 2 during the first day of the feast and 7 on the day of the ceremonial slaughter proper.

According to the ritual, the slaughtering should be done by some of the invited guests specially selected for this purpose. The host or his household must not touch them on

any account, for then the object of the whole ceremony would be missed, inasmuch as the remaining swine would not increase. The slaughter takes place outside the house, but the animals are not all killed on the same spot but one here and another there, close to the different walls of the house. In this way the impression is produced that the swine killed and eaten at the feast are very numerous, and the effect of this will be that they will really be numerous in future.

The animals, according to an old Jibaro custom, are killed by strangulation, without the shedding of blood. A rope twisted of lianas is tied round the neck of the swine, and a strong stick is stuck under it, the strangulation being brought by about twisting it. As the animals are thus killed they are carried into the house, where some pots with hot water stand ready. The skin is scalded with the hot water, and the hair is scraped off, whereupon the stomach is opened and the flesh cut in the ordinary way.

Of the flesh the priest and priestess receive each one leg as a part of the payment for their services at the feast. The rest of it, with the exception of the heads and the bones, is kept on special shelves until midnight, when it is cooked. The head and the bones, again, are roasted and kept until the day of the departure of the guests, being then divided among them.

When darkness sets in the dance Hantsémáta, as usual, commences [359] and is continued, with two intervals, until dawn. The first of these intervals occurs at about

10 o'clock in the evening, when the distilled manioc-wine is made definitely ready. The clay pot containing the roasted and masticated manioc substance which, during the first day of the feast, had been arranged for the distillation of the drink is moved forward and placed on the ground. The priest, proceeding with the utmost care, removes the kachini and apai leaves with which the masticated substance had been covered. Then he removes the manioc substance itself with the same care, laying it in another vessel. Finally, in the same way, he removes the apai leaves which had been laid on the shuya sticks collected in the pot, as well as the shuya sticks themselves, which together with the leaves are laid on a special large leaf. The dark-brown essence which has remained in the bottom of the pot is the manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki). The priest asks for another smaller clay pot and for a gourd, which are given him by the women. Then he pours the whole quantity of wine into the new clay vessel, and also a little into the gourd. The gourd is then placed over the mouth of the clay pot so that is [sic] covers it, and the gourd is covered with leaves. The whole thing is thereafter kept in a special place until the following morning, when the drink will be consumed.

This work being finished, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued until about 1 o'clock in the morning, when the cocks are heard crowing, and the host declares it to be the right time to cook the flesh of the swine slaughtered. Various fires have previously been

kindled in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed upon them, and the flesh is divided up among the pots. At the same time a number of hens are killed by wringing their necks; these are plucked and prepared on the spot, their flesh being cooked in special pots. While the cooking goes on the Indians dance the Hantsemata with more vigour than usual, all men and women taking part in it. After the flesh is boiled the pots are removed from the fires, put aside, and kept until morning. It is not until then that the flesh cooked can be eaten, namely, at the common banquet following the last ceremony of the feast, the dressing of the victor.

The dance, as usual, is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the customary bath in the river."

"The last day of the feast: Nambera shiákma, 'the feast is concluded'.

About 8 o'clock in the morning the last great ceremony is performed with the slayer, in which the priest dresses him in a festive dress, makes him break his fast, and lastly cuts his hair and paints his body black with genipa.

The beginning of the ceremony, the carrying of the seats, the bringing of the tsantsa placed on a shield, etc., is exactly the same as on the previous day when the trophy was to be washed. The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the former's wife, have especially to fetch each seat upon which these persons will sit during the ceremony, a special seat being likewise brought for the medicine-man. The priest helps the slayer to seat himself, and the slayer in his turn helps the priest. Between the seats the shield with the tsantsa has been placed. Upon the shield, besides, all those articles of clothing and ornaments are laid with which the slayer himself as well as his wife and daughter will be dressed. These articles, as far as the slayer is concerned, are the following: A new loin-cloth (itipi) with a girdle of human hair (akáchu); a broad band, the ends of which are adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, called itsimgama, to tie round the great pigtail at the neck; and two red-painted cotton strings with which the small braids at the temples are tied; a comb, timashi; ear-sticks, arúsa; pendants of

brilliant beetle wings to attach to the ear-lobes, called wauo, a crown of toucan feathers for the head, tawasa; an adornment for the back, made of the leg bones of the bird tayu, called tayukunchi. Of ornaments worn by the women the following are laid on the shield: a cotton string which the women tie around their hair for the feasts, tiringsa; the small ear-sticks of the women, arusa; the wooden pin which the women carry in the nether lip, tukúnu; a collar of beads worn round the neck, sháuka; and some broad cotton bands tied round the upper arm, patáki. [361]

Upon the shield, moreover, are placed the small pot containing tobacco juice, a small gourd containing red ochre (ipyáku), three twisted cotton strings, painted red with ochre, which are to be attached to the lips of the tsantsa, and a knife.

After all have seated themselves the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, to his wife and daughter, as well as to the medicine-man, and lastly partakes of it himself. The medicine-man takes the knife with the right hand and the tsantsa with the left and takes some tobacco juice with the point of the knife and coats the tsantsa with it at the neck opening. After this he cuts off a strip of the skin from the trophy, removing nearly the whole part which formed the neck. This strip is laid down on the shield. Into the holes in the lips, where the three chonta pins had been stuck before, he inserts the three cotton strings, which are thus attached to the lips. While the medicine-man is engaged in these operations the women dance round him and the other persons sit at

the shield chanting their usual incantations: chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumbá, etc. Likewise the four warriors at the critical moments strike their shields with the lances, performing the ceremony Yáktinyu.

The trophy is now ready. The priest thereafter begins his part, his first task being to dress the slayer. The priest, as usual, gives him tobacco juice through the nose and helps him to hang the tsantsa upon himself. Formerly it was customary among the Jibaros for the victor, before he took on the trophy, to swallow a small piece of the skin which the medicine-man had cut off from the neck of the trophy, 'in order to manifest that he was eating his enemy'. This custom is now seldom followed, and the piece of skin is generally simply thrown away. The priest thereupon grasps the victor by the wrist, makes him take the loin-cloth and the girdle, blows upon these pieces of clothing, and helps him to dress himself with them. The victor's hair is arranged. The priest helps him to comb it and to divide it into three pigtails--one large one behind and two smaller ones at the temples--as are customary among the Jibaros. The pigtails are tied round with the bands laid on the shield for this purpose. Then he in the same way receives the rest of the ornaments, the feather crown, the ear-sticks, etc., from the hands of the priest, who blows upon each article before he gives it to the victor. Likewise the victor paints his face red with ochre, with the assistance of the old man.

Even the wife of the victor is ceremonially dressed by the priest, receiving from his hands the female ornaments placed on the shield. [362]

During the whole of this dressing ceremony the women, conducted by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons acting.

The next thing that the victor as well as his wife and daughter have to do is to break the fast. In the women's quarters different kinds of food have previously been prepared. At a special fire leaves of the Ilex (weisa) have been cooked in a small pot. As soon as the drink is ready the priest pours a little of it into a gourd, mutters a conjuration over it and hands it to the victor, who washes his mouth with the solution, spitting it out thereafter. The priest makes the wife and daughter wash their mouths with weisa in the same way. All three are now properly purified to receive food.

Different kinds of food are brought on large banana leaves: on one leaf there is some swine's meat, fish, and manioc, as well as a little salt and himya or Indian pepper. On another banana leaf an entire boiled liver of one of the swine slaughtered has been placed. The priest gives tobacco juice to the victor through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth. Then he takes cautiously, with two fingers, a small piece of swines' flesh, mutters a conjuration over it, spits upon the ground, and gives the piece to the victor, who swallows it without touching it with his fingers. The latter subsequently receives from the hand of the old man a small piece of fish, a little manioc, as well as a pinch of salt and pepper. Thereupon the priest, with the same ceremonies, gives a

little of the said dishes to the wife and daughter of the victor.

In return, the victor gives to the priest the swine's liver placed upon the other banana leaf 'as a tribute of gratitude for what the priest has done for him at the feast.' He handles the liver as carefully as possible, touching it merely with the tips of his fingers, and gives it to the priest, who bites off a mouthful of it. The rest of the liver is kept by the priest, who takes it to his home.

While these ceremonies have been going on, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons in the way described before.

The victor having been dressed and having broken his fast, the drinking of the manioc-wine, prepared with so much care, takes place. This ceremony is performed in the same way as the drinking of the manioc-beer after the washing of the trophy on the previous day. The men range in two rows from the door inward, standing according to age and dignity, the oldest ones nearest to the door. The wife of the [363] victor takes her stand in front of them in the middle of the house, holding the pot containing the wine in one hand and a small gourd in the other. The victor first steps forth to the woman and takes a draught from the gourd which she hands him. Then he goes back and fetches the priest and makes him drink in the same way from the gourd which the woman has meanwhile filled with wine. The same is repeated with each of the older warriors, who step forth by turns. After them the younger ones follow. However,

according to the ceremonial only the older warriors, who themselves have killed some enemies and celebrated a victory-feast, are allowed really to drink of the wine. The younger men certainly step forth to the woman, but only make a show of drinking from the gourd she holds forth and in reality do not touch it with their lips. They are not yet considered as real warriors, because they have not killed an enemy. Similarly, no one of the women drinks of the liquor. What is left of the manioc-wine is kept by the priest to be consumed after the meal now beginning.

After the drinking ceremony just described the general banquet takes place at which the flesh of the swine and hens slaughtered during the night is consumed. This banquet has the same character as the meal taking place every morning after the principal ceremony of the day. However, it is considered essential that both the guests and the hosts should eat much, so that the whole supply of meat that exists is consumed. The best pieces of the swine and the hens are selected for the victor. The meal is considered ominous for the future. Just as the victor now eats much flesh of swine and hens, so there will not in the future--thanks to the mysterious favourable influence of the tsantsa--be any lack of such food in his house.

After the banquet the priest distributes the remainder of the manioc-wine among all the men, even the younger ones being now allowed to drink until the whole supply is exhausted.

The final ceremony still remains to be performed with the victor, in which his hair is cut and his body painted black with genipa. The priest therein acts as before. Of the great pigtail which the victor wears behind he cuts off only the ends, but the smaller braids at the temples are completely removed. The hair cut off is laid on the shield and is kept by the victor. The hair cut on ceremonial occasions is used by the Jibaros for the preparation of the girdles of human hair which are worn by the men.

Thereupon follows the painting with genipa (sua). A small pot con-[364] taining the genipa solution is placed on the shield. The priest dips his fingers in the solution and coats the victor's whole face with it, drawing broad strokes along his breast and stomach, his back, arms, and legs. At this ceremony also the choir of the women, conducted by the priestess, assists.

Having finished these operations the priest addresses the men standing round him in much the following words: 'I have completed my task as a whuéa at this feast. What I have done now you may also do later when you grow old.'

The rest of the day is passed in the same way as during the previous days of the feast, drinking-bouts being held and solo dances being performed, in which the men and the women, as usual, make their appearance by pairs. Now just as before, the women generally accompany their dance with a sort of incantation.

When darkness sets in the last general night dance commences, which is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the usual bath in the river.

Early in the morning a small drinking-bout is held, whereupon the guests make themselves ready to depart and start to take leave of the hosts. The leave-taking has the same ceremonial character as the salutation at the arrival, each of the male guests addressing the victor and his relatives in a sort of speech. The words uttered, of course, have reference to the feast just finished: the splendid arrangements, the entertainment, the harmony prevailing, etc., are eulogized, and the guest in his turn invites the hosts to a visit. After this farewell ceremony, which lasts a long time, the men march off, accompanied by their wives and daughters.

After the great victory feast the Jibaro warrior generally undertakes a small journey, lasting a few days, just as he did after the previous smaller feasts. On this occasion he retires to the forest, where he stays alone, taking tobacco water, bathing every day in the waterfall, and sleeping at night in a small 'dreaming hut'. As soon as the black body painting had disappeared he returns home, where he finally drinks of the narcotic maikoa in order to see whether there are still enemies threatening him and whether everything will turn out happily for him in the future."

"The above description of the great victory-feast is based on my own direct observations during the visit I made to the house of the Jibaro Shakaëma at Chiguaza on the upper Pastaza, a visit described by me before. In all I have been present at three victory-feasts of the Jibaro Indians, but the second and the third time I did not stay longer than two days, since I found that the ceremonies performed were exactly the same as those performed at the first feast. As I have stated, these ceremonies may vary in certain details among different Jibaro tribes, but the differences are insignificant and unessential. From inquiries I have made, I venture to assert that the ritual of the feast is remarkably uniform throughout the Jibaro country. It may be necessary to point out this, because the short descriptions hitherto appearing in the literature (for instance in Rivet's book on the Jibaros)are evidently not consistent with actual facts, being probably founded on the untrustworthy information given by the mestizos of Macas or other occasional visitors.

A few general remarks may be added as to the significance of the feast.

If we analyze the numerous ceremonies described above we find that all of them are founded upon certain fundamental ideas. First, that in the trophy (tsantsa) the spirit or soul of the killed enemy is seated; secondly, that the spirit, attached to the head, is thirsting for revenge and is trying to harm the slayer in every possible way; and thirdly, that if this danger is paralyzed through the different rites of the feast, the trophy is

changed into a 'fetish,' a thing charged with supernatural power which the victor may make use of in different ways and in different departments of life.

The idea that the soul or vital power of a person is concentrated in his head, and particularly in his hair, seems to be common to all lower peoples in the whole world and gives the explanation not only of a number [366] of peculiar hair customs, but especially the practice, existing among some savage tribes, of taking the scalps of slain enemies or preparing their heads as 'trophies'. At any rate the use which the Jibaros make of the heads of their enemies and the ceremonies which they perform with them are throughout founded upon this idea.

Again, the idea that the spirit of a murdered man is seized with desire for revenge and that his revengeful attitude is first of all directed against the slayer is also quite natural and universally met with in lower cultures. In regard to the Jibaros, the interest is especially attached to the childish and naive means by which the Indians fancy that they can keep the feared spirit at bay, and which are the same as those resorted to for keeping off a living human enemy. Thus the measure to keep the trophy tied to the murderous weapon, the 'demoniacal' chonta lance, the rattling with the shields at the most important ceremonies, the attempts to inspire the spirit with fear by making noises, by threatening movements and dancing, and to 'wash off' its malignity

and desire for revenge by washing the head ~~in a~~ magical solution, all illustrate, in different ways, the primitive conception that the Jibaros have about supernatural beings and the possibility of influencing them.

It seems somewhat more difficult, at first glance, to understand the fundamental idea mentioned in the third place, namely, that the trophy, if all rites are properly performed at the feast, is turned into a real fetish and becomes a source of blessing to the slayer himself and his whole family. The power which the trophy is supposed to possess, of course, is due to the spirit attached to it, just as the natural magical power of the living human body depends upon the soul or vitality inherent in it. The souls or spirits of dead men are endowed with a special energy and potency, and among the Jibaros, as among other South American Indians, all gods, spirits, and demons seem to be nothing but departed human souls. From this point of view there is hardly anything strange in the idea that the spirit of the killed enemy, over which the victor has acquired complete domination, is able to confer upon him all those material blessings which are mentioned as the most important effects of the tsantsa. Among many Indian tribes in Ecuador and elsewhere there prevails the custom that the surviving relatives offer a special cult to the deceased family father, in which different kinds of food, drinks, etc., are laid upon his tomb. If the departed spirit is satisfied with this cult, he is believed to reward his loving relatives by making their fields flourish and bear

fruit, and by increasing their domestic animals, that [367] is, by bestowing exactly the same benefits as are expected from the head-trophy duly initiated. The difference between this religious act and the mode of treating the spirit of a slain enemy adopted by the Jibaro Indians appears to be that in the former case we are dealing with a real cult with offerings, while in the latter we are dealing with a purely magical conjuration which is supposed to exert an irresistible force upon the being influenced. That the Jibaros consider the latter means the more effective appears from the extraordinary importance ascribed to the so-called Einsupani feast. Some of the ceremonies at this feast also, as we have seen, have for their object to increase by artificial means the natural power of the trophy, in much the same way as an electric battery is charged with electric force.

A curious idea appears in the victory-feast in that the victor himself on the one hand, is believed to be in danger from the spirit of the killed enemy, but on the other hand, on account of his having gained possession of the enemy's head, is invested with a special mysterious power. Moreover, he is able to transfer this power by contact to other persons and to things. This explains why the victor must, in the way that we have seen, assist, for instance, at the brewing of the manioc-wine for the feast and at the preparation of the sacred drink natéma. Similarly, something of his power is transferred to his wife and daughter and may, through them, become active in agriculture and in

certain other departments of life.

With a similar mysterious power the priest (whuéa) and the priestess (oháha) are endowed. As a 'priest' or conductor of the ceremonies at the feast, as stated before, only an old warrior can officiate who himself has killed at least one enemy and celebrated a victory-feast. His insight, experience, valour, and other prominent military qualities acquired during a long life, and especially the magical power he has acquired by slaying his enemies, seems to be conceived almost as a physical reality, and his powers can, like that of the victor, in a certain degree be transferred to other people. It is for this reason that he always holds the hand of the victor at the most important ceremonies, the idea being that the action in question will thus have more emphasis and importance. The same holds good of the priestess, through whose cooperation all actions performed by the women, and particularly by the wife and daughter of the victor, secure the tone and stress necessary.

The important role that the women in general play at this feast of the warriors is actually due to the fact that the principal object of the tsantsa is to promote those phases of the economic life of the Indians [368] with which the women have most to do, first of all agriculture and the increase of the domestic animals. The mysterious power with which the victor himself is invested will automatically extend to thos persons with whom he is intimately related, and when there are two female relatives

assisting at the ceremonies--in this case his wife and his daughter--its effects upon that department of life will be so much the stronger. The same idea appeared in regard to the 'tobacco feast', where two female relatives of the principal person of the feast had likewise to assist.

The tsantsa of the Jibaro Indians, thus, is not a 'trophy' in the common sense of the word; not exclusively a mark of distinction or a visible proof that an enemy has been killed. The Jibaro warrior not only tries to take the life of his enemy, but above everything wants to secure control of his soul. Conformably to this, the so-called Einsupani is not merely a victory-feast in the sense familiar to us, but at the same time, and in the first place, a kind of mystery feast which, when we are able to penetrate into its real meaning, throws an interesting light not only upon the social life of these Indians in general and the ideas they connect with their wars, but also upon their, in some respects, rather far-reaching religious views."

1: Karsten--371-372 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros in their pagan state have no notion of a Supreme Being and a Creator of the world. Some Indians on the Upano mention the Christian God under the name of Yusa (a corruption of the Spanish Dios), but they know practically nothing else about the religion of the apachi (their name for the whites), which to their mind has little or nothing to do with the supernatural beings in whom they believe themselves. However, the religion of the Jibaros can by no means be called a pure demonology, nor are their religious practices reduced to mere magic, as has frequently been said to be the case among the primitive tribes east of the Andes. In connection with the agricultural rites and the 'tobacco feast of the women' we have already made acquaintance with religious ideas which may be termed lofty, and with a worship where a magical element can hardly be recognized. We have seen that the Jibaros believe in two higher deities, the Earth-mother Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma, revered as the mother and father of the whole Jibaro culture; but these deities have little in common with the Supreme Beings which are reported to exist among several other low races in different parts of the world. The great benevolent Earth-[372] mother of the Jibaros and her loyal husband Shakaëma, although they are neither regarded as creators of the world nor as moral beings in the strict sense, are nevertheless of singular interest, being as they are in any case genuine creations of primitive Indian imagination."

1: Karsten--372-373 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775 (1928-29)

"As to the worship paid to the Earth-mother and her consort there is hardly anything to add to what I have stated before. But besides these, the religious ideas and practices of the Jibaros have reference to supernatural beings of a lower order, to souls, spirits and demons of which there are many different classes. The Indians have two words for denoting a spirit or demon: wakáni and iguánchi. The word wakáni may be translated into 'soul' or 'shadow'. Human souls disembodied temporarily, for instance in dreams, or permanently in death, are called wakáni, as is also the shadow reflected in water or on the ground, or in a mirror. Any image or likeness of a man--for instance a photograph--is called his wakáni or soul, but the Indians apply this name especially to the spiritual part of man separated from his body at death. There is a certain difference between the wakáni of a dead man and for instance the 'shadow' of a living person, which will be explained later on. That the Jibaros, when I first met them, strongly objected to being photographed has been mentioned by me before; they believed that with my camera I 'took their souls' (wakáni), of which the consequence might be disease and death, or at any rate undue mysterious influence over the person photographed. The word wakáni however is also used in a more comprehensive sense, to signify a supernatural being in general. There are wakáni or souls not only in men, but also in animals, in plants, in heavenly bodies, and in other objects of nature. The whole air swarms with these spiritual beings appearing in different shapes, especially as animals,

but as a rule they can be seen only by those intoxicated by natéma or other intoxicating drinks. There appears to be no essential difference between the human souls and souls inhabiting animals, plants, and inanimate objects; the latter too seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls. Or more strictly speaking, the Jibaros know only one chief kind of spirit or soul which inhabit men, animals, and inanimate objects of nature, or lead an entirely independent existence as evil demons, and which may occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. The Jibaros thus, like most other South American Indians, are familiar with the idea of the transmigration and reincarnation of souls, but this doctrine is not worked into a regular system of thought and is still less associated with moral ideas of any kind. [373]

Although all wakáni--especially the wakáni of dead persons--awaken uncanny feelings in the Indians and are therefore always more or less feared, yet some of them are believed to be more evil-disposed to mankind than the rest. The most evil and most powerful of the spirits are called iguánchi. All iguánchi are wakáni, but all wakáni are not necessarily iguánchi. The souls of persons who have been particularly feared in life, especially the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers, are believed to be changed into iguánchi after death. The souls of enemies killed in war also figure among this dangerous class of demons. The iguánchi however appear in many different shapes. Sometimes they appear in shadowy human-like forms, or as living Indians wearing

beautiful feather ornaments and painted red in the face. Mostly, however the demons assume the shape of different animal beings, of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and even insects. 'Animal worship' among the Jibaros, if we may speak of such a thing, seems to refer in most cases to human souls reincarnated in animals. Generally these are the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers who temporarily take the shape of different animal beings in order to harm or kill other people. --In no case are animals regarded as totems, either of individuals or of groups; totemism is a religious or social system which is entirely unknown to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

"Theoretically all animals, as also the plants, have a soul just as men have. But the role which the animals play in the religion of the Indians depends wholly on the importance they have in their practical life. Animals which distinguish themselves by their strength and ferocity, their peculiar appearance or habits of life, or their harmful effects, of course first become the objects of superstitious beliefs. Below I shall account for the most important spirits and demons of the Jibaros, beginning with those appearing in animal shape.

Some of the most formidable iguánchi appear in the shape of certain hairy animals of the wood, chiefly the black monkey (washi), the bear (cheiva), and the deer (hápa). The ordinary black monkey (Ateles niger) is much appreciated by the Indians both because of its flesh which is eaten, its fur, and its teeth, and is therefore much hunted. The animal which they fear as a demon, however is not exactly identical with the 'natural' black monkey. The washi iguánchi is in fact a purely mythical being; it is much bigger than the real black monkey, it does not climb the trees but walks on the ground on two legs like a human being, and is said to move about on the paths of the forest especially at night. [374] To meet this demon means for the Indian almost certain death. The iguánchi seizes him and kills him or takes him away to his mysterious dwellings. Dead men and the souls of enemies killed in battle mostly appear in this shape.

Exactly the same may be said of the bear demon (cheiva iguánchi). The south

American bear (Ursus albifrons) is comparatively small and is not particularly feared by the natives. Like the demoniacal black monkey, the bear demon is a mythical being which is much bigger and far more formidable than the 'natural' animal. The Indians therefore fear extremely to meet it in the darkness, believing that then they will die. Only when met in the dream produced by the narcotic drinks is it, like other iguánchi, supposed to be harmless and even friendly to man.

On the other hand, the timid and innocent deer is feared and always looked upon as a most formidable iguanchi. We here meet with a curious superstition which the Jíbaros seem to share with nearly all primitive Indian tribes in south America. The Jíbaros never eat the flesh of the deer, believing that if they do they will certainly die, and if they kill the animal, it is only to sell its flesh to the whites. The souls of people particularly feared in life take the shape of the deer after death, but there seems to be the belief that the souls of women also prefer to reincarnate themselves in this animal. The latter idea is naturally due to the timidity of the deer, just as its soundless movements and the mysterious rapidity with which it disappears in the forest easily suggest to the primitive Indian mind the idea of a ghost.

Much the same belief is held of the tapir (pamá), which is likewise looked upon as an iguánchi although it is not feared to the same extent as the deer. The Jíbaros therefore avoid the flesh of the tapir nearly as carefully as that of the deer. With its pointed

snout and the whistling sound which it produces the animal is supposed to be able to bewitch people: the soul of a sorcerer may have temporarily taken up his abode in it. A similar superstition relating to the tapir is known to prevail among some other South American tribes.

Naturally among the iguánchi or demons the largest and most dangerous carnivorous animals of South America also figure, i.e. the jaguar and the smaller species of the feline family. Among this class of demoniacal animals the following are mentioned: the soacha or great black jaguar, the largest of all felidae in South America; further, the shia-shia, yambinga, yawára, different kinds of the spotted jaguar; the hapayawára, i.e. the puma or South American lion; and lastly the amicha, yantána, [375] and unduchama, different kinds of small tiger cats. All these beasts are particularly feared because it is believed that the souls of the medicine-men reincarnate themselves in them in order to kill their enemies. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer is supposed to be able occasionally to transform himself into a jaguar in order to bewitch people. If a jaguar attacks and kills an Indian, or if he only takes one of his swine or dogs, it is inmediately [sic] clear to the rest that an enemy sorcerer has been operating, who took the form of the wild beast in order to carry out his evil designs. Likewise, medicine-men in the form of jaguars or tiger cats are believed to send disease. Hence, when a medicine-man is curing a patient, among different demoniacal animals who may be supposed to have sent the evil, he also mentions the jaguar and the tiger cats. On the other

hand, these beasts also figure among the animal demons who appear to the Indians in the dreams induced by maikoa or natéma and who are called arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The jaguar demons who appear to the Indian in the narcotic sleep are considered by them as dead ancestors. I shall have occasion to mention these again as well as other arútama in connection with the narcotic drinks.

Other animals which at least occasionally appear as iguánchi or demons are the great otter (wangánimi), the nose-bear (Nasua rufa, called kúshi by the Jibaros), the ant-bear (wishvishi), and the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai). The first mentioned, the great otter, even figures among the arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The nose-bear and the ant-bear are supposed to be able to bewitch people with their long and pointed snout. The former is also regarded with superstition because of its disagreable smell, and its flesh is therefore not eaten. The otter and the paca again bewitch people with their long whiskers. The whiskers of these animals are used by the sorcerers for the same purpose.

Among water demons there is also the dolphin, called bufeo in Spanish and apúpa in the Jibaro language, an animal quite common in the Amazonian rivers. This animal is in the habit of following the canoes passing on the rivers, frequently emerging from the surface of the water to take breath. The Indians believe that it may bewitch people, since it produces the same sound as the sorcerers when, blowing and whistling, they

send off their magic arrow against their enemies. The apúpa, which in reality is a perfectly harmless animal, is therefore feared by the Jibaros as a dangerous wishinyu or sorcerer.

Much more feared, however, is another water monster living in the Amazonian rivers and lagoons, namely, the great water boa or anaconda [376] (Eunectes murinus). The Jibaros call it pangi, sometimes also in their magical incantations using the Quichua name amárun. The anaconda is in fact the worst of all the demons that people the spiritual world of the Indians. The Jibaros only share a belief in regard to this monster which seems to be common to all Indians in tropical South America. The great boa is the father of witchcraft, it is from his body that the medicine-men get the poison with which they themselves are impregnated and the magical arrow (tunchi) which they let off against people whom they want to harm. Both after death and in their lifetime the souls of the medicine-men are supposed to be able to transmigrate into the anaconda, and when the Indians kill such a monster they say that it is an evil wizard that they have killed. The largest specimens of the anaconda the Jibaros do not even touch with their hands after having killed them, for fear of the evil effects arising from coming in contact with the demon, but the skin of the smaller boas is often made into broad cinctures to which great magical power is ascribed. Since the anaconda is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, it is natural that it should also be regarded as the author of all

diseases attributed to sorcery. Hence the pangi together with his 'brother', the tsungi, is regularly mentioned in the magical conjurations by which the medicine-men try to cure disease.

As to the latter demon, the tsungi, I have not been able to ascertain whether it is only a mythical water monster or a real living animal. The tsungi is described as a woman-like being with long hair and large breasts, living in caves in water-pools and lagoons just as does his 'brother' the pangi. As authors of witchcraft both demons have the same importance, and the tsungi figures side by side with the pangi in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Not only the great boa serpent but also other kinds of reptiles play an important part in the religion of the Jibaros. Thus the great caiman or crocodile (kanyátsa), which attacks people swimming in the rivers, is an iguánchi and even is reckoned among the arútama. Far more feared, however, are the demons which appear in the shape of venomous snakes. About such reptiles all Ecuadorian Indians seem to have the same idea: with the sting of the poisonous snake an evil spirit enters the body of the patient. But the Jibaros go still further in their theory: the wakáni or iguánchi which entered the person stung and caused his death was in fact nothing but the demoniacal soul of a sorcerer who had taken the shape of the reptile in order to kill his enemy.

The Indians make a distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' [377] or

demoniacal snakes, the latter being snakes in which the soul of a sorcerer has temporarily taken up its abode. The Jibaros call such a snake tunchima, i.e. 'bewitched'. If a non-poisonous snake bites, or if the bite of a venomous snake did not cause the person bitten any particular harm, this was only a 'natural' snake-bite. If, on the other hand, the person died in consequence of it, the snake was tunchima. Persons bitten by 'bewitched' snakes, therefore, generally die or can only be cured by the magic art of other sorcerers. How the medicine-men proceed when curing such patients we shall see later on.

Few phenomena of the animal world have impressed the primitive Indian mind so strongly as the venomous snakes. By their peculiar appearance, their soundless movements, and especially by their mysterious death-bringing sting they are, in fact, most likely to give rise to superstitious beliefs. Thus the venomous reptiles seem to have suggested to the Indian sorcerers the ideas upon which their magic art is based. Moreover, as pointed out before, the arrow-poison is probably originally nothing but an imitation of the snakes' poison, the same superstitious ideas being connected with the one as with the other.

The spirits and demons also frequently appear in the shape of birds. The ideas held of certain birds are exactly the same as those held of certain animals and reptiles. Generally the demoniacal birds are associated with the medicine-men and sorcerers

who use them as their agents in order to carry out their evil designs against other people. Like a jaguar or a snake, a bird may be tunchima or 'bewitched'. This means that a sorcerer has hidden his own soul or his death-bringing magic arrow (tunchi) into the bird with a view to shooting it off at the person he wants to harm. The spirits or souls of dead persons, both men and women, may also reincarnate themselves in birds, which are then looked upon as 'magical'.

In regard to the birds of which such superstitious beliefs are held, it is to be noted that all of them are distinguished by some peculiarity in their appearance or habits of life, or by their sounds. All individuals of a species are not necessarily iguánchi but they may occasionally appear as such. There are 'natural' and 'supernatural' birds, just as there are 'natural' and 'supernatural' snakes and jaguars. Thus the largest birds of prey of South America, the condor (yápu), the great eagle or harpy (unta pinchu), the hawk (pinchu), and the owl (ambúsha), are often looked upon as evil demons, especially if they attack men or domestic animals or appear under unusual circumstances. The owl, [378] being a nocturnal bird, is regarded by all Indians as a messenger from the spirit world. The Jibaros believe that the souls of dead women are particularly incarnated in the owl. Other demoniacal birds are the black vulture (chuánga), the tucan (tsukánga), the great macaw or arara parrot, both the red one (takúmbi) and the

yellow one (yambúna), with a common name called yusa, as well as the ordinary green parrot (kávashu). All these birds, together with the pelican (kauá) and the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea, called sumga by the Jibaros) are also mentioned among the arútama and appear to the Indians in narcotic sleep. Feared as bearers of the magic arrow are also the mango (chui), the umbrella-bird (Cephalopterus ornatus, called ungúmi in the Jibaro language) and most nocturnal birds. Among the latter, in addition to the owl, two deserve to be especially mentioned: the kuikui, a small bird which moves about whistling at night, bewitching people, and the uichúchu, another small bird with a long tail and almost green in colour, which leaves its resting-place upon the rocks at night and approaches the habitations of men, producing the cry from which it takes its name. The Indians say that the uichúchu, when sent by a sorcerer, carries the magic arrow far away to other places, bringing disease and death to the people there. The small nocturnal bird is therefore greatly feared and is often mentioned in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Various smaller animals, fish, and insects play a part in the superstition of the Jibaros because of the spines, prickles, or stings with which their body is provided by nature. The medicine-men and sorcerers, in their magic art, often make use of similar spines or stings. Such animals are for instance the hedgehog (kúru) and a sort of armadillo which the Jibaros call tuicha. I shall mention some instances illustrating the

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

Indian belief as to fish and insects when dealing with the medicine-men. Here I shall only add that the butterfly (wambishku) is looked upon by the Jibaros as a wakáni or soul, a belief which is also found among other South American tribes."

"The plant spirits have hardly less importance in the religion of the Jibaros than the animal spirits. It is indeed a belief in the animistic philosophy of the Indians, that all trees and plants are animated by spirits or souls just as men and animals are. Nor does the wakáni of a plant differ in essence from the wakáni of a man or an animal. According to the mythology of the Jibaros all animals have once been men, and similarly in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that ani-[379]mate them temporarily may, either for a long or short period, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thought and feelings, and when intoxicated by the narcotic drinks prepared from certain plants the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definitive human form, namely, as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with the same view. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be 'men', i.e. to have a man's soul, others --in fact the majority of them--are said to be 'women', i.e. have a woman's soul.

The growth of trees and plants and the ripening of their fruits is due to the wakáni or soul inhabiting them. But, of course, only such trees and plants have a place in the religion and superstition of the Indians as are particularly useful or distinguished by

some striking properties. Thus real worship is accorded to the garden plants, the manioc, the banana, the maize, the beans, the earth-nuts, etc. in connection with the cult of Nungüi mentioned before. Nungüi nua, the mythical Jibaro woman, created all fruits in the beginning and still reigns over them. In the different plant spirits--those which, like the manioc, the beans and the earth-nuts, are of the female sex--there is something of her own spirit; she alone, therefore, is able to give an abundant crop to the women cultivating them. On the other hand, for such garden plants as are supposed to be of the male sex--as for instance the banana and the maize--the Jibaro men who have to cultivate these plants appeal to the mythical husband of Nungüi, Shakafma, who presides over them and influences their growth and fertility. What the religion of the Jibaros has to show of real worship or cult is mainly illustrated in the prayers and incantations addressed to Nungüi and Shakafma in agriculture.

Of trees that have great value for the Jibaros from an alimental point of view the chontaruru palm (Guilielma) is the most important. Its excellent fruit is the food most appreciated by the Indians for a couple of months of the year, and perhaps still more appreciated is the fermented beer that they make from it. The chontaruru palm has a man's wakáni or soul and is therefore planted and tended by the men. At the time of the year when the fruit grows ripe great festivals are held in connection with the preparation of the beer and the beer-drinking, dances being performed and incantations sung in order

to [380] 'hurry on' the ripening and increase of the fruit and the fermentation of the beer.

On the other hand the chonta palm, both the one cultivated for the sake of its useful fruit and the wild species (shingi), are also regarded as 'demoniacal' trees on account of their large thorns, which play an important part in Indian witchcraft. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-men make frequent use of chonta thorns when they want to bewitch their enemies, as we shall see later on. From this point of view the spirit of the chonta palm is an evil demon or iguánchi, a belief which in part is also due to the iron hard wood of this tree. Not only the thorns but also other parts of the chonta palm are often used for magic purposes. Thus the lance made of chonta wood is supposed to possess magical power and to inspire not only living men but also spirits and demons with dread. Hence at the great victory-feast of the Jibaros the head trophy (tsantsa) is always tied to a chonta lance when it is not needed for the ceremonies. The spirit of the killed enemy is thus kept under restraint or control.

Other trees connected with the religion or superstition of the Jibaros are for instance the genipa tree (Genipa americana); and the guayusa tree (Ilex). From the genipa fruit the Indians get the black dye (sua), with which they paint the body and face for warfare and on certain ceremonial occasions, and to which a magical power is ascribed. The Jibaros say that they paint themselves black for warfare 'in order to resemble the

iguánchi'. The genipa is therefore a 'demoniacal' paint. Similar supernatural virtues are ascribed to the decoction made of the leaves of the guayusa tree (weisa), which has great importance as a tonic and a means of purification.

The most popular magical paint of the Indians is prepared from the red seeds of the bush Bixa orellana, which is one of the sacred trees of the Jibaros. With this red dye (called ipyáku) the Jibaros paint the face for many different ends, e.g. as protection against disease and witchcraft or in general to acquire strength and power of resistance, to gain the love of women, and so forth. The wonderful properties of the paint is due to the spirit which animates the tree.

Poisonous plants and plants with extraordinarily strong properties, for instance those used for the preparation of the arrow-poison and such as play a part in the medicine of the Indians, are believed to be animated by dangerous spirits or demons to whom these striking properties are due. Hence the precautions taken, for instance, at the preparation of the [381] arrow-poison, when the sorcerer who cooks the poison is supposed to be fighting an evil demon whom he subdues, and whose power he uses for his own ends. The idea is exactly the same as that held in regard to the fermented drinks prepared from manioc, chontaruru, etc., the strength of which is likewise due to the spirits inhabiting the plants.

Other plants which play an important part in the magical medicine and religion of the

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

Indians are, for instance, those comprehended under the general name of varvasco and used partly for fishing, partly for the preparation of the arrow-poison, as well as the narcotic plants tobacco, natema, and maikoa. The former have been mentioned before in connection with the Indian fishing customs, and the latter will presently be treated in detail. All these plants illustrate, in a most characteristic way, the Indian belief in plant spirits."

1: Karsten--381-382 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover extend their animistic ideas to the heavenly bodies and phenomena, and to inanimate objects of nature. A Jibaro myth tells us that the sun, the moon, and the stars have once been men living on the earth, and certain magical ideas, current among most South American Indians, are held about the moon, but no traces of a real belief in a sun or moon spirit are to be found and still less of a cult of these heavenly bodies. The Indians seem to consider that they are too far off and have not enough influence upon human affairs to be worshipped. On the other hand, striking phenomena of nature which sometimes threaten their welfare, such as thunder and lightning, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, are always set down to supernatural causes. The thunder, the Jibaros say, is caused by a great number of shuara (enemies) --i.e. spirits of dead Jibaro warriors--who with such a noise are making their assaults upon the Indians. During heavy thunderstorms, therefore, the Jibaro men are seen brandishing their lances against the clouds, jumping, shouting, and challenging their invisible supernatural assailants with the same words that they shout against their natural enemies: winiti, winiti, páhei, 'may you come, I am ready!' The Jibaros therefore call the thunder shuara mányamai, or shuara ipyámwai, that is, 'the enemies are fighting'. The lightning (cháreimbi) is also an old Jibaro warrior, one of those ancestors of the Jibaro race who are called arútama and which appear to the Indian when

narcotized by tobacco, natéma, or maikoa. Among the same powerful demons figure some other striking heavenly phenomena, namely, the rainbow (tundyáka) and the meteors and comets or shooting stars, called by the common name payára ('a falling thing'). [382]

Earthquakes (urkai) are caused by powerful iguánchi in the earth, who are shaking their bodies.

Of stupendous phenomena of nature which have particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros one more must be mentioned: it is the violent hurricane(nássi), which frequently appears in the South American virgin forests, passing over a comparatively limited area and marking its way by terrible destruction among the trees and bushes. The Jibaros ascribe the hurricane to one of their worst iguánchi, who also figures among the arútama."

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain booms as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaros, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaros ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where iguánchi is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (sása or paccha) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks natéma or maikoa in the forest, always takes a bath in a sása in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especially the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

"Even an element like fire is supposed to have a soul. 'The fire is a woman', that is, has a female soul or wakáni. Hence the women must tend the fire and perform the most important work done with the aid of the fire, namely, cook the food. Yet the fire is not deified by the Jibaros, and there is no question of a fire-cult.

The animistic philosophy of the Jibaros goes so far as to ascribe wakáni or souls even to objects made by the human hand. Thus utensils and weapons, clay pots and plates, the web and the distaff, needles, knives, lances, blowguns, shields, etc. are endowed with an animating principle. When the Indians are narcotized by natéma or maihoa, the spirits of such implements and weapons appear to them among other demons in the shape of young men. These animistic ideas have a great influence upon the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros.

From what has been stated above it appears that the supernatural beings appear to the Indians in many different shapes, the demons taking [384] human or animal shape being however perhaps the most feared. These demons move about especially at night, and their favourite dwelling-place is the forest. The Indian therefore fears darkness and he particularly fears to enter the woods, where the iguánchi may meet him in the shape of a jaguar, a venomous snake, or in other terrifying forms. The iguánchi live in the densest thickets of the virgin forest, or sit in the tops of its giant trees. If the tree is beaten with a heavy stick, the demon is supposed to get frightened and to start, and then the whole ground trembles. At times the iguánchi makes something fall down from

the tree which looks like burning copal; but before the burning drops reach the ground they disappear. Any accident or mishap which happens to the Indian whilst wandering in the forest is set down to the evil designs of an iguánchi, or to a malicious sorcerer operating through such a demon. When a fainting-fit or a sudden illness befalls the Indian in the virgin forest--such cases seem to be of comparatively frequent occurrence --this is also imputed to the iguánchi. An Indian thus attacked by the demon gives a shout. If he is sufficiently near the house to be heard, there arises a terrible hubbub. All the people of the house dash out followed by the barking dogs, shouting and screaming loudly and making a noise by beating drums and striking the stems of trees with sticks and pulled-up roots. This is done in order to frighten away the demon. Once, a Jíbaro told me, a kinsman of his had been attacked by two iguánchi in the forest and been carried home in a senseless condition. These iguánchi, he added, were two Jíbaro men of a well-known family, who had died some time before.

The demons are also believed to carry off people, especially small children, and to take them to their own dwellings in the densest thickets of the forest, where they will remain for ever.

The iguánchi even attacks sick persons while they lie in their beds at home. The demon then appears to the patient especially in a dream, speaking to him and singing a song in seductive strains in order to entice his soul to follow him to his mysterious

habitation in the wood. 'Follow me', he says, 'I have a nice house, and women and dogs and plenty of food and nihamánchi (manioc-beer)!'. He also tries to allure him by the following words:

Tússimie nu, yungangá,
Núkuchie nu, yungangá,
Tússimie nu, núkuchie nu,
yungangá! [385]

This means more or less:

'My little father, come along!
My little mother, come along!
My little father, my little mother,
come along!'

If the sick person in the dream listens to these enticements of the iguánchi, his soul will follow him into the wood, where he will see the house of iguánchi such as the demon has described it. But with this his fate is sealed and he will return to his home and his bed only to die. Everybody that listens to the enticements of iguánchi must die.

The iguánchi, as we have seen, can be frightened away by natural means, as by shouts and making noises. All demons likewise fear the murderous weapon of the Jibaro Indians, the chonta lance, as well as the rattling din of the shields. Action of

1: Karsten--383-385 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 774 (1928-29)

this kind occurs as a magical ceremony at the victory-feasts. More than anything else the demons are said to fear rifle-shots."

"The animistic ideas of the Canelos Indians do not differ essentially from those of the Jibaros. Thus the animal and plant demons and other nature spirits are in the main the same in both tribes. For spirit and demon, the Canelos Indians use the names aya and supai, corresponding to the wakáni and the iguánchi of the Jibaros. Aya thus means 'soul' or 'ghost', and supai 'demon' in the proper sense of the word. But there is no essential difference between the two kinds of spirits. As far as I can see, the animism of the Canelos Indians is also based on the principle of the deification of the dead: all supai are really the spirits of dead persons, especially spirits of departed medicine-men or sorcerers.

The spirits or demons appear to the Canelos Indians partly in human forms, partly in the shape of different animal beings, and are also believed to inhabit plants and inanimate natural objects. They reveal their existence especially by unexpected incidents and by accidents befalling people. The following are the most important supai or demons of these Indians.

One of the most formidable demons is the jaguar demon, puma supai, which may appear in the shape of any beast of the feline family known to the Indians. There are 'natural' jaguars and the demoniacal jaguars, the latter being such as attack man or otherwise harm him. The general idea prevailing among the Canelos Indians is that the souls of the sorcerers have temporarily reincarnated themselves in such beasts--

a belief that seems to be common to all South American Indians. There are different kinds of cat demons corresponding to the different kinds of felidae: Yana huagra puma supai is the cat demon appearing in the shape of the great black jaguar, the largest of the felidae in South America, which was formerly common in the regions round Canelos and greatly feared by natives. Inchic puma supai is the smaller spotted [387] jaguar, still common in the forests of Eastern Ecuador; huituc puma supai (huituc=Genipa americana, which affords the black dye used for body painting), a small tiger-cat with black spots on the fell 'as if painted with huituc'. It causes the Indians considerable loss by killing and eating their fowls.

Since the spirits incarnated in all these beasts are generally souls of medicine-men or sorcerers, they are also believed to inflict evils in a supernatural way and especially to send disease. Hence the different kinds of puma are, among other demons, summoned by the medicine-men when curing bewitched persons.

Not only professional medicine-men but aged persons in general, who are mostly credited with the art of sorcery, are often believed to transform themselves into jaguars both after death and even in their lifetime. Thus at Sarayacu on the Bobonaza I was told about a very old man who was said to change himself occasionally into a jaguar, afterwards again taking human shape. He went into the wood as a man and reappeared as a tiger. His footprints were first seen like those of a man, but farther in the forest they

were changed into the tracks of the beast. Appearing in this shape,he threatened even his nearest relatives and was therefore greatly feared. This story is characteristic of the Indian belief in man-tigers, as it is found in different parts of South America.

The deer (taruga) and the tapir (sacha huagra) were formerly looked upon as demoniacal animals by the Canelos Indians also, and their flesh was not eaten. Nowadays, however, the Indians have given up this superstition and eat the flesh of both these animals. They even have a special liking for the flesh of the deer, because, they say, by eating it they will become swift-footed like that animal.

Huaira supai, 'the wind demon' is a supernatural being resembling a monkey, which is seen flying through the air. He is regarded as the particular demon of disease-bringing winds and is much feared by the Indians.

Yana rumi supai, 'the demon of the black stones', appears to people intoxicated by the narcotic aya huasca as an Indian sitting upon great black stones in the lagoons. A purely mythical being.

Huas runa supai, a white woman-like form which is seen to rise from the water of the lagoons into the air and is believed to send disease. This demon, which is also known under the name yacu supai, ('the water demon'), is therefore summoned by the medicine-men. [388]

Cucha pillan supai, a human-like being which is said to resemble a monk, with

plumes on the head. He is seen near lagoons, but is said to be a harmless being.

Uri-uri supai, a being described as half Indian, half monkey. He is seen near the lagoons in the forest, where he goes about shooting with a blowgun. He sends disease and is therefore invoked by the sorcerers.

Amasánga supai, a demon appearing in the shape of an Indian, who moves about in the wood at night bewitching people; also known under the name sacha runa, 'the man of the wood'. He is said to be a very malicious being and is likewise summoned by the sorcerers.

Huangana supai, the ant-bear. He is said to go about 'blowing a cornet' and bewitching people. An evil demon who is summoned by the sorcerers.

Atacapi or curaga supai, a demon resembling a buck which is seen in the neighbourhood of lagoons and rivers. He is evil and summoned in the conjurations of the sorcerers.

Cahun supai is an animal demon of the size of a dog, entirely black and with a long tail. I am not certain whether it is a real animal or a purely mythical one. Generally two are seen together, 'one leading the other by a liana'. The animal is a supai. When an Indian goes alone in the woods, it attacks him, seizes his leg with its long tail, and takes away his soul. The demon is believed to say to the Indian 'Now I take your soul because of your sins'. The Indian thus caught will die. The Indians therefore never

kill this animal and run away as soon as they see it in the wood.

Among the demons who appear in the shape of reptiles the great water boa or anaconda, amárum supai, is the most important. The Canelos Indians hold exactly the same ideas with regard to this monster as the Jibaros. He is the father of witchcraft and the chief of the demons, and has them all assembled in the river. The amárum supai is especially said to haunt the cataracts and other dangerous places in the rivers where accidents easily occur to the Indians when travelling in canoes. He is also called yacu supai, 'the water demon'. A boa serpent, seen in the neighbourhood of a house, is regarded as the incarnation of a malicious wizard who is trying to carry out his evil designs against the inhabitants. Old men and sorcerers are also believed to reincarnate themselves in boas after death, just as they may transform themselves into tigers. The Indians never touch a dead boa with their hands, lest their body [389] should become scaly like that of the serpent. If they shoot it with a gun, the barrel, according to their idea, will burst, or some other accident will occur. If they shoot it with a poisoned arrow, the arrow-poison will thereafter entirely loose its efficacy. Generally the Indians attack the anaconda with long harpoons of chonta.

Any venomous snake is believed to appear occasionally--that is, when it attacks and does harm to man or domestic animals--as a supai or as the agent of an evil sorcerer. Among these demons there are for instance the rattle snake, mutúlu supai, and the ekis

(Lachesis) called pitalála, the most dangerous venomous snakes in the Ecuadorian forests.

As to bird demons, the same ideas are held as among the Jíbaros. Various birds may appear as the agents of the sorcerers, carrying their bewitching arrows (chuma). Such a bird is for instance the tucan, of which family two species are mentioned: sicuánga supai, the ordinary great tucan (called predicador or diablo in Spanish), the predominant colour of which is white; and yaúiri supai, the predominant colour of which is brown. Both these tucans are regarded as evil demons which bewitch people with their large beaks.

When a Jíbaro or a Canelos man has to fast on account of the birth of a son, he abstains among other things from eating the tucan, believing that otherwise his newborn babe will be bewitched. Normally the tucan is eaten by the Indians, and its brilliant feathers, to which a magical power is ascribed, are particularly appreciated.

Macutálu, a kind of the common bird which in Spanish is called mango, brown in colour, is looked upon with the same superstition as the tucan. It is believed to be sent by the sorcerers and to bring disease and is therefore invoked in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Yahi mangu supai is another kind of mango, black in colour. This bird demon is also invoked by the medicine-men.

Shili-shili supai is a small bird which lives in the neighbourhood of the waterfalls in the forest and is believed to send disease, producing the sound from which it takes its name.

Bullu-cúcu is the onomatopoeic name of another bird, as large as a chicken, which moves about at night bewitching people.

Supai pishcu, 'the devil's bird', is another nocturnal bird living near small lagoons and producing a whistling sound which fills the Indians with superstitious fear. When it moves round the houses at night whistling, it is believed to bewitch the people living there. The Indians, [390]hearing the cry of the supai pishcu, are therefore in the habit of firing shots into the air in order to frighten it away.

Chunta pishcu is a beautiful green bird which is likewise regarded with superstition because of its nocturnal cry. Like other demoniacal birds it is believed to send disease.

The hawk (anga) may be the incarnation of a supai. This demon is especially said to have intercourse with women at night, during sleep. A woman visited by the anga supai is likely to give birth to a supai huahua, a demoniacal child, which is of a grey colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk, and the legs deformed. Such a monster is generally buried alive.

A black nocturnal bird called tutúlu is also said to make women supernaturally pregnant, to enter the house where it assumes human shape and has intercourse with a woman.

Titipúru supai is a black nocturnal bird resembling a heron and living on the flat banks of the rivers. It is believed to bewitch people with the whistling sound which it produces, and to make them ill.

Acángau supai, the bird which is in Spanish called cacavero, is also occasionally said to send disease.

Even such insignificant birds as the humming-birds may act as the agents of evil-working sorcerers. There are two beautiful humming-birds that are especially mentioned as supai, namely, the rayu hinde supai and the curi hinde supai, which are believed to bewitch people with their long beaks and therefore likewise figure among the demons invoked by the medicine-men.

Poisonous insects are also regarded as demons. Among these the Canelos Indians pay particular attention to the black wasp, the scorpion or uputindi supai, and the black ant (tucandera), called yutúri supai. The poisonous stings of these insects resemble the invisible magic arrows of the sorcerers who also, as we shall see, avail themselves of such creatures when bewitching people."

"We have further to consider the plant demons which are much the same as those of the Jibaros. Of 'sacred' or demoniacal trees the palms are the most important. There are three kinds of demoniacal palms: the cucha chunta (Mauritia) which grows at the margin of lagoons or on marshy ground; the huiriria chunta (Bactris) another kind of wild chonta palm; and the tarpu chunta or cultivated chontaruru palm (Guilielma). To all these the appellation supai is given because of their [391] long thorns which play the main part in the magic art of the medicine-men and sorcerers at Canelos.

The animistic ideas in regard to the garden plants are much the same as among the Jibaros. The Canelos Indians, who are now Christians in name, however, do not believe in an Earth-mother, and although many curious practices are observed at sowing and planting, their agriculture is not nowadays connected with a cult of the plant spirits as among the Jibaros.

Poisonous plants are animated by supai and the efficacy of the arrow-poison, as we have seen, is due to the demons inhabiting the plant from which it is prepared.

The same holds good of the narcotic plants aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros), huántuc (= maikoa), and tobacco, which play the same important part in the divination of the Canelos Indians as in that of the Jibaros. The demon of the huántuc plant, huántuc supai, is said to appear to the Canelos medicine-men, narcotized by the drink,

as a little white man in black clothes, who arrives to cure the evils he has inflicted 'smoking a big cigar'."

1: Karsten--391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 823 (1928-29)

"Certain places and localities are inhabited by supai. The most important and most feared of these are the urcu supai, the demons of the hills, and especially the razu urcu supai, the demons of the snow-clad mountains. All these are inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers who have transmigrated into the hills and mountains. They are supposed to send evil disease and are therefore often summoned by the medicine-men when curing patients.

When passing hills on their wanderings the Canelos Indians take care not to make a noise but keep silence; otherwise the demon of the hill will get angry and send heavy rain. The thunder-like booming sometimes heard from within the mountains is called by the same name as one of their principal bird demons, the big macaw, guacamayu. When hunting on hills that they have not visited before, they abstain from shooting with their guns and only use their blowguns. Otherwise they will not be able to kill any game.

There are also spirits in the rivers, and the cataracts are particularly haunted by them. Some of these appear in the shape of animals, as the amárun supai, others, again, in other shapes. In the small waterfalls or cascades, (paccha) in which the eastern cordilleras are so rich, there are paccha supai or sacha supai, 'demons of the woods'. In such paccha the Indians take ceremonial baths."

1: Karsten--392 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"Of phenomena in the sky the rainbow (cuichi) seems to have particularly attracted the attention of the Canelos Indians. The rainbow, they fancy, is nothing but a huge anaconda (amárun) in the air, or as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the anaconda'. One superstition about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are in their menstrual period ought not go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone in a hut in the forest, they are exposed to danger from the cuichi supai who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being a supai huahua, a 'demoniacal' child. This superstition in regard to the rainbow also prevails among the Indians of the Napo and is particularly held by the Quichua-speaking mountain Indians."

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians; they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wahání or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

"The Jibaro Indian, however, makes a definite distinction between what he calls 'witchcraft' (tunchi) and 'disease' (súngura). Tunchi, properly speaking, signifies the 'arrow' or small material object which the sorcerers throw at their enemies. The illness caused by it is particularly an Indian evil; upon a white man it would not have any effect. The Jibaros even declare that white people do not at all comprehend the thing that the Indians call witchcraft. The symptoms of this mysterious evil are, however, quite characteristic. When the Indian's whole body aches or he feels intense pains in some particular part of it, and especially if the pains are accompanied by a swelling of the corresponding part of the body and the evil strikes him quite suddenly, he is convinced that he has been bewitched. Head-ache and rheumatic pains--what we call 'fairy dart' etc.--suppurating wounds, colic accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, painful diseases of the heart and the liver, are typical instances of evils caused by witchcraft. Feverish diseases are generally referred to the category súngura. However, the malarial fever, although it is not connected with pains, is frequently set down to witchcraft. When among the Jibaros of the Rio Upano, whose land is comparatively healthy, a case of malarial fever occurs, the Indians declare that this evil is sent to them by the sorcerers among their enemies, the Achuares on the Rio Pastaza, who live in a malaria-stricken country.

Although the tunchi, when let off against a person by a sorcerer, or extracted from

the body of a patient by a medicine-man, always appears in the shape of some material object, yet it is at the same time regarded as a living demoniacal being. If death follows in consequence of sorcery, this demon is conceived of as a real igukuchi, who at the same time is vaguely identified with the soul of the sorcerer from whom it proceeds. [395]The demon of the tunchi at once begins its work of destruction in the body, and if it is allowed to complete it, that is to say, if no other medicine-man is able to drive it out and to extract the tunchi, the patient is bound to die. After his death the demon remains in the body and tries to lay hold of his soul as well, the latter being then identified with the demon that caused death. This is the reason why the departed are so often feared as revengeful spirits, even when they were, perhaps, respected and loved in life; it is the spirit of disease and death that the Indians fear, the demon being supposed to look for fresh victims among the surviving relatives."

"On the other hand, in the category 'disease' (súngura) most illnesses are reckoned which are not particularly connected with pains and which the Indians have learnt to know through the whites; first of all fever and infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet-fever, dysentery, and venereal disease. Whereas the Indian medicine-men are often able to cure witchcraft sent by other medicine-men, they are completely powerless against 'disease' imported by the whites. Thus when an epidemic of small-pox--a disease that has at times made terrible ravages among the natives of South America--breaks out in an Indian village, the inhabitants generally see no other way to rid themselves of the evil than to burn and abandon the whole village, or at least to leave it for some time. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians always, when a strange white man arrives, ask whether he 'brings disease' with him (súngura itáches?). A traveller who falls seriously ill while staying in an Indian house incurs great danger. If the Indians feel sufficiently strong they may kill him; if not, they will at least go off and leave him alone in the house. The first visit of white men among Indians living in unexplored parts of the country is, for the same reason, particularly critical; the Indians think that the strange new-comers infect their houses and villages by their mere presence. By their personal contact as well as by their clothes, their medicines, and the many other mysterious things that they bring with them they are believed to spread germs of death-bringing diseases.

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

Just as the evil of witchcraft is caused by a demoniacal being, perhaps a death-bringing iguánchi, so 'disease' (súngura) is also caused by a spirit, namely, the spirit of a white man. The Jibaros, however, can say nothing more particularly about this disease and death spirit, and they know no other way of protecting themselves against his visits than by trying to avoid him."

1: Karsten--396 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"Although the category 'disease' nowadays chiefly comprises illnesses that have been introduced by the whites, there is also a kind of súngura which is endemic among the Indians and which they have thus known before the white man arrived. This kind of súngura arises directly from their own evil iguánchi. Such a case of 'disease' came under my notice among the Indians of Arapicos, where several young persons and children had been attacked by an insidious fever, apparently epidemical, which made them slowly pine away. The demons always outdo living men, even the most experienced sorcerers, as senders of supernatural evils. The medicine-men, therefore, generally profess their inability to cure the kind of súngura which is sent by the iguanchi."

1: Karsten--396 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753 (1928-29)

"Although 'disease' (sungura) does not directly arise from the sorcerers, they are still supposed to have a certain influence even upon this evil. They are, for instance, believed to be able, by means of their magical arrows and imprecations, to cause an epidemic, raging in a village, not to cease or leave the place, but remain stationary there, gradually exterminating its inhabitants. Thus when the village of Puyo, situated at a small affluent of upper Pastaza, was visited by a ravaging epidemic of dysentry in 1918, the Indians declared that the disease had certainly been brought to their village by the whites, but that its unusually obstinate character was due to the magic art of the famous sorcerer Palati at Canelos, who wanted to annihilate his avowed enemies the Puyo Indians. There is thus practically no evil and no kind of illness for which the Indians are not able to blame, in one way or another, their enemies, the sorcerers of other families or tribes."

1: Karsten--396-397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"THE CANELOS INDIANS make exactly the same distinction between what they call chunta (magic arrow) or nanai ('pain', 'evil', caused by the chunta) and ungüi, 'disease', originally introduced by the whites. As to the latter the Canelos Indians, who have at times suffered terribly from small-pox and other epidemic diseases, have much more realistic ideas than the wild Jibaros. 'Disease', they say, enters their villages in the shape of a white man, 'carrying a bag on his shoulders'. He may be a real man or only a spirit; in any case he is believed to bring illness. 'Disease' knocks at the door of an Indian hut, and when some one goes to open it for him, the spirit will 'catch' him (ungüi hápin). One Indian having thus been caught, the relentless strange demon will look for more victims among the rest. Hence, when in one way or other the Indians have got the idea that 'Disease' is approaching their village--for instance when a party of white men are arriving--the [397] women start to cry loudly and lament just as they do when mourning for the dead. In this way, they believe, 'Disease' will be frightened away or anyhow induced to retrace his steps and leave the inhabitants in peace. This idea explains the strange welcome, consisting of ceremonial crying and lamentation, which white travellers sometimes receive when arriving at Indian villages. Again, when a contagious disease, for instance an epidemic of small-pox, breaks out in a place, the inhabitants generally see no other way of ridding themselves of the unwelcome guest than by leaving it and migrating to another part of the country. In such

cases they are in the habit of blocking up the path along which they go with sticks and branches of trees, 'in order that the disease spirit may not be able to follow in their footsteps.'"

1: Karsten--397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"Disease, and especially death, are to the Indians the great sources of taboo. The precautions which are considered necessary after a death will be related later on. Here it may be proper to add that disease or sickness of any kind is supposed to pollute a house to such extent that at any rate the Canelos Indians deem it necessary for the nearest relatives of the patient to fast. After the medicine-man has taken natéma to discover the origin of the sickness he generally gives the relatives certain instructions in this respect. The father, mother, brothers, and sisters of the patient are not allowed to eat salt or Indian pepper during the two first days after the member of the family fell ill. The patient himself is allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc plantain and certain small fish called umbúni, tugshi, chuti, shigli, and challúa in the Quichua language. When the sick person is near death, the relatives too can only eat boiled and mashed plantain. When the patient is recovering, he is by and by allowed to eat small birds (shot with unpoisoned arrows) and thereafter certain other kinds of meat. The big sheat-fish (sungarápu) is strictly forbidden to a sick person because the whiskers of this fish are often used by sorcerers when bewitching people.

Only the nearest relatives of the patient are obliged to observe these rules, because of the mysterious connection which is supposed to unite all members of a family. If these eat some unsuitable food it will according to the belief of the Indians, necessarily react upon the patient whose condition will be made worse. Other more distant relatives

or strange people, who happen to stay in the same house, are not obliged to fast."

1: Karsten--397-398 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros....at any rate those living on the Upano [398] and Santiago, do not consider it necessary to diet on account of a case of sickness, but only after a death. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, however, a person bitten by a venomous snake must avoid exciting spice like Indian pepper, and strong drinks. The latter, besides this, also in such cases abstain from eating salt and manioc, which according to their assertion would render the recovery more difficult for the patient."

1: Karsten--399 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"From what has been stated about the medicine-men in the previous pages, for instance in connection with the demons appearing in the shape of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, we may conclude that they form a class of extraordinary importance in the Jibaro community. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-man is the physician of the community, not a priest. His chief bussiness [sic] is to kill or harm other people--his own enemies or those of his tribe--with sorcery, and to cure evils sent by enemy sorcerers. He is not particularly a 'weather-doctor', i.e. a man that professes to influence the weather for good or evil. Although magical practices of this kind occur among the Jibaros, they can be performed by any member of the community and do not form part of the special functions of the medicine-men. Nor do they concern themselves with such ceremonies as are of a marked religious character, as for instance the rites and incantations performed in honour of Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma for agriculture. Divination consisting of drinking the narcotics natéma or maikoa is continually practised by the medicine-men, but chiefly in connection with their medical treatment."

lz Karsten--399 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 793 (1928-29)

"....priests in the proper sense of the word do not exist, unless--as indeed I have done myself--we choose to give this name to the old man (*whuéa*) who conducts the ceremonies at the most important religious feasts. In this sense there may even be said to exist priestesses among the Jibaros, since old women perform similar duties at certain feasts."

1: Karsten--399-400 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"I frequently use the expression 'medicine-man and sorcerer', indicating thereby that these conceptions are not exactly synonymous. A medicine-man is certainly always a sorcerer, but a sorcerer need not necessarily be a professional medicine-man. Thus old warriors and chiefs are generally more or less initiated in the magic art; in fact, they [400] fight their enemies not only with their natural weapons but also with their magical 'arrows' (tunchi). Yet they do not exercise the art of sorcery professionally and are seldom seen curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers. In this account I shall as a rule use the words 'sorcerer' or 'wizard' with reference to black or nefarious magic, whereas 'medicine-man' is a general appellation for a person practising the magic art. The Jibaros have only one word for denoting a medicine-man or sorcerer; wishinyu."

1: Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 791 (1928-29)

"To become a medicine-man among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians is not quite an easy thing; both ascetic practices and real studies are required of the man aiming at this title and rank. Among the Jibaros a would-be medicine-man is initiated in the following way. He approaches some old medicine-man who will give him the tunchi as well as the instruction necessary for the exercise of his profession. The medicine-man squirts into his mouth, direct from his own, a small chonta thorn with a little saliva and some juice of tobacco, muttering an incantation. The novice has now received the 'poison' which will in due time enable him to act as a sorcerer. The mysterious bewitching matter will spread all over his body with the blood, permeating his whole being, and there will always be something of it in his mouth to be used whenever he likes. In order to become effective in the possession of the new medicine-man the poison must however properly 'ripen'. This among the Jibaros generally seems to take place in the course of six months, but may sometimes require a period of two years. The poison is ripe when the new medicine-man proves able to bewitch a person with his tunchi. The time of preparation is extremely critical for him. The 'poison' permeating his body, instead of ripening and becoming an effective weapon against his enemies, may under unfavourable circumstances cause his own destruction. This will happen unless, during the critical time, he fasts strictly and closely observes other rules of conduct imposed upon him. During the first five days after he has received the tunchi

from the old medicine-man he only eats boiled green plantain mashed in water, strictly abstaining from drinking even manioc-beer (nihamánchi), the daily drink of the Indians. Instead of that he takes juice of tobacco in great quantities both through the mouth and the nose. He also drinks the narcotic natéma every evening in order to see the demons who will help him to become a medicine-man. In narcotic dream he goes to the bank of the river and summons the anaconda demon, pangi and his 'brother', tsúngi; they rise from the river, [401]speak to him as friends, and give him the tunchi. As pointed out before, it is in these water monsters that witchcraft has its ultimate origin; they are also the first demons invoked by the medicine-men when illnesses, caused by witchcraft, have to be cured.

When the five days have elapsed, the novice cuts his hair short and takes a ceremonial bath in a waterfall in the forest. During the following months, or until the poison has properly 'ripened', he has to observe the following rules in regard to his mode of life: --His food chiefly consists of boiled green plantains, mashed in water. When eating he takes care not to touch the food with his fingers but eats with the aid of small wooden sticks or splinters. The future medicine-man drinks beer made of bananas and a root called sangu, but not the ordinary manioc-beer. He carefully abstains from eating the flesh of swine or hens, that is, the flesh of the most important domestic animals. Pork is particularly believed to have a harmful influence upon the medicine-man's health and

his power as a sorcerer. He shuns it to such extent that if it is boiled in the same house where he lives he avoids even inhaling the vapours rising from the boiling pot. He also abstains from eating the flesh of the wild boar because of its resemblance to the domestic swine. An animal always religiously shun by the medicine-men, even by those properly initiated, is the armadillo (shushúi). They not only abstain from eating its flesh but even avoid seeing it. If a medicine-man happens to encounter an armadillo, he at once closes his nostrils with his fingers or with a cloth in order not to inhale the musty smell which this animal emits, and he moreover takes tobacco water to paralyse the evil influences arising from it. The tunchi which he has inside and which is conceived of as a living demoniacal being may 'get frightened' and 'retire' with the result that the medicine-man himself may die. The same may happen if the novice eats swine's flesh or some other unsuitable food. As to fish, he can only eat sardines (chumakai) and other smaller fishes which are not caught with varvasco poison but with hooks. To come in contact with fish caught with varvasco would have the same evil consequences as eating the armadillo: the tunchi might 'retire' and cause the medicine-man's death. In regard to the larger of the fishes that he is allowed to eat he takes care not to eat the head of the fish lest it should do him harm. He moreover observes certain other curious dietary regulations. Thus he is recommended to eat the flesh of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai), because the medicine-men frequently use the whiskers

of this demoniacal animal [402] when bewitching people. Of monkeys he only eats two, namely, the common night-monkey, uhúkuma, 'because a medicine-man has to operate in darkness as does the night-monkey;' and the capuchin-monkey, tsiri, 'because it is very clever and quick in its movements', as a medicine-man also ought to be. Of fish, in addition to those mentioned before, he eats a kind of small sheat-fish, called nukumbi, because of its pointed dorsal spines which resemble the small spines which a sorcerer makes use of when bewitching people; as well as another kind of fish called yutui which is likewise provided with small sharp spines. He eats wasps because of their poisonous stings, and small chonta thorns which grow on the demoniacal chonta palm. Both the stings of the wasps and the chonta thorns are used as magical 'arrows' by the sorcerers. Again he eats a kind of sucking-fish, called nayúmbi, which are found on stony bottoms in the rivers where they fix themselves to the stones with their mouths; in this way, it is thought, the medicine-man has to act in 'sucking out' the evil from a patient's body. Of birds he is particularly recommended to eat the woodpecker, tatashama, which taps the stems of the trees and listens attentively for the worms within them; exactly in the same way the medicine-man has to proceed when trying to find out where about the evil is in the patient's body and to draw it out.

Beside these rules of diet, the future medicine-man has strictly to observe sexual abstinence. Not only is he himself forbidden to have intercourse with a woman; no

married couple can live in the same house as he, and his food can only be prepared and given him by an unmarried woman or man. A would-be medicine-man cannot marry until his novitiate ends.

If the novice breaks the rules mentioned the consequences will be fatal for him. The bewitching poison which he has taken into his body will not grow ripe and make him a medicine-man, but on the contrary may cause his death.

During the whole time of preparation the novice also receives all sorts of instructions from his master, the old sorcerer who gave him the tunchi. These instructions concern details of the art of sorcery, how to acquire the power over spirits and demons necessary for bewitching people or for curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers, what kind of conjurations are to be sung on different occasions, what remedies are to be used, and so forth. Knowledge of these things belongs to the occult science of the medicine-men which makes of them a [403] professional class of 'knowing persons', but is withheld from common people. A medicine-man or sorcerer is called wishinyu, the stem-word of which is probably we (wi) 'I', 'I myself', corresponding to the fact that a medicine-man always begins his conjurations by repeatedly pronouncing the word we ('I, I myself conjure thee, demon').

The newly initiated medicine-man pays his master for his services with some object of value, a blowgun and arrow-poison, a good hunting dog, an itipi or loin-cloth, etc.

1: Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 791 (1928-29)

The mysterious magic arrow which the medicine-man aims at his victims is, as we have seen, called túnchi. Another name for the same thing, nearly as commonly used, is tsinsáka, which means 'arrow'--the thin stick of palm wood used for the blowguns. --There is in fact a close parallelism between the poisoned arrow of the Indian hunter which kills the game by inflicting an insignificant wound, and the invisible magic arrow of the sorcerer which suddenly hits the victim, causing mysterious pains and a speedy death. The prototype for both, as already pointed out, is probably the death-bringing sting of the venomous snakes. In fact, the wizard in his operation behaves like a venomous snake ready for action. He is supposed to carry the poison in his mouth like the snake; when he shoots his 'arrow' he whistles and hisses, just as does the angry snake before it directs its death-bringing fang at its victim.

The bewitching 'arrow' (tunchi or tsinsáka) of a medicine-man can, however, assume different forms; it may not only be like an ordinary small arrow of the kind used for the blowguns, but also, and more frequently, appears in the shape of a chonta thorn, a small stone or pebble, a hair or tooth of some demoniacal animal, the sting of a wasp, a worm, and so forth, which the medicine-man, in some way known to him alone, draws from his own body and throws at his victim."

1: Karsten--403-404, 116, 791 (1916-18) 1935 (1928-29) Jivaro-1

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS the initiation of the medicine-man is much the same as among the Jibaros, although the regulations regarding the mode of life that the novice has to observe are less detailed. The Canelos Indians being now Christians in name, the sorcerers have not amongst them the same social importance as among the wild Jibaros; in fact, they exercise their profession only in secret. A would-be medicine-man receives his 'arrow' in the same way as among the Jibaros, from the mouth of an old medicine-man. Since in most cases it consists of a small chonta thorn it is simply called chunta. To bewitch another person by means of a chonta thorn is called chuntáta shitána, 'to throw the chonta', [404] whereas a sorcerer is called chunta shitac runa, 'a chonta-throwing man'. Afterwards the poison which the novice has received must 'ripen' in order to become effetive, [sic] and this, among the Canelos Indians, is said to take two to four years. Meanwhile the novice has to fast strictly, his food consisting chiefly of boiled green plantain, mashed in water. He is forbidden to drink any kind of chicha or asua (beer made of manioc or other fruit). Of fish he only eats the small fish called chuti, but not the head, merely the hinder part of the fish. He takes tobacco water in great quantities through the mouth and the nose, and every evening drinks aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros). This restricted diet, and especially the drinking of the aya huasca and the tobacco water, will help him to come into intimate contact with

the demons--especially with the amárun supai, the anaconda--who will initiate him into the magic art. The novice pays his master for the chunta and the instructions received with a blowgun, a costly feather crown (tahuasámba), a dog, a shirt, or other objects of value."

"Although the medicine-men are not distinguished from other members of the community by a particular dress, yet they form an easily recognizeable class of people even in their outward appearance. A Jibaro or a Canelos medicine-man is reserved and taciturn, his eyes are dull and, as it were, veiled, a natural consequence, no doubt, of his permanent habit of drinking natéma (aya huasca) and other narcotics. His gloomy looks are rendered still gloomier by the black face-painting, his cheeks and the regions round his eyes being generally stained with suá (genipa). The small bag (wambachi), usually worn by the Jibaros, has a special importance attached to it as far as the medicine-men are concerned; it contains their namúra, i.e. certain small stones, teeth or hairs of certain demoniacal animals, or other magical objects. The Jibaros, as we have seen, ascribe supernatural properties to stones of peculiar colour and shape. Among the namúra there are black, red, and white stones, but the last mentioned, the kaya wincha, 'brilliant stones' or crystals, are the most important owing to the magical power they are believed to possess. Such small white stones are found with all medicine-men and they are regarded as absolutely indispensable. But if one asks one of them how he got these stones, or where such are to be found, one will get no satisfactory answer. The medicine-men always profess to have seen and taken hold of them in a dream, when intoxicated by the narcotic natéma; the demons themselves have discovered them. Unless he possesses them the 'doctor', when about to cure

a [405] patient, will not get intoxicated (nambikma) after drinking natéma, and consequently will not have 'good dreams' and see the origin of the evil, that is, the wicked sorcerer who sent the tunchi. How the medicine-men use their namúra when curing sick persons, we shall see later on."

1: Karsten--406-407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"As we have seen, the function of the medicine-man includes, on the one hand, the infliction of evils upon other people by witchcraft, on the other hand, the curing of people bewitched by other sorcerers.

First we shall examine how the medicine-man proceeds when bewitching his enemies.

To throw the magic arrow or bewitch another person is among the JIBAROS called waweátinyu (the inf. form; 3 pers. sing. wawéama).

When a wishinyu or medicine-man wants to bewitch another Indian he prepares himself for the operation by fasting for five days. During these days he contents himself with the same scanty food as was prescribed for him at the time of initiation, eating only some boiled green plantains, mashed in water. He abstains from drinking manioc-beer, but repeatedly takes tobacco water through the nose, the leaves of the plant being boiled in a small clay pot partly filled with water. Every evening he drinks the narcotic natéma in order to see the spirits and be instructed by them in regard to the kind of 'arrow' he ought to use and other particulars. The action always takes place in the dark, when the demons move about. When ready to shoot his tunchi, the sorcerer takes tobacco water, coughs and hawks up something which he seizes with his fingers, mutters a sort of conjuration, addressed to the arrow, whistles, and makes a peculiar movement with his finger. The name of the Indian to be bewitched must be mentioned in the conjuration. Supposing that his name is Andiche, the medicine-man addresses the tunchi in the

following words:

Amuesha, tsinsáka,
Andiche numba umárta,
namánkisha yuota
kuránta matinyu. [407]

that is:

'You arrow,
may you drink the blood of Andiche
and eat his flesh,
so that he may die quickly!'

The wizard subsequently shoots the arrow with a blowing movement. He may be quite near his victim, or he may hit him at a considerable distance. Thus a person may be bewitched while he sits quietly in his house in the evening, conversing with other people. The hostile sorcerer steals to the house, covered by the darkness, and shoots his invisible arrow through a crack in the wall. At the same moment the victim inside the house will feel an acute pain in the chest, give a start and say to his comrades: 'I feel ill, something has happened to me, I must have been bewitched'. The wizard, having accomplished his deed, sneaks away."

1: Karsten--407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, when a sorcerer wants to discharge his 'chonta' at an enemy, he fasts for two days previously, eating only green plantains and taking tobacco water in repeated doses. Every evening he drinks aya huasca in order to communicate with the demons. Sorcery is practised at night. The wizard secures a black wasp with a poisonous sting, fixes three small chonta thorns to its abdomen, and sends it off with the following formula: 'Chai runáta yaicugri; cutin tigramúngi; chapashámi chishi; allita mikushca shamúngi, nyúca nishcáta pactachispa. i. e. 'May you enter into that man (the name of the Indian is mentioned); may you return later on; I will wait for you at night; having nicely eaten his flesh may you return after executing my order'.

The invisible arrow of the sorcerer is supposed to enter into the victim through his throat or his chest, just as if he were hit by a real arrow. If a medicine-man is not able to extract the arrow, he will grow worse and worse and die within a few days. The demon, having left the 'arrow' in the patient's body, returns to his master."

"Frequently, however, the sorcerer hits his victim while the latter is far away in another village or part of the country. In such cases he does not generally shoot his arrow at him directly but through the mediation of some demoniacal animal, bird, reptile, or insect. The latter are, among the JIBAROS, called tunchima or 'bewitched'. A medicine-man may thus hide his tunchi or his own demoniacal soul in a jaguar, [408] a nocturnal bird, a venomous snake, or a poisonous insect like a wasp or a scorpion. These creatures he sends away, with the usual formula of conjuration, to distant places where they will encounter his intended victim. Birds are, by their flight, believed to be especially able to carry the tunchi far away, but the success with which a medicine-man is able to use such agents of the animal world naturally always depends on his own skill and experience. The very fact that for instance a jaguar or a venomous snake assumes an aggressive attitude towards man, killing or harming him, is regarded as a sufficient proof that the beast or reptile is tunchima, i. e. has been sent by an enemy wizard.

The following instance may illustrate the Indian idea of 'bewitched' or demoniacal animals. A wife of the Jibaro sorcerer Shakaëma on the Rio Upano one day went out to fetch manioc from the plantations. While she was engaged in the work she noticed a black vulture which came flying towards her from the north in such a way that it at once attracted her attention. The vulture alighted on the ground at a little distance from the

woman, looking at her. At the same moment she felt an acute pain in the chest, as if she had been hit by an invisible arrow. She got frightened and was at once seized with the suspicion that she had been bewitched. She tried to chase away the fatal bird with her machete, but it only flew a short distance and alighted again, steadily looking at her. The pain in the chest increased. The woman hurriedly returned home and told her people what had happened to her. A medicine-man drank natéma in order to find out the nature and origin of the evil. He declared that the woman had been bewitched by the vulture, which was tunchima. The bird had been sent by a sorcerer among the Jibaros who live in the north on the Rio Copotaza, a hostile tribe against whom Shakaëma had made war some time before. All attempts to cure the woman proved futile. Her condition grew worse and worse, and a few days later she died."

1: Karsten--408-409 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791, 763 (1928-29)

"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros, when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

1: Karsten--409-410 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

'Quite commonly sorcery is performed through the eyes. The Jibaros believe in the 'evil eye' (tuna hi), an experienced sorcerer being credited with the power of sending the tunchi not only from his mouth, but also from his eyes. The eye to the Indians is the 'mirror [410] of the soul' in the most real sense of the word.(1) Since it is from the medicine-man's soul that his magic poison comes, we can understand how he is believed to be able to send his tunchi merely by a penetrating look. The effectiveness of the evil eye is increased by the red face-painting. The Jibaro Indian seldom enters a strange house without having the face painted red, the painting being both a protection for himself against the treacherous 'arrow' of his host and a means of eking out the effectiveness of his own occult powers. A red dye often used in similar cases is the one called múspa, composed of the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and the dried and pounded leaves of the plant simaika. The cheeks and especially the parts round the eyes are painted with this bright red dye before entering, with a view to increasing the magical power of the visitor's look. This kind of face-painting is said to act particularly as a love charm, the visiting Indian being thus able to attract and entice the women when they

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"1. In the Jibaro language the word for 'eye' (hi) is the same as the word for 'fire'."

step forth and offer manioc-beer to the guest. Generally, however, the evil look of the sorcerer entails illness and death for the person on whom it falls."

1: Karsten--410-411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"The 'evil eye' operates in different ways. ~~Thus the~~ Jibaro sorcerers commonly avail themselves of apparently insignificant wounds and send their arrow into the victim merely by looking at him. A small wound accidentally caused by a knife, for instance, may thus at first be looked upon as only a 'natural' wound. But should the wound not heal within a few days in a normal way, should it, on the contrary, get infected, begin to ache, and cause the swelling of the whole limb, the medicine-men will in most cases declare that these unexpected complications have been brought about by the evil eye of a sorcerer. The following case may illustrate the Indian ideas on this point. A son of the great Jibaro chief Nayapi at Puyo was once brought to me to be cured of a mysterious illness. He showed a small wound on the groin, the origin of which the Indians could not explain and which, in spite of a prolonged treatment by different medicine-men, would not heal. On the contrary, the patient grew worse; some internal disease, accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, set in, and after some days of suffering the young man died. A medicine-man, having drunk the narcotic natéma, gave the following declaration as to the nature of the illness:--the small wound in the groin would not by itself have caused death;[411]but some enemy sorcerer had looked upon it with an evil eye and sent his tunchi into it. The 'arrow' had taken the form of a small boa serpent which had penetrated from the groin into the venter where it had grown, causing the swelling of the stomach and ultimately the patient's death. In cases of snake-bite

the same explanation is not seldom adhered to. There are, as we have seen, 'natural' snakes and snakes that are tunchima, 'bewitched'. The bite of the former does no particular harm to the person bitten, whereas the bite of the latter often ends fatally. Now in many cases where a snake-bite has unfortunate results, leading to the death of the patient or to serious complications, the Indians reason in the following way: the bite itself would not have caused death; but some malicious person had happened to look at the wound with an evil eye and thus caused the catastrophe. Hence when, among the Jibaros, some one is bitten by a snake, precautions are taken that no suspected person should get an opportunity to see the patient. In fact he is immediately taken to the forest where the medicine-man stays with him alone whilst curing him."

1: Karsten--411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"A sorcerer may operate all by himself, or he may cooperate with an iguánchi. These demons not only send disease in the way described before, but also shoot with magic arrows like the human sorcerers, and they do it in a more skilled way than the latter. When a sorcerer cooperates with an iguánchi, therefore, there is no remedy for the victim. The demon will deliberately shoot arrow after arrow at him so quickly that no medicine-man is able to extract them, and the patient is certain to die."

1: Karsten--411-412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Of the different kinds of magical 'arrows' used by the sorcerers some are regarded as more effective than others. The most dangerous tunchi consist of crystals and bright stones known under the name of kaya wincha, and of which the sorcerers make frequent use when bewitching people. If the victim is hit on the head by such a stone he is supposed to be doomed to certain death; few medicine-men are able to cure such patients. In accordance with this idea such bright stones are almost universally found among the namúra or magical objects of the medicine-men.

When used against a white man the tunchi as a rule is supposed to have no effect whatever. White people are immune against the sorcery of the Indians. There is, the Jibaros say, only one way of charming an apáchi or white man, namely, by shooting at him with an 'arrow' made of a hen's bone (atáshi kúnchi). This idea is, no doubt, connected [412] with the fact that the hens were originally introduced among the Indians by the whites."

1: Karsten--412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Women and children are most liable to sorcery, and a wizard, when desiring to harm an enemy family or tribe, therefore prefers to attack these weaker members of the community. Small children are, on account of their delicacy, especially exposed both to the evil witchcraft of Indian sorcerers and to 'disease'. The Jibaros consequently very unwillingly show their babes to strangers and never take them to the houses of Indians whom they do not know well or with whom they do not stand on a perfectly friendly footing. It may happen that in the strange house some malicious Indian sorcerer looks upon the child with evil eye in consequence of which it will fall ill and die. A man always has more power of resistance than a woman or child, and the older he grows the more 'hardened' he becomes against evil spirits and witchcraft. Old sorcerers and chiefs--even though they be physically decrepit--are among the Jibaros, as among other Indians, most feared on account of their supposed skill in managing their formidable supernatural weapon, the tunchi."

"Now let us see how the medicine-man proceeds when he has to cure a patient suffering from an evil sent by other sorcerers.

In order to be able to operate with success the medicine-man has to prepare himself in a certain way, the preparation as usual chiefly consisting in fasting. The treatment of the sick person takes place in the evening, after sunset. Only in the morning of the same day can the medicine-man take some food and drink manioc-beer. After noon he eats nothing, but instead of food takes tobacco water in great quantities through the nose. Pork is supposed to be particularly harmful to him, and he carefully avoids not only eating but even smelling it. If he eats pork before the operation he will awake sick the following morning. In the evening the medicine-man has to drink natéma which has meanwhile been prepared in the patient's house. A pot containing pieces of the crushed stem of the liana Banisteria caapi as well as of another liana called iáhi has been boiling the whole day on a slow fire, so that the main part of the water has gradually evaporated, only a small but exceedingly concentrated quantity being left. This is the natéma medicine.

As soon as darkness sets in, the medicine-man goes to the house of the patient taking with him the magical bag containing his namúra as well as a bundle of certain magical leaves called shingi-shingu, which he makes use of when treating the patient. His face is generally painted black with genipa. Tobacco water has previously been prepared in

a pot by boiling the leaves, and a large pininga (clay dish) is now filled with this decoction. As soon as everything is ready all lights and fires in the house are put out, for the medicine-man must operate in complete darkness. He begins his treatment by taking the pininga with the tobacco water and chanting over it a long conjuration. The spirit of tobacco (tsangu maso mari) is summoned to take possession [414] of the medicine-man and to help him to find out the origin and nature of the evil troubling the patient. The invocation being finished he drinks some tobacco water, without emptying the dish. Thereupon he fills a small cup with natéma and empties its contents at a draught. Then the doctor leans over the patient who has been stretched out upon a bench in the middle of the house, and starts to sing his conjurations. After a while, during his chants and other actions with the patient, he takes a second dose of natéma, sometimes with some more tobacco water. This is repeated a third, sometimes a fourth time, according as it is found necessary. The principal thing is that the medicine-man gets intoxicated (nambikma), for otherwise he cannot conjure forth the demons and his whole treatment is of no avail. This state of mind, however, must not be provoked suddenly and all at once, but gradually, in order to avoid too violent outbursts of spiritual ecstasy; that is the reason why the medicines are only taken in small doses.

In his conjuration the medicine-man invokes all those demons who are suspected of having sent the evil. Since the sorcerers, when bewitching people, preferably avail

themselves of certain demoniacal agents of the animal world, in which they hide their disease and death-bringing tunchi, we understand why most of the demons invoked are animals, birds, reptiles and even insects. It is a leading principle in the Indian conjurations that the remedy must be sought where the evil has its origin, in other words, that the same spirits that have caused the illness must also be compelled to cure it.

To conjure illnesses caused by sorcery is called tsinságrinyu kantámsama, or kantamára umbuártinyu, 'to cure sickness by singing'. The stem-word for tsinságrinyu is tsinsáka, 'arrow'. Kantámsama (kantamára), again, means 'to conjure by singing'.

The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámaru, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,

tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.

I am blowing. I am blowing!
avanketná, avanketná.
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body
like a hook),
ayámeatná, ayámeatná
in order that you may get relief!'. --
and so forth.
[416]

....

The medicine-man always begins his conjurations, of whatever kind they may be, by repeating the word, we, we, 'I, I myself', thus emphasising his own personality and the will power by which he masters the spirit world. Amárun is the Quichua word for the great water boa (Eunectes murinus), called pangi in the Jibaro language. In their conjurations and incantations the Jibaros sometimes make use of Quichua words which are, as it were, international among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The water boa, as we have seen before, is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, and is therefore naturally invoked first. It is the same with his 'brother' teungi, another water monster of obscure origin but equally important as an author of witchcraft. Other demons of the animal world that frequently send the fatal 'arrow' are the tiger (yawára), the river dolphin (apupa), which is supposed to bewitch people when it emerges to the surface of

the water to breathe, and the ray (kaspa) which emits an 'arrow' with its poisonous death-bringing sting. That the spirit of tobacco (tsangu) is invoked is easy to understand since it is to a great extent by its aid that the medicine-man succeeds in overcoming the evil troubling the patient. --Again, avanketná is the same as avankatukáhei, 'to disengage a fish from the hook', with which it has been caught. In the same way the conjurer will disengage the patient from the arrow which has been fixed into his body. Ayamsatná is the same as ayámsatahei, 'to rest', 'to get relief'.

The spirits just mentioned of course are not the only ones invoked by the Jibaro medicine-men. A number of other demons also figure in their conjurations, most of these being animals, birds, or insects, some even local nature spirits. As to carnivorous beasts, not only the common ounce (Felix onca) but all animals of the feline family--for instance the great black jaguar (soacha), the puma (Felix concolor), and different kinds of tiger cats--may serve as agents of sorcerers and are therefore invoked by the medicine-men. The tsingu-tsangu yawá, is probably only a mythical beast: 'a tiger-like animal which lives in the trees'. Of water monsters, in addition to those already mentioned, the caiman (kanyátsa) and the great water otter (wangánimi) are of special importance. Birds, as we know, frequently carry the 'arrow' and are therefore [417] invoked. Among these the tucan (tsukánga or kuánga), the yellow and the red macaw (yambúna, takúmbi) the mango (chui), and the cock-of-the-rock (sumga)

are the most important. It is a curious fact that most of the animal and bird demons which are thus believed to send disease and invoked by the medicine-men also figure among the arútama, who were originally ancestral spirits. --Insects possessing natural 'arrows' --stings etc, --may also be invoked by the medicine-men. Among these there is a big hairy larva called wambángu which, when caught with the fingers, is able to inflict a stinging pain and is therefore sometimes used by the sorcerers for bewitching purposes. --Again, of nature spirits the demons of the hills are especially invoked (neindya, neindya, winiti)'demons of the hills, may you come (to draw out the arrows you have sent'!) The high hills and cordilleras, as we know, are believed to be inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers.

Apart from the conjuration itself, there are certain interesting operations with the patient to which we must direct attention. I have already mentioned the bundle of leaves called shingishingu, which forms part of the magical equipment of the medicine-man, and which is used as a sort of rattle. The leaves, those of a special plant credited with mysterious properties, terminate in a long point. These points form the most essential part of the whole thing, as far as in them the soul of the plant (wakáni) and its magic power is concentrated. The points are called inéi, i.e. 'tongues', and they are supposed to be identical with the tongue of the sorcerer, who is said to give it this peculiar

pointed form--more or less like a snake's tongue--at the moment when he shoots off his 'arrow' (tunchi) against an enemy. The points of the leaves, therefore, are at the same time identical with the tunchi itself, the mysterious object which it is the medicine-man's task to extract from the [418] body of the patient. These ideas fully explain the importance attached to the shingi-shingu rattle. During his operations the medicine-man from time to time rises and shakes the rattle over the patient and particularly over that part of his body where the evil is, just as if he were fanning him with a fan. This procedure is repeated several times, alternately with other operations. Sometimes the medicine-man interrupts his conjurations to start another treatment. From his magical bag he takes out one of the white stones (kaya wincha), and after having filled his mouth full of tobacco water he puts the stone into his mouth and then rubs the bad spot with it. By this treatment he is supposed to prepare that spot favourably for extracting the tunchi. Then he leans down over it, blows and spits upon it and ultimately, having again filled his mouth with tobacco water, starts to suck it vigorously. After some moments he pretends to extract something from the body and holds up a small object which in the darkness cannot be clearly perceived. 'I have found the arrow', he says to the bystanders, 'it is a chonta thorn', (or a pebble, a worm, the hair of a paca, etc.). 'But this', he generally adds, 'is not the only arrow that there is in his body. There are several of them, but I will gradually draw them all out'.

In this way the medicine-man continues his operations for a long while, often for several hours, alternately chanting his conjurations and invoking the demons, shaking the shingi-shingu rattle, spitting and blowing, rubbing the bad spot with his namúra, etc. He frequently takes tobacco water and also repeatedly drinks a small quantity of natema, thus gradually working himself into a state of ecstasy, so that ultimately he starts to dance round the patient, stamping on the ground and chanting in a loud voice. This is the highest degree of possession, the state in which the medicine-man 'sees' the illness and discovers its causes. About midnight he interrupts his operations for that night, but since there is generally more than one arrow in the patient's body to be extracted, the treatment is in most cases continued for several successive nights.

In the narcotic sleep produced by the natéma and the tobacco water the medicine-man will afterwards find out the ultimate origin of the sickness, the evil sorcerer who has sent the tunchi. The author of the trouble having thus been discovered, the medicine-man may try to send the tunchi back to him, and the relatives of the patient may decide to wreak vengeance upon him. Generally, however, vengeance is not [419] decided upon until one or several deaths through sorcery have taken place within a family."

1: Karsten--419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a medicine-man who cures people bewitched by chunta-throwing sorcerers is called hámbic runa or only hámbic, 'a man curing by medicines', the word hámbic being derived from hambi, 'medicine'. When preparing for his operations, which take place at night, the medicine-man has to fast the same day, taking only tobacco water through the mouth and the nose, just as is customary among the Jibaros. In the evening he takes aya huasca in repeated doses before and during his operations. The latter are of much the same kind as among the Jibaros. However, the demons invoked in the conjurations of the Canelos medicine-men are to some extent different from those of the Jibaros, corresponding to the particular ideas held by the former Indians as to the spirits that send sickness. These spirits have been mentioned before in connection with the religious beliefs of the Canelos Indians. Only the great water serpent, amárun supai, and the tiger, puma supai, hold equal positions in the superstition of both peoples, each of them being also regarded by the Canelos Indians as an incarnation of the soul of a wizard and consequently as an author of witchcraft. The medicine-man moreover, like the wishinyu of the Jibaros, makes use of white stones and other magical objects for curing the patient, as well as of the rattle of leaves, which at Canelos is called ilupánga."

1: Karsten--419-421 (1916-18) 1935 Jívaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Besides the ordinary cases of witchcraft, which can only be cured by a medicine-man, there is one more evil the treatment of which is of particular interest, namely, snake-bite. As mentioned before, venomous snakes which attack and harm people are generally looked upon as tunchima, that is, as temporary reincarnations of the souls of evil sorcerers. With the snake's poison the 'arrow' penetrates the body of the Indian bitten by it. Where such an idea prevails, it is clear that only a man initiated in the magic art can properly treat the person bitten. However, among the Jibaros the person most competent to cure a snake's bite is not the ordinary medicine-man, but a man who has himself once been bitten by a venomous snake and survived. Such an Indian is consedered to be 'hardened' against snakes and therefore to possess special qualifications for curing other men attacked by the demoniacal reptiles.

As soon as an Indian has been bitten by a snake, therefore, a man [420] is summoned, if possible, who has himself once been cured of the consequences of a snake-bite. Special precautions are taken on such occasions. No strange person, not even any of the nearest relatives of the patient, is allowed to see the little wound. A secret foe may look upon it with an evil eye and send his 'arrow' into it, with the consequence that all sorts of dangerous complications ensue. The Jibaros generally have recourse to this explanation when a snake-bite which, perhaps, in the beginning seemed slight suddenly gives rise to a serious illness and causes the patient's death. Hence no one

but the curer is allowed to treat the sufferer, and the cure takes place, not in the house, but outside in the forest, whither the 'doctor' cautiously leads the person bitten by the snake. In the forest he has been attacked by the evil demon, in the forest, therefore, the same demon must be conjured and the effects of his attack neutralized. A small provisional shelter is made, and the curer stays there alone with the patient during the whole time that he is treating him. The treatment consists in conjurations and operations of much the same kind as those practised by the ordinary medicine-men. The medicine mostly employed is juice of tobacco. The doctor repeatedly takes the medicine into his mouth and thereupon vigorously sucks the wound caused by the snake. He sings certain incantations, summoning the demon operating in the venomous snake.

Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called piri-piri. Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called napi piripiri (snake's piripiri). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (Capsicum). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through

the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself.

Although all these medicines may in themselves have beneficial [421] effects, they are used by the Indians chiefly because of the magical or supernatural properties they are supposed to possess. The Indians believe that by using them they are able to drive out the evil demon from the patient's body.

The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

1: Karsten--421-422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a person is cured of the consequences of a snake-bite much in the same way. The medicine-man takes tobacco juice into his mouth and sucks the wound with it, singing conjurations. From time to time he interrupts these operations to fan the patient with the branch of a tree called chini papaya or ahuirintsúma. This tree is much like the ordinary Carica papaya, but its branches are provided with large soft spines to which the Indians ascribe magical properties. When the patient is fanned or lightly beaten with this magic branch, the treatment is supposed to disperse the evil and to expel it from his body.

On the fifth day, independent of whether the patient has recovered or is about to die, the following ceremony takes place. Five round or somewhat oblate stones are looked for on the bank of the river, and arranged in a row from the house outwards, with a distance of about one foot between each stone. Now the medicine-man, either alone or with the assistance of another man, makes the patient slowly walk along these stones, passing from the house outwards and back. By this procedure, it is believed, he will be relieved of the consequences of the snake-bite. The cure is due to the magic virtues ascribed to the stones.

When a Canelos Indian has been bitten by a snake and the reptile escaped before the Indians were able to kill it, the following ceremony is performed. They take a stick of palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria) and paint it with red rings and spots all round so as

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

1: Karsten--422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 154, 555 (1928-29)

"That the Indian medicine-men are not conscious impostors but exert their powers in good faith, appears from a close study of their psychology and of their way of operating. They simply share the superstitions prevailing among their people at large, even though they may be said to embody them in a special way. The medicine-men themselves are to a great extent the victims of self-deception and self-suggestion. Among the savage Jibaros, as we have seen, there is considerable danger coupled with this profession. Just as a sorcerer who is suspected of having killed another Indian by witchcraft himself runs the risk of being killed by the enraged relatives of the victim, so a medicine-man, who fails to cure the patient confided to him, is likely to be punished for his lack of skill. If the patient dies instead of recovering, the relatives argue that the doctor has used his skill to his destruction and not to his health, and may accordingly wreak vengeance upon him. That in spite of this danger there are people who voluntarily devote themselves to the medical art and sorcery is due to the power and influence always connected with this profession."

1: Karsten--423 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 789 (1928-29)

"The religious practices of the Jibaros are so manifold and in part of so peculiar a character that it is almost impossible to bring them under any commonly recognized categories. Thus there is no rite which can be termed 'sacrifice', except the food offered to the dead, and the 'prayers' addressed to the Earth-mother Nugüi are also peculiar, having poetical form and being always sung. All other practices are in their character magical and of these, too, different categories can be distinguished. The worshipper's aim may be, for instance, to ward off the spirits, or to obtain their favour and enter into alliance with them. There are also magical practices which have no reference to personal spirits at all."

"The most important of the religious instruments of the Jibaros is the big drum tundúi. We have already seen how this drum is used and the interesting religious ideas that are connected with it. The curious association of ideas which has induced the Jibaros to propitiate the 'demon of the mountain' with the instrument which is supposed to be an imitation of his visible representative, the great serpent, pangi, makes us understand that we are dealing with an old and genuinely Indian religious custom. The same can hardly be said about the other and smaller drum, called uchichi tambora by the Jibaros, which no doubt [424] is of European origin. The latter have obtained this drum from their more civilized tribesmen the Canelos Indians, who have developed the making of such drums into a whole industry. The drum is made with great skill and has skin at both ends, the one skin being obtained from a common night monkey, the other from the small capuchin monkey. Only one stick is used. The Canelos Indians use the drum at their drinking-feasts, marriage feasts, etc., two or three Indians constantly wandering about in the middle of the house accompanying with their drums the pairs who appear dancing. The Indians believe that by drumming and dancing they can, among other things, keep off evil spirits, but it is evident that among these half-civilized Indians such ceremonies are more and more losing their religious and magical significance and degenerating into mere amusements. The Jibaros too use the small

drum, accompanying the solo dances with it at their great feasts, the 'music' having the same significance as among the Canelos Indians.

The same may be said of the flutes, at any rate of those known under the name of piuma and pingúi. Both are made of a piece of cane, but the former, the piuma, is larger and has five holes, whereas the smaller has only two. They are used at the great feasts and add to the general din and noise. Their religious significance clearly appears, for instance, from a custom like that mentioned above (p. 226) with reference to the Achuares of the Pastaza. When a newborn child is taken into the house for the first time, the oldest man in the family walks round with the little one accompanied by the other men beating drums and playing on flutes, a ceremony which professedly has for its object to frighten away the evil spirits who are threatening the child. A third flute is by the Jibaros called tungúi and is made of the leg bone of the jaguar. This flute is played, among other things, when the inhabitants of a house, attacked by an enemy, are trying to escape from it into the forest. The flute-playing is accompanied by dancing and is believed to 'tire out the enemy' (p. 290). A flute made of the jaguar's bone is believed to have a special magical power."

1: Karsten--424-425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 778 (1928-29)

"The Indians, in general, have comparatively few objects which are directly connected with their religious beliefs. Effigies or images of the spirits or demons are not made, the latter only being represented in ornamental paintings, and masks are unknown. The Jibaros have one material object of paramount religious significance, the head-trophy or tsantsa, which, as we have seen, is, by the ceremonies of the great victory-feast, changed into a real fetish..... [425]

There are various other fetishes or amulets of minor importance, most of which consist of small stones of peculiar form or colour. A great magical power is ascribed to the crystals or brilliant stones called kaya wincha and namúra used by the sorcerers. These too have been mentioned before (p. 404). I only add that the kaya wincha are also used as prophylactics, especially against chills. The wonder-working stone is put into a small gourd containing juice of tobacco, a conjuration is muttered over it and the medicine is drunk. It is supposed to have the power of making the patient warm inside and of protecting him against chills. Again, the sacred stone of the Earth-mother Nungüi plays an important part in agriculture. It is a small round stone of red or brown colour and has nothing particular in its outward appearance. The Jibaro women who use it at planting the manioc, however, ascribe to it a supernatural origin. It is received during the natéma intoxication, in the way I shall describe in the chapter on divination."

1: Karsten--425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 562, 787 (1928-29)

"Under this general heading it seems to me convenient to treat of certain customs of the Indians which are clearly of a religious or magical nature and are regularly practised when the Indians have to enter into relations with the spiritual world. Everybody is not prepared to take part in religious ceremonies; children for example are excluded until they have passed through the initiations. Fullgrown women, on the other hand, as we have seen, take part in many of them, and there are even religious rites which can only be peformed by the women, because only they possess the 'inner' qualifications necessary for success. But when ordinary conjurations of evil spirits are in question, the men, and particularly old men, are both physically and mentally far in advance of the women."

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

"Exactly the same may be said of many other ornaments of the Indians, for instance of the big ear-tubes, arúsa, the armlets of iguana skin, súnday, and of other adornments worn on the breast, round the neck, the arms, or the legs. Thus a Jibaro warrior is of opinion that the ear-tubes make him strong and valiant and therefore wears them as big as possible. For their great feasts the Indians especially adorn them-[427]selves in different ways since at the dances and other ceremonies thereby performed they enter into relation with the spirits. Thus both the feather ornaments, tawasa, the magnificent ornament for the back called tayukúnchi, and the large collars of fragrant seeds called payáshnya, used both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of magical charms and are believed to give their wearers power of resistance against the spirits. To illustrate this fact I may mention that at one of the most important ceremonies of the victory feast, the 'washing of the teantsa', the priestess, when she has to officiate, wears both a feather crown on her head and the necklace called múpish, which are put on her by the priest before the ceremony begins. Normally the women never wear feather crowns, nor the necklace múpish. The small bunches of dry fruit shells, animals' teeth and claws, fragrant seeds and herbs which are worn at the breast by the Jibaro women and called mamúta, have exclusively a medical and magical significance; they are believed to protect the wearer against catarrhs and other illnesses. Such charms are also frequently hung round the neck or

at the breast of small children for the same purpose. Collars of jaguar's teeth, worn especially by warriors and medicine-men, are--like the ear-tubes, the pigtails, etc. --supposed to impart strength and courage to the wearer."

1: Karsten--427-429 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 751, 302 (1928-29)

"Besides the dress and all those fixed or detachable ornaments to which the Indians pay so much attention, there is another ornamental arrangement which likewise is chiefly of a magical or religious character, namely the facial and body-painting. It is only in exceptional cases that body-painting has--from our point of view--a practical aim. Thus my Indian baggage bearers frequently used, before starting for a journey, to paint the nether part of their back with genipa so as to give the skin more resistance. The juice obtained from the genipa tree (Genipa americana) is very astringent and causes the skin to contract as if it were curried. For the same reason the Indians also are in the habit of painting their face with genipa before canoeing, since it affords some protection against the rays of the sun. But in all other cases both the black painting with genipa and the red painting with roucou has a purely magical significance.

There are four kinds of red painting, but the chief ingredient is always the roucou (Bixa orellana). Very frequently the Indian paints himself only with pure roucou (ipyáku), i. e., with the seeds directly taken from the shrub and mashed. Another kind of red paint is the muspa mentioned before (p. 214) in connection with the magical plant simaika which forms [428] its chief ingredient. A third red paint is called karawira and prepared in the following way. The leaves of a certain plant called tai are dried, pulverized, and mixed with the seeds of the roucou. The mass is passed through a sieve consisting of a piece of linen, the juice or essence of it is collected in a small

clay pot, and the pot placed on a fire where the liquid is allowed slowly to dry up. The powder left in the pot is further dried in the sun and then put into a small gourd, which the Indians generally keep in the bag called uyúna. --The fourth and last red paint is the one called áratinyu and consists of mashed roucou seeds mixed with the oil obtained from the oil-bird tayu (Steatornis).

The Indians seem to use these four kinds of red paint indiscriminately, although in certain cases pure roucou (ipyáku) is preferred.

The fundamental idea underlying the custom of painting the face and the body is the same as that of the majority of other ornaments, namely, that it gives the body strength and affords an efficacious protection against disease and witchcraft and evil influences in general. Thus among the Canelos Indians facial painting, whilst having nearly always a magical or mysterious significance, is applied for various particular purposes. It is believed to protect the Indian against disease, for instance against the 'evil wind', huaira ungüi, that is, the illnesses which according to the idea of the Indians is carried about by certain winds. It is regarded as a powerful charm against witchcraft in general and especially against the evil eye, just as on the other hand it may act as a love charm which makes the Indian capable of seducing women. Further, as we have seen, the Canelos Indians regard the red painting as a hunting charm; it attracts the game and gives good luck in hunting. Hence, before the men start for a hunting

expedition, their wives always paint them red in the face with roucou; otherwise, it is believed, they would not be able to kill any game. Even the hunting dogs are profusely coated on the back with crude roucou before starting. The savage Jibaros, although they do not regard facial painting particularly as a hunting charm, still in the main have the same ideas about its wonderful power of strengthening the body. When the Indian is in a state of taboo and is consequently forbidden to wear the ordinary dress and ornaments, to tie up his hair, etc., he is also forbidden to paint his face, and looks pale and sick. For religious dances and feasts, on the other hand, the Indians never omit to paint their face with care, enhancing thereby the natural magical power of their body. The medicine-men and sorcerers especially, when exercising their art, are always, for the same reason, painted black or [429] red in the face. Sometimes the cheeks and other parts of the face are simply coated red or blackened, but more frequently special ornaments are applied. The latter will be dealt with in the chapter on Indian art.

I may add in this connection that the Jibaros are also in the habit of blackening their teeth by using the leaves of two plants. The one is calle piu and grows wild, the other, which is a cultivated vine, is called nashúmbi. I have not received positive information as to the ideas underlying this custom.

We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a

magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguanchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

"Rites for magically influencing nature.

Under this category fall a great number of the rites and ceremonies which are performed at the great feasts and the aim of which seems to be to exert a mysterious influence upon nature itself, apparently without the intervention of any personal spiritual agents. The five great feasts of the Jibaros, as has appeared from my previous statements, are the 'feast of the children' (Uchiáuka), the 'feast of the young men (Kusúpani), the 'feast of the women' (Noa tsangu), the 'victory-feast' (Einsupani), and the 'feast of the dogs' (Yawápani). The particular idea which I wish to point out here appears very clearly in all these feasts except the 'feast of the children', the principal object of which seems to be to impart strength to the young child. On the other hand, in the Kusupani feast the object of the tobacco smoking ceremonies is not only to give the young man power of resisting evil spirits; besides this, there is the idea that the power of the tobacco--more strictly speaking, the power of the tobacco spirit--will be directly transferred to those departments of nature within which a full-grown man is active. This idea appears still more clearly with reference to the 'tobacco feast' and the great victory-feast: fertility of the fields and a rich harvest, the increase of the domestic animals, abundance of game, success in warfare, hunting, fishing and all domestic work will be the immediate consequence of these feasts if the rites prescribed by custom are performed in the right way. Similarly in the Yawápani feast the power inherent

in the [430] kunguna plant and other 'medicines' will, both through the dog and through his master, be automatically reflected upon the corresponding department of nature, giving as a result an abundance of game and luck in hunting.

It is difficult exactly to make out the primitive Indian view upon which all these rites are based. The only thing that can be said is that they assume an essential similarity or a mysterious connection between man and inanimate nature, which in its turn is based on the belief that in both, at bottom, the same spiritual life is active and therefore can be transferred from the human world to natural objects."

l: Karsten--430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"From my previous statements it has appeared the Jibaros have a good many religious practices which have for their object to ward off the evil spirits, the iguánchi and wakani, to frighten them away and intimidate them. Thus they try to expel the demons which cause thunder and lightning, and who are regarded as the spirits of their dead enemies, by brandishing their lances aganst [sic] the sky and challenging them.(1) The great victory-feast is full of such rites. The spirit of the slain enemy who is trying to harm the victor in every way is kept at bay by the beating of shields (the ceremony Yáktinyu), by firing into the air, by shouting and yelling, by beating drums and playing on flutes and, last but not least, by dancing. The dance Hantsemáta especially is interesting on this point since it is a typical conjuration, its great aim being to mortify the soul of the killed enemy and to control it. But the other Jibaro dances too are all of a ceremonial character, although there are different ideas underlying them."

"1. See supra, p. 381."

"There is no clear line of demarcation between good and evil spirits. Most of the iguanchi are certainly conceived of as evil or malignant, but a man who knows how to deal with them and to influence them in the right way--in the first place, of course, the medicine-man--may not only be able to resist and vanquish them, but even to make them his 'friends' and allies. We frequently meet this idea in the practical religion [431] of the Jíbaros. Thus one of the most startling ideas underlying the great victory-feast was that the soul (wakáni) of the slain enemy, embodied in the tsantsa, in spite of his malignity and hatred of the victor, is through the ceremonies of the feast changed into a sort of guardian spirit who is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at the victor's disposal, gives him instructions and advice as to the domestic work, agriculture, etc. (p. 315). However, the medicine-men and sorcerers especially illustrate the way in which man may make the demons his allies and cooperate with them. Not only is the tunchi or tsinsáka the embodiment of a demoniacal being who executes the orders of the wizard when he wants to harm his enemies; besides this he may directly cooperate with the demons called iguánchi to be sure of success (p. 411). In the next chapter I shall again find an opportunity to refer to these practices. They imply that the medicine-man tries to summon and favourably influence the spirits by imitating them in their outward appearance and by playing the sort of string instrument which is called turumba in Quichua and tsayandáru in the Jíbaro language. The latter

is a simple bow of a special kind of wood with a cord of twisted chambira fibres. The Indian, when playing, touches the string with his mouth at one end of the bow, holding it in a horizontal position, and when twanging the string, is able to produce different tunes with it by certain movements of his lips. The tunes are very soft and perceptible only at a short distance, but are nevertheless believed to exert a mysterious influence upon the spirits whom the sorcerer addresses in playing the instrument.

In the same way as the Indians believe that they can summon the spirits and make them their friends by playing the 'musical bow', they believe that mysterious influence can be exerted upon them by beating the big drum tundúi. The condition in both cases, however, is that the Indian must be intoxicated by natéma or some other narcotic, for otherwise the demons will hardly appear. In dealing with the big 'signal' drum (p. 110 sq.) I have indicated the different ways in which the drum must be beaten on different occasions for the purpose of summoning the spirits. These occasions are the chonta feast and the natéma feast. The former will soon be described with some more details. The natéma feast again cannot be properly understood unless we know the many interesting ideas which are associated with the drinking of narcotic drinks in general."

I: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"In previous chapters certain sacred narcotic drinks of the Jibaros have frequently been mentioned. Thus we have seen what an important part tobacco water plays for instance at the 'feast of the women', when it is supposed to communicate to the married women a wonderful power and ability for their various domestic occupations. The two narcotics known under the names of natéma and maikua have also frequently been mentioned in connection with Indian divination. I have now to describe these sacred drinks more fully and to explain the religious ideas underlying their use.

The most interesting of these narcotics is no doubt the one which is called natéma by the Jibaros and aya huasca by the Quichua-speaking Indians. This is a poisonous vine,--containing an alcaloid, like the maicua--the scientific name of which, according to the English botanist R. Spruce, is Banisteria caapi (1), of the family Malpighiaceae. The same traveller states that the plant also grows on the Rio Içanna, on the Uaupés and its affluents in north-west Brazil, as well as on the cataracts of the Orinoco.

"1. In Eastern Ecuador there seem to occur different species of the Banisteria. At any rate the Canelos Indians told me that they use three kinds of aya huasca which they distinguish as the puma aya huasca, the ahuiringri aya huasca, and the tunchi aya huasca. The last-mentioned is particularly used by the medicine-men (tunchi = the magical arrow)."

being used everywhere by the natives in the same way, for magical and divination purposes (2). In Ecuador the liana is best known under its Quichua name aya huasca ('the vine of the souls') (3); it is thus [433] called for instance by the Indians of the Napo, Curaray, Bobonaza, and Pastaza. The Jibaros call both the vine itself and the narcotic prepared from it natéma. The Secoyas on the Rio Aguarico and the savage Avishiris between Napo and Curaray also know the use of the plant. Similarly, the primitive Colorados and Cayapas in western Ecuador cultivate the aya huasca, using it as a magical medicine and for divination.

How the natéma drink is ceremonially prepared at the great feasts of the Jibaros has

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"2. R. Spruce, Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes. London, 1908, II. 414 sqq., 423.

3. On the Napo I was assured that the natives call the vine in question haya huasca ('the bitter vine'), which answers to the fact that the drink prepared from it is exceedingly bitter in taste. On the other hand, at Canelos the form aya huasca seems to be the most common, and this name ('the vine of the souls') well accords with the ideas the Indians have about its power of summoning the souls or spirits of the dead."

been described before. Since the drink is exclusively used for religious or magical purposes its preparation is, of course, always more or less ceremonial. Still there are some differences in the details, depending on the different occasions for which the narcotic is used. The natéma, it should be noticed, occurs in two main forms, according as it is used by ordinary people for certain feasts, or by medicine-men and sorcerers when exercising their art.

The Jibaros, like the Canelos Indians, always prepare the natéma drink by boiling the vine. Some pieces of the lower thicker part of it are cut off, carefully washed, and crushed with clubs, so that they can easily be parted into thinner fibres. These are boiled in a pot with water, in ordinary cases only for one or two hours. Then the fibres are taken out and the drink is ready. It is of a brownish-green colour and has a very bitter taste. Usually some tobacco water is added and, in some cases, pieces of the rind of certain magical trees are put into the boiling pot in order to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

At the great feasts the natéma is taken in repeated doses and in comparatively large quantities. The effects appear comparatively slowly and are not very violent. The first effect of the drink is that of an emetic: a few minutes after a person has emptied the pininga offered by the leader of the ceremonies, he or she goes out and throws up the quantity consumed. In general, emetics play an important part in the medical

practices of the Jibaros and are supposed to have very beneficial effects. After a while, and having taken the medicine in repeated doses, the patient begins to tremble and feels giddy; the pulse gets slow and week, [sic] the pupils of the eyes dilate. Lastly he falls asleep. Both before and during the sleep the Indian has strange perceptions and real hallucinations: he sees wonderful landscapes, different kinds of animals as well as people, all of which are guises in which the spirits, with whom he wants to enter into communication, appear to him.

With reference to the different occasions on which the Jibaros drink natéma, I have already mentioned the ceremonial natéma-drinking [434] at the 'feast of the dogs' and the great victory feast. At these feasts, however, comparatively little natéma is drunk. The Jibaros have also special natéma-feasts which last for several days--among the tribes of the Pastaza up to eight days. All inhabitants of the house, even small children, take part in them. The boiling begins early in the morning and lasts till about noon. As usual, pieces of the rind of the tree chingiáta and samiki are added to the natéma-fibres. The drink is at first boiled in several smaller pots on different fires in the house. Later, when the liquid has boiled down, the different quantities are poured into one big earthen pot. Like the consuming of the sacred drink, its actual preparation is ceremonial. While the boiling goes on, and later during the drinking,

the great signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, is beaten in the slow regular time which is customary at the natéma-feasts. The Jibaros assert that in beating their drum they are imitating the demon (iguánchi), who in their belief has his abode in the hills and is himself beating his own tundúi. The drumming is supposed to please the demon, who will come to the place and fill, with his spirit, both the drink and the drinking Indians.

The drinking itself takes place with about the same ceremonies as at the victory-feast. The person who has to drink empties a pininga which is offered him or her by one of the older Indians; he immediately throws up the quantity drunk, drinks again, and again throws it up. In this way considerable quantities are consumed during the natéma-days. The participants in the feast are bound to fast strictly, and are allowed to eat only after they have slept and had their dreams, their food then consisting of boiled and mashed manioc or boiled ripe bananas. This is repeated every day as long as the feast lasts.

The natéma-fibres which remain after the boiling is finished are always carefully guarded in a special place in the house and kept for a long time. The Jibaros allege that they do this only 'to know how much natéma they have drunk during the year'. Evidently even these remains of the wonderful vine are too sacred to be thrown away at once.

If one asks the Indians why they drink natéma in this excessive way, their answer is usually: 'It is in order that the people may not die away'. By this kind of divination they try to find out what dangers are threatening the family, whether enemies are planning an attack against them, whether evil sorcerers are operating against them, whether they will be successful in their own undertakings, and so forth. The magical drink, which as we have seen has the effect of an emetic, [435] purifies the stomach from harmful substances and the magic arrows of wizards. For this reason the Indians always pay great attention to what they throw up after they have taken this medicine. At the same time both men and women are, by drinking natéma, made strong and clever for their different occupations and duties, the men for hunting, fishing, war, etc., the latter for agriculture, for the education of the children, for the care of the domestic animals, and for other domestic work incumbent on them.

Apart from these general drinking-bouts, the grown-up members of the Jibaro community, not only the men but also the women, frequently drink natéma on several particular occasions. This drinking-ceremony usually takes place in the house. An earthen pot (pininga) containing the sacred drink is placed on the earth; the Indian who has to drink takes stand in front of the pininga, and thereupon begins to move to and fro in a sort of dance, muttering an incantation without words. Suddenly he seizes the

pininga and empties it in one draught. The next moment he throws up the whole quantity drunk. Meanwhile, the cup has again been filled with natéma. The Indian again approaches the cup, dances and mutters an incantation just as he did the first time, and empties the pininga at a draught. The effects of the drink are now beginning to show themselves. The Indian takes a stick in order to lean upon it when he gets intoxicated. He staggers to and fro on the earthen floor, mutters some unintelligible words to summon the spirits, he leans against the stick and again throws up the natéma drunk. The same thing is repeated for the third, fourth, fifth time and so on, until at last the man is wholly overcome by the narcotic and goes off into a deep sleep, filled with the usual visions and hallucinations.

The Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking natéma in all matters which are of particular importance to him. Since an elderly man, and especially a warrior, nearly always believes himself to be threatened by enemies, he tries above all, by this kind of divination, to find out whether he has any enemies, who they are, and whether in making an attack against them he will be victorious, gain rich spoil, etc. Similarly he consults the natéma-spirits in order to know whether a journey he intends to make will turn out well, whether his wives are faithful to him, whether he will be lucky with a new woman whom he intends to marry, whether strangers will arrive on a visit, and so forth.

As we have seen, among the Jibaros even women are allowed to drink natéma. Thus, at the victory-feast, drinking the natéma on the [436] second day of the feast seems to be even obligatory on the nearest female relatives of the victor. It is also considered very important that the younger married women should take part in the general natéma-festivals, since in this way they will acquire the strength, skill, and insight necessary for their domestic occupations. During their dreams they get instruction by the spirits in these very matters. On these occasions, among other spirits, the mythical ancestress of the Jibaro culture, the Earth-mother Nungüi, appears to the woman, giving her advice and instruction with regard to the agriculture and consoling her in times of crop-failure and famine. In other matters which interest women she also receives the advice of the natéma-spirits. Thus, for instance, a widow who is looking for a new husband is in the habit of drinking natéma in order to be able to make a good choice.

The following instance, which tells us how a woman received the sacred stone nantára, gives us an idea of the revelations which the Jibaro women believe they have when intoxicated by natéma. Once, she told me, while she was still a girl, she was given natéma to drink. When she was well intoxicated, her grandmother came, seized her both hands, blew upon them and upon her arms, sprinkling juice of tobacco from her own mouth, and said to the girl: 'You will not die soon, you will have a long life and have much to eat. The stone which you wear in the hand will effect this'. In the same

moment there came, as it were, a flash of lightning from the heaven and the girl heard the voice of the spirit which said to her: 'I am your ancestral mother (apachiru). I will give you this stone in order that you shall have a long life'. Thereupon the vision passed, and when the hands of the girl were opened in the light of day, a wonderful red stone, nantáro, was found in them. The stone called nantáro is consequently by the Jíbaro women looked upon as a fetish which not only gives a house-mother a long life and success in all domestic tasks but especially promotes the growth of the crops. It is therefore used by the women in agriculture in the way we have seen before (p. 128)."

"When medicine-men drink natéma in order to cure patients and to find out the cause of the illness, the drink is prepared in a somewhat different way. In this case the vines are boiled a whole day on a slow fire and the fluid is allowed to evaporate gradually so that ultimately only a very small but extremely concentrated quantity is left. Some fibres of the splitted stem as well as some leaves of another kind of vine which the Jibaros call iáhi (probably Haemadictyon amazonicum) are put into [437] the pot with the natéma-fibres and boiled. The leaves are handled with a short ceremony. The medicine-man, or the Indian who prepares the drink, first takes four iáhi-leaves and places them between the fingers of his left hand, arranges them in such a way that they form a cross, and puts them into the pot between the natéma-and the iáhi-fibres with the right side down. Thereupon he takes four other iáhi-leaves, arranges them between the fingers of the right hand and puts them in the same way into the pot upon the other leaves. Thus in all eight iáhi-leaves have been added to the natéma- and iáhi-fibres and boiled with them. The iáhi vine, which is specially cultivated by the Jibaros, is also a narcotic and is supposed to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

While the fluid is gradually boiling down, the natéma-and iáhi-fibres are taken out and carefully guarded. The remaining small quantity, a very strong decoction of a brownish-yellow colour and extremely bitter taste, is the natéma-medicine ready prepared.

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

During the treatment of the patient the medicine-man takes natéma in small but repeated doses in the way described before. As we have seen in addition to natéma, tobacco water is also taken, the effect of both medicines being that the curer becomes gradually intoxicated or even attains a state of ecstasy, during which he enters into communication with the demons who have caused the sickness."

1: Karsten--437-438 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"The medicine-men of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians not only drink natéma (aya huasca) when they are curing sick persons, but also when they wish to bewitch their own enemies. On these occasions they are in the habit of painting the face, and especially the regions round the eyes, with the red colour obtained from the seeds of the bush Bixa orellana. On the head they wear a feather ornament composed of the red and yellow feathers of the tucan (called tawása, tawasámba). They try to imitate the demons (iguánchi, supai) in their whole appearance, believing that thus they will be able to summon the spirits. The red face-painting is also supposed to protect them against the evil eye and the counter-witchcraft of enemy sorcerers. At the same time they play the peculiar string instrument called tsayandúru and turúmba and the soft tunes of which are believed to please the demons. When the Indian has taken the sacred drink he sits down to play this instrument, by which the coming of the natéma-spirit is hastened. The Indians explained to me the meaning of these arrangements in the following words. 'The demons are adorned in the same way with facial paintings and feather crowns, and when they see us wearing the same ornaments as [438] they use themselves and hear the tunes of the instrument, they are pleased and put in appearance as our friends.' At Canelos the sorcerers also play this instrument when they take huántuc, the second great narcotic of the Indians."

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"Equal in importance to the natéma (aya huasca) and still stronger in its effects is the narcotic which is called maíkoa (maikoma) by the Jibaros and huántuc by the Canelos Indians. It is prepared from a shrub, the scientific name of which is Datura arborea of the family Solanaceae. Its poisonous properties may be compared with those of beladonna or opium, and even seem to surpass them. Insensibility, hallucinations, and even temporary madness seem to be the regular effects produced by this narcotic drug. The species Datura in Ecuador grows both in the tropical virgin forests and in the subtropical mountain regions, but there are at least two sub-species of it, D. arborea and D. stramonium. The beautiful bell-shaped flowers of the former sub-species are larger and nearly white in colour; of the latter smaller and of yellow-red colour. Both of them are equally poisonous. The half-civilised Indians of the Sierra, when they want to harm their enemies, practise nefarious magic by means of the flowers of the D. stramonium. It is the other sub-species which is used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The beautiful shrub is everywhere specially cultivated, and is usually found among other garden plants outside the houses.

In order to prepare the maíkoa-drink, the Jibaro Indian scratches off some of the light green rind of the stem, and sqeezes [sic] out the juice with the hand into a gourd until he gets the desired quantity, about a small drinking-glass full. (about 200 gr.). This is the dose which is taken at one time by one person and seems to be sufficient to

produce the effects desired.

Thus, maíkoa is not prepared by cooking like natéma, but simply consists of the juice contained in the rind. It is of a light green colour and not bitter to the taste like natéma, but rather insipid. Its effects, as already mentioned, are much stronger and show sooner than those of the other narcotic. Young people, when they take maíkoa for the first time, often become mad and strike out with weapons, sticks, and whatever they happen to get hold of, and may then become dangerous to those around. Therefore, when a Jibaro youth drinks maíkoa, some older [439] men are always present who watch his movements and sometimes even tie him down. The drugged man begins to talk confusedly and incoherently about all sorts of visions which he imagines he has, about spirits whom he fancies he meets, and at last falls into a deep, lethargic sleep, 'just as if he were dead' (hakáma).

Maíkoa is drunk by the Jibaros on much the same occasions as the natéma, and the revelations which they imagine they receive are much the same; yet to a still higher degree than the latter narcotic, maíkoa is the particular drink of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro Indian why he drinks maíkoa, his answer is usually: 'It is in order to see whether I shall kill my enemies' (shuāra mātinyu). The Jibaro warrior therefore never starts on a war expedition without previously consulting the spirits by drinking maíkoa. The same spirit tells him whether he is himself threatened by his enemies, whether he

will have a long life, and so forth. Similarly in other important matters, although they have no particular reference to war, the Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking maíkoa.

The drinking ceremony takes place in the house, but the Indian prepares for it by taking tobacco water in repeated doses, and for this purpose he retires to the forest. In a remote place far from the habitations of men--sometimes the Indian has to walk one or two days to reach it--a shelter of palm leaves is constructed; it is the 'dreaming-hut', called ayámdai. It is much larger and made with greater care than the ordinary Indian shelter, and outside it there is an open place where the ground is carefully cleared and made level. On this open place the spirits appear dancing in all sorts of terrible shapes, and first of all come those powerful demons whom the Jibaros call arútama, 'the Old Ones', who give the sleeping Indian information and advice in the matters which interest him.

The 'dreaming-hut' is generally made in the neighbourhood of a waterfall where the water comes down from the high cliffs in the forest, forming a small pool below. In this pool the Indian takes a bath before and after the sleep.

The Jibaros are in the habit of retiring to the forest on these occasions because the arútama are supposed to appear to them more easily there. Generally the Indian who wants to dream remains away for three or four days. He may go alone, or he may go

in company with other men. While on the way he has to fast strictly, but instead of food he takes tobacco water in repeated doses, through the nose. As soon as he reaches [440]the shelter, he first takes a bath, standing in the pool and allowing the streaming water to fall on his naked shoulders. The bath will prepare him favourably for the sleep and the revelations of the spirits. These spirits, it should be understood, are demons of the forest, but they are also present in the water of the cascades. After the bath the Indian goes to the hut, where in the evening he again prepares tobacco water, boiling the leaves in a small earthen pot which he has brought with him for the purpose. Having taken some of the medicine he falls in a deep sleep. In the following morning he again takes a bath in the pool. During the whole day he stays in the shelter, fasting strictly, a roasted plantain being his only food. On the other hand, he goes on taking tobacco water. Living in this way he spends a couple of days in the forest. On the fourth day, having taken his last bath in the waterfall, he returns home where he tells his dreams to the other Indians. It is only then that he takes maíkoa, of which one dose alone, after his nervous sensibility has been enhanced by the tobacco-drinking and the fasting, will infallibly produce in him the usual strange physical and psychical effects.

The drinking of tobacco water in the forest on these occasions seems to play an almost more important part than the maíkoa-drinking which takes place at home. As a

matter of fact, the Jibaros generally enhance, by means of tobacco, the natural efficacy of the other narcotic drinks. Thus, tobacco water is also usually taken in preparation for natéma-drinking.

Since among the Jibaros the education of the boys chiefly aims at making them good warriors, maíkoa-drinking also occurs as a puberty ceremony. When, among the Jibaro tribes of the Upano and Santiago, boys reach the age of puberty, the feast called Kusúpani is held and the principal feature of it is tobacco-taking. On the fifth and last day the boy has to drink maíkoa. The details of this feast have been described before. Among the Pastaza tribes boys are initiated into manhood by maíkoa-drinking without previous tobacco ceremonies.

Maíkoa is moreover taken on the following occasions, as has appeared from my previous statements.

After the great victory feast has been brought to an end, the victor generally retires to the forest where he stays for some days taking maíkoa.

The making of the great signal drum, tundúi, is also celebrated by maíkoa-drinking in the way we have already seen.

The Jibaro man generally takes maíkoa after he has punished his [441] wife for infidelity. Again, boys who behave badly and are disobedient to their parents must drink maíkoa as a punishment, in the way related before.

Although maikoa is particularly the drink of the warriors, it may also be consumed by women, just as is the case with natéma. This, however, seems to be a comparatively rare occurrence. On these occasions the ancestral spirits, the arútama, are supposed to appear to them, and especially the Earth-mother Nungüi. When appearing to women these spirits do not of course give them instruction and information about affairs of war, but about domestic work and occupations which concern the women, in the same way as when they drink natéma.

The above description refers particularly to the practices of the Jibaros, which are of special interest. The CANELOS INDIANS, who were once as warlike as their relatives and neighbours the Jibaros, formerly practised the drinking of huántuc on much the same occasions as these. Nowadays they no longer make war against their enemies. Still even to-day huántuc-drinking plays quite an important role in the practical religion of the Canelos Indians, but mainly in connection with their magic and witchcraft. Huántuc, like aya huasca, is therefore chiefly taken by medicine-men and sorcerers, partly when they are curing disease, partly when they are trying to harm their enemies by nefarious magic. On these occasions the sorcerer is adorned in the way described before, wearing red facial painting and a feather crown on the head. Before he empties the mucahua (clay dish) containing the sacred drink, he sings a long conjuration over it, invoking certain demons, and particularly the paccha supai, the

demon of the cascades, inviting him to come to the place and to fill the drink and the sorcerer himself with his power. This incantation is called taquíshca. Afterwards, while waiting for the divine or demoniacal inspiration, he also plays the instrument turúmba in order to 'hurry on' the spirits."

1: Karsten--441-442 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the third narcotic, tobacco, it has frequently been mentioned in connection with the two other magical drinks, the natéma (aya huasca) and the maikua (huántuc). The importance which the Jibaros ascribe to tobacco is enormous; from this plant they prepare their most powerful and most indispensable medicine. Some Jibaros of our own days may also use tobacco as a means of enjoyment, but it is certain that they have learnt this from the whites. It is remarkable that the Indians only use the tobacco they have received from the whites in this way, [442] but never their own. The tobacco which the Jibaros themselves cultivate is used by them only for strictly ceremonial purposes. On the other hand, the Indians would never use the tobacco bought from the whites for their religious ceremonies; they distrust it in the same way as they distrust other articles received from their hereditary enemies. The Indian tobacco, badly cultivated as it is, is not particularly strong; but since it is consumed in great quantities, its effects are still powerful enough."

1: Karsten--442-444 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros usually take tobacco in a liquid form, but in some cases they smoke it, making big cigars of the leaves. In the former case the leaves are either boiled in water, or chewed in the mouth and carefully mixed with saliva. When used at the great feasts the medicine is always prepared with saliva, which is supposed to enhance its supernatural effects. This medicine is prepared by an old man who conducts the ceremonies, and he has also to dispense it to the persons in whose honour the feast is held. The men on these occasions always receive the tobacco juice through the nose, the women again through the mouth.

After two or three doses the effects of the medicine are generally noticeable. The Indian turns pale and the whole body begins to tremble. After repeated doses giddiness and fainting-fits frequently occur, especially in women. At last the person in question becomes quite drugged and falls into a long sleep filled with peculiar dreams.

Tobacco is taken on the following occasions: first, as a universal remedy against disease and evils of any kind; secondly, as a prophylactic means of enhancing the magical power of the body, particularly to resist the evil spirits; and lastly, as a real narcotic to produce dreams. In all three cases the plant has a purely magical or religious significance.

When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect

he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body. In all cases of general indisposition, of headache, catarrh, and other slight illnesses, the Jibaro Indian makes use of this wonderful remedy to remove the evil. Besides, tobacco is regarded as an excellent prophylactic against witchcraft. To protect themselves against evil influences the Jibaros not only take tobacco [443] juice as a medicine, but are also in the habit of painting their body with it. Thus at the victory-feast I noticed that some of the men painted all sorts of 'geometrical' figures on the face and breast with tobacco juice, a decoration which, of course, was hardly visible upon the brown skin of the Indians, but was evidently supposed to possess prophylactic power.

From my previous statements it appears that tobacco is ceremonially used on many different occasions. It is the particular medicine of sorcerers and medicine-men. It is indispensable at the great feasts, the feast of the women, called Noa tsangu (literally: 'the tobacco feast of the women'); the feast of the men, called Kusúpani (literally: 'the tobacco-smoking feast'); and at the Einsupani, the great victory-feast of the Jibaros. On these occasions tobacco is in the first place used as a prophylactic against evil spirits and as a means of enhancing the natural power of resistance of the body;

but in the second place it also serves the purpose of producing artificial sleep. On the other hand, there are cases when the medicine is exclusively taken as a narcotic in the latter sense. Just as the Indian take natéma and maikoa 'in order to have dreams', so they drink tobacco water for the same purpose.

The procedure has already been described in connection with the custom of drinking maikoa, for which, as we found, the Indian generally prepares by drinking tobacco water. As usual, the Indians on these occasions retire to the forest where, sleeping in the 'dreaming-hut' (ayámdai) they can more easily enter into communication with the spirits. Among the Pastaza-tribes the men remain in the forest for any period up to eight days. These are mostly younger people and as a rule several of them go out together. While on the way they fast strictly, taking, instead of food, tobacco water in repeated doses. For this purpose they rub the leaves between their hands and chew them, whereupon they spit out the stuff on a maize-leaf, mix in some more saliva and a little water, stirring it with their finger, and immediately take the medicine. This tobacco-diet is continued until they reach the dreaming-hut. This place, as already stated, is situated in the neighbourhood of a natural waterfall, where the Indians may take a bath before and after the sleep. Even here, while they receive the cold water upon their naked shoulders, they are still taking tobacco, mixing the chewed mass of tobacco with the water of the cascade and swallowing it. Thereafter they go to the hut

where they pass the night. The following morning they tell their [444] dreams and visions to one another and discuss their possible significance. During the whole day, as usual, they only eat one roasted green plantain. This way of living is continued for every day of the time passed in the hut. When eight days have elapsed they return to their homes, very thin and weak on account of the strict fasting, but yet content if they have had favourable dreams.

The aim of this tobacco-drinking is the same as that of drinking natéma and maikoa. By submitting to this hard trial the Jibaro youths in the first place try to make themselves brave and successful warriors. They want to 'see their enemies' and to know whether they will be able to kill them, whether they themselves will have a long life, and so forth. Information about these matters is given them by those mysterious spirits which are called arútama and which always appear to the narcotized Indian, whether the medicine causing the supernatural state is tobacco, natéma, or maikoa."

1; Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"We now know the three powerful narcotics of the Jibaro Indians and the ways in which they are used. We have further to examine more closely the religious ideas which are connected with these narcotic drinks. The first question we have to answer is what ideas the Indians have about dreams in general.

The 'belief in dreams', i.e. the belief that the experiences man has during his dreams are as real as the experiences he has when awake, has frequently been said to be a characteristic feature of the mentality of primitive peoples in general. This mode of expression, however, is not quite adequate in regard to the beliefs of the Indians with whom we are dealing; too little is expressed by it. The Jibaros as a matter of fact are of opinion that only in dreams is true reality revealed to man. Normal, conscious life is a delusion in which we can have no confidence; it is full of deception, falsehood, and lies. Only the dream unveils to us the real essence of things, 'the thing in itself'. In the dream all men whom we meet, even our foes, invariably tell us the truth, and all know more than when awake, for here it is the souls (wakáni, aya) that meet, freed from the bonds of the corporeal existence. Even the dead, who in ordinary cases only seldom show themselves to the living, appear to the Indian in dreams, warning and instructing him by virtue of the supernatural knowledge they possess. The same is true of the other spirits and demons, the iguánchi and supai, otherwise so greatly feared by the Indians; being under magical restraint they do the sleeping Indian

no harm, but on the [445] contrary act as his friends and advisers. Whoever therefore wants to know the real truth concerning the present time and especially concerning the future must sleep and have dreams, and since the sleep which nature by itself gives to man is not sufficient, it is necessary to produce it by artificial means.

Even the normal dreams are always believed by the Indians to have some prognostic significance. If, for instance, the Jibaro Indian dreams that he sees his enemies, fights with them and succeeds in killing them, he believes that in making war against them he will be victorious. If he dreams that he brings down many wild hogs, monkeys, and birds of the forest with his lance or his poisoned arrows, he is convinced that on the following day he will be lucky in hunting. If in the dream he meets strange Indians or white men, he is sure that such guests will soon arrive at his house. Similarly, if he dreams that in the forest or on the river some disaster happens to him, he interprets this as a bad omen and on the following day does not leave the house. An Indian on the Rio Upano once told me that during the preceeding night he had dreamt about a venomous snake which stung him in the forest. He had intended to go out hunting that day, but on account of the disagreeable dream he put it off and did not leave the house for three days. If he had gone out in the forest the following day, he said, he would certainly have been stung by a venomous snake.

However, those dreams are prophetic in the proper sense of the word which have been

produced by drinking natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, for in such dreams the very spirits are, by conjuration, compelled to appear, who are able to give information about future events. These spirits are essentially the ancestors (apáchiru) of the sleeping Indian, who give their descendants advice and instruction. But on the other hand these spirits are also the souls (wakáni) of the narcotic plants themselves, with whom the Indian enters into intimate communion by consuming the drinks. It may, moreover, be added that the spirits which animate the natéma, the maikoa, and the tobacco are the souls of men; hence these drinks can only be prepared by the men, just as the corresponding plants can only be planted by the men.

The visions and other experiences which the Indians believe they have in the state of intoxication produced by natéma (aya huasca) and maikoa (huántuc) are in some

details differently described by the Jibaros [446] and the Canelos Indians (1). The CANELOS INDIAN, narcotized by aya huasca, in the first place sees wonderful landscapes, forests, hills, snow-clad volcanoes, lakes, rivers, or, more strictly speaking, the spirits (supai) which inhabit all these localities; secondly, the dead (aya) in the shape of skeletons; further, living people--Indians and white men, men and women--; finally, all sorts of animals, tucans and other magical birds, jaguars, pumas, bears, venomous snakes, and especially the giant serpent (amárun). All of these are demoniacal animals,

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"1. As to the effects which the drinks prepared from the Banisteria caapi and Datura arborea produce upon a white man, I can only say that, living as I have mostly done, alone among the Indians I have not taken the risk of consuming them in larger quantities for the purpose of stating their mental and physiological effects. Still I have tasted both of them, finding the first exceedingly bitter, like quinine, and the second somewhat insipid and nauseous. White settlers at Canelos and Macas who have tried the aya huasca (natema) have told me that in the state of intoxication they have in part had the same experiences as the Indians, seeing wonderful landscapes, hills, and rivers, beautiful birds, etc. Those particular 'spirits', on the other hand, whom the Indians profess to see, do not of course present themselves to a person who does not share their religious ideas and superstitions."

or forms in which the demons (supai) appear to the Indians. Since the Canelos Indians ascribe diseases to many of these demons, and particularly to the demons of the hills (úrcu supai), to jaguars (puma supai), and to venomous snakes, they appear especially to medicine-men who have drunk aya huasca for the purpose of curing disease, and they are compelled to extract the bewitching arrow (chunta), which they themselves have sent, from the body of the patient. The spirits also speak to the sleeping Indian, giving him advice and information.

To receive the revelations of the spirits in a state of intoxication is by the JIBAROS called wuimektinyu, which simply means 'to see'. The things which they 'see' are about the same in the dreams produced by natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, only with a small difference which I shall presently indicate. Thus, to the Jibaro Indian also in the first place wonderful landscapes, hills, rivers, and forests appear, since the spirits and demons inhabiting these localities (wakáni, iguánchi) are compelled to draw near. Particularly powerful, although generally malignant, are those demons who inhabit the hills and cordilleras (neindya iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers. These demons therefore particularly appear to the the [sic] medicine-men when curing disease. Again, when a Jibaro Indian for instance drinks a narcotic at some of the great feasts, [447] his visions have special reference to his domestic and economic life; he sees his swine and hens numerous and fat, he sees his house surrounded by flourishing manioc

and plantain fields, and so forth. Further, the Indian sees all sorts of game, wild turkeys, tucans, parrots, wild pigs, agoutis, etc. When the sleeping Indian has such visions, it may happen that he suddenly starts up in excitement, points with his fingers at the birds and animals he fancies he sees, and exclaims: wuimekta, wuimekta, úmi surústa, úmi wakérahei, seása wakerahei, kúndinyaka túkusa yuohei, kuchi yuohei, atáshi yuohei, pákki yuohei, káyuka yuohei, etc. that is: 'Behold, behold! Give me a blowgun, I want a blowgun, I want arrow-poison, I am shooting game to eat it, I am eating pig's flesh, I am eating hen's flesh, I am eating the flesh of the hog, the flesh of the hare', etc. At such moments he must be held down on his bed by his comrades, but the fact that he has experiences of this kind is interpreted as a favourable omen by them: 'He has good visions, he has certainly seen the spirits'.

On the other hand, some Jibaro Indians at least say that when intoxicated by natéma or tobacco they see no human beings, who only appear to them after they have drunk maikoa. Among other spirits then appearing to them there are men, both Indians (Jibaros) and white men 'dressed in black clothes'. All these human apparitions are the ancestors (apachiru) of the sleeping Indian (for according to the tradition of the Jibaros even the whites have once been Jibaros), who give their descendants advice and instruction. The Jibaros call them maikoa eintseri, 'the maikoa-people'.

With the maikoa-people come other spirits. Among these there are not only the nature spirits and animal demons mentioned above; even inanimate objects, like articles of clothing, implements, weapons, needles, etc. appear to the sleeper as animate and assume the shape of young Indians.

The most important, however, of all spirits are the mysterious demons which have already been introduced under the name of arútama, and who make their appearance partly in the shape of wild animals, partly as striking phenomena of nature, partly in other shapes. At any rate these demons always appear when, from the Indian point of view, the dream is favourable or 'good'.

When these spirits, and especially the maikoa eintseri and the arútama, appear to the young Jibaro, who has taken the narcotic drink for the first time, they say to him: 'You have drunk our blood, you are a [448] good man, you will live long and kill your enemies in battle. Your domestic animals, the swine and the hens, will multiply, your fields will flourish and give abundant fruit. Your changina (basket of plaited vines) will always be full, you will not become poor but lead a plentiful life'. In private affairs the spirits give him true information and directions. If, for instance, he intends to make war against a strange tribe, the spirits let him know before hand whether he will be successful or not. 'This or that enemy', they say, 'you will vanquish and bring his head to your home'; or: 'If you make war against that and that enemy you will have no success, but you will be killed yourself'. Similarly, if he wants to kill a sorcerer of

his own tribe who has bewitched one of his relatives with magic art the spirits tell him whether he will succeed in doing so or not.

The word arútama means 'the Old Ones'. These spirits, it should be understood, are the first ancestors of the Jibaros, and they were great warriors. Among the spirits there are, in the first place, two human apparitions. The first is called ikyáhinamchi. He is a Jibaro Indian, 'a red form enveloped in flames', and therefore not clearly visible. His voice, on the other hand, is distinctly heard. He calls out to the sleeping Indian, through his closed hand, certain words in the peculiar, staccato tone which is customary among the Jibaros when, in performing the Enéma, they ceremonially salute one another: wi--wikáhei--shuara --nikápsatahei--andúcta, that is: 'I go off (to the war), I will take (the heads of my enemies), listen!' The other human form is called mayéi, and he is also a Jibaro Indian. His name is derived from his custom of repeatedly calling out to the sleeper in a loud voice: mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, i. e. 'kill, kill!' To see or to hear the ikyáhinamchi or the mayéi in narcotic sleep is regarded as a good omen, for such a warrior will certainly be able to kill enemies.

Most of the arútama however, are animal demons. Among these there are in the first place the greatest and most dangerous beasts of prey which the Indian knows, first of all different species of the feline family: soacha, the great black jaguar, yambinga,

shia-shia, yantsa, different kinds of the great spotted jaguar, the lion or puma, hap-ayawára, different kinds of tiger cat, called amicha, yantána, undúchama.

A powerful arútama is moreover the giant snake, Boa constrictor, and especially the water boa, called pangi or cuichi by the Jibaros. Besides the pangi, his 'brother' tsungi, another and probably purely mythical water monster, is revered as an arútama. Other water demons [449] of the same class are the great caiman or crocodile, kan-yátsa, and the great otter, wangánimi, which is called by the Quichua-speaking Indians yacu puma, 'the water tiger'.

The bird demons are particularly numerous among the arútama. Among these are first of all the largest birds of prey, the great eagle or harpy, unta pinchu, the condor, yápu, and the owl, ambúsha; further, the demoniacal tucan, tsukánga, and another smaller bird of the tucan family called pininchi. The great macaws, the red one, takúmbi, and the yellow one, yambúna, are also arútama; further, the common green parrot kávashu, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola), called súmga by the Jibaros, the pelican, kauá, and two other birds of the forest which I have not been able to identify and of which the first is called sicha in the Jibaro language, the other chacu.

The sleeping Indian only dimly perceives the monsters which appear to him in the dream as arútama, but he hears their voices when, each in its own way, they speak to him. He hears the roar of the jaguar, the mighty soughing of the wing-strokes of the

great eagle, the terrible hissing of the giant snake, and so forth. The smaller animals and birds also appear in narcotic dreams in a somewhat different shape than in normal life: their dimensions are much larger, but the visionary only perceives them in part --of the birds, for instance, he only sees the head and the neck, but not the wings-- and all of them have the faculty of speech since, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors are incarnated in them.

Other arútama have the form of striking phenomena of nature. Among these there is the powerful hurricane (nássi) which frequently suddenly arises in tropical South America, passes through a limited area and causes great destruction in the virgin forest. Such hurricanes are always ascribed by the Indians to certain powerful demons (iguánchi), and the fact that these demons figure among the arútama makes it clear that they partake of the nature of ancestral souls. Other phenomena of nature which are explained in the same way, by the action of certain powerful spirits, are the lightning, chareimbi, the meteors and comets, payára, and the rainbow, tundyáka. These likewise appear to the Jibaro Indian in narcotic sleep and figure among the arútama.

Although in natural life these demons, or at least some of them, are regarded as being very malignant, they generally do the sleeping Indian no harm since they are under magical restraint or influence; on the contrary, as a rule they appear as his friends and advisers. Still [450] it may sometimes happen--as I was told by a Jibaro--that

an arútama wholly overpowers the dreamer and kills him on the spot. This idea seems to indicate that in exceptional cases the Indians may die from a too strong narcotic intoxication.

A practical consequence of the 'good' dreams is that if in real life the Jibaro warrior happens to meet for instance a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, or an eagle, he does not fear him and does not take to flight, but on the contrary is able to defy such a creature. He brandishes his lance, making threatening movements against him in the way customary among the Jibaros when they challenge their enemies, and calling out to him: 'You I know very well, for I have seen you in the dream. Come along, I do not fear you, I will kill you with my lance!' This is at the same time a proof to his comrades that he has really had 'good' dreams and has seen the arútama, and that he is a brave warrior. But if, on the contrary, a Jibaro, when meeting a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, an eagle, shows fear and takes to flight, this to his fellow-tribesmen is a proof that he has had bad dreams and would not make a good warrior, and that he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies.

In the same way, the Jibaro who has seen the arútama will not fear lightning, a rainbow, a falling meteor or a hurricane. On the contrary, even these enemies he boldly challenges with his lance and with words. In the dream he has, once for all, become acquainted with these phenomena, normally so terrible to the Indians; he knows

their true nature and has been hardened against them.

Among the arútama there are some other striking appearances. One is called uhúmuka: it is a human head cut off, which is seen wandering along the ground. The spirit says to the sleeping Indian: 'You will become a brave warrior, you will go far away on the war-path and kill your enemies'. Similarly, if the Jibaro wants to kill a sorcerer of his own tribe, the uhúmuka-demon tells him whether he will be successful or not. Another arútama appears as a human arm cut off which is seen to float in the air. If only the forearm with the hand is visible, the appearance is called wehánga; if the dreamer only sees the upper arm, it is called kunduána. If in the dream the Indian tries to seize this arm, it vanishes into the air. The wehánga or kunduána says to the dreamer: 'Take this arm; I am your ancestor, the arm of your forefathers (apáchiru). Do not fear, with this arm you will be strong and kill your enemies'. A third appearance of the same kind is the makuána: [451] this is a leg cut off. This arutama, too, speaks to the dreamer in the same way as the other spirits and gives him good foreshadowings.

All these are what we have called 'good' dreams. We may ask, on the other hand, of what kind are the bad dreams. If the young Indian, during a narcotic sleep has no dreams at all, this is regarded as a bad omen. 'He is not a real man', is in that case the judgement of the oldest men of the tribe, 'he will become no warrior, and he will

not be able to kill any enemies'. If the Indian does not only sleep the whole night, but continues sleeping all the following day till sunset, this is also looked upon as a very serious omen. 'He will certanly [sic] not live long, he will soon sink into the earth like the sun'. If the arútama do not appear at all, if the young Jibaro has other kinds of visions or quite insignificant dreams, this is regarded as equally fatal. 'That youth will not live long, he will not kill any enemies, but he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies'. Such are the judgements which are most frequently passed on the 'bad' dreams by the old dream-interpreters.

Besides this, it is only natural that even the arútama and the maikoa eintseri sometimes give fore-shadowings which are unfavourable. If, for instance, the Jibaro warrior will soon fall a victim to the attacks of his enemies, the spirits may frankly tell him so beforehand. 'You will not live long, you will soon be killed by your enemies'. If he will perish through the magic arrow of a sorcerer or through some accident, the spirits may in the same way foretell it. It is characteristic of the demons who appear under the influence of the narcotic drinks that they always speak the absolute truth, just as they seem to possess actual knowledge.

It may also happen that the young Jibaro indeed sees the arútama, but in the very dream gets frightened at the sight of them and flees from them, so that he cannot be instructed by them or hardened against them. This, of course, is also a 'bad' dream.

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-14
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

I have so far mainly spoken of the ideas of the Jibaro Indians proper. As to the visions of the CANELOS INDIANS when drinking huántuc, I have still to add that on these occasions they do not pretend to see any animal demons or nature spirits. What then appears to them is only a white man dressed in black clothes. This being is called pasúca by the Canelos Indians, and he is the real huántuc-demon (huántuc supai). He takes the sleeping Indian through the air to a distant place, where he gives him the warnings and instructions desired."

1: Karsten--452-453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros know both how to make rain and to stop rain by magical means. There is a kind of plant, called piripiri by the Jibaros, which is used for different magical purposes. Under this name, however, they seem to include various different species. Two of them, those which are called yúmi piripiri ('the rain p.') and esáta piripiri ('the dry weather p.') are used for making rain or, on the contrary, for making drought. Both are plants with long narrow leaves, but those of the 'dry weather piripiri' are shorter. In both cases the round roots of the plants are used. In a region like Eastern Ecuador and Peru, where it rains almost continually, there is seldom any real reason for the Indians to produce rain by artificial means; drought there is a very rare thing. When the Indians try to produce rain by magical means they nearly always do so merely out of wickedness, that is, to cause their fellow tribesmen harm or annoyance, especially when they are travelling on the river. When in 1917 I came from my long river expedition down to the Achuares on the middle Pastaza, I was surprised by heavy rains which lasted for weeks, caused the Bobonaza to swell, and made the ascension of the river extremely trying for my Indian crew. When at last we approached Canelos, one of my Indians said that he would make the rains to continue 'so that other travellers would have the same difficulties as we had had'. He procured a specimen of the yúmi piripiri, chewed the root in the mouth, jumped into the river, and took the mouth full of water, whereupon he blew the chewed root and the water against the sky with so

much force as he could, assuring that the rains would soon begin again. [453] It had been fine weather that day, but the following day the rain again fell in torrents.

To make dry weather with the esáta piripiri the Jibaros likewise use the root, but in a somewhat different way than in the former case: it is burnt in the fire. The plant with the root fixed to it is given to a small child, who holds the root in the fire until it is consumed. A full-grown man or woman cannot do it. 'We full-grown people', an Indian explained to me, 'drink so much manioc-beer that our stomach is always full of water; we cannot therefore make dry weather in the way mentioned, but a child who drinks no manioc-beer has to do it.'

The leaves of the indéshi piripiri ('hair p.') are extremely long and narrow like human hairs. It is used to promote the growth of the hair. The root is again used: it is mashed and soaked in water, and the hair is washed in the solution, with the effect that it will grow 'long as the piripiri grass'.

The noa piripiri ('women's p.') is used in the same way as the simaika for the purpose of gaining the love of women, and has been mentioned before (p. 215).

Similarly the napi piripiri (snake's p.') has been mentioned before in connection with the curing of snake bite (p. 423)."

1: Karsten--453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 827, 484 (1928-29)

"When the Indians are travelling they always take with them some bundles of fermented manioc substance wrapped up in banana leaves, so that they can prepare the beer on the way whenever they find water. When they dilute a certain quantity of the manioc substance in the water, they never afterwards throw away the waste of manioc substance left, but they wrap it up again in the empty banana leaf and put a stone on the bundle, leaving it in this way at the resting-place. Then the manioc-beer which they have drunk will remain 'steady' in the stomach, and they will not soon get hungry again. This is the idea of both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--453-454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 481, 789, 827 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros, when they are about to cross a broad river swimming, are in the habit of swallowing a fish-sound before they enter the water. In this way, they believe, they will be able to float on the water and swim as easily as a fish.

Similarly they take care, before entering the water to swim, to tie up the prepuce of their penis and to fix it to the stomach by means of a [454] cord which they always carry with them for the purpose.(1) If the water comes in contact with the glans, it is believed, it will impede erection at the right time and render coitus difficult."

"1. See the naked Indian on Plate XXIII, 1."

"The Jibaros, as also the Canelos Indians, do not think it proper to defecate in the immediate neighbourhood of the house and never leave their excrements in the open air, but every time make a small hole in the earth for the purpose which is afterwards carefully filled up. An evil wizard, they say, may throw his 'arrow' (tunchi) into the excrement by looking at it with an evil eye, with the consequence that the person who has left his excrements exposed will fall ill and die. Another way of making away with them is to defecate directly into the river and allow them to be carried away by the current. When I travelled with the Indians in canoe they always proceeded in this latter way.

Breaking wind is by the Canelos Indians looked upon with superstition and thought to endanger the person in question is some way; 'the soul (aya) thereby goes out'. When, therefore, among a party of Indians anybody suddenly breaks wind, it is customary that someone of the rest--the one who is the quickest to do so--draws his attention to it by clapping him with his hand three times on the back saying uianza, uianza! The meaning of this word is unknown, but the ceremony in question is regarded as an act of kindness and implies that the person who was the object of it has to prepare a feast. This feast is called Uianza. The both Indians, the one who broke wind and the other who clapped him on the shoulders, grasp each other's hands and a third again separates them, as in making a bet. This means that the first mentioned has pledged himself to make a

feast for the rest of the party. He has at once to arrange a hunting expedition and to make the usual preparations, and the feast is held after the lapse of eight days.

Another way of arranging the matter is that the person who broke wind is obliged to offer to the person who clapped him on the shoulders three big mucahuas (clay vessels) with manioc-beer as a reward for his 'kindness'. Frequently, I was told, of the two persons in question the one is a man, the other a woman."

"Neither the Jibaros proper nor the Canelos Indians in their native state know of any special resting-place for disembodied souls after death, though both tribes certainly have a firm belief in the continued existence of the soul after its separation from the body. During the first days and weeks after that separation the soul remains in the neighbourhood of its former material abode; hence food and drink is put out for it on the grave for some time. But soon the soul definitively leaves all connection with the body and leads an independent existence: it may transmigrate into earthly objects, into animals, plants, hills and high mountains, rivers, lakes, etc. The dark and dense forest is the favourite haunt of many disembodied spirits, others soar towards the sky and become active in striking natural phenomena, whereas others find no definite resting-place at all but hover about in the air and on the earth as evil demons. To these demons the Indians ascribe the majority of the unforeseen accidents, mishaps, and losses which they experience, and most of them are spirits of men who even in their lifetime were enemies, spirits of dead sorcerers, etc. It is thus obvious that the demons who people the spiritual world of these Indians partake of the nature of human souls. Some of the souls, called wakáni by the Jibaros and aya by the Canelos Indians, are changed into evil spirits or demons called iguánchi and supai respectively, and are dealt with in the different ways we have seen in recent chapters. On the other hand, the important class of supernatural beings whom we know under the name of arútama

show how the ancestral spirits are believed to take an interest in the fate of their descendants and become the objects of a real worship. The religion of these Indians as a whole may therefore be said to have originated in the deification and worship of the dead, especially the worship of dead ancestors. A special and peculiar side of this ancestor-worship will be met in connection with the ceremonial games which are arranged among the Canelos Indians [456] after the death of a family-father and will presently be described."

1: Karsten--456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 761, 751 (1928-29)

"As I have stated before, the savage Jibaros never consider death natural. Death to them is always something 'unnatural', that is, it is always explained as the direct or indirect result of a wicked action, as a murder committed by an open or secret enemy. This is why the Jibaros annouce [sic] a death in the same way as they announce an approach of their enemies--by beating the big drum (tundúi) in that particular way which tells their friends that they are in danger. This is the ceremony Pakínmawae, mentioned before. Experience has taught the Indians that one death is frequently followed by another, and this is explained by the theory that the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient is moving about looking for fresh victims among his kinsmen. Small children are especially liable to be 'caught by the disease-demon'. Hence, when in the other houses the beats of the tundúi are heard, the family-father at once takes some water in a gourd and wets with it the crown of the head of each child. This 'baptism' is supposed to protect the children against the disease-demon, i. e. the contagion."

1: Karsten--456-458 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The first feelings which a death arouses in the relatives of the defunct are therefore those of anger and despair. The women--especially the widow or widows, if the deceased was the family-father--start wailing and crying, shouting loudly and tearing their hair, whereas the men shake their fists and pronounce curses on the evildoer, such-and-such enemy sorcerer being mentioned as the probable author of the death. These imprecations and violent outbursts of sorrow last for a long while and, of course, assume to a certain extent different forms according to the sex, age, and position of the deceased. Similarly, the mode of burial varies according as it is, for instance, a child, a woman, or the family-father who has died.

Wailing in the proper sense of the word is the duty on the women, i.e. the nearest female relatives of the dead person. If the family-father dies, it is of course the duty of his widow or widows to wail, and this wailing, at least in part, has a ceremonial character. Nevertheless the pathetic way in which the Indian widow laments over her deceased husband, speaking to him and giving him all sorts of pet names, praising his good qualities, reminding him of episodes in their life together, and deploring her own forlornness, makes a powerful impression upon a listening stranger. These mournful monologues of the Indian widows [457] in fact form part of the lyric poetry of the Indians and they are always sung, and accompanied with crying. Their contents seem to be in the main always the same. The following is a typical instance of these

mourning monologues.

The corpse is stretched out on a bench in the middle of the house and the widow moves about it the whole night, incessantly addressing her deceased husband in much the following words:

'O my dear husband, why have you left me alone, why have you abandoned me? How happily we have passed the years together in harmony, until cruel fate and the tunchi of the treacherous enemy separated us! You will never again wake me in the morning with your speech, when you were cooking your tobacco water and guayusa at the fire! I shall never any more hand you the pininga with manioc-beer and bring you your meal. Never any more will you send me out to the fields in the morning to fetch manioc and sweet potatoes, or remind me to take care of the swine and the fowls and the hunting dogs! And when friends came to visit us, who was it that always used to call me to welcome them with nice, fresh nihamánchi? Who will hereafter fell the trees for me and clear the ground to make the manioc and banana plantations, or help me with cleaning and tending the fields? Who will hereafter make a red-striped tarachi for me for the feasts, who will bring me game from the forest or the gaily-coloured birds which you used to shoot with your blowgun and your poisoned arrows? All this you did for me, but now you lie there mute and lifeless. Your mouth has ceased speaking, your arm is paralyzed for ever. O, dear me, what will become of me?'

Amidst all these bitter remembrances another sentiment suddenly comes to her. She recollects who is really responsible for this bad luck, since from the beginning it has been clear that the sickness and death was not due to any immutable laws of nature but to the secret art of some wicked sorcerer. She will then continue in somewhat the following way:

'And there he sits in peace, the cursed wizard who took the life of my husband with his treacherous arrow, and rejoices over his deed, whereas I, whom he made a widow, am here in an agony of sorrow! Woe to you my sons, if you do not punish the blood-guilt and take revenge upon the evildoer! Why have I brought you forth, why have I tended you and educated you, if you forget your most sacred duty to your father and allow the criminal to escape his righteous punishment?'

This wailing takes place more especially immediately after the death and at the funeral, but it is occasionally repeated for a long time after-[458] wards when, in one way or another, the woman is reminded of the defunct. Early the following morning the corpse is buried. The mode of burying, as I said, may vary. The Jibaros practise all modes of burial except cremation, but earth-burial and platform burial are those most common. A family-father, before he dies, frequently gives his own people instructions as to how he wishes to be buried, and these are carefully respected since the spirits of the dead are generally feared and may reappear as revengeful ghosts if their

orders and the attention due to them are neglected. The remains of the dead family-father are therefore treated differently from those of others, but one main principle is that as a family-father and the owner of the house he shall remain there after death, which entails the house being afterwards abandoned by the family. One custom, commonly practised, is that the dead Indian is placed in a sitting posture upon a kutánga, a small bench used by the Jibaros, and tied to one of the central pillars of the house, leaning his head upon his hands. He is not, however, left in this way above the earth, but under it, a pit being dug in the ground close to the pillar sufficiently large to take the corpse in this sitting position. Thereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled, so that the food and manioc-beer, the lance, a basket, and some other things which the deceased is supposed to need in the other world can be placed there. The food is renewed every day for one week; after that no further attention is paid to him, but the house must be abandoned."

1: Karsten--458-459 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 768 (1928-29)

"The belongings of the dead are disposed of in different ways. Some must disappear with the dead because they are taboo; these are naturally such as have been in close contact with him especially during his last sickness as, for instance, the clothes in which he lay sick and in which he died. The same is the rule in regard to the pininga from which he ate and the gourd which he used as a drinking cup. All these articles to which the taboo of sickness and death attach, are interred with the body, or destroyed and got rid of in some other way. Similarly his comb, whether he had used it during his illness or not, is always destroyed, evidently because the comb which has been in contact with the hair of the dead man is in an eminent sense taboo. Certain other and more valuable belongings are, on the other hand, kept as they had not been in contact with him so recently, for instance his best itipi or loin-cloth used for feasts and visiting, his blowgun, and his lances (with the exception of the one which must be left on the grave). These objects therefore are inherited by his sons, and divided between them. When a woman [459]dies, her belongings--with the exception of those destroyed or interred with the body--are inherited by her daughters."

1: Karsten--459-460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"Still more common among the Jibaros is platform burial. In this case the corpse is generally placed in a sort of coffin consisting of a hollowed trunk, which is then closed by means of pieces of bark and vines. The coffin is then placed upon a frame on high poles in the middle of the house. Naturally the house is abandoned as in the first case. When one of the other members of the family dies, for instance a wife or a son or daughter, his or her body is disposed of in the same way: it is placed in a hollow tree trunk, and this new 'coffin' is placed beside of the first one on the same frame. Thus real 'family graves' arise among the Jibaros, which of course only exist for a limited time, since both the house and the coffins are liable to rot away in a few years. When this has happened, the surviving relatives simply bury the remains in the ground, without any particular ceremonies.

I have also heard of other modes of disposing of a dead family-father. Thus at Rio Zamora, I was told, a dead Jibaro man had been simply wrapped in a bast mat and tied to the door post of his house in [460] a standing posture, with his face turned towards the interior of the house as if had been entering the same. Such a primitive and repugnant way of treating a corpse, however, I think is rare."

1; Karsten--460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 766 (1928-29)

"Ordinary earth burial is frequently resorted to when women and children die. The burial place may be within the house or outside it, and it is curious that in the former case the rest of the family members continue living there. A grave is for instance simply dug in a corner of the house, or close to one of the walls, and the corpse is placed there in a lying posture, whereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled so that it resembles the rest of the earthen floor. I have frequently visited Indian houses where women or children have been buried in this way, and been able to confirm that the inmates find this arrangement perfectly natural. There seems not to be, in these cases, any fear of the ghost of the dead, probably because the spirits of women and children are never feared to the same extent as the spirits of men, and especially the spirits of old men and medicine-men. Nor was food or drink placed on the graves of the women buried in the house in any of the cases which came under my notice.

In other cases dead women are buried outside, at a short distance from the house. A primitive shelter of thatch is made, resting upon four poles, and the corpse is buried under this.

Lastly, a kind of urn-burial also occurs among the Jibaros, although only for small children. The urns used for this purpose are the big clay pots in which the manioc-beer is kept. The body of the child is placed in the urn in a squatting attitude--that of the foetus in the mother's womb--then it is closed with another smaller flat clay pot.

Where the clay vessels touch each other is plastered round with clay, so that the urn is hermetically sealed. It is placed on a tripod close to one of the pillars of the house in the same way as the clay pot containing manioc-beer, and in this way the remains of the child are kept for a long time, and then buried. --Whether this urn-burial of small children is connected with any special ideas of rebirth, etc., I cannot say.

No burial is thought of in the case of persons who have been killed in war and whose heads have been carried off by the enemies (p. 292). A dead body is buried above all for the sake of the soul, but the soul of a kinsman killed in war was carried off along with the head. It would therefore be useless to bestow burial upon his body."

1: Karsten--460-461 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 765 (1928-29)

"That a death gives rise to many taboos is natural. We have already seen how the clothes and certain other objects which have been in con-[461] tact with the dead are destroyed and made to disappear. The same may be said of the mourners themselves, who are so closely related to the very source of this mysterious defilement. Thus the nearest relatives have to restrict their diet for some days: they are forbidden to eat mani or earth-nuts, pork and hen's flesh, as well as salt and Indian pepper; they cannot chew sugar-cane, nor eat a dish of boiled and mashed manioc called sumbi; manioc-beer, on the other hand, they are allowed to drink. Instead of eating the flesh of domestic animals they may eat any kind of game. When four days have passed they may eat hen's flesh, and after six days they are allowed to eat everything. For six days they must also abstain from sexual intercourse. Any infringement of these rules is likely to endanger the other relatives: they may fall ill and die themselves, since the evil spirit who took the life of their relative may also take theirs."

1: Karsten--461-463 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The fear of the death taboo has given rise among the Indians to certain other precautions, some of which are of a very peculiar nature. First, the female relatives of the defunct, and especially the widow or widows, have to cut their hair short immediately after the death takes place, and they likewise abstain from wearing ornaments. A widow is not allowed to remarry until her hair has again grown long, or in about one year. Further, she is purified by the smoke from a termite nest set on fire, in the way related before (p. 212). Other members of the family too have to pass through a certain purification ceremony, mainly consisting of tobacco water or strong Indian pepper being squirted into their eyes. Among the Jibaros living at Yaupi, a small tributary stream of the upper Morona, this purification is connected with a curious game of blindman's-bluff and is performed in the following way. The corpse is buried on the second day after death. On the same day the surviving relatives must abandon the house, a rule always observed among the Jibaros when the family-father dies. Everything is packed into bags and all is ready for the departure. Before the Indians leave the house, the following ceremony takes place. An old woman has made ready in a small gourd a mixture of Indian pepper (hīmya) and water, and the surviving members of the family will be 'prepared' with this medicine. All of them arrange themselves in a circle in the middle of the house, and the old woman hangs round their necks a peculiar collar consisting of a cotton string to which a small chonta thorn is tied. This

detail of the ceremony is called yupingrama and is known to all Jibaro tribes. Thereupon the old woman goes round and injects a little pepper-water [462]into the eyes of each member of the family, even those of the children. The strong liquid makes the people temporarily quite blind, and they are unable to open their eyes. The old woman now goes away and hides in a corner of the house, or behind one of the chonta posts supporting the house. The rest of the party start to look for her, feeling round with their hands. If someone hits upon the woman, the latter explains to him: 'You would probably have been the first to die of the same disease'. Again, if after a long search no one finds the old woman, she declares : 'It is all right, nobody else of the family will die of this disease. Now let us go, that the Disease (iguanchi, the demon) may not catch us.' They arrange themselves in a row, take their bags on their shoulders and move away from the house. The old woman goes last of all, strewing ashes on the footmarks of the departing Indians.

As to the ceremony called Yupingrama,(1) when a small chonta thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, its meaning is clearly indicated by the Indians themselves. The family-father has died in consequence of a chonta thorn sent by a hostile Indian

"1. Yupingrama literally means: 'to make oneself knowing', 'to take precautions.'"

sorcerer; consequently, when such a thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, it acts as an amulet which will protect them against a magic arrow of the same kind. Similarly, of course, the game of blindman's-buff is prophylactic in character, like some other games of this kind which will presently be mentioned.

Apart from this last detail, the Jibaros always consider it necessary to perform a purificatory ceremony with the survivors after a death, especially that of the family-father. When the coffin has been placed on the frame, the death-demon (iguanchi) is believed to take his seat on the top of it in the shape of a bird, ready to fall upon any person who comes in contact with the bodies placed there; this is the explanation given by the Indians themselves. This demon is the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient, but he seems also to be identified, in a mysterious way, with the disembodied soul of the dead family-father, who is supposed to be jealous of his surviving relatives. Among the Jibaros of the Upano and upper Pastaza no game of blindman's-buff takes place, but before the family leaves the house each of its members has to be treated in the way described above, a solution of Indian pepper or strong tobacco juice being squirted into his or her eyes by the oldest man or woman in the family. At the same time the particular ceremony is performed which [463] I have just described under the name of Yupingrama. The old man or woman, having hung the cotton string with the chonta thorn round the neck of a person, slightly fans his face with the magical bundle

of leaves which the Jibaros call shingi-shingu, to conjure away all evil influences. Thereupon all of them, in an ordered row, leave the house for ever.

Among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza again, it is customary that the mourners, after the dead person has been buried, slightly prick themselves over the whole body, on the arms, the legs, the shoulders, the breast, and the stomach with a pointed arrow of the kind the Jibaros use for their blowguns. This is believed to protect them against the soul of the deceased. In a dream the nearest relatives may meet the disembodied soul who says to them: 'Come, let us dance together.' Then the spirit of the person so addressed will answer: 'No, I cannot, for I have my body full of sores.' If he has not pricked himself in the way mentioned, he will obey the exhortation of the dead relative's spirit to dance with him, and in consequence he will soon die. The Achuares therefore say that they prick themselves in the way described 'in order not to die'.

As I have said, wailing is not limited to the days immediately after death, but is repeated now and then for a long time afterwards, when in one way or another the woman is reminded of her loss. She may suddenly interrupt her work to abandon herself for some moments to an outburst of sorrow, crying loudly and repeating some of the phrases just mentioned. It seems that the arrival of a stranger at the house in particular causes her to repeat the wailing, and a visitor often gets the impression that the crying is a way of welcoming him. One of the guests--so the Jibaro women have explained the

matter to me--may remind her in some way of her deceased husband and thus awake in her the sorrow and longing for her dead husband. Or, she recollects how her husband used to receive such gusts. [sic] 'If he had lived now, his first act would have been to call me to bring them manioc-beer.' Such associations of ideas are quite characteristic of the Indian woman. Her wailing after the death of a beloved relative therefore cannot be explained as merely an empty ceremony; it is undoubtedly partly an expression of genuine sorrow, showing the same capability of tender feelings as appears in the lyric poetry of the Indians, for instance in the songs addressed to the birds in connection with certain feasts."

1: Karsten--463-464 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 769 (1928-29)

"....there is a great dread of the disease-and death-demon, who is more or less identified with the spirit [464] of the deceased. Spirits of old men, especially those of family-fathers and medicine-men, are particularly feared, and the food and drink which is placed on their graves is offered to them chiefly with a view to propitiating them and gaining their favour. Deceased family-fathers require to be worshipped, and unless the due cult is paid to them may revenge themselves. That the cult of the dead is, in the first place inspired by fear, appears from the words which are addressed to the spirit when the relatives are about to leave the house, having placed the offerings on the grave: 'Take this food, spirit, and do us no harm! If you want to cause evils, go to Shuāras of other families or tribes, our enemies, and harm them, but leave us in peace!'

It is thought that the spirits of the deceased (wakáni) like to visit their surviving relatives even after they have moved to another house, and in case their cult has been neglected they may punish them by sending disease, by killing the swine or the hens or the dogs, or by robbing small children. A wakáni of this nature is looked upon as evil iguanchi. He may, during the sleep, entice even the souls of grown-up people to follow him to the forest, where he gives him a certain beetle, called shúndu, to eat, with the consequence that the person in question will get mad. When the wakáni visits the house he comes in a shadow-like form and is as a rule invisible. However, someone of

the people in the house may see him for a moment entering, taking a few steps into the room, and again disappearing. Frequently the spirit is hungry and comes to seek food. He opens the big clay pot where the manioc substance is kept, by removing the leaves covering its mouth, and takes of the substance to prepare beer. Afterwards it looks as if a child's hand had been in the clay pot taking manioc. 'The spirits', the Indians explained, 'need only a little; they only consume the essence of the food and drink'."

1: Karsten--464-465 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 769 (1928-29)

"To keep off the spirits of recently dead persons from the house, the Jibaros are in the habit of painting upon the doors small human figures with the hands stretched out, figures of snakes, birds, etc. (See Pl. XVII, 2). The Jibaros, as we have seen, not only use primitive doors consisting of a few poles by means of which the entrance is shut, but also doors more resembling those of civilized peoples. The figures in question I was informed, represent the souls of the departed (wakáni) and are by no means only decorations. 'The departed', I was told, 'like to visit their relatives and may strike us with sickness and death or other misfortune. But when they find their own images painted upon the door they are pleased and do us no harm.' This is another expression for [465] the fact that the spirits of the dead are simply conjured or in some way controlled and kept at bay by means of the figures representing them.

Although the dead are as a rule resentful, they may on the other hand reward such relatives as know their duties towards them by bestowing all sorts of material blessings upon them."

1: Karsten--466 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The customs observed by the Canelos Indians after a death in some respects considerably differ from those of the Jibaros proper, and are in part of very great interest. As we have seen, they share the belief of their savage kinsmen as to the causes of death, although the practical consequences of this belief are not drawn. Being Christians by name they now practise only one way of disposing the remains of the dead, namely earth burial, but formerly platform burial also was common. Among some of the Canelos Indians, for instance those living at Sarayacu, who are great canoeists, the coffin simply consists of a bipartite canoe in which the body is placed and buried. 'In his lifetime', the Indians explained, 'the deceased had frequently travelled in canoe, therefore he ought also to make his last journey in a canoe.' Still the Canelos Indians, as far as they are not influenced by the Christian ideas of a heaven or a hell, have not developed any theory about the final resting-place of the departed."

1: Karsten--466-467 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 763, 533 (1928-29)

"Wailing at Canelos is about the same as among the Jibaros. Similarly it is customary that visitors arriving at a house where a death has recently taken place are received wailing. The Canelos woman always wails singing, but since she sings violently sobbing, the melody is somewhat difficult to render. It is characteristic of this song that it always begins in a high and strong falsetto tone; then the voice gradually diminishes and the last tones are only heared[sic] as a low, distant murmur. The following is the usual mourning song of the Canelos woman:

Nyuca curilla,
Nyuca cusala,
Imamant' siquishcani,
Imamant' hchuscani,
Imata tucushcani? [467]

In translation:

'My dear one, (1)
my dear little husband,
why have you left me,
why have you abandoned me?
What will it become of me?'"

"1. Curilla (a diminutive of curi, 'gold') literally means, 'My little gold.'"

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"What makes the funeral customs of the Canelos Indians particularly interesting are the ceremonial games which take place the first night after death, during the vigil. Among these Indians custom prescribes that during the first night after the death of the head of the family or the housewife the surviving relatives must hold vigil, thereby entertaining themselves, among other things with a dice game. The object of the game is partly to distribute the property of the dead among the survivors, since otherwise it is taboo and cannot be touched by anybody, partly to protect them against the contagion of death, that is, the disease-and death-demon. This game derives its origin from the mountain culture in Ecuador and Peru, where it is still played in a somewhat different form by the Quichua-speaking Indians.

The game is at Canelos called Huairitu--a diminutive form of the Huayru of the mountain Indians--and the die consists of a piece of manioc, about 10 to 12 cm. in length, with four sides, each side about 3 or 4 cm. broad, both ends [468] flat, so that the die can stay upright. If the game is played in honour of a dead woman, the die is somewhat smaller than if the deceased was a man. Of the four sides one is provided with three small holes; this is called singu, after which the whole die takes its name. The opposite side is quite empty and is therefore called llambui (nil, zero). Of the two remaining sides one generally bears four holes (chuscu in Quichua) and the other 10 (chunca).

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

Among the Indians of Sarayacu, one of the four sides is hollowed out, so that the whole piece is like a small canoe, both ends of which are flat. The opposite side, which forms the bottom of the canoe, is empty (llambui); of the two other sides one has 3 small holes (singu), the other again 10 (chunca).

Apart from this, the huairitu game is played in the same way at Canelos and Sarayacu. The following is the manner in which the game is played at Sarayacu with the canoe-formed die.

If the die, when it is thrown, remains upright, the player has won the stake and he has, besides, the right or obligation to 'punish' his opponent. If, on the other hand, the empty side, which represents the bottom of the canoe, remains upward (llambui), the player has lost his cast. If the open side of the canoe remains upward, this is also reckoned as nil, but it is not indicated by a special name. If either of the sides which are provided with 3 or 10 holes remains upward, the player receives 3 or 10 maize grains accordingly, and these he at once puts aside.

When the family-father or -mother dies, it is the obligation of the surviving relatives to spend the first night in watching 'in order to accompany the soul (aya) on its last wandering'. During the first night the soul stays in the house, in the vicinity of the dead body, but afterwards goes to the heavens, to the mountains or the forests. Since the deceased has in his life often travelled by canoe, he starts his last journey in a

canoe. This is the reason why the Sarayacu Indians give the die this form.

Among these Indians, just as among the Quichas of the Sierra, men alone take part in the game, never women and children. Likewise, only the invited guests play, never the nearest relatives of the deceased. If someone of the latter plays huairitu, the deceased will drag him along with him to the other world, that is to say, he will soon die. Similarly, among the Canelos Indians it is regarded as a great offence against the departed parent should anyone fall asleep that night. The departed soul itself does not leave such an Indian in peace, but draws him by the feet[469]so that he may not sleep. If he really falls asleep, his sleep will be very restless. In the morning when he wakes he will feel tired and sick and shortly afterwards he will die.

As soon as the patient has expired, guests are invited from all houses in the neighbourhood in order that they may take part in the vigil and play huairitu. The guests arrive after sunset and are, as is the custom among these Indians, generously entertained with manioc-beer (asua). The dead man is dressed in his best clothes and placed on a bier at one of the walls of the house. All around food of every kind, manioc, plantain, fowl, eggs, chicha, and so forth, is laid in various gourds, all these dishes being intended for the defunct. The playing men are arranged in two rows, opposite each other, so that every player has an opponent. The player who succeeds in throwing the die upright wins a hen, a head of plantain, manioc, chicha, or some other thing. What

is won is at once taken out from the remainder and kept for the winner until the morning. If someone throws singu, he receives as already mentioned, three maize grains, which are likewise kept till the morning, one who throws chunca receives ten, and so on.

The player who wins the stake is, moreover, entitled to punish his opponent, which he generally does by striking him on the back of the hand with his own hand, or giving him a fillip on the forehead.

Early in the morning the hens, won by the players in the course of the night's gambling, are slaughtered, boiled and eaten by all communally with manioc and plantain. Every player likewise counts the grains he has won, keeping a special account of how many times he has thrown singu and how many times chunca. These grains generally have no practical importance; they only indicate the relative favour bestowed upon him by the deceased.

To the Indian mind, the huairitu game is not a mere game of hazard. The departed soul is believed to hover about the dead body the whole night, itself personally interferring in it. The player only throws the die on the ground; it is the unseen hand of the deceased which turns it in this way or that, according as he wishes to favour the player or not.

Just as those, who win nothing, but repeatedly throw llambui, are regarded as more

or less antipathetic to the deceased and are therefore punished, so, on the contrary, the one who wins most is regarded as his particular friend and favourite. He is in consequence particularly honoured by the relatives and in the morning leaves the house of death richly endowed with presents of manioc, plantain, eggs, chicha, etc. [470]

It is a bounden duty of the survivors to honour the deceased with an huairitu game. If there is no wake and the game is not played, the deceased will feel offended and it may happen that he takes revenge on his relatives by sending disease and death, failure of the crops and famine, or some other misfortune. On the other hand, he will reward those relatives who pay him due honour. Their domestic animals will increase in number and their fields will flourish; in their house food will never be lacking, there will be plenty of manioc, plantain, game etc. He will moreover arrange that those, who now render him this service of love, will themselves, when they die, have people to honour them in the same way."

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians know yet another dice game that is played after a death, but this has now fallen almost into desuetude. It is called singu or huairitu like the game just described, but the die used is of another kind. This die, which may perhaps more properly be called a playing-board, consists of an almost circular wooden disk, about 15 cm. in length and 2 to 3 cm. in breadth. The obverse is somewhat convex, so that the disk can easily be put in motion by turning it round. On the right side of the disk a small human figure is incised or annealed. This figure represents the soul of the deceased (aya) and is called huahua huairitu, 'the huairitu-babe'. On both sides of this figure three small holes are applied and furthermore one hole between its legs, in a fashion which appears more clearly from the drawing. (Fig. 13). Thus there are in all 7 holes on the disk.

The corpse is placed on a bier in the middle of the house. Upon its paunch a board or some similar flat and even object is laid and upon the latter a cloth is stretched tightly. Upon this board the singu-die is placed.

The players arrange themselves on both sides of the bier. As usual, all of them are guests invited to the feast, and all are men. Each player had brought with him a small gourd containing charcoal and some water, when he arrived at the house. [471] With this colouring matter the guests paint certain black ornamental markings on the face before they begin the game.

Round the bier and in front of each player the widow of the deceased has placed an equal number of gourds containing different kinds of food which belonged to the dead Indian when alive: manioc, plantain, earth-nuts, eggs, chicha, as well as living hens tied by the feet. The food and the hens are staked at the game. Everything is really intended for the deceased, but since a soul needs only a little food, the deceased distributes most of it among the players, according as they possess his affections.

Each of the players has an opponent who is seated opposite him on the other side of the bier. If a player is victorious in the game, it is his opponent's share in the food that he wins. If he looses, he looses his own share to his opponent, who besides is entitled to punish him.

In the game five grains are used which are thrown on the singu-board. The players throw the grains by turns: at first A of the one row, then his opponent A´of the other row; thereupon B of the first row, and B´of the other row, and so forth.

Of the five grains one is at once placed in the hole which is situated between the legs of the small figure. This grain indicates the departed Indian's own share in the dishes put out, and it should not therefore be touched or removed by the players. The four remaining grains are taken by the player whose turn it is to throw them, and he takes his stand at the head of the corpse. The board is usually placed so that the small figure is orientated in the same direction as the corpse, its head being turned towards the

corpse's head. The player now throws all of the four grains at once upon the board, the intention being that they should enter into some of the six empty holes. We may assume that one grain enters into one of the holes, whereas the others fall outside. In that case the player is entitled to repeat the throw with these three grains, and, if he prefers, may throw them from the foot-end of the corpse. We may assume that one more of the grains enters into a hole. Now the player seizes the board with outstretched fingers, in the manner shown in the drawing (fig. 14), and turns it cautiously round. This should be done so that the three grains which lie in the holes, that is, the one which had previously been laid between the legs of the figure and those now thrown in, do not fall out. The manoeuvre of turning the board is now repeated once more. The idea is to have it confirmed that the result of the cast was not accidental, but that the deceased is really willing to give up thus [472] much of his share to the player as is indicated by the cast. In other words, an opportunity is given him to confirm the result of the cast, and possibly to alter it. If two grains have fallen each into its hole, this means that the player has won 4--2, that is, a half of the quantity of food which his opponent has in front of him. If the latter has, for instance, two hens and four eggs, the winner receives one hen and two eggs; he also receives half of his quantity of chicha, and so forth.

If, after the two casts, only one grain has entered into a hole, the player is entitled

only to a fourth of the quantity of food possessed by his opponent. Again, if all four grains have entered into holes and, by the controlling test, managed by turning the board round, none falls out, then the player has won his opponent's whole share, which is at once given over to him. At the same time, the latter is thereby out of the game, since he has nothing more to play with, and the winner has the further right to punish him by giving him a fillip on the forehead.

If, on the other hand, after two repeated casts no grain has entered into a hole, the player has lost his whole share in the food supply to his opponent, is punished by him, and passes out from the game.

If with his two casts a player has won nothing, this is called llambui (nothing, zero). If every grain enters into a hole, all the players call out: llámbui gánan, 'he has won everything!'. The game is continued until there is only one of the players left.

As I have mentioned, the players never intentionally touch that grain which has been placed between the legs of the figure, because it indicates the departed Indian's own share in the foods put out. It some-[473] times happens, however, that a player, when he throws the grains upon the board, accidentally hits the grain lying between the legs of the figure, so that it falls out from the hole. This is looked upon as very unfortunate, since in consequence of the awkward cast the deceased looses his share. The

widow and the other relatives, who do not take part in the game but follow it with keen interest, then begin to weep and wail, exclaiming: 'He has taken his share!' It may also happen that at the controlling test, carried out by turning the board round, a player out of carelessness or mere wickedness turns it round so quickly, that not only his own grains, but also that of the deceased fall out of their holes.

I was also told that no one is allowed to fall asleep during the whole night. If someone seems inclined to do so, burning cotton is put close to his eyes to keep him awake.

The whole game is a tribute of honour paid to the departed parent. The latter is supposed to feel flattered by it and will reward his loving relatives for it. He himself takes part in the game, giving good luck to one, bad luck to another. His soul is present in the small board, and when the latter is turned round, at the test, the Indians imagine that thereby the soul is swinging round. When the grains are thrown over the corpse, this is believed to hasten the decay of the body, whereupon the soul, released from its material bonds, will set out upon its wanderings to heaven.

If, as the result of a cast, two of the grains happen to fall into holes situated opposite each other on both sides of the small figure, they form, together with the grain placed between the legs of the figure, a cross. This cast is regarded as a good omen: the soul of the defunct will now soon enter heaven.

Each player may in the morning take the food he has won during the night to his home

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

and eat it alone. Or, if the winners prefer it thus, a common meal is prepared out of the whole quantity of food early in the morning, in which all, both guests and hosts, winners and non-winners, take part."

"The huairitu game, both the last-mentioned and the one previously described, is not generally played the whole night, because the food put out is distributed as a rule before the morning. The rest of the night is spent in playing another kind of game, with burning balls of cotton. Upon the board which was placed on the stomach of the dead Indian a small cotton ball is laid and set on fire. The playing men arrange [474] themselves on both sides of the corpse and blow the burning cotton hither and thither upon the board, keeping the small ball in constant motion. Each player who finds the ball in front of himself immediately blows it to the other side, from where another player blows it in another direction, and so forth. The aim of this game is to nullify all danger of contagion proceeding from the dead body, since it is feared that the disease-demon may carry off other persons among the relatives surviving.(1)

All the Indians have expressly declared to me that the game is by no means played merely for the sake of pleasure or as a pastime, but that it is an absolute duty towards

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"1. It is worth mentioning that a similar ceremonial game also occurs among the Shimigay Indians of the middle Pastaza. The game is here called singu, but the die is conical in shape (se Karsten, Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians, p. 26)."

the deceased. Apart from the details of the game, this moreover appears from the fact, that an omittance to perform this duty--that is, to wake and to play the dice game --is supposed to entail very grave consequences. The Canelos Indians did not even like to show how the huairitu game was played, but only explained it verbally. If the die is cast without necessity, my informant said, someone in the house might die."

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"Those of the Canelos Indians who are related to the Indians of the Napo practise certain other kinds of game which are played at vigils. These games, however, are not dice games, but entertainments of another kind. Although these games are more in vogue among the Napo Indians than among the Indians of Canelos, I shall relate them here.

Four games of this kind came under my observation.

1. The game of blindman's-buff. One of the Indians is blindfolded and represents the dead person. His task is to catch some one of the rest of the party. These run around him, touch him with their hands and play all sorts of trick on him, in order to attract his attention, trying at the same time to avoid him. If the player blindfolded succeeds in catching one of the other men, this one must in his turn take the part of the blindman until he has caught someone else, and so forth, as long as the Indians like to play the game.

2. Playing with burning cotton. The playing men sit down on the ground in a circle round a big cloth or mantle, which is held by all so that it is tightly stretched and somewhat raised above the level of the [475] ground. One or two small cotton balls are set on fire and thrown on the cloth; the burning ball is then blown hither and thither on the cloth by the men holding it. The Indian who finds the burning ball in front of him blows it quickly towards another Indian sitting opposite him, the latter in his turn tries to rid

himself of it by blowing it away, and so forth. By keeping the ball in constant motion it is possible to continue the game with the burning cotton for several seconds, without the cloth being burnt. One ball having been consumed by fire, another is kindled and thrown on the cloth, or perhaps two at once, the game being continued until the players get tired of it. --As it will have appeared, the game is about the same as the one already described as taking place in connection with the dice games.

3. The game with the concealed pin. The body of the dead Indian, dressed in his finest clothes, lies on the bier at one side of the room. The game itself consists in a pin or needle being concealed somewhere in the clothes of the defunct, sometimes even in his body, for instance in his feet. One of the playing Indians kneels down in front of the bier on which the corpse is placed and another, standing behind him, holds his hands to the searcher's eyes so that he cannot see. It is now the task of the Indian to find the pin concealed, feeling with his hands all over the clothes of the defunct. As soon as he has found the pin, he must alone empty a gourd of brandy. Thereupon he in his turn conceals the pin in the dress of the defunct, allowing another Indian, who has to kneel down in the same way in front of the corpse, to look for it. As soon as this one has found the pin, he drinks brandy in the same way and conceals the pin for somebody else.

4. Sirasu catuaini huasháma is the name given by the Napo Indians to a fourth game

which, as we shall find, is played in much the same way in Europe. The playing men are arranged in a row, one behind the other. An Indian, who represents the dead man, places himself in front of the first man in the row and says in a low voice: sirasu catuaini huashâma, or, generally, only: sirasu catuaini, which means: 'give me the last man from behind', or: 'give me the last one'. The man who said this now tries to catch the Indian standing last in the row, who, for his part, tries to escape him, running either to the right or to the left. His task is to reach the spot in front of the first man before he is caught by the 'Dead Man'. If he succeeds in doing so, the Dead Man must repeat the same with the following Indian from the end, who is now the last one. Again, if the last man (sirasu) is caught before he has succeeded in taking the [476] first place in the row, he must in his turn play the Dead Man, the former Dead Man taking his station as the last one in the row.

The games described above are continued during the whole night and nobody is allowed to fall asleep. Early in the morning, when the game is finished, a curious ceremony takes place. All of the men, who were engaged in the game, start to run about in the room on all fours, barking like dogs and attempting to imitate their movements; they kill all hens which belonged to the deceased, wringing their neck at the spot on which they catch them. A meal is subsequently prepared of the hens killed, in which all, both guests and hosts, men and women, take part.

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

The Indians declare that this meal is a gift of the deceased by which he rewards those of his relatives and friends who have honoured him by the wake and by the food offered to him and have accompanied him on his last journey."

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The ceremonial game after a death among the Napo and Canelos Indians is called aya pugllana, which means 'to play the Dead Man'. This is in accordance with the idea appearing in most of these games, that the departed Indian himself actively takes part in them. Thus, for instance, in the first game it is the dead Indian himself, or more properly speaking, the disease-and death-spirit who is looking for fresh victims among the survivors, who acts the part of the blindman. Similarly, in the fourth game the Indian, who calls out sirasu catuaini and tries to catch the last man in the row, represents the disease-demon. The Indians have the idea that by representing dramatically the way in which the demon catches the survivors they are able to prevent them from being carried off in reality-- a principle underlying numerous games, dances, and other ceremonies of the South American Indians. Thus, for instance, the mask-dances are wholly founded on this idea. The game with the burning cotton is a purification ceremony. The Indians ascribe magic virtues to the cotton itself, and the burning cotton is believed to destroy the disease-contagion (usually personified into a demon) and to protect the survivors against infection. The same idea is equally manifest in the game with the concealed pin. Pointed instruments, like pins and needles, are often used as amulets against evil spirits. The pin is concealed in the very source of the disease, the corpse itself. When the Indians look for it and find it they are, as it were, rendered immune against the disease. The brandy which the Indians have to drink afterwards is

one prophylactic more against the feared spirit. The Indians are quite conscious [477] of the meaning of these ceremonies when they say that they play in the way described 'in order not to die away'.

It seems, at the outset, somewhat more difficult to explain the other custom, above described, when the men, imitating dogs, run about on all fours and kill the hens. The Indians have not described it to me in further detail, but I may point out some ideas which most probably underly it. First, it is clear that the men who act in this way are supposed to represent the dead Indian himself. The departed Indian himself must catch and kill the hens which he wants to give to those honouring him, and the Indians seem to fancy that on that occasion he takes the shape of a dog. On this point it may be appropriate to mention an idea prevailing among the Jibaro Indians, according to which, if a departed parent is not duly honoured with offerings of food, he will take revenge, among other ways, by reappearing in the shape of a dog that bites the hens in the house to death. That the souls of the departed may transmigrate into dogs is a common Indian belief which is shared by the Napo and the Canelos Indians also. Consequently, if, as may sometimes happen, the starving dogs bite the hens to death and eat them, the Indians ascribe this to the soul of a departed relative that has taken the shape of a dog. It seems to me most probable that the strange funeral custom just described must be explained in this way.

Examining more closely the customs described above, we find that all of them are founded on a few definite religious ideas. On the one hand the survivors wish to honour the defunct by the games, inasmuch as they accompany him on his last journey and allow himself to dispose of the most valuable property he left behind, his domestic animals, usually in the expectation, directly expressed, that in return he may reward the survivors by virtue of the supernatural power he possesses. On the other hand, the games have for their object to protect the surviving relatives against the disease- and death-demon, who has carried off one member of the family and is believed to look for more victims among the living. This is an idea which must be explained more closely. In order to understand the funeral customs of primitive peoples it is necessary to distinguish, at any rate theoretically, between two classes of spirits to which the ceremonies have reference: the soul of the defunct, and the evil demon who caused the death of the relative and is regarded as a source of danger to the survivors also. It is a well-known fact that according to the belief of the Indians death-bringing disease depends on an evil spirit who penetrated into the body of the patient. If the demon succeeds [478] in completing his work of destruction in the body, the patient dies. But the disease-demon, having obtained possession of a person and caused his death, will at the same time lay hold of his soul also and change him altogether into an evil demon, whatever may have been his character in life; so that in many cases there is

practically no difference between the death-bringing demon and the spirit of the dead. This idea explains a fact which has often been commented upon by students of primitive religion but has never been satisfactorily explained: why persons, who in their lifetime have, perhaps, been honoured and loved are nevertheless after death feared as evil demons who are trying to inflict all sorts of evils upon the surviving relatives. This is due to the supposed fact that the defunct, that is, his soul, has fallen victim to a strange death-bringing demon who is trying to change the soul itself into a demon. The more spiritual power a person possessed in life, the more he is generally feared after death, because the strange demon lays hold of this power. This is the reason why old people and sorcerers are as a rule most feared after death as evil revengeful beings. It is only when we know this idea that we can satisfactorily explain a number of funeral customs and rites of the Indians which seemingly contradict one another.(1)

Although the Indians believe that the disease-and death-demon is trying to identify itself with the soul of the dead person, they still make a distinction between the two

"1. On the point, see more fully my Civilization of the South American Indians, pp. 477 sqq."

spirits which clearly appears in many of their funeral rites and ceremonies. Thus, of the mourning customs described above, some particularly have reference to the soul of the dead, others again to the death-bringing demon. For instance, when food is placed in front of the corpse and when the dice game is played, the Indians are only thinking of the deceased relative who was loved in life and to whom after his death the due cult is paid. Again, when pepper or tobacco-water is squirted into the eyes of the surviving relatives, when the game of blindman's-buff is played, when the mourners play with pins concealed, with burning cotton balls, or pieces of wood, these rites most clearly have only reference to the evil disease-and death-demon who still is believed-to haunt the house and threaten the lives of the survivors.[sic] Their object is to protect the latter against this dangerous spirit, or, as we should say, against the contagion of death; with which the soul of the defunct has involuntarily been associated."

1: Karsten--490 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros have a natural esthetic sense, a fact of which everybody who sees an ethnographic collection from these Indians can convince himself. Their clay vessels attract attention through the almost classical harmony of the lines, and similarly the way in which they combine colours in their feather ornaments, etc., reveals a natural sense of colour."

1: Karsten--490-491 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"The idea that the spirits can be controlled by imitating them in their external appearance, is also conspicuous in the ornamental designs applied to the body and to certain objects, for instance the doors of the houses, shields, and clay vessels. All these designs are borrowed from the animal world, and it is interesting to note that they invariably represent dangerous animals, or animals in which evil spirits are thought to appear. How the Indians try to keep off the spirits of the departed or other spirits from their houses by painting their figures on the door, has been shown before (Pl. XVII, 2 and p. 454). The figures appearing on the door are characteristic of the ornamental art of the Jibaros. The most conspicuous of them are human spirits, represented in the usual way with the arms stretched out. The small circles, with [491]a point in the middle are also very common. It took me long to find out the real significance of this pattern, even after I had been informed that it was thought to keep off evil spirits. On inquiry, I was simply told that the small circles represented yusa. By the name yusa the Indians denote the big macaw (Arara hyacinthinus) which is one of their principal bird demons, but there is little resemblance between such a little circle and the beautiful parrot. We get the solution of the riddle when we look at the Indian drawing of a macaw found on Fig. 20, b (p. 494). The Indians paint the eyes of the bird separately, and the small circles are precisely identical with the eyes of the macaw. To the Indian mind special importance is attached to them, because in the eyes the

power of the demoniacal bird is concentrated. Hence the eyes occur as independent magical ornaments in the art of the Indians.

The circle pattern, however, occurs in two forms and has two significations: it not only represents the eye of the macaw but also the round black spots on the skin of the anaconda. Frequently the pattern occurs as two concentric circles with a black spot in the middle (Fig. 20, c). The eyes of the macaw in fact are surrounded by concentric rings; but the pattern may represent the spots of the anaconda as well. What these spots are like in reality, and how faithfully the Indians represent them in their art, will be clear when we compare the cincture made of an anaconda's skin on Pl. XXI, 3 with the patterns engraved on the instrument payánga, depicted on p. 311. Generally the Indians are, in each particular case, able to explain whether the pattern in question represents the magical bird or the huge reptile. As to the patterns engraved on the payánga, for instance, they expressly declared that they represent the spots of the anaconda (pangi), which they also apply to the face, to shields when they are ornamented, and so forth."

1: Karsten--491-492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 825 (1928-29)

"The giant serpent, especially the water boa or anaconda (Eunectes murinus), is one of the animal beings most frequently represented in the ornamental art of the Jibaros, and it is natural to connect this fact with the other fact that it is one of the most dreaded animal demons known to the Indians. Thus the designs painted on the beautiful big clay vessel from Canelos depicted on Pl. XX, 1, represent the giant snake, not however the water boa or anaconda, but the boa constrictor, a comparatively rare reptile in Western Amazonas and much more rarely represented in the Indian art than the water boa. The Canelos Indians call this reptile amárun and use the same name for the orna-[492] ment. Another snake demon, almost equally often represented, is the Lachesis, one of the most common and most venomous snakes in the whole of South America. It occurs as an ornament for instance on the clay dishes on Pls. XVIII, 6., XIX, 1., and XX, 2. and is also applied to the face (Fig. 18, d, p. 493)."

1: Karsten--492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"That the Indians represent the most dreaded animal demons in their ornamental art, applying their figures even to eating and drinking vessels, is a significant fact which suggests that certain mysterious ideas are connected both with the clay vessels and the ornaments. As I have pointed out before, there is an interesting connection between a woman, who alone has to make the the clay vessels, and the earth and clay of which they are made. The clay vessel, according to the idea of the Indians, 'is a woman'. When we further consider the ceremonial character which the drinking of fermented and narcotic drinks assumes at the great feasts, we understand that a whole primitive 'philosophy' underlies both the making of clay vessels and their use."

1: Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789, 302 - (1928-29)

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1. and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig. 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

1: Karsten--496 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533 (1928-29)

"From the specimens of Indian songs I have given in previous chapters and which are sung for instance in connection with agriculture, at the feast of the women, and on other occasions, it has appeared that we can really speak of a lyric poetry of the Indians. Some of the songs are pure prayers, others magical conjurations, others merely spontaneous expressions of sorrow or joy, etc. I was confronted with one of my most difficult tasks in trying to note down these songs. Of those sung at the feast of the women the Jibaros evidently possess a much larger store than would seem to appear from my description of that feast, but those cited by me are in any case the most important and in general representative of the lyric poetry of the Indians. To note down songs of this kind, it is first and foremost necessary to know the language of the Indians perfectly. But besides this, the Jibaro women in their poetry frequently contract words and phrases so as to make them almost unintelligible, especially since they are generally able to recite the verses only singing, which makes the pronunciation of the words still more indistinct. If afterwards I mentioned sundry words to them the meaning of which I had not been able to catch, the woman in most cases could not explain it to me, however correctly I might pronounce it."

1: Karsten--496-497 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533 (1928-29)

"The words and the melody which accompanies them is to the Indian one and the same thing. Both spontaneously proceed from the same sentiment and cannot be separated. In both prayers and conjurations proper this connection is so intimate that the whole song would fail of its effect unless it were recited in the right tune. The very rhythm is supposed to possess some mysterious effect which is regarded as being almost as important as the power inherent in the words. The weight which the Indians attach to the musical side of their poetry from this point of view is intelligible, but at the same time it makes [497] us understand how essentially the latter, precisely on account of its practical aim, differs from the poetry of civilized peoples."

1: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533 (1928-29)

"Many of the Jibaro prayers and incantations, as I have pointed out before, are the exclusive intellectual property of the women, being particularly sung in connection with agriculture or at the great feasts. The most important of the songs addressed to the Earth-mother have already been cited, but there is a special kind of lyric poetry to which I wish still to call attention. At the great feasts, as I have mentioned before, it is customary, that, after the day's main ceremonies have taken place, the women appear dancing solo at the drinking-bouts, accompanying themselves with chants and songs which are directed to certain animals, especially certain beautiful birds of the forest (See p. 355). Such incantations are also sung at the drinking-bouts on other occasions. Birds addressed in this way are, for instance, the tucan (Rhamphastus), called tsukánga, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea), called sumga, the great wild turkey (Crax elector), called máshu, and the pheasant (Penelope), called kúyu by the Jibaros. The birds are personified by the dancing woman and spoken to as if they were human beings. She gives them all sorts of pet names, calling herself the wife, mother, or sister of the particular bird addressed and praising its brilliant feather dress, its proud walk, etc. Songs of this category are probably comparatively numerous, but they are very simple and all much of the same kind. I shall give a couple of instances.

The cock-of-the-rock (sumga), one of the most beautiful birds of the forests of Western Amazonas, the Jibaro woman addresses in the following way:

Sumga noa assana,
sumga noachina,
tu nakurahei:
Sumga aishmangshiru,
kapaka pahawue,
wisha hahuchi,
sumga noa assa,
tu nakurahei.

In translation:

'Being the wife of the cock-of-the-rock,
being the little wife of the sumga,
I jokingly sing to you thus:
Cock-of-the-rock, my little husband,[498]
wearing your many-coloured dress of feathers,
graceful in your movements!
I know I am useless myself,
but still I rejoice,
for I am the wife of the sumga--
So I jokingly sing!'

1: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 533 (1928-29)

To the pheasant (kuyu) the woman sings:

Apu, apu, kuyu,
indeshipi kuyu,
mite, mite hamei,
winya kuyu uchirka,
chapursa nambikahei.
Wisha kuyu tukusmahei,
uhuchiruk hapik amue,
indeshipi kuyu--
tu nakurahei.

In translation:

'Great pheasant, great pheasant,
pheasant with the long hair and the big tail,
my little son, whom I have intoxicated with the beer!
I have made myself like the pheasant,
putting on me your long tail
and dressing myself in your brilliant feathers--
So I jokingly sing.'"

1: Karsten--499-501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533, 273 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the lyric poetry of the Indians I have yet to mention the incantations sung at one of the minor feasts, the chontaruru-feast. The fruit of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui in the Jibaro language, grows ripe in February and March and is particularly appreciated on account of the beer brewed from it. Besides this, the fruit offers the Indians a most nourishing food for about two months of the year.

The feast is arranged as soon as part of the fruit so impatiently awaited has ripened and beer can be brewed from it. The fruit is collected and carried home by the men, boiled in big clay pots in the same way as is the manioc, and then masticated and well mixed with saliva, whereupon the substance is allowed to ferment. The process of fermentation, which takes place at night, is 'hastened' by dancing, singing, and beating the big drum tundúi. Several big clay vessels (muitsa), the mouths of which are covered with banana leaves, are placed on the floor in the middle of the room. When darkness sets in, about six o'clock in the evening, all men and women arrange themselves in a ring round the clay vessels and start dancing and singing, in their incantations reviewing the whole 'history' of the chonta from the very moment the little sprout is planted in the earth by the men until the time which has now arrived when the tree is full-grown and its fruits have ripened. The dancing and chanting is continued until after midnight. Early in the following morning the drinking-feast begins. While the men drink and get intoxicated by the beer, they incessantly sing the following incantation in which they

address those quadrupeds and birds which in the animal kingdom most appreciate the chonta fruit, especially a parrot called tuishi, and another bird of the forest called kiruánchama, as well as the wild pig (pakki) which also eagerly eats the fruit that falls down from the chonta palms. They call these animals and birds poetically their 'brothers' and 'brothers-in-law', inviting them to take of the fruit which is now ripe and to prepare chontaruru-beer. Thus, the Indians fancy, the fruit will go on ripening and be abundant.

This incantation runs as follows:

Seiru kiruánchama,
amue ui nikápsata,
ui nikápsata!
Ui nereáwue, ui nereáwue, [500]
ui nereáwue!
Ui natinyu, ui natinyu.
Ityursanki nerecheindya,
nerecheindya, nerecheindya?

In translation:

'Parrot, my brother-in-law,
now come along and take of the chonta,

come and take of the chonta!
The chonta fruit is ripening, the chonta fruit is ripening!
Up to brew chonta-beer, up to brew chonta-beer!
Why does not the fruit quickly ripen,
Why does it not ripen?'

....

The men not only celebrate the chonta feast by chanting this incantation, but also by beating the big drum tundúi in the particular time that is customary at the Jibaro drinking-feasts and which has been referred to before (p. 111). By beating the drum in this way the Indians invite their ancestral spirits, who were great warriors and medicine-men and are now believed to live in the mountains and hills, to take part in the drinking-feast and to rejoice with their living descendants. These spirits, although in normal cases more feared than loved, now appear as the friends and allies of the Indians, being under the same [501] magical constraint as in the narcotic sleep produced by natéma or maikoa. From this point of view the great drinking-feasts of the Jibaros clearly assume a religious character."

1: Karsten--501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151, 775, 825 (1928-29)

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

1: Karsten--501-502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533 (1928-29)

"There is comparatively little to say about the music which accompanies the poetry of the Jibaros.

The rhythm in general is well marked, being emphasized by the accompanying instruments, by the movements of the dancers, by weapons brandished, as in the Enéma war-dance, by feet stamping the ground, etc. The melodic system is evidently based on the scale of seven intervals, as is our own music. This fact, as well as the generally slow and ceremonial time in which the songs are sung, makes it as a rule easy to catch and note down the melodies. The Indians only seem to know our major scale; I never heard them sing in the minor key. Their musical ear appears to be well developed, both men and women keeping to the tune remarkably well.

The melodies of the Jibaros, like those of the South American Indians [502] in general, are simple and as it were fragmentary, and the constant repetition of the same short musical motive forms the whole song. Professor E. M. v. Hornbostel has indicated as characteristic of the music of the American Indians the coordination of many similar musical units joined together 'in the same way as pearls are strung into a necklace'. He also makes another interesting observation, that the same feature appears in their ornamental art, where whole series of similar 'geometric' ornaments frequently follow one another, and he takes this to be characteristic of the whole Indian race.(1) Both

"1. KOCH Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. III. Ethnographie, p.416."

these observations are certainly true in regard to the Jibaros. To become convinced of this fact we need only consider the melodies above cited, or the ornamental designs applied to the clay vessels illustrating this work. I would add in this connection that the peculiarity of constantly repeating the same simple motive, perhaps with certain small variations, also appears in the ceremonial speeches made at their great feasts and on other occasions."

1: Karsten--502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533, 177, 151 (1928-29)

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

1: Karsten--503 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 773 (1928-29)

"The question concerning the origin of the world seems not much to have preoccupied the Jibaro mind. In their mythology they have never sought an answer to the questions, 'Who has created heaven and earth?'. or 'How have they originated?' To the Jibaros it is quite natural that the world has always existed, as also the race of men which they call shuara. The only thing which has interested them is the origin of the very Jibaro culture in its most important aspects, and these questions are dealt with in some of the myths. From some of these, and from their religious ideas stated before, we also gather what ideas they have about the celestial world and certain phenomena of nature."

4 Karsten--503-504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 772, 821 (1928-29)

"Heaven is for them an immense solid vault which rests on the earth. A Jibaro myth tells us that formerly there was much communication between the heaven and the earth, people ascending to the sky along a long liana hanging from the vault and again descending to the earth. Even the heavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, and the stars, which are regarded as 'people' (eintsu) by the Jibaros, have originally lived on the earth, but at a certain epoch went up to the sky where they have remained ever since. The stars, as far as I can see, have not particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros, and seem not to play any part [504] in their calendar. Almost the only star which appears in their mythology is the planet Venus, called Yanguái. The general name for 'star' in the Jibaro language is ya."

1: Karsten--504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 805, 821 (1928-29)

"Time is reckoned mainly after the sun and the moon. Great attention is paid to the new moon which is supposed to have a mysterious influence in promoting both natural processes and human undertakings. Thus we have seen the [sic] the new moon is believed to cause the menstruation of the women and to influence the development of the foetus in the mother's womb. The 'dying' moon, on the other hand, has the effect of making everything decrease and die out.

As to longer periods, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians also speak of 'years', but this division of time is not founded on astronomic calculations but on other kinds of observation. A 'year' in the Quichua language is chunta. This is the name of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), the fruit of which begins to ripen in the month of February. This to the Indians is so important an incident that they reckon the beginning of the year from that time. Similarly the Jibaro Indians have adopted the same Quichua word (chunta) for denoting a year."

1: Karsten--504 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 821 (1928-29)

"The ideas that the Indians entertain about meteorological phenomena such as thunder and lightning, falling stars and comets, hurricanes, etc. have appeared from the account I have given of their religion. We have also seen that a supernatural origin is ascribed to certain minerals, for instance 'lightning-stones' which are believed to have been hurled down from the heavens by ancestral spirits, lava stones thrown out from volcanoes, and especially to mountain crystals which are looked upon as proceeding from the devil-souls of departed wizards living in the mountains. Crystals are consequently reckoned among the most potent magical 'arrows' used by living sorcerers."

1: Karsten--504-505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 823, 153 (1928-29)

"Whereas the astronomy, meteorology, and mineralogy of the Jibaros is thus to a great extent mixed up with superstition, their geographical knowledge is also very limited. They practically only know about the territory inhabited by the Jibaro tribes, and have most confused ideas about other parts of the South American continent, and still more of course about the world outside it. They know that there are other Indian tribes, in language and customs differing from the Jibaro people, but they interest them less even as enemies. They also distinguish the Indian race as a whole from the white race, but not even this distinction is a radical one. According to their idea even the whites have once been Jibaros; they are therefore called apachi, i.e. forefathers. There [505]is properly only one human race, namely, the Jibaro race. It is characteristic in this respect that the Jibaros asked me whether in my country also there are 'Indians' (shuara). They also asked me whether in my country there are equally big forests and rivers, and the same animals as in theirs. It was impossible for me to give the Indians a right conception about an ocean and the enormous distance which separates Europe from the New World."

1: Karsten--505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 173, 823 (1928-29)

"Although the Indians have a few traditions, these traditions seem not to reach far back in history. What they know about the past, bears a strongly mythical character. The present-day Jibaros of the Upano and Santiago know for instance nothing about the big towns or villages, Sevilla de Oro, Logroño, and Mendoza, which some three hundred years ago were situated in their own land and which they themselves destroyed. They know that in former times they have carried on many wars with the whites and that the latter are, as it were, their hereditary enemies, but their real historical traditions hardly go back more than three or four generations in time."

1: Karsten--505-506 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 262 (1928-29)

"With more reason we can speak of Indian Science when we enter the domain of their knowledge concerning animals and plants. This is a department of nature where that wonderful power of observation best shows itself which everywhere is one of the chief mental characteristics of man in his natural state. Life has here been the master of the Indians; it is the struggle for existence that has compelled them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the habits and qualities of different animal beings and the properties of plants. The whole of nature has been carefully scrutinized by them for the purpose of finding out what it can offer man in the way of food. They have tried everything, and they can unfailingly tell you whether for instance a certain animal or bird can be eaten, and how it affects the health. Nor is there any animal being so insignificant that it has not a native name; any boy can tell you the name of that or that small insect crawling on the ground. Their ideas as to which animals are edible and which not are, [sic] however, in some cases peculiar; in this respect they have sometimes been led astray by their superstitions. Thus when deer's flesh is never eaten because the deer is regarded as an evil demon, it is difficult to find any real foundation for this aversion. In most cases, however, the superstitions of the Indians have an underlying stratum of reality. 'Superstitious' ideas are as a rule entertained of such animal beings as are in some way harmful. Thus when the flesh of the tapir is taboo as food in the same way

as [506] that of the deer, this bias is not wholly without foundation, considering that the eating of the flesh of the tapir may in some cases have harmful effects. Even the whites in Eastern Ecuador assert that uncautious eating of it may cause a sort of fever. The same hold true of the flesh of many other animals and of certain fish. That for instance the fat flesh of the domestic swine and of certain other animals may cause indigestion and other kinds of sickness, is a well-known fact which has by no means escaped the Indians. We can thus easily understand why swine's flesh is regularly taboo as food when the Indian man or woman is, or is believed to be, in some critical condition. Taking native customs as a whole into account, I should say that what we call 'superstition' has to a great extent been the teacher of the Indians and, being founded on actual experience, given them valuable guidance in their practical life, although on the other hand the exaggerations to which it has led are obvious. The same will appear to hold true of their medicines."

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

"The pharmacological knowledge of the Indians is wonderful. I have had an opportunity to point out this with particular reference to their arrow-poison, but it is equally conspicuous in regard to their medical art in which plants play a dominant part. A whole book could be written about the Indian plant medicines, but unfortunately of this subject the same must be said as I have stated of the plants from which the arrow-poison is prepared: the material necessary for treating this subject can properly be collected only by a botanist. European medical science owes several useful plants to the Indians of South America, but those hitherto known only form a fractional part of those actually existing. I therefore wish to emphasize once more the importance of this particular subject being studied by experts in pharmacology and botany. Expeditions sent out for this purpose to the upper Amazonas regions are almost sure to achieve results of great value.

Of the numerous plant medicines of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians several have already been mentioned by me in previous chapters. I beg only to draw attention for instance to the various medicines which, in the latter tribe, both the father and mother of a newborn child have to take, partly to purify themselves, partly to fortify and strengthen the babe. To avoid repeating statements made before, I shall only mention a few other medicines which are commonly used and which throw some light upon the medical art of the Indians. I remark that these medicines, most of which are obtained

from the plant world, are a commune bonum to all Indians tribes on the upper Amazon river. The names of [507]the plants are given partly in the Jibaro language, partly in Quichua. For some plants or medicines the Canelos Indians use Spanish names.

Several plant medicines are used as remedies against fevers. One of these is the aya huasca (natéma), which we already know as an important narcotic producing visions and hallucinations. Beside this, the Canelos Indians assert that the medicine is an efficacious remedy for malarial fever, especially when mixed with a little tobacco water, and this assertion is confirmed by the white settlers in Eastern Ecuador who frequently use it in such cases.

Another remedy for fever is prepared from a Verbena species, called yapáu by the Jibaros. The leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction taken as a medicine. Exactly in the same way the Indians use another plant, a Cyathula species of the family Amaranthaceae.(1) Sometimes decoctions of both plants are mixed, by which the efficacy of the medicine is enhanced. It is also said to be a remedy against tape-worm. The Cyathula species is by the Canelos Indians called iskantsēli, by the

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"1. I am obliged to Dr. H. Lindberg in Helsingfors for the botanical determination of the Verbena and the Cyanthula species."

Jibaros kántsea. The latter Indians, when using the kántsea-leaves, are also in the habit of mixing the decoction with the white of one or two eggs beaten up as well as with some mountain salt (catchi).

Quinine bark, cascarilla, which is to be obtained in the forests of Eastern Ecuador, is used by the Canelos Indians as another remedy for malaria. An extract is made of some pieces of bark, which is mixed with brandy. Both the Indians and the settlers assert that taken together with brandy the cascarilla extract is much more efficacious.

The cinnamon bark and the cinnamon flower (ishpingu) is at Canelos used as a remedy for diarrhoea and pains in the stomach. A decoction is made of some pieces of the bark or some flowers and the medicine is drunk.

The shrub called tzigta in Quichua has been mentioned as a plant which yields one of the poisonous ingredients by which an old and useless arrow-poison is made efficacious again (p. 155). Of this plant, which I have not been able to identify botanically, there seems however to exist various species of which some are only slightly poisonous and used as ordinary medicines. A quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, and the decoction is taken by the Canelos Indians as a remedy, especially for catarrh and head-ache. It is in fact one of the medicines most commonly used by them.

Another medical plant of the same Indians is the one called pata-[508] cunyúyu. The

leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction, mixed with some salt, is taken as a vomitory.

The small plant called yerba Luisa is used both by the white settlers and the Canelos Indians as a remedy for chills. A decoction is made of the leaves for the purpose and taken by the patient as hot as possible. The medicine is also good for pains in the stomach, especially mixed with some soda.

Ambára is the name of a small plant which is used by the Jibaros for the cure of dysentery. The roots are boiled for the purpose for a long while and the decoction taken as a medicine which has purging effects. It also acts as a vomitory.

Jaundice is cured by the Jibaros by a medicine prepared from the bark of the cedar (Cedrela herrerae). One part of the bark in two parts of water is boiled for one hour. A quantity of this decoction, about one drinking glass, is taken every morning on an empty stomach and will in a few days cure the patient.

Emetics in general play an important role in the medical art of the Indians, as appeared from descriptions of ceremonies performed at feasts, etc. Thus the aya huasca, the guayusa solution, and the medicine prepared from the root chiki at the feasts of the women, all have the effect of vomitories by which the organism is purified from harmful substances. An important emetic of the Jibaros is their own native salt (whui), which is never used as a spice but appreciated all the more as a medicine. These

Indians make a distinction between the salt which they prepare themselves by boiling, and the salt which they obtain in the way of barter from the Canelos Indians and which is called by its Quichua name catchi. This salt too is used exclusively for certain medical purposes, but not as an emetic.

Just as the Indians appreciate emetics, they appreciate medicines with purging effects. Such a medicine is for instance the ambára, mentioned above, by which the Indians cure dysentery. Other strong medicines of this kind are used as a cure for tape-worms.

The stomach and intestinal canal of small children is purified by means of a decoction of ferns, which is taken as an ordinary medicine. In other cases the Indians prepare a clyster for the same purpose. A clyster which came under my notice among the Jibaros consisted of a decoction of four different plants all of which are cultivated by the Indians: the first was the plant kántsea, mentioned before; the second the leaves of a plant called mapash; the third a kind of grass called chiri-[509]chiri; and the fourth a small plant called púyu. This strong medicine was injected into the rectum of the child by means of an enema-syringe consisting of a hen's bladder attached to a piece of the stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus) which is hollow. Syringes of this kind are commonly used by the Indians. Dysentery and diarrhoea in children are generally cured in this way.

Grown-up people are in some cases cured by another kind of clyster consisting simply

of a solution of Indian pepper (Capsicum). By such a clyster the Indians for instance try to cure patients from the consequences of snake's bite (p.420). The Indians of the Pastaza have recourse to this remedy especially against the scurvy (escorbuto) which at times makes it [sic] appearance in that unhealthy region, assuming an epidemical character. The Indians of Canelos do not use a clyster in the proper sense of the word, but mix certain strong ingredients, gun powder, Indian pepper, mashed pieces of the ginger root, and the root of a third strong plant called botoncillo in Spanish. A piece of cotton-wool is soaked in these strong medicines and introduced into the anus of the patient for a short while; he could not stand it for long. According to the idea of the Indians, this disease is due to the anus of the patient being attacked by certain worms which will rise higher and higher along the intestinal canal and rapidly cause the patient to rot away. If the remedy is applied at once, the worms will be killed by the strong medicines and the patient may be saved. I heard of several cases on the Pastaza when Indians and white settlers had been cured in this way from ths [sic] terrible malady, which generally leads to death in two or three days.--That a clyster consisting of a solution of Indian pepper really has disinfecting and purifying effects, is beyond doubt.

There are also, of course, plant medicines which are believed to have the effect of healing wounds. Of this kind is for instance the resin or balsam called copaiba and obtained from the Copaifera tree. The wound is washed clean and the balsam is

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

dropped on it. The copaiba is also used as a remedy for the gonorrhea."

1: Karsten--509-510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 757 (1928-29)

"These are only some of the most important plant medicines used by the Indians. But although they have no doubt made important discoveries in this domain and possess actual knowledge of valuable remedies, I on the other hand have no high opinion of their ability to use these remedies. Their practical therapeutics leave much to be desired. The many stories current among white settlers about miraculous cures of Indian medicine-men in my opinion ought to be accepted with [510] some scepticism, although I do not of course deny that in some cases they may have achieved remarkable results. The development of the medical art of the Indians has been too much hampered by their superstitions and other peculiarities characteristic of a primitive mind. There may exist really skilled healers among the Indians, but they are in any case very scarce. The average Indian can only with difficulty be persuaded to subject himself to a lengthy and systematic treatment for a disease. A medicine ought to cure at once, otherwise it is of no avail. Very frequently, as I found during my travels, the Indians could not even make up their mind to use the remedies they possessed, or they simply did not understand how to use them. As to my own remedies, powders, pills, etc., the Indians regarded them as powerful 'medicines' and poisons, and when I showed them they generally asked for them, but it was well nigh impossible to make them take for instance a tablet or a pill; they might die on the spot. But they carefully kept them somewhere in the house, evidently believing that their mere presence there would be sufficient to

effect a cure.

The natural apathy and fatalism of the Indians also proves an obstacle to rational therapeutics. If the medicine-men declare that they are not able to cure the patient, or if otherwise he himself and his relatives get the idea that his last hour has come, they give up any attendance and only wait for his death, although there may be no real danger of his life."

1: Karsten--510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 751, 515 (1928-29)

"....Indian hygiene is very defective, although it is evident that these children of nature generally have much more resistance against infecting microbes than a white man. In certain other respects, on the other hand, they give evidence of a natural hygiene which may serve even civilized people as an example. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, like all forest Indians in the Amazon region, are cleanly. Thus both men, women, and children take a bath every day in the little river on the banks of which their home is situated, but frequently they bathe twice a day. All dirt and waste is carefully removed from the house by daily sweeping, nor are any dirt or refuse heaps tolerated in the neighbourhood of it. Superstition itself has in some cases tended to develop the hygienic sense of the Indians. On this point I beg to refer to the fact that after a death all those clothes, eating plates, etc., which have been in intimate contact with the defunct are destroyed by burning and that, in the case of an epidemic, the whole village is destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants."

1: Karsten--513 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 173 (1928-29)

"The myths which I shall relate in this part of my book were noted down by me among the Indians of the Upano, Santiago and upper Pastaza. Later inquiries have convinced me that they are also current --although partly in somewhat different versions--among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza and among the Aguarunas, and they may therefore be said to be the common intellectual property of all Jibaro tribes in Ecuador and Peru. Nearly all of them are cultural myths, i.e. they try to give an explanation of the origin of the culture of the Jibaro race in some of its aspects. I do not think that other myths of this category exist; on the other hand, these related here are known to the majority of the older members of all tribes. Nor have I, in spite of repeated inquiries, found any other kinds of myth. If such exist they are, at any rate, not commonly known; only a few of the older men may, perhaps, have knowledge of them. The myths here related are of special importance as throwing an interesting light upon many customs and religious ideas of the Indians. In fact, without knowing for instance the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi it would be impossible to understand an essential side of the culture of the Jibaros. Similarly, the myth concerning the first Tsantsa-feast of the Jibaros--at a time when they still had animal shape--will give us a good idea of the way in which their wars are carried on and their victory-feasts celebrated."

1: Karsten--513-516 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"In ancient times the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruit which they cultivate to-day, nor did they possess the art of hunting the animals and birds of the wood with lances and blowguns. [514]

In those days there lived a Jibaro woman whose name was Ungucha. She only had a field of tumba (1), but no other kind of plantation.

And Ungucha said to the tumba: 'Why should I plant and tend thee, useless tree, which dost not give me any fruit? Where can I get manioc, plantain, and other fruits to eat?'

One day Ungucha found some manioc shells on the river bank. She went down along the bank looking for the manioc and at last came to an open place where there were a number of large áha (plantations). Here Ungucha met the Jibaro woman Nungüi and

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"1. Tumba is a wild forest plant with large leaves which much resemble the leaves of the plantain, but it gives no edible fruit. The Jibaros say that the plantain is descended from the tumba and therefore call it 'the son of the tumba' (tumba uchiru)."

said to her: 'Give me manioc and plantain to eat.' Nungüi answered: 'That I cannot give you, but instead of food take this little girl who is my daughter.' Ungucha took the girl, went off, and made a shelter in which she placed the girl. Then she said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari múitsa a, What clay vessel (for manioc-beer) is there?' The girl repeated: wari múitsa a, and at once there appeared a large clay pot of the kind the Jibaros use for manioc-beer. Ungucha again said to the girl: wari nihamánchi a, 'What manioc-beer is there?' The girl repeated: wari nihamánchi a, and instantly the clay pot was filled with manioc substance for making beer. Ungucha again said: 'Repeat these words: wari michaka a, What mashed earth-nuts are there?' The girl repeated: wari michaka a, and instantly there was a clay pot filled with mashed earth-nuts.

Ungucha now took the daughter of Nungüi and went out in the forest outside the hut and said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari áha a, 'What fields are there?' The girl repeated: wari áha a, and at once there appeared before them large flourishing plantations of plantain, manioc, sweet potatoes, maize, sanahoria, beans, earth-nuts, etc., in short, all the different kinds of fruit and roots which the Jibaros cultivate to-day.

Ungucha again said to the girl: Repeat these words: wari kúndinyaka a, 'What game there is?' The girl repeated: wari kúndinyaka a, and at the same moment there was before them a great quantity of flesh of the different animals and birds that the Jibaros

nowadays hunt, flesh of the wild hog, of the paca, of the agouti, of all sorts of monkey, of the tucan, of the paugi, of the wild turkey, of the parrot, etc. And Ungucha began to name all there animals and birds which thus came to her, and [515] whenever she wanted a special kind of animal or bird she asked the girl to mention the name of that animal or bird.

She said, for instance:

Wari pakki a, 'Where is the peccary pig?'
Wari kayuka a, 'Where is the agouti' (a rodent)?
Wari yakuma a, 'Where is the red howling monkey?'
Wari washi a, 'Where is the black monkey?'
Wari kavashu a, 'Where is the green parrot?'
Wari mashu a, 'Where is the paugi?'
Wari kuyu a, 'Where is the wild turkey?'
and so on.

The flesh of all these animals and birds, however, always came to Ungucha in a ready prepared and dried state and the heads of them never came to her. And Ungucha said to the girl: 'Why do not you give me the heads, I want the heads also!' But the girl could not give her the heads. Ungucha got angry, took some ashes from the hearth, rubbed the eyes of the girl with them and said to the girl: 'Give me a head, I want a

head!' In the same moment the girl was veiled in dense smoke and disappeared into the interior of the earth. There the daughter of Nungüi has remained with her mother ever since. But since that time the Jibaros have known all those fruits and plants which they cultivate to-day, although they obtain them only with arduous work. Since the time of Nungüi they have also known those animals and birds of the forest which they still hunt.

According to another version the end of the myth, which tells us how the daughter of Nungüi disappeared, runs as follows:

Unguch had a son who sat in the house at the fire-place. This youth was bad, and he got angry because the daughter of Nungüi had come to the house. He said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari iguánchi a, What demons are there? Let us see whether you can summon them also.' The daughter of Nungüi repeated: wari iguánchi a, and instantly the demons appeared who are now tormenting mankind. Ungucha's son again said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari kaunchi a, What rotten things are there? I want to see whether you can summon such things also.' The girl repeated: wari kaunchi a, and instantly a disagreeable rotten smell was in the house.

Now the son of Ungucha said: 'We have in this house a bad girl who summons all sorts of evil things. Why should we keep her here? Let us turn her out from the house.' And he took ashes from the fire-[516]place and threw them upon the girl. The daughter of Nungüi began to weep and said: 'Why should I stay here? I will go back to my mother

under the earth.' And the girl went out to the plantation outside the house and here she suddenly disappeared under the earth in smoke.

Now the Jibaros would again have suffered from famine after the daughter of Nungüi had left them. But the fields were already made, the manioc sticks had been planted, and the seeds had been sown. The fruits thus grew by themselves in due time.

Note. In this myth we find a theme which frequently appears in primitive cultural myths, namely, divine goodness and the ingratitude of man. The Jibaro women still have a very vivid consciousness of their indebtedness to the great Earth-mother, the invisible donor of all good things. They speak of Nungüi as a divine being still really existing, and we already know the devout worship which is paid to her on certain occasions, especially in sowing the fields and at the 'feast of the women.'"

"I give this myth in the Jibaro language, with interlineal translation.

Yountsu unta hī atsúmasa whuétta shuāra eini tsukáppi
In primitive times, fire not existing, ancient Jibaros under the arms

tsuira hásma nu yúoma. Tákkea hī ríntinyu. Ni Tákkea noa
(the food) made tender, ate it. Takkea alone fire possessed. Takkea's wife

áhana wui, wakítka himbui weinikama. Tura,
going to the plantation and returning a humming-bird saw. Thereupon

hukīma, tánguchi nahána, hīna anáru huhúrtitsa.
she took him (home), tame to make him, at the fire placed him to dry him.

Huhúrma sīri hīna huáku ákasa
Having got dry, he shook his wings, took of the fire, having caught it

uhúki. Tura numa áka ikyúkma. Noa
with his tail. Thereupon in a tree, which caught fire, he left it. A woman,

áha wini tu weinika hukima. Hi ikyámsata,
returning from the plantation, seeing it thus, took it with her. 'Light the fire',

timya, yamai hī wéinikahei. Yurúma awita painikatârum
she said, 'now fire I have found. Place the pots (on the fire) to cook the food,

pīngera yúotinyu.
so that we may eat nicely.'[517]

Another Jibaro Indian related the same myth to me with more detail in the following way:

In ancient times the Jibaros did not know the use of fire. In those times, in preparing the food, they were in the habit of warming the flesh and making it tender by keeping it under the arms, and the manioc they made 'ripe' by keeping it under the chin. Eggs were boiled by burying them in the sand and exposing them to the sun.

The only one who possessed fire was a Jibaro by the name Takkea. He had learned to make fire by rubbing two pieces of wood against each other. But he was an enemy of the other Jibaros and did not like to give it to them, nor teach them how to make it. Many Jibaros (who in those times had the shape of animals and birds) came flying and tried to steal fire from the house of Takkea, but they were not able to do it. Takkea kept the door of his house a little open, and when the birds came he killed them, squeezing them to death between the door and the post, and ate them.

Lastly the humming-bird, himbui, said to the rest: 'All right, I will steal fire from Takkea's house. The humming-bird wet his wings and placed himself in the middle of the way, pretending to be unable to fly and trembling as if he felt cold. The wife of Takkea, returning from the fields, saw the humming-bird, and took him to her house with the intention of drying him and taming him. After a while the humming-bird, having got half dry, shook his wings and tried to raise himself for flight, but he could not.

Takkea's wife again took him and placed him beside the fire. Soon the humming-bird was perfectly dry and prepared himself to steal some fire. Since he could not carry away a whole fire-brand he took the fire with his tail, allowing the feathers to catch fire and flew away from the house. He flew up into a high tree with very dry bark, which the Jibaros call mukúna. The bark caught fire and the humming-bird carried away a little of this bark, taking it to a house. 'Here you have fire', he shouted to the rest, 'light your fire from it at once, all of you may take of it, now you will be able to cook your food nicely. You need no longer make your food ripe by keeping it under the arms.'

When Takkea saw that the humming-bird had fled with fire he got very angry and began to reproach his people. 'Why have you allowed that bird to enter the house and steal fire. From now on everybody will have fire and that is your fault.'

From that time onwards the Jibaros have possessed fire. They have [518] also learnt how to make fire afresh by rubbing two wooden pieces of the 'cotton tree' (urúchi numi) against each other.

Note. As I have pointed out before, this cotton tree is not identical with the cotton tree that the Jibaros cultivate at present. The urúchi numi which according to the myth was formerly used for producing fire was another tree, nowadays only known by name. Formerly the Jibaros also used the wood of another tree, called ipyáknumi, for the purpose."

1: Karsten--518-519 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"Salt was, in ancient times, a man named Whui. Whui went out seeking a place where he could settle down and live, singing: tui puhústai, tui puhústai, 'Where shall I settle, where shall I settle?' Lastly he came to the region where the river Curi-Curi unites its waters with those of the river Mangosiza. This was a place where Whui wanted to stay and he sang: Mangosizai, Curi-Curi, pangia, pangia puhústai, i.e., 'At Mangosiza, at Curi-Curi, there I will stay, (flying like a butterfly) with fluttering wings.' Ever since that time Whui has lived at Mangosiza, where there is still the salt spring. By Whui having urinated, a little of the salt has also been spread to certain other parts outside the Mangosiza. The salt is the urine of Whui. (1)

According to another myth the Jibaros discovered salt in the following way.

Very long ago, at a time when the Jibaros had already existed some time upon the earth, a Jibaro named Whui married a girl and lived with her in a house. Whui had much affection for his wife and brought her every day game and other gifts. One day

"1. The butterfly (wambishku) according to the idea of the Jibaros is a 'soul' (wakáni), and it is associated with the salt springs because butterflies have a great liking for salt water and are seen constantly flying over the spring. When boiling salt the Jibaros are in the habit of singing incantations to the butterflies."

he came from the forest with a small clay pot (yukúnda) full of salt, which he gave his wife. He brought her salt in this way several days, and he likewise began to present salt to his other relatives, but they did not know from where he brought it and how he prepared it. The only thing they knew was that he always took his way into the forest and returned late in the afternoon with the salt. [519]

A Jibaro woman who was curious to know from where he obtained the salt said to herself: 'I will go after him secretly to find out from where he takes the salt.' One day when Whui went to the forest she followed him without his knowing it. She saw him arrive at a shelter where he began to urinate into a clay pot which was placed at the fire, his wife standing close by looking at it and laughing. The woman wished to surprise him and suddenly rushed forth with an exclamation. 'Why do you go secretly in this way', she said to Whui, 'and do not let us others know how you prepare the salt?' Whui was ashamed because he had allowed himself to be surprised, and because a woman had seen him urinating. Ayu, ayu, máketi, máketi, he said 'it is all right, it is all right.' But he thought to himself: 'I will make an end of all my tribesmen, who will now get to know how I obtain the salt'. Thereupon Whui made a big feast and invited all his tribesmen from the whole neighbourhood to it. When all were assembled Whui closed the doors of the house so that no one was able to escape. Then, suddenly, the earth opened and all those who were in the house, the guests, Whui himself and his wife and

children, his swine, hens, and dogs, sank down into it. There all those people have lived ever since.

But those who, during early times, came there to seek salt and dug in the earth could hear, from the interior of it, the voices of those people that Whui had caused to fall into it, the voices of men and women conversing and laughing, of dogs barking, and of cocks crowing. Later, however, this subterranean dwelling-place was destroyed by people who sought salt, and to-day one no longer hears such voices from the interior of the earth. But the salt which the Jibaros still obtain from the salt spring and prepare by boiling the salt water is the urine of Whui, who buried himself there with the other Jibaros."

1: Karsten--519-520 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The sun, etsa, and the moon, nántu, were in ancient times people (Jibaros) and lived here on the earth in the same house, and had the same wife. The latter was a bird, the goat-sucker (Caprimulgus), called Aōho by the Jibaros. Sometimes the sun was with Aōho, sometimes the moon was with her. When the sun embraced Aōho he was very warm, and the woman liked it. On the other hand, when the moon embraced Aōho [520] he was very cold and Aōho did not like it. 'You are very cold', she said to the moon, 'I do not like you.' The sun made fun of the moon and said to him: 'Why are you so cold? I am very warm and therefore the woman likes me.' The moon got angry at this and went up to the sky (nayéimbi), climbing along a liana. At the same time he blew upon the sun so that he became eclipsed for a moment and was not visible. The woman, who believed that she had been left alone, said: 'Why should I remain here alone? I will also go up to the sky.' The woman consequently started to climb after the moon along the same liana. She carried with her a basket full of clay (núi), of the kind the Jibaro women use when they make their clay vessels. Aōho was already near the sky when the moon noticed that she followed him. 'Why do you follow me?' he said to the woman. 'I do not like to have you any longer'. The moon struck the liana so that it broke and the woman fell to the ground with the basket of clay which she carried. The clay was scattered, and wherever some of it fell, clay is still found.

Aōho thus remained on the earth and was changed into the bird bearing that name.

Her doleful voice is still heard at every new moon when she calls to her husband who abandoned her.

Later on the sun also went up to the sky climbing along another liana, but even there, the moon is obliged to flee continuously from the sun, running over the mountains and forests. They can never march together and never can they be reconciled. Hence the sun is only visible in the day, and the moon only appears at night.

If the sun and the moon, instead of quarrelling for possession of the woman, had been able to agree as to having her in common, then among the Jibaros also two men would now be able to have one woman in common. But since the sun and the moon were jealous of each other and engaged in controversy about the woman, the Jibaros are still jealous of one another and fight for possession of the women.

But the clay, of which the women make the clay vessels for the feasts has its origin in the woman Aōho, having emanated from her soul, and wherever this clay is now found it has been scattered by the woman Aōho, who was afterwards changed into the bird of that name."

1; Karsten--521 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"In ancient times the moon lived on the earth, having the goatsucker Aōho, for his wife. But the moon and Aōho did not live well together and were always quarrelling. One day the moon said to Aōho: 'Prepare for me some pumpkin so that I can eat it when I return from work in the afternoon.' The moon went off and Aōho cooked the pumpkin, but having done so she ate the pieces herself and left the smallest and poorest for her husband. When the moon returned in the evening, Aōho brought him the pumpkin in a pininga. The moon, noting the meanness of his wife, said to her: 'Why do you bring me these useless pieces of pumpkin? Who has eaten the best pieces? You have certainly done it.' Aōho answered: 'I have not done it, look at my mouth, if I had eaten the pumpkin my lips would still be wet.' The moon said: 'Since you take care of me so badly, I go away up to the sky and leave you alone here.' And the moon began to climb up to the sky along a big liana. When Aōho saw that the moon had left her she decided to follow him, climbing along the same liana and carrying with her a basket with pumpkin to prepare it for her husband. When Aōho was already near the sky, the moon gave the liana a blow so that it broke and Aōho fell to the earth. When she fell, all the pumpkins which she had in the basket were spread on the ground and wherever a pumpkin fell it began to grow. Ever since that time the Jibaros have known and cultivated the pumpkin.

But Aōho still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird which has the same name, and

she still wails on account of the loss of her husband. At every new moon she calls to him, singing with a mournful voice: aíshiru, aíshiru, úruka winya hapáma, 'My husband, my husband, why have you abandoned me?'

Note. The goatsucker (Caprimulgus) is a bird which particularly attracts the attention of a traveller in the forests of Western Amazonas because of its peculiar, mournful song which is especially heard at night when the new moon appears. This song could be expected to strike the imagination of primitive peoples."

1: Karsten--522 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The goatsucker (sacha anga) in ancient times lived on the earth as a woman and had the moon, which in those days lived also on the earth and was a man, for her lover. The moon came on a visit to Anga every night and slept with her, but she did not know who he was, and the moon did not reveal it to her. In order to recognize him, Anga one night blackened the cheeks of the moon with huituc (Genipa americana). The moon tried to wash the black spots from his cheeks, but when he could not do it he was ashamed and left the earth and the woman for ever, climbing up to the sky along a long and broad liana. Even to-day the black spots are still visible on the moon's face, as everybody can see. But Anga, who was left alone, grieved bitterly at the loss of her lover. She still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird, the goatsucker, and at every new moon her wailing notes are heard, the same notes in which the Indian women lament over their dead husbands: Nyuca curilla, nyuca cusalla, imamant' hichúscani, imata tucúshcani, i.e. 'my little husband, my dear one, why have you abandoned me, what will become of me?'"

1: Karsten--522-523 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The sun (etsa) in ancient times was a Jibaro Indian and a great hunter. He was the first who used the five kinds of arrow which the Jibaros still use for their blowguns, shooting with those made of the five different kinds of palm--ináyu, tindúki, kungúki, koágshi, and mamatsinsáka --of the wood of which they must be made to be strong and good.

The sun sent the fox (kuhánchama) to try the new arrows and said to him 'Go and shoot with the arrows at the black monkeys which eat so much fruit in the trees.' The fox went off and started to shoot at the monkeys with the different kinds of arrow. First he shot with an arrow made of the ináyu palm but missed, and the arrow flew far away to another part of the country. On the spot where it fell there grew later on an ináyu palm. But since the arrow went so far, the ináyu palm (Maximiliana regia) does not now grow in the land of the Jibaros; they are obliged to buy it from other Indians. The fox thereupon shot [523]with an arrow made of the tindúki palm, but missed again, the arrow flying over the monkeys. On the place where the arrow fell there grew a tindúki palm. Then the fox shot with a kungúki arrow, but again missed, and where the arrow fell there grew a kungúki palm. The fox then shot with an arrow made of the koágshi palm, but missed as before and on the spot where the arrow fell there grew a koágshi palm. Lastly the fox shot with a mamatsinsáka arrow, but even then he missed. The arrow flew high over the monkeys and fell to the ground so far from the land inhabited

by the Jibaros that they do not even know where it was, and at that place there grew later a mamatsinsáka palm; but this palm the Jibaros only know by name.

When the fox returned the sun asked him: 'Now, have you brought down any of the black monkeys which eat so much fruit?' 'No', answered the fox, lying to the sun, 'I have not seen any monkeys at all, they have not come to eat the fruit.' The sun, seeing that the fox told him lies, grasped him by the neck and poured some tobacco water into his mouth. The fox began to vomit and threw up a quantity of seeds which the monkeys had shaken down from the trees. The sun said to the fox: 'Because you have told me lies you will hereafter go starving like a woman who is alone in the kitchen (ekínturu). (1) If you had shot the monkeys with your arrows, even the women would have been able to bring down the animals of the wood with blowguns and poisoned arrows.'

If the fox, instead of missing the monkeys with the five arrows, had shot one monkey with each of them, the Jibaros would now be able, when they go out hunting, to bring down one animal with every arrow they shoot, and thus they would only lose a small number of arrows during their life time. But since the fox missed, the Jibaro men too are now bound to miss very frequently and lose many arrows, whereas they are able to shoot animals with only a few of them."

"1. That is, a woman who has no husband that brings her game and therefore is obliged to go hungry."

1: Karsten--523-526 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"According to one myth current among the Jibaros the stars originated in the following way.

In ancient times the sky (nayéimbi) was solid like the earth, with many stones. Here there lived a Jibaro woman named Atsúta. She was the first who possessed beans (mika) the different kinds of silique which [524] the Jibaros now know, the númbuima mika, the tingúkama mika, the purusangápa mika, and the surítika mika. Atsúka sowed these different kinds of bean in the sky. Later on all these beans were lighted. In this way, the woman Atsúka created the stars, which were originally the beans sowed by Atsúta.

According to another myth the stars were originally people (eintsu) like the sun and the moon. They originated in the following way.

A Jibaro woman married a jaguar and lived with him in a house. One day the jaguar said to the woman: 'Eat out the lice which I have in my head.' The woman began to look for the lice and took one louse from the head of her husband and put it in her mouth; but afterwards she spat it out in disgust. The jaguar, noting this, said to the woman: 'How is it that you dislike your husband in that way and do not like to eat out the lice from his head?' Having said this, the jaguar bit his wife to death and tore her body into pieces to eat it. The woman had been pregnant with two eggs, and when the jaguar did this, the eggs fell out. The mother of the jaguar was present and when she saw the eggs she picked them up, took a clay pot, and placed some cotton and the eggs in it. She kept

and tended the eggs, and after some time two small Jibaro boys were hatched from them, and the boys were stars. The stars grew larger and larger and the mother of the jaguar went on tending them, getting another and bigger clay pot for them. When the jaguar went out hunting in the forest, the mother took them out of the clay pot on the floor and gave them food. And when the jaguar returned from the forest she again put them into the pot, keeping the latter on the roof of the house. As the stars grew up they took care of themselves, being anxious that the jaguar should not see them, since they knew that he would kill them. They became youths, and still they stayed in the house of the jaguar. Always when the jaguar went to the forest they got down, had their meals, and talked with their grandmother, but when the jaguar returned home they went up to the roof, hiding themselves there in a recess.

One day when the jaguar had gone out hunting as usual the stars said to the mother of the jaguar: 'Tell the jaguar, when he returns from the forest, to cut for you two good chonta lances. It might happen that the jaguar demon (iguánchi yawá) comes from the forest while he is away and kills you.' The stars said this because they intended to kill the jaguar to avenge the death of their mother. When the jaguar returned home his mother did as the stars had asked her. The jaguar cut two lances of chonta and at once went out hunting again. Then the stars [525] got down and killed the mother of the jaguar with the lances. They cut her body in pieces, put the flesh into a pot, and boiled it well so that the jaguar might eat it on his return. Thereupon they fixed a pole in the

plantation near the house and blew upon it so as to make it speak to the jaguar with his mother's voice when he returned and asked for her. The jaguar soon came home from the forest and shouted: nukúa hau, nukúa hau, 'Where are you, mother? Come at once for I am in a hurry and must presently go back to the forest; I have caught neither hogs nor anything else; I am hungry and returned home only to eat and will go out hunting again at once.' Then the pole answered from the plantation with the voice of the jaguar's mother: 'You can eat in the house I am here in the plantation collecting some manioc. There is meat for you in the house, you need only eat it.' The jaguar entered the house and ate the meat, the very flesh of his mother who had been cooked in the pot, and again went out into the forest. When he returned, however, he did not come alone but brought with him all the other kinds of jaguar and tiger cats which live in the forest. There was the soacha, the great black jaguar, the shia-shia, the ordinary spotted jaguar, the hapayawára, or leopard, the yambínga, yantána, yawára, and other kinds of felidae. All these were assembled in the house, and the stars decided to kill them all at once when they went away again. Now the house of the tigers was situated close to a precipice over which there was only one way, a bridge made by the tigers consisting of tree trunks. It was not possible to enter the house from any other side. As soon as the tigers went off the two stars placed themselves at both sides of the precipice over which the bridge led, each armed with his lance. In the middle of the bridge on its

underside they made a cutting, so that the bridge would easily break under a great weight. In the evening all the tigers returned from the forest. At the head came the black jaguar, soácha, and at the end the yambínga, the two most powerful of all tigers, guarding the rest. The tigers stepped on to the bridge: when they were in the middle of it, one of the stars threw his lance at the soácha who came first and precipitated him into the abyss; the other star did the same to the yambínga who came last. At the same time the bridge broke and the rest of the tigers also fell into the precipice and perished. The only one who was able to save himself was the leopard, hapayawára; being extremely agile he managed, taking an enormous jump, to reach the edge of the precipice and disappeared into the forest.

The other star looked for a place where he could join his brother [526] and both went into the house. There they sat down to meditate on the situation. 'It is not possible for us to live in peace in this country', they said, 'for the leopard has escaped, and one day he will take revenge for the death of the rest and kill us; it is better that we seek another country where we can live safely.' The stars went and collected a number of arrows of the cane growing on the bank of the river called wachi. They brought these pieces of cane into the house and the one said to the other: 'with the aid of these we will ascend to the sky'. One of the stars was bigger than the other and was named Yanguái;(1) the other and smaller star was named Ya. Ya first threw an arrow at the

"1. The star Venus."

sky; the arrow however did not reach it but fell down on to the earth. Then Yanguśi, who was bigger, threw an arrow which reached the sky and stuck in it. Thereupon he threw another arrow into the hole at the lower end of the first one, so that it was fixed there; into the second they shot a third, into third a fourth, and so on, until a long line had been formed which reached from the sky down to the earth. 'Now we have a line', said the stars, 'but it is very weak, it will probably break if we try to climb up to the sky along it.' Then the stars touched the arrows with their fingers at those points where they fitted into one another, blowing and spitting upon them, and in this way a strong, compact band was formed of the different arrows. The stars climbed up to the sky along this band and remained there. This band is still by called [sic] by the Jíbaros étsa néika, i.e. 'the liana of the sun'.(2)

From these two stars, Yanguśi and Ya, the rest of the numerous stars which now exist in the heavens originated. In ancient times the stars, which were like people, frequently descended from the heavens to the earth along the band étsa néika, and similarly people from here sometimes ascended to the sky, by the same means. It is owing to this that we still know the story related above; if there had not been this

"2. The scientific name of this liana, which resembles a rope-ladder, is Caulotretus."

communication between the heavens and the earth we should not know how the stars originated. Later on, however, the moon destroyed the band étsa néika, which in consequence no longer exists and it is therefore not possible in our days to ascend to the sky from the earth.

Note. This myth is of interest, among other things, as showing to what extent the mind of the Jibaros is penetrated by the idea of retaliation, and the treacherous way in which they go to work to annihilate their enemies."

1; Karsten--527-532 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The first victory feast of the Jibaros.

[KS: For the Jivaro text of this myth with interlineal translation see the original work, pp. 527-530. The English translation is given on the following sheets.]

In ancient times, it is related, there was another kind of people than nowadays. In those times all animals and birds were like men (shuāra) the jaguar, (shia-shia), was like a Jibaro, the sloth (uyúshi) was like a Jibaro, all monkeys, the black monkey (washi), the red howling monkey (yakúma), the brown monkey (chuo), the capuchin monkey (tsiri) were like Jibaros; all birds were men; the paugi (mashu), the trumpeter bird (chiva), the mago (chui), the umbrella-bird (ungúmi), the bird yukúru, the bird wikeáko, the bird chukáchi, the bird shíki were like Jibaros; all fish were people; the wambi, the kánga, the sheat-fish napi, were like Jibaros; the crab (uríki) was like a Jibaro, the snail (tsúntsu) was like a Jibaro. In a lake the great serpent (pangi) also lay outstretched. The serpent made an end of (killed) many people. Therefore the whole people was assembled, all being angry. The wikeáko said to the yukúru: 'What shall we do? Why shall the whole people be made an end of, why shall so many women be made widows? May we assemble quickly, may we kill the serpent, may we kill him.' The chukáchi spoke: Yukúru, are not you really a brave man? Make a breach in the lake shore (an outlet for its waters), dig it, dig it! As soon as the water of the lake has flowed away we will kill the serpent, we will certainly kill him.' 'All right', said the yukúru, 'but at this moment we shall not be able to dig through the shore of the lake, but another day we will make the water flow out [531] from it. Then we will kill the serpent when he leaves.' Thereafter (another day) they all assembled and made a breach in the lake shore. 'Now we have dug through the shore' (they said), 'now the water will flow off; after, when the

serpent tries to go out, kill him, kill him, do not let him escape!'

In the lake there were also a number of fish and the crab (uríki). Since the water of the lake had been made to flow out the fish and the crab were also obliged to leave. Then the bird shiki speared the crab (uríki), and the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) killed the fish kánga and 'skinned' his head. The bird mashu shouted to the bird wikeáko: 'Spear the wámbi also, spear him, do not let him escape!' 'The other one (the wikeáko) was not able to spear him because he slipped. The bird chui really speared the wámbi, but the wámbi escaped, having drawn out the lance. Much blood flowed; hence the fish wámbi has still a red tail and red fins.

Then the serpent also left the lake, being very angry. 'Now he comes, now he comes', all shouted. 'Chiva, spear him you, spear him you!' But the chiva fell from fear. Then all fell upon him (the serpent) and killed him. The yukúru shouted to the mashu:'Why do you stay there afraid? Be a man and cut off his head!' The mashu seized a machete and cut off the head of the serpent. Then all shouted: 'Take off his scalp, skín his head, skin it! Now we will assemble, all of us, we will make a feast, the widows may make nice manioc-beer, much, much, much! Now we may dance, now we may rejoice, for we have killed the serpent!'

Thereupon all the widows assembled in the house. Then a woman said to the yukúru: 'You marry me, you marry me; are not you the man who killed the serpent who made

an end of my husband's life?' 'Cha, the yukúru said, 'I do not think I have killed him alone; all of us killed him in company. I do not think it is my duty to marry you. May the mashu decide, he is the host, let him decide!'

The wikeáko sang:

'I also have killed,
I also have killed,
Now, now, now, I rejoice,
I rejoice, I rejoice!'

All were feasting, all were dancing, the women the children, all danced.

All the widows, intoxicated by the beer, sang:

'We have killed the serpent, [532]
we have killed the serpent,
him who made an end of so many people eating them,
now we rejoice, now we rejoice!'

All the beer was consumed because so many people had assembled.

'Now we have consumed all the beer', (they said), 'now we may leave after we have feasted and danced. May we go home and sleep.'

All went off.

Thereupon the language of all these people was altered. The language of the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) was this: hum, hum, hum. The language (cry) of the paugi (mashu) was

this: histi, histi, histi. The language of the black monkey (washi) became this: óa-oá, oa-á-aó. These languages were not understood. The washi went away with one language, the mashu went away with another language, the ungúmi went away with a third language. Thereafter many of them were provided with wings, and many of them became fishes. The washi, the yakúma, the tsiri were made like people. So they are all now.

Everything was ended.

Note. This myth gives us a vivid picture of a battle between Jibaro Indians and also throws light over certain details of the great victory-feast. As we find, it is customary among the Jibaros that a warrior marries the widow of the man whose death he has avenged, and the woman then plays the most important part at the great feast in which the victory is celebrated. --As to the language which the animals assumed after the great feast, it is of interest to note that the men at the feast still shout histi, histi, histi as did formerly the bird paugi (mashu), whereas the women, when dancing, incessantly repeat the refrain: óa-á-aó, oa-á-aó, as formerly the black monkey sang."

"The Jibaros were about to make a great feast and had sent two youths to the forest to hunt. The youths travelled three days into the forest and camped there in the shade of a big tree. On the following day they started hunting; they shot a number of peccary pigs, monkeys, and birds. They brought the animals and birds to the camp, where they dried the flesh at the fire, and then placed it on a frame made of boughs to keep it there. On the following day they again went out hunting. When they returned to the shelter in the afternoon they found [533]that the whole of the meat they had placed on the frame had been stolen. 'Who has stolen our food while we have been absent?', the youths asked one another. But they could not find the thief. The youths dried the flesh which they had caught that day and placed it on the frame as before. When they returned in the afternoon they found that the meat had again been stolen. 'Who can it be that does us this harm', they again said to each other, 'and always steals our meat while we are in the forest?' But they could not give any answer. 'All right', said one of the youths, 'you go to-morrow alone into the forest and I will stay here to see who it is that steals our meat while we are absent.' They did as they youth proposed, and the one remained in the neighbourhood of the shelter while the other went hunting.

After a while the Jibaro who had stayed in the shelter heard a strange noise from within the big tree at the root of which they had made the shelter. He hid himself behind another tree and saw how the great serpent (pangi) came from the hollow stem of

the tree, crawled to the frame where the meat was and ate it, whereupon he again entered the hollow tree. 'I have seen the thief,' he said to the other Jibaro youth, 'it is the serpent who lives in the big tree that always comes out to eat our meat while we are in the forest.' 'All right', said the other youth, 'we will go out and collect much fuel and place it round the tree, and if the quantity we collect to-day is not enough, we will collect more to-morrow. Then we will make a fire round the tree and burn the serpent.' The youths proceeded in this way and made a big fire close to the tree. The serpent which was within it began hissing dreadfully and came out from the trunk, threw himself to the ground, twisted himself round the stem and was burned. 'Now we have burned the serpent!', the youths exclaimed. A smell of burned flesh arose. 'Shall we try the flesh of the serpent?' asked one of the youths. 'No, how could we try the flesh of the serpent', answered the other, 'it is very bad'.

Having said this the youth went into the forest for a moment. When he came back his comrade said to him: 'Now I have tasted of the flesh of the serpent.' 'Why have you tasted it?', answered the other, 'perhaps you will die, for you have eaten the flesh of the pangi who is an evil demon.' I was hungry', the other said, 'therefore I ate of the flesh'. In the same moment the Jibaro youth who had tried the flesh of the serpent felt a consuming thirst and drank all the water which was at hand. 'Where shall I get more water to drink', he asked, 'for a terrible thirst torments me?' They both went to a

small pool in the neighbourhood. [534]The youth started to drink water, he swallowed and swallowed, but he could not allay his thirst. 'I shall burst from the water I drink', he said, 'and be wholly changed into a lake because I have eaten the flesh of the pangi'. The youth drinking the water was first changed into a frog, then into a small alligator, and lastly into a water serpent which grew larger and larger, and at the same time the water in the pool increased more and more and became a lake. The other Jibaro youth got frightened and tried to draw him out of the lake but he could not. He went away from the lake for a moment, and when he returned the snake had been changed into a monstrous serpent, a pangi, and the lake had swollen into a very big lake which threatened to inundate the earth. The Jibaro who had been transformed into a serpent said to his comrade: 'Leave me quickly to save your own life. I have been made a serpent and I shall probably not spare you but swallow you. Go quickly to our people and relate to them everything that has happened; tell them that the water will rise more and more and will inundate the whole earth, and that they may save themselves by mounting quickly the highest hills and climbing up into the highest trees growing there; unless they do so, they will die in the water which will cover the whole earth. As to yourself, take your tsappa (gourd) and put it in your shigra (bag of chambira fibres) and then climb the highest hill. If the water should cover the hill also, climb into the highest palm growing there to save yourself.'

The other Jibaro youth did as his comrade had told him. He went home and told the

other Jibaros what had happened and advised them how to save themselves, but they did not believe him and said: 'What nonsense is the man talking, probably he has killed his comrade.' Then the youth went alone, carrying with him his tsappa in the shigra. When the water began to cover the earth he mounted a high hill, and when the hill was covered he climbed up in a high palm which grew on the hill. All the rest of the Jibaros, who had not troubled to save themselves, were drowned. The youth who had mounted the hill was the only one who was saved. He remained on the hill and in the palm for many days until at last the waters began to sink. In order to find out whether the water had receded and the earth had dried up he threw down a seed from the palm. As soon as he heard the seed fall on the ground the youth got down from the palm. 'Where is my comrade and the rest of my people who have perished?', he said to himself. He saw that some vultures alighted in the valley between the hills and understood that the [535] bodies of those who had perished in the deluge were there. He went in search of his comrade who had been transformed into a serpent, and at last he found him in a small pool of water, the serpent now being also quite small. The youth said: 'This is my comrade, how could I leave him here alone?' He placed the serpent in the gourd which he had brought with him in his bag, took him to a bigger pool and left him there. But the serpent grew more and more. When the pool was no longer big enough for him, he took him to a lagoon and put him there. Later on, when the serpent had grown still

bigger, he took him to a lake, but as he was too big to be carried, he took a vine and tied it round his neck and dragged him to the lake. There the vine suddenly broke and the serpent disappeared under the water. The Jibaro had a dog who started to swim in the water, and the serpent swallowed him. Now he dared no longer approach the lake to look for the serpent. But in a dream the serpent said to the youth: 'Do not come near me any longer, for I am bound to eat you as I have eaten the dog.' There the serpent remained and increased, and from that lake he has spread to all other lakes where the great serpent now exists."

1: Karsten--539 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 197 (1928-29)

"The ethnic and linguistic position of the Jibaros is unknown, and I have not considered this the place to enter into a discussion of that problem. That the Jibaros at any rate do not belong to the Arawak stock, as suggested by Rivet, may be regarded as certain. The instances of supposed similarities between the Jibaro and the Arawak languages mentioned by him are most doubtful and prove nothing, nor have any affinities between it and any other language as yet determined. Apart from this question, it is of course important to give as detailed information about the language as possible."

"The small grammer [sic] and vocabulary published by me in Spanish in 1921 under the title La Lengua de los Indios Jibaros may be regarded as the first real account of the language of these Indians. I am of course aware that as early as 1909 and 1910 a short study of it had been published by H. Beuchat and P. Rivet in the Anthropos(1). But neither of the authors had any personal knowledge of it; their study is wholly founded on sources of secondary importance, namely the short and untrustworthy vocabularies noted down by passing travellers who have visited the Jibaros at different times. Even the vocabularies made by the Catholic Fathers appear to be greatly lacking in exactness. Thus the very name given the Jibaros by Beuchat and Rivet Šiwōra (Shiwōra) is erroneous. The name by which all Jibaro tribes call themselves is Shuāra. Now it is a well-known fact that there are different dialects of the language, and the authors mentioned also distinguish such dialects. But the sources of their information were most unreliable as appears from the vocabulary. In that vocabulary the dialect of Macas is best represented. But the informants of those who have originally written down the words have evidently not been the Indians inhabiting that [540] region, that is, the Jibaros of the Upano, but the mestizos of Macas. Many of these speak the Jibaro

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"1. Beuchat et Rivet, 'La langue Jibaro ou Šiwora', in Anthropos, tom. IV (1909) and tom. V (1910)."

language fairly well, but one peculiarity characteristic of them is that they lengthen many Jibaro words with a syllable which is made to begin with an l, although this letter does not exist in the language at all, thus distorting the words. Both in Rivet's monograph on the Jibaros and in Beuchat's and Rivet's article on the Jibaro language accordingly we find words like tunduli instead of tundúi (the big drum), súla instead of sua (Genipa americana), hēla instead of hēa, 'house', pingullu instead of pingüi (flute) huambulúshi instead of huambuíshi (the silk cotton), all erroneous forms of the words quite commonly used at Macas. Other errors also abound throughout in the vocabulary, but space makes it impossible for me to call attention to them. These errors are in a way quite natural. No one can satisfactorily write on a language which he does not know, without having reliable material at his disposal.

It may be proper in this connection to emphasize that it is by no means so easy as has generally been assumed to note down a vocabulary of the language of a savage tribe. The opinion that almost any passing traveller, who chances to come into contact with members of a tribe, is able to make a vocabulary of its language, good enough to serve as a basis for comparative linguistic studies, is founded in error. My own impression at any rate is that most of the incomplete vocabularies and notes of Indian languages which have been made, in former times as in our own days, by such untrained and superficial observers in different parts of South America are useless from a scientific

point of view and that a doubtful service is done to comparative liguistics [sic] by their publication. Even missionaries and other persons who have perhaps stayed for years among the same people, have often lacked that phonetic ear necessary for the purpose of apprehending the strange words and writing them down correctly. A special aptitude and training for this sort of study is, I think, also necessary.

Another little-known grammer [sic] and vocabulary of the Jibaro language was published privately in Ecuador in 1928 by Father Salvador Duroni of the Salesian Order, under the title Diccionario de bolsillo del idioma Jibaro. The vocabulary is comparatively copious and its author evidently possessed some practical knowledge of the language. It contains however numerous errors, and besides this, the transcription will render the pronunciation of many words difficult for an English reader. A curious mistake appearing in this as well as in Beuchat's and Rivet's grammer [sic] [541] on the Jibaro language is that as the particular characteristic of the infinitive the suffix tasan is regularly given which is said to be, in itself, the auxiliary verb 'to be'. I do not know whether such an infinitive termination exists in the Gualaquiza dialect, spoken by the now half-civilized Jibaro Indians living near the town Cuenca, almost the only Jibaro dialect of which I have no knowledge. Father Duroni does not indicate which particular tribe speaks the language recorded by him; he simply speaks of the 'Jibaro language'. I have therefore to remark that none of the Jibaro tribes whom I know have

an infinitive ending with the suffix tázan. The suffix which is specially characteristic of the infinitive is tínyu, in itself an infinitive form of the auxiliary tíhei, 'I am'."

1: Karsten--541 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"I started to study the Jibaro language from the beginning of my stay among the Upano tribe, with first my interpreter from Macas and later Jibaro Indians as teachers. Gradually I compiled a vocabulary of more than a thousand words, which was carefully verified many times with the aid of my Indian friends. Similarly, in conversation with the Indians I tried to catch the most important grammatical and syntactic rules which are stated here. During my last stay among the Jibaros in 1928-29 I again revised my vocabulary, making certain corrections and additions. I thus venture to hope that the mistakes which are almost inevitable in a book treating of the language of a savage people are here reduced to a minimum."

I: Karsten--542-544 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
II6, 194 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's analysis of the sounds of the Jivaro language see the original work, pp. 542-544.]

1: Karsten--543 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 195, 201 (1928-29)

"In the language of the Jibaros the energetic and vehement character of these Indians is manifest, and many sounds are consequently pronounced more sharply and emphatically than in European languages. Besides this, we have to remember that the Jibaros do not express their thoughts and feelings merely by words but also by mimicry and all sorts of gestures, by movements of the arms, the feet, the head, indeed by their whole body, on certain occasions also by means of their arms, the lance and the shield. As I have stated above, it makes a peculiar, almost awe-inspiring impression to see two Jibaro Indians engaged in a ceremonial conversation. We have to take these accessory means of expression into account if we want to form an adequate idea of the language of these savages."

1: Karsten--544-559 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 193 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's analysis of Jivaro grammar see the original work, pp. 544-559.]

1: Karsten--548-549 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 802 (1928-29)

"The majority of the Jibaros are able to count to 'ten', but only for the five first numerals have they proper names. They always count with the fingers, beginning with those of the left hand, and then also with the toes.

The power of counting seems less developed among the Aguarunas; they have proper names only for the three first numerals: chikis, one, hima, two, and mayándi, three and also for five which, like other Jibaros, they denote by the word wéhe amúkei (literally: 'I have finished the hand').

Among the Upano tribes the numerals are as follows:

chikichi, one,
himera, two,
menéindu or kámbatama, three,
einduk-einduk, four
wéhe amúkei (=I have finished the hand'), five.

If the Jibaro Indian is obliged to count more than fine, [sic] he seizes the fingers of his right hand with those of the left; then, beginning with the thumb, he goes on counting, using the following expressions:

huini wéhe, six, (here I have a [finger from the other] hand)
himera wéhe, seven (two fingers [from the other hand])
menéindu wéhe, eight (three fingers)

einduk-einduk wéhe, nine (four fingers)
mai wéhe amúkahei, ten (='I have finished both hands').

If it is necessary to continue counting the Jibaro seizes the toes of one foot, one by one, and counts chikichi, himera, menéindu (one, two, three), etc. When he arrives at the fifth toe he says: huini náwi amúkahei, 'here I have finished one foot' (Huini = here, náwi = foot), it being understood that he has begun with the hands. The said phrase, therefore, is equal to 'fifteen'.

Thereupon he may continue counting with the toes of the other foot, and when he arrives at the last toe he says: mai náwi amúkahei, [549] 'I have finished both feet'; this means 'twenty'. Twenty is the absolute limit for the Jibaro counting, as far as it is expressed in words.

'Ten' may also be expressed by joining both hands closed, without using any particular expression, and if the Jibaro wants to indicate 'twenty', 'thirty', 'forty', etc., he does it by joining his closed hands two, three, four, etc. times.

It is characteristic of the Jibaro Indian that he cannot indicate a number in the abstract, but always does it by signs, even when he possesses a particular word for it, and nearly always he begins from 'one', counting on his fingers until he arrives at the number he wants to indicate. If, for instance, in regard to a feast which lasts for five days, a Jibaro is asked how many days the Indians celebrate it, he does not directly

answer 'five', but he starts to count on his finger beginning with 'one', mentioning what they do every day: 'The first day we do that and that, the second we do that and that, and so on, until he arrives at the fifth (little) finger, when he says: 'With this the feast is ended'. Similarly, if for instance six Jibaro Indians have left for a journey and one askes[sic]how many Indians went off, the answer will never be a direct 'six', but the Indian interrogated begins to enumerate the names of all those who went off, always counting on his fingers, until he arrives at the first finger on the right hand which means 'six'. This need of making numbers as concrete as possible in counting seems to me to illustrate that lack of power of abstraction which is characteristic of a primitive mind."

1: Karsten--560-582 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's vocabulary of the Jivaro language see the original work, pp. 560-582.]

"2. Family, relationship, etc.

Father, apáru.
Mother, nukúa, nukúru.
Son, uchi.
Daughter, nauánda.
Brother's brother, yatsúru.
Sister's brother, umáru.
Brother's sister, umáru.
Sister's sister, kaéru.
Father's brother, apáru (=father).
Mother's brother, ichiru.
Father's sister, nukúa (=mother).
Brother-in-law, (a man to his sister's husband) seiru.
Brother-in-law, (a woman to her sister's husband), umáru (=brother).
Sister-in-law (a man to his wife's sister), umáru (=sister).
Sister-in-law (a woman to her brother's wife), yuáru.
Two men married to two sisters call each other: umbātima.
The wives of two brothers call each other: kaéru (=sister).
Father-in-law, whéaru.

Mother-in-law, tsátsaru.
Son-in-law, awéru.
Daughter-in-law, nauánda (= daughter).
Stepson, chikichi úchi.
First cousin, yatsúru, umáru (= brother, sister).
Forefathers, apáchiru.
Sucking babe, uchichi. [563]
People, eintsu.
Family, winya eintsu (= my own people).
Man, aishmangu.
Woman, noa.
Boy, uchi.
Girl, nauánda.
Old man, ashánda, unta.
Old woman, ashánda.
Youth, yamátskama.
Husband, aishiru.
Wife, winya noa.
Christian (white man), apachi.

Indian (Jibaro), shuāra.
Chief, kapitu (Sp.), unta (= old man).
Medicine-man, sorcerer, wishinyu.
Priest, (old man who assists at the feasts), whuéa.
Host, heindinyu.
Guest, irāra.
Friend, amichi (Sp.).
Enemy, (winya) shuara.
Killer (warrior), mangértoama.
Single man, nātsa, (= noa tsa, 'without woman').
Widow, widower, wáhe.

"The civilizing of the savage Indians is everywhere in South America a leading question of the day, but it has, I think, a special importance attached to it in regard to a tribe so richly endowed by nature as the Jibaros. In fact, with the exception of the ancient Inca culture, I know no native culture in South America so strongly pronounced and so peculiar in many of its traits as the Jibaro culture. In its present form it is of course, doomed to disappear; it is also necessary that certain ideas and customs, above all their inveterate belief in witchcraft and [584] the custom of head-hunting, should be made to disappear if the Indians are to be raised from that state of barbarism in which they are now. But the question is how the Indians could be made participants of Christian civilization without losing their high mental qualities and their native virtues, and how those traits in their culture which are really valuable could be preserved thereby.

I am far from underrating the devoted civilizing work which the Catholic missionaries, and especially the Jesuits, have done among the South American Indians in former times. As an ethnologist I have reason to emphasize it all the more as these missionaries have at the same time given us some of the most valuable information we possess concerning native Indian cultures that have long ago ceased to exist. If nevertheless it must be stated that the endeavours of the Christian missionaries to convert and civilize the Indians have on the whole proved a failure, this has in part been due to particular unfavourable circumstances over which they have had no control. The

'civilization' with which these innocent children of nature have been brought in contact has not as a rule answered to the lofty ideals of Christianity, and those men who have represented it have unfortunalely [sic] more often been Christians by name than in reality. As long as brandy and venereal diseases are the most essential of the 'culture elements' with which these pioneers of 'Christian civilization' make the Indians acquainted, we cannot wonder that its effects on the latter, as hitherto, rather are shown in their gradual physical and moral degeneration than in real cultural progress. When further we take into consideration that system of slavery or bond-service which has been introduced by the white settlers for instance at the Rio Napo, and to which I have alluded before, we can quite understand the lack of enthusiasm which the natives of South America have as a rule manifested to all civilizatory attempts on the part of the whites, even when they have been made with the best intentions. The Jibaro race especially has resisted them as it were instinctively.

That antipathy against higher culture which has frequently been said to be characteristic of the Indian, in contrast with, for instance, the African negro, must, I believe, to a great extent be explained from this fact. The Indian is by no means averse to culture in itself. On the contrary, my own experience at any rate is that the Indian living in a state of nature is generally eager to acquire knowledge and readily [585] uses the opportunities of learning something about the 'sciences' and language of the whites

when such opportunities are afforded. Thus when I stayed in the house of the savage Jibaros at Rio Chiguaza during the victory-feast, the Indians with unwearying eagerness tried to learn, from me and my mestizo companions, the Spanish numerals and other words, and they also frequently expressed their desire to learn reading and writing. It is a wellknown fact that the Indians generally learn the Spanish language very easily. Both the Indian's thirst for knowledge and his relatively high natural intelligence seem to me to be a guarantee for his capability to receive a higher culture, if only it is communicated to him in the right way.

In this respect, however, the methods of the missionaries have frequently been perverted. They have too much been thinking of their 'spiritual conquests', of the conversion of the heathen to 'the only true religion', overlooking the fact that exactly this is the part of their teaching which to the primitive Indians is most difficult to understand. Without particularly having the activity of the missionaries in view, I should like to point out that to every people, and especially to primitive folk, the rapid transition from one form of culture to an other and entirely different one necessarily involves certain dangers. Through the methods of education hitherto followed the Indians have lost their faith in the old ideals, and frequently at the same time the foundation on which their old religious and ethical view of the world has been based. The result has naturally been that moral nihilism which unfortunately is characteristic of the present-day half-civilized Indian. The educational work among the Indians should not, I think,

begin by more or less futile attempts to impart to them new religious ideas or spiritual truths which they do not understand. By improving the conditions of their material existence, by rational teaching in agriculture and in useful handicrafts, and above all by observing absolute justice in all dealings with them, the white teachers could easily awake in them that interest and confidence which is a conditio sine qua non for success in any educational work. His liberty and independence the Jibaro Indian appreciates more than anything else. This should be guaranteed to him by law, including the protection on the part of the authorities against abuses of any kind, and especially against the brandy of the whites, the chief motor of degeneration in all 'civilized' Indians. Material progress would no doubt be followed by intellectual and moral progress, and thus a gradual change in the Indian view of the world be brought [586] about. Even their greatest curse, their belief in witchcraft, can hardly be overcome by directly combatting it, as the missionaries have hitherto done, but only by general enlightenment.

The Jibaros, in spite of their spirit of freedom, cannot in the long run escape the influence of civilization. By wise politics their degeneration and total extinction--which too, at any rate in part, is the result of the contact with civilization--could at least be delayed, and thus the hour postponed when this interesting form of human culture has entirely disappeared."

2: Stirling--IX (1930-31) 1938 Jivaro
116 177

"Since the year 1540 the Jivaro Indians have been more or less constantly in contact with European culture. During these four centuries a great deal has been written about them, unfortunately most of it during the present century, and possibly the present contribution will but add to the confusion of what might seem an already redundant literature. The many accounts of travelers, soldiers, settlers, missionaries, and scientists contain a great deal that is of ethnological value, mingled with much that is repetitious, much that is garbled, and much that is speculative. With the exception of Hamy and Rivet, most writers have neglected utilizing the early Spanish accounts which are of considerable value for comparative purposes, although rarely as detailed as we would like."

2: Stirling--IX [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 127

The chief value of the present work is the assembling and presentation for the first time in English of most of the known early source material. This, together with the illustrations, constitutes the principal justification for the publication of the present volume. The translations are the work of Marion Stirling. They have been made as literal as possible in order to preserve the style of the original writers, which in many cases is cumbersome and involved. Frequently entire accounts are written without punctuation. When it has seemed necessary a certain amount of punctuation has been supplied for the sake of clarity.

The collection of source material has been greatly facilitated by the nineteenth century researches of such scholars as Jiménez de la Espada, Gonzáles Suárez, Francisco Maria Compte, Fernando de Montesinos, and Luis Torres de Mendoza."

2: Stirling--IX[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 127

"Among modern ethnographers the works of Rivet and Karsten are outstanding. The latter has recently compiled in a single volume the bulk of the material contained in his previous scattered publications in various languages.(1) Rivet's report (2) suffers from the fact that he did not have the opportunity of doing field work among the Jivaro and as a result could not check the errors of his authorities. It seems to the writer that Karsten's report loses some of its value through the application of too much anthropological theory in such fashion that it is often difficult to detect which information has been obtained directly from the Indians and which is a result of the author's interpretations."

"1. Karsten, 1935
2. Rivet, 1907."

2: Stirling--X (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 122

"The ethnographic material for the present account was secured in the field in 1930-31, principally from Jivaros on the Paute, the Upano, the Yaupe, the Chinganasa, and the Alto Marañon Rivers, when the writer was a member of the Latin-American expedition, to which he is indebted for the opportunity of making his field studies. This area constitutes a fair cross section through the Santiago drainage, the heart of the Jivaro country. In his field work the writer was fortunate in having the services of an unusually intelligent and able interpreter, Santiago Baca of Mendez.

Much assistance in the field was also rendered by the late John Verrill, and especially by Mr. William Larner. The writer would also like at this time to acknowledge courtesies rendered by Ecuadorian officials, particularly Lt. Durán of Mendez. He was also received most courteously by Mons. Comin of the Salesian mission at Mendez and by Mr. Charles C. Eamigh of the gospel mission at Chupianza. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Joseph Sinclair, who kindly put his extensive bibliographic material at the disposal of the writer, and to Mr. Wolfgang von Hagen for supplying the writer with maps and other information. Dodd, Mead & Co., owners of the copyright, have generously permitted the quotation of several interesting passages from Head Hunters of the Amazon by F. W. Up de Graff."

2: Stirling--X-XI (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 121

"The following account makes no pretense of being a complete description of the ethnology of the Jivaros. An effort has been made to present a maximum of factual material with as little theoretical speculation as possible. The author has tried to indicate the position of the Jivaros in the general aboriginal cultural pattern of northwest South America. Rather than attempt broad comparisons, the writer has selected a few characteristic topical subjects, such as supernatural beliefs, war customs, and head hunting, in an effort to demonstrate that these practices instead of being peculiar to the Jivaros are traits which were formerly typical of a wide area in the northern Andes. The method of appraoch has been primarily historical; this chronological study bringing out several interesting [XI] points, such as population changes and the apparent post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun."

2: Stirling--XI (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

416. 172

"The high civilizations of the Andes at the beginning of the sixteenth century differed from the rather primitive culture of the Jivaros, mainly in superficial aspects. A study of the Jivaros today and of the ancient tribes of the western Andes, as viewed in historical perspective, seems to indicate that they merely represent different degrees of development from a common cultural background. Archeological sites examined by the writer in the valleys of the Upano and Namangosa Rivers demonstrate that the material culture of the Jivaros in pre-Columbian times resembled that of the ancient cultures of the highlands much more closely than do present-day survivals. Systematic archeological work in this area will do a great deal to further establish this relationship."

2: Stirling--1 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 131

"The territory of the Jivaros can be encompassed between latitudes 2° S. and 5° S., and longitudes 76° and 79°. Topographically this includes part of the headwaters of the Tigre, the lower headwaters of the Pastaza, the Morona excepting for its lower reaches, all of the drainage of the Santiago, including the Upano, the Paute and the Zamora, and the lower reaches of the Alto Marañon from the Nieve River to and including the Apaga."

2: Stirling--I [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
BBE, 133

"In general the country is mountainous, as it includes the lower slopes of the eastern Andes to the point where they fall away into the vast Amazonian plain. Parts of this great stretch of territory are comparatively level, particularly in the lower valley of the Sangiago. Lying as it does just below the Equator, the region is one of heavy rainfall and the entire country is cloaked with a dense tropical jungle. For the most part the climate is healthful and, considering the latitude, the temperatures are fairly cool. Travel is difficult and disagreeable during the rainy season, which extends from March until October. Travel overland is by means of rough foot trails, while the rivers, which in large part are navigable by canoes, form the principal avenues of travel. Conditions in this respect have apparently changed but little since the first of the Conquistadores set foot in Jivaro country."

2: Stirling--1 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 135

"To the misfortune of the Indians, the headwater streams of the Santiago are auriferous This probably first attracted the Incas to their territory and later the Conquistadores, who were not long in locating the source of the precious metal which they found in such abundance in possession of the natives of the highlands of ancient Peru."

2: Stirling--1-2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 101

"The greatest confusion exists regarding the naming of various Jivaro subdivisions. They refer to themselves as 'Shuara', thus differentiating themselves from other tribes. As is later stated in [2] more detail, they live in rather widely separated household groups with very little consciousness of any sort of political unity. Such groupings as exist are continually shifting location, separating, amalgamating, or being exterminated. For centuries travelers by the score have attached different appellations to such groups. Frequently they have been designated by the name of the river on which they lived, but the rivers have had as many different names applied to them as have the Indian groups. Thus we find such general names as Pastazas, Moronas, Santiagos, etc., while lesser groups are frequently called by the names of the affluent streams on which they reside. Thus the Jivaros living on the four principal tributaries of the Santiago are called the Upanos, the Pauteños, the Gualaquizas, and the Zamoras. These are further subdivided into the names of the lesser tributaries. Obviously such designations have no ethnologic significance."

2: Stirling--2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 103, 171

"There are, however, certain fairly stable large geographic groupings which appear to feel a certain unity, and to which general group names have been attached. The Jivaros proper are those which dwell in the basins of the Zamora and Upano Rivers and on the upper Pastaza. The Antipas live on the right bank of the Santiago from the Zamora to the Alto Marañon. The Aguarunas live on the right bank of the Marañon between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers. The Huambizas occupy the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers, including all of the territory west to the left bank of the Santiago, from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañon. The Achuales occupy the territory between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers from Lake Puralina north to Andoas.

The Jivaros scattered over this vast territory of approximately 25,000 square miles are of similar appearance physically; they speak a single language and their customs, beliefs, and material culture are closely interrelated. With this, however, their unity ends. The scores of small independent groups, living for the most part on the headwaters of the tributary streams, are constantly at war, one group with another."

116, 181

"There is no doubt that the Jivaros, from a time dating shortly after the conquest, have contrasted noticeably with their neighbors, a contrast which is even more evident at the present time. Their fine physical appearance, vivacity, energy, and love of freedom have been commented upon by all travelers who have encountered them.

Benavente, in 1540, irked because of his inability to break the spirit of some Jivaro captives, called them the most arrogant of all of the tribes in the Indies.

In 1815 Prieto gave the following description:

The Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel infidels in this part of America, although they are not such stupid barbarians as the various other nations in [3]the mountains bordering on the province of Mainas. They are extremely lively, thoroughly intelligent; they learn easily when one teaches them and even from observation. In order to get satisfaction from the person with whom they are dealing, they are exceedingly amiable and obsequious, giving away, for this reason, anything that they possess. They do not lie among themselves, and much less steal, and if at any time this happens (which is very rare), the thief is thought to be an extremely wicked person, is hated by all and covered with everlasting disgrace. Neither are the Jivaros drunkards, and they look with scorn upon the inebriated; a very unusual trait among the Indians of America.(1)

"1. Prieto, in Compte, pp.64-65."

2: Stirling--2-3 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -2
116, 181

Even today the intelligence and independent air of the Jivaro, combined with a fine physique produced by an active out-of-doors existence, creates a most favorable impression on the visitor."

2: Stirling--3 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177

"When first visited by Juan de Salinas in the middle of the sixteenth century they apparently showed no inclination to include the Spaniards in their war pattern. The attempt to interfere with their liberty and to force strange customs and beliefs upon them soon changed this situation."

2: Stirling--3 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 181

"Typical of the statements of modern writers is that of Rivet, who said at the beginning of the present century:

The Jivaro does not have the submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, of the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is quick, the look steady, the physiognomy mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animate, their speech easy and assured. * * *So one finds him in the forests in the midst of virgin nature whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage. (2)

This same 'virgin nature', friendly to those who have adapted themselves to her embrace, so hostile to those who have not, has enabled these children of the jungle to maintain the spirit of independence against the conquering might of the Inca, the greed of the gold-hungry conquistador, and the passionate zeal of the missionary.

The alliance between nature and the Jivaros has enabled these Indians successfully to repulse for 400 years the most determined efforts of the white man to establish himself in their territory."

"2. Rivet, 1907, p. 361."

116, 175

"The Jivaros first appear in history when the Inca, Túpac-Yupanqui, undertook the conquest of the realm of Quito about the middle [4] of the fifteenth century. The Peruvian conqueror undertook the conquest of the Cañaris, who lived in the interandine valley region, which corresponds to the Province of Azuay. The chroniclers say that the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for anally the chief of Macas. Inasmuch as these two tribes were hereditary enemies, it would appear that this alliance was a temporary measure adopted for the purpose of repulsing the common enemy. The Inca succeeded, however, in conquering the Cañaris but was unable to penetrate beyond them. (3)

Huayna-Cápac, continuing the conquests of his father, again unsuccessfully attempted to subdue the Jivaros. His campaign was made difficult by the unfamiliar jungle country, combined with a type of climate to which his men were unaccustomed. Being continually harassed by the natives, he was finally forced to withdraw hurriedly from the territory of Bracamoros, which constitutes the basin of the Chinchipe River. Although completely driven out of their territory, he covered up his humiliation by declaring the Jivaros his subjects. (4)

"3. González Suárez, 1878, p.8, and Montesinos, 1882, ch.xxiii and xxvi.
4. González Suárez, 1890-1903, vol, I, p.54."

Not for long were the Jivaros left in peace to continue their customary fighting among themselves. The conquest of the Incas by the Spaniards simply meant a new adversary for the Jivaros.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were defeated, Don Pedro de La Gasca, in order to keep his soldiers from being idle, divided eastern Ecuador into four districts, whose conquest was entrusted to four of his captains. The first of these was the province of Quijoa, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela. This province was bounded on the north by the provinces of Mocoa and Sucumbíos and was 200 leagues in length from east to west and 20 leagues wide from north to south. The second province was that of Macas, extending from the jungles of Gualaquiza to the Pastaza River, which was then known as the Tunguragua. The third was the province of Yaguarzongo, constituting the drainage basin of the Zamora River. The fourth was the province of Bracamoros, which included the drainage basin of the Chinchipe River. The last three of these provinces, excepting for the extreme southern part of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the territory of the Jivaro Indians. The conquest of Bracamoros was given by Gasca to Capt. Diego Palomino, that of Yaguarzongo to Capt. Alonso de Mercadillo, and that of Macas to Capt. Hernando de Benavente.

Palomino's expedition brought him to the valley of the Chinchipe, which is outside of the territory of the Jivaros. On this expedition he established the city of Jaen."

"THE BENAVENTE EXPEDITION

As a result of the expeditions of Mercadillo and Benavente the town of Zamora de los Alcaldes was founded in 1549. While Ecuadorian historians seem generally to credit the founding of this city to Mercadillo, the source information seems to indicate that it was either a joint effort of the two captains, or that it was founded by Benavente. When Gasca was leaving Peru on his return to Spain on January 27, 1550, he wrote on board his ship, the Callao: 'I left Captain Benavente populating another town in the province of Macas.' Benavente's account of his explorations indicates that Mercadillo's expedition and his own operated as a single party. Apparently no account by Mercadillo is known.

The Benavente expedition began sometime between August 15, 1549, and the end of the year. (5) Benavente evidently went over the pass at the head of the Chambo and Upano Rivers, crossing the divide at an elevation of 12,000 feet, and was the first of the Spanish Conquistadores to get in contact with the Jivaro Indians. He probably crossed the Paute River and the evidence indicates that the expedition penetrated as far south as Gualaquiza before turning back. (6) Benavente's account follows:

"5. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, p. xxxviii.
6. González Suárez, 1890-1893, vol. vi, p. 47."

2: Stirling--5-8 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175

ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF MACAS BY CAPT. HERNANDO DE BENAVENTE(7)

My Eminent Sirs: * * * I entered the province of Suna (or Zuña), which was the beginning of the exploration and was a land of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Paira, which was eight or ten leagues farther on, in which there were about one hundred Indian houses, which at the time I was there had been evacuated. I tell Your Highness truthfully that we were almost dead from hunger because there was not enough food, since the country consisted entirely of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Moy (or Emoy) and Zamagolli (or Zumagalli), where there are but few Indians, but these gave us what we needed to eat. From there I sent a detachment to the province of Chapico, which they told me would be twenty leagues beyond, in order to see if there were Indians there and if it were good land. This province, I understood, is a land of great mountains and the Indians there go about naked. Those who had been there told me they saw two thousand Indians. There were one or more houses to each quarter of a league and in other places they were a half league apart and so it was all over the district. The food of the Indians consisted solely of fish, and seeds which they raised. There was plenty of food that they planted, such as maize among other things. The soldiers reported that they had two skirmishes. After seeing this province, they returned to me and there told me of another province six leagues

" 7. Manuscript dated Tomebamba, Mar. 25, 1550."

farther on that was called Guallapa. The chief of this province with some Indians came to me peaceably and I received them as I was obliged to do and as Your Highness [6] commanded me. I traveled towards the province and, as I went, saw that likewise it was mountainous as were all the others that I had visited. The chief of that district was with me for eight days, giving us things to eat and describing what lay beyond, and at the end of that time I learned one night how he had elevated himself and his tribe and I tried to learn how many Indians were under him in that territory and found that he had about eight hundred men living in houses separated one from the other. Having seen this province, I started on the way to a district that the told me was called Xibaro, which was twenty leagues from Guallapa [sic], and in which, because of what the Indians had told me, I intended to establish a town; and before a day's journey was completed, I came to a very large river which they told me was that of Tomebamba (Paute) and that of Minas de Santa Bárbola, which I could not have crossed but for boats that we made there, and we crossed it without anyone being injured. Up to this point there had been nothing but very large mountains. And so, after crossing the river, I continued the march and two leagues from the place I found an Indian buhio, (8) in which some Indians were taken whose language and manner of speech was like that of the Malacatos, who were near the

"8. An Arawak work applied to the native community house. These establishments are now generally referred to as 'Jivarías.'"

Paltas, because some Indians who were with me understood them. They told me that the land was called Xibaro, (9) and in that buhio those Indians told me that further on there were other buhios; and so I continued on the way; travelling by means of trails that were very ill-defined, I tell Your Highness truthfully that I frequently stopped to rest; thus moving along, I came upon other buhios which were more than a league from one another until arriving at other buhios, I realized correctly that we were where I wished to be and consequently did not stop. Continuing on, I encountered about fifty or sixty Indians, who, hearing me, fled into the mountains so that the dogs that I had with me were not able to capture any. I saw that they were naked. And still I marched and discovered smoke which was from their buhios that they had burned, and so it was in all that region, for they did nothing but burn their buhios and flee. Finally I arrived at the foot of a large rock covered with woods and thickets and from there I dispatched certain soldiers who discovered a trail on which they chanced upon some naked Indians, each with a lance and a round shield. Of these, they were able to capture only a man and a woman whom they brought to me, and being brought before me, I asked the man to tell me about the country and to explain where his chief was, to which he answered, why would I like to know? and that his chief was very powerful, and that if he captured me and the others he would probably kill us and drink with our heads and would probably sprinkle the roads with our bones; in

"9. Von Hagen told the writer that 'varu' is a common word ending in Palta, and suggested its combination with the Jivaro word 'ji' or 'jea' meaning 'fire people.'"

such manner that he did not desire to admit the truth of anything to me. I tell Your Highness truthfully that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have been exploring in the conquest of the Indies. Having seen that he did not wish to divulge anything nor to answer truthfully what I asked him, I attempted to see if he might talk because of fear and was as successful as before; and hoping that some Indians would come to where I was waiting, I spent eight days near that big rock, during which it did not stop raining one hour all day; and I swear to Your Highness that the horses, as though crazy, leaped around and, running through the camp and wallowing in the mire, eluded us, and because of the distemper which affected them in the [7] hoofs and feet, it was not advisable to hobble them; and everyone was breeding within himself the same sort of worms and any meat that we were able to obtain became filled with maggots. Finally, I tell you that it was the worst land that I have seen in all the days of my life, either in Spain or in all parts of the Indies in which I have travelled. Thus having seen how bad the land was and that no Indians were apparent, I started to march again and moved along another twenty leagues, where I found a country in which everything was rainy and wet. Farther on, I found a second river very much larger than that I had crossed; both sides of the river formed a rocky gorge so that to look at the river from the top frightened one because of the depth from above. Having looked for a place for the horses to cross a league above and below on the river, it was found impossible. While there, I saw on the other

side of the river about fifty Indians, all with their lances and slings and dressed in camisetas and mantas, and then they shot with bows and arrows which did not succeed in crossing from the other side. Having found out that the horses were not able to cross, those who had crossed the river brought to me the good news that crossing without horses, there would not be any place that we could go on foot and that we would not get anything accomplished and that it would result in our destruction, so I agreed with all my company that we turn back and our entrada should be by way of Cuyes or Zangorima, or some other way more convenient to the service of God and Your Excellency. It was thus decided by everyone and we withdrew with the intention of doing this.

I tell Your Highness that, according to what we were able to see, there are not one thousand Indians in all that land and province of Xivaro, and it consists of the wildest mountain land that I have seen and is very rough mountainous country, and the people of this province are all naked and very independent, according to the way it appeared to us. From the river of which I have just been speaking, we saw a range of mountains and through a gap in these mountains we saw a plain, and this I did think is all the news that we obtained because that region did not appear to be mountainous but rather savannahs. And so we returned to Guallapa, from which place we had departed. (10)

Having returned to Guallapa, Benavente discovered that the peaceful Indians he had left there had risen in rebellion against the soldiers, and his arrival had been barely in

"10. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. xxix-xxxiv."

time to settle this trouble. He speaks of the land beyond the gorge, which had forced him to turn back, and is very anxious that the King give him a commission to enter this country by the route that he had previously suggested. The chiefs of Tomebamba described this territory in such glowing terms as to make Benavente anxious to establish a town in the region, but as he says:

I am so often disappointed by the stories of these Indians that I no longer give credit to any more than what I am able to see with my own eyes.

Benavente took 150 men with him on the expedition above described and explains that because of the bad nature of the land and the hostility of the Jivaro Indians these troops came out in very bad shape. Many of the Indians that he brought with him died as a result of the hardships, and 30 of his men deserted because of [8] the fact that the expedition had not succeeded, and Benavente had nothing with which to pay them excepting future promises; although he said:

I give my word to Your Highness that I have given to the soldiers even the shirts of my clothing in order that they might enter this land again with me, whom Your Highness should thank.

Toward the end of the letter, Benavente gives information which would seem to clear up the confusion concerning the conquests of Mercadillo and himself. He says:

The rest that I have to tell Your Highness is that the conquest which Your Highness has

given to Captain Mercadillo and to me is all one thing and one piece of information, for in order that we might serve you better and do as you command, we agreed to join his people with mine and we made one company, because he had too few people to explore such a very large section of country, and I likewise had too few; and for these reasons we did this and accomplished what I am telling Your Highness so that we could better achieve what Your Highness commanded us.

On the envelope which contains this letter is a notation evidently dictated by the Viceroy D. Antonio de Mendoza, notifying Benavente that all further entradas are to be suspended, this state of affairs to last until His Majesty gives further orders. This suspension of entradas and conquests was a general measure advised by Gasca. They were not again conceded until the viceroyship of Marqués de Cañete, D. Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza.

The results of Benavente's expedition , as is apparent from his account, were very meager. It is interesting that he gave the Jivaros the name by which they have since been known; this being the name applied to them by the Paltas."

"JUAN DE SALINAS

On November 10, 1556, as the result of an order from the King, the Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of the dominion of Peru, agreed to outfit Juan de Salinas for the purpose of exploring and colonizing the provinces of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros. It was agreed that Salinas be given a commission authorizing him to establish an encomienda of Indians in each town which he populated, from which he would profit after the usual Royal fifths had been deducted.

On November 19, 1556, Salinas began the task of recruiting and outfitting his army of exploration. The city of Loja was selected as headquarters for this purpose. He was engaged in assembling his expedition until July 8, 1557. Salinas states in one of his memorials that it cost him personally more than 50,000 ducats to provide arms, horses, clothing, and other necessary accoutrements for his men. [9]

The memorable expedition thus begun, continued until he had penetrated into the land more than 800 leagues and was not concluded until August 28, 1559. The description of this expedition, one of the most remarkable in the history of New World exploration, is contained in four letters written by Salinas in Spain during the year 1571, at which time he made a personal visit to the Royal Court in an attempt to straighten out the affairs of his Peruvian holdings. Several other letters and memorials by other writers verify the accounts of Salinas."

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"The first letter of Salinas is dated June 10, 1571. In it he describes how he established the towns of Valladolid and Loyola in the interandine highland region.

Continuing his explorations beyond Loyola, he crossed with great difficulty 20 leagues of rough mountains, which he found to be entirely unpopulated. Making trails blindly in order that he might move his horses and cattle, he finally reached another inhabited section. Salinas says:

I came upon a valley in an inhabited land that was called Coraguana, a mountainous land but very productive of the foods that the natives use, especially of roots of a plant (11) that they use most and hold in greater esteem than maize; likewise there is much fruit and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and of the chase, especially of wild hogs and a small variety of deer and other animals called antas (tapirs), which have the size, appearance and even meat like an 8-months-old calf; the natives make use of other kinds of animals that have good meat and since the land is very mountainous there is an abundance of everything. The natives are different in language, dress, and customs from those of Loyola and Valladolid; generally, they have cotton plantations which they maintain and make use of to clothe themselves, although they do not make many clothes because the climate is warm. They are a very settled people and not very warlike as the people behind, and so in this valley and at the beginning of this land they appeared to me

"11. Manioc."

at once to be peaceful, and as I journeyed farther on the people were the same and I arrived at a level valley which they had already told me was called Gisarra, where the people and language were the same and because it appeared to me that there were a great many natives in the midst of this country and as a great many of the people with me were ill, I established a Spanish town in this place Gisarra, calling it Santiago de las Montañas because of having arrived at this place the eve of Santiago Day (July 24, 1557), which town it appeared desirable to change to a place deeper into the territory of the natives and so it was resettled on the banks of a river (12) carrying much water, which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon, which is the reason why I established it here in order that it might serve as a post for the continuance of the discoveries and explorations

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"12. This is obviously the present Santiago River. According to Juan Navarro de Beaumonte, one of the principal soldiers who accompanied Salinas, the second seat of Santiago was called Masquisinango. Salinas gave this river the name of San Bartolomé, because of having discovered it on this Saint's Day (Aug. 24). Formerly it was called Parossa by the Jivaros."

of the river below. In the vicinity of this town many gold mines were discovered, especially some mines that gave very good indications of [10] richness, and it is evident that they probably are. (13) This city of Santiago was about 40 leagues below Loyola; the Natives here likewise were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its chiefs or captains and, although they are not a warlike people, they carry on continual wars among themselves, killing and robbing one another. They did not keep llamas, although in this valley of Gibarra there were some. (14)"

"13. The mines of Cangasa.
14. Salinas in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. lxv-ci."

"After Salinas had pacified the natives in this vicinity he assigned sections of the land to various encomenderos and gave the necessary commissions to maintain the establishment and then continued his voyage of exploration and colonization.

Farther on beyond the city of Santiago and the boundaries of the territory assigned to it we passed the river that they called Faen and Chachapoyas and Guánuco, which all now come together and become the Marañon, since all the rest are branches and the latter is the principal river. (15) I came upon a province and country that they called Cungarapas, whose people, although they differ somewhat in language, correspond to those of Santiago because they are all nearly the same and the land is likewise, although here there are more savannahs and less mountainous land, especially where the natives have their habitations and cultivated lands. There are mountain ridges and plains and the climate of the region is very good and it is healthful and there is an abundance of all kinds of food as are used in the Indies, and fruits and fish in great quantitity, and game, and in general the water is very good; and deposits of salt, which they prepare artificially in great quantities with fire. There were llamas, although few, in this land and province and in the country nearby, although in order to clothe themselves they made use

"15. Notwithstanding this, he says in another place that all these rivers together are called the Rio de Faén."

of cotton, which they had and which they planted and used generally. The natives of this country and province are very domestic and not by any means warriors or warlike, although they continually have their diaputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respected but each town and group had its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned. Twenty-eight or thirty leagues below the city of Sangiago in this territory in the most suitable part and in a very good location, I established a town that was called Santa Maria de Nieva. * * *

After pacifying the natives here, which Salinas says was little work because of their being good natured and domestic, he organized the town of Santa Maria de Nieva, as he had previous settlements. Leaving Nieva, with a picked crew of 54 of his strongest and most healthy men, he left the remainder to maintain the new settlement and continued his explorations. Ten leagues below Nieva he came to the junction of the Santiago and Marañon Rivers and then became the first European to make the passage of the dreaded Pongo Manseriche (pl. 29). After visiting the Mainas Indians, he continued down the Marañon to its juncture with the Ucayali. He then ascended the Ucayali to a point opposite Cuzco. Finally, after having been absent 18 months, Salinas returned by the same route to Santiago."

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"The second letter of Salinas, probably written in 1571, brings in some additional details. After describing the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola whom he says are warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town has its chief and captains under whom they band together,

he describes their material culture and also the game and food plants of the region in considerable detail. Again he tells of crossing the unpopulated section between these mountain valleys and the beginning of the Jivaro country on the Upano River. He says:

This unpopulated and rough section lasted about 20 leagues, at the end of which I came to a territory settled by natives in the mountains, although there were sections of savannahs. They were a people different in language, dress, arms, and customs, and were very much more domestic than those behind. Their necessities of life and their fruits were the same; their garments and clothes of cotton; fish in great abundance in the rivers, and salt in great quantities produced artificially as well as occurring naturally like rock. I travelled more than 30 leagues through settlements of the nature of the aforementioned people without observing any difference in the language of one from the other, although they had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement,

which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner. At the the end of these 30 leagues travelled in a west to east direction, I populated the city of Santiago de las Montañas, which I believe is in six degrees latitude. It is 50 leagues from Loyola, a little more or less. The difference in their arms from those behind is that they have copper axes and shields of anta (16) skin and of wood, and spear throwers which they call estolicas. In this land there is abundant hunting of wild hogs, as well as antas (they are similar to cows), and deer and a hundred thousand other repugnant mountain insects and reptiles; they hunt big partridges like blind hens (Odontophorus cripturus sp), turkey-hens (Crax sp.) and paugies, a very large bird with very good meat, and other birds of the pheasant type (Penelope sp.). There were some herds of llamas, although few, and doves, papagayos, (17) and cuys, (18) or the before-mentioned rabbits.

Having travelled for 30 leagues from the said city of Santiago by a northsouth course continually through the same group of people, having the same language, dress, arms, manner of livelihood, hunting and chase, fishing, salt and fruit for about 30 leagues, I populated the city of Santa Maria de Nieva, without the natives and all the other things

16. Anta = tapir.
17. Papagayos = macaws.
18. Cuys = guinea pigs.

differing much from those at Santiago. I think the said city of Santa Maria de Nieva was established in eight degrees latitude; outside of the fruits mentioned there are some that are called Almendras (19) because they resemble those here (20) and are even better; there are many very useful tree gums such as caraña, tacaamaca, and other gums that I don't remember; cacao of New Spain in great quantity. Gold was beginning to be taken in the rivers within the environs of said city, [12] although in Santiago there are many signs of great richness. The natives within the district of said city of Nieva have some llamas.

In the aforementioned city of Santiago, which is settled on a very great river, as I said, in which have come together all the waters and rivers from the city of Camora and Loyola, I named it the Rio de Sant Bartolomé, because I embarked on the river below to make the discovery on that day (Aug. 24, 1557). After having sailed 12 leagues north-south by it, I came to another very powerful river which I named the Rio de Faen, (21) in which came together all the rivers of Faen (22) and of the city of Chachapoyas (23) and that of Guanu-

"19. Almonds.
20. Spain.
21. The same that later on and in the previous letter he calls the Marañon.
22. Chuquimaya, today Chinchipe, Cherinos and higher section of the Marañon.
23. Bahua, Bahuan, or Uteupampa."

co, (24) by which lower river I navigated for about 250 leagues west-east, until I arrived at a very great river (25) on San Miguel day (Sept. 29, 1557) and thus I gave it that name.

Salinas again describes the Mainas, of whom he says:

Their arms are darts and shields and throwing rods with estolicas, and some that are called macanas (26) which are the size of a broadsword, of palms.

The third letter is concerned more with political and controversial matters than with descriptions of the country, so it is not quoted here. The fourth letter, written in the third person, has more information of interest. "

"24. Huallaga or Rio de los Motilones.
25. Ucayali.
26. Wooden clubs.

116, 175

"After crossing the Continental Divide he came upon 'a land settled with natives of pleasing appearance, of good climate, and full of all kinds of food, ' which aspect of said new land pleased him very much.

He continued travelling and discovering, passing many settlements and provinces and valleys, some uninhabited, for about 100 leagues, in the course of which and in the most suitable sections he settled four cities, whose names are, first Valladolid, second Loyola, third Santa Maria de Nieva, and fourth Santiago de las Montañas: the latter was settled and is situated on the bank of a very great river which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon. The natives of that province having given him good news of a well-populated land of great richness and good appearance on the river below, he determined to embark on said river in canoes with the group of soldiers that were most healthy, because most of the soldiers who had accompanied him in the work and discovery made up to then were suffering with some disease or affliction; and thus he left in said city of Santiago all of the horses and other means of conveyance, and the sick people and that which was necessary for the maintenance of said city and with only 54 soldiers he embarked on said river with canoes, determined and desirous of seeing and exploring said land of which he had good news. By navigating down said river, he encountered another very great river, at which juncture the waters made a great disturbance, and a

big narrow pass (27) in the ridge of mountains through which the said rivers went, was passed with great danger and shipwreck with no less than great risk of lives, from which danger Our Lord delivered them, although with loss of munitions, arms, and some natives who were with them. Past the danger and said risk, which certainly was great, he came to a province of natives called Cipitacona, with a nose device not seen before. (13) Again the trip down the Marañon and up the Ucayali is described and the return to Santiago. Salinas says further:

The going and return and the voyage of discovery lasted almost 2 years, without being able to return any news concerning himself, and for this reason and the long delay, the group of Spaniards that he had left in the cities that he had populated, disheartened, believing him dead, as well as those who had gone with him, disbanded and fled and went to Peru, for which reason he was forced, on coming out, to refit himself with people and arms, for which he returned to the chief part of said land, and then came back to rebuild said four cities, which had been depopulated as a result of his long absence, and he populated them again; and having quieted and pacified the natives that had been in the district, and having discovered many gold mines to recount to His Majesty what had been occupying his time and the deeds he had accomplished. (28)"

"27. The famous Pongo Manseriche.

28. Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. xc-xciii."

"There is in existence a fifth letter written by Salinas after his return from the Court of Spain to Peru. In this document he says:

Following my return I have busied myself in establishing order and settling and sustaining the four cities that I left populated when I came to the Kingdom to salute Your Highness. In addition I have populated two more in suitable locations, one of which is called Logroño and the other Nueva Sevilla del Oro. In all of these, mines have been discovered and are still being discovered, which promise great riches and that the Royal fifths of Your Highness will be greatly increased; even though there should be no other reward for the work which has been put into them and the expenses incurred, that return would be large. (29)"

"29. The date and place of birth of Juan de Salinas is not known for certain, but he was apparently a native of Córdoba. His legitimate parents were Martin Sánchez and Victoria Gómez. He came from Spain to Mexico, where he accompanied Hernando Cortés on his expedition to the Gulf of Higueras; he went with Benalcázar to Peru and was one of the first settlers of Lima, where he built a house and owned his own ground. Salinas was the third Spaniard to navigate the Marañon: the first being Orellana and the second Capt. Don Alonso Mercadillo in his expedition to the province of the Chupachos. He was a man of strong character and great determination. He planned large under-

takings and carried them out with unusual perseverance under great difficulties. In temperament he was inclined much more to harshness than to gentleness, but it is quite possible that the cruelties against the Indians charged to him were exaggerated. After his great journey of exploration, during which he explored the Marañon and Ucayali Rivers, he returned to Spain in the year 1569 and remained for 4 years at the Court in order to solicit favors from the King and to obtain ratification of the concessions that the Viceroy of Peru, Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, had given him. Succeeding in this, he returned to America, where he spent the last years of his life amidst continuous difficulties. He was imprisoned in Quito, where he was implicated in a criminal trial in which the Audiencia charged him with being responsible for extreme cruelty to the Indians. Juan de Peralta, the Attorney General of the Audiencia of Quito, charged him with having had living Indians torn to pieces with greyhounds trained for the purpose, of having buried Indians alive in pits in which sharpened sticks had previously been placed, and of having burned them by setting fire to their houses, forcing them to die with their families. It was also charged that he ordered a pastry cook to pull out the teeth of the Indians, also had them put to death by impaling them with sharpened sticks, and had them tied naked on ants' nests so that they would be killed. Other cruelties of a similar nature were detailed in these hearings. However, Salinas was able to free himself from these charges and was restored to his former position of power. He established his residence in Loja, where, broken in health, he died in 1582, the last survivor of the Conquistadores of the Kingdom of Quito."

"The city of Sevilla del Oro developed out of the settlement of Rosario. From other contemporary documents we are able to obtain more details than are given us by Salinas concerning the founding of the two new settlements which he mentions.

Espada tells us that Nuestra Señora del Rosario was founded on August 15, 1563, (30) in a great hurry, with the object of acquiring the right of possession of this territory by means of a deed consummated by Capt. Juan de Salinas Guinea, nephew of Juan de Salinas Loyola, because of the fact that the territory was outside of the government intended for the latter. However, the city did not prosper and was abandoned in a short time, excepting for a renegade population. The Audiencia of Quito attempted to clean out this bad element and to repopulate the city. In 1571 Capt. Alvaro de Paz was put in charge of the reorganization. The job proved too much for him and he was obliged to flee with his company.

By this time Salinas had returned from the Court of Spain, having satisfactorily terminated his efforts concerning his government of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros and concerning the favors that he considered he deserved by having discovered and populated the territory. Believing or pretending that he considered the territory of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was in his government and not in that of the Quijos, he commissioned Capt.

"30. Probably near the present town of Macas on the Upano River."

Jose Villanueva Maldonado to repopulate it in his name at a locaton probably somewhat to the north of its first seat (31) and to rename it Sevilla del Oro.

Maldonado's account in the Archives of the Indies is as follows:

By commission from the Governor Juan de Salinas Loyola, * ** I collected a number of people in Cuenca and entered with them to said province, having outfitted the soldiers with me at my expense in order that they might enter more willingly and having entered said province and pacified the land, I populated and founded the city or Sevilla del Oro and divided the land, and 20 encomenderos lived in said city, married for the greater part; and there are in the province many churches and many gold mines."

"31. North bank of the Upano River opposite the present town of Macas."

"Of course, Salinas' title was disputed and he later lost the territory.

Maldonado's account states that he lived in Sevilla del Oro more than 9 years after establishing it. Since this account was written in Quito on February 7, 1584, it seems apparent that the foundation of Sevilla del Oro took place in 1575.

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, inhabitant of Santiago de las Montañas, writing in Quito, January 26, 1586, says that he came to the government of his uncle, Juan de Salinas Loyola, and that at the [15] time his uncle returned from Spain he was made lieutenant general, remaining in this office until Salinas de Loyola died. He says that during this time he maintained all the land in peace without mutinies or scandals and in order to increase the Royal patrimony went to the province of the Jivaros with a new commission and with 40 men in order to explore that province where, after having suffered many deprivations, hardships, and losses of his goods, he established the city of Logroño(32) de los Caballeros on the Paute River, and having established it and pacified the inhabitants, and having treated them all well, they rebelled against the Royal service under the leadership of two half-breeds called Diego Lopez de la Banda and Francisco de Ro-

"32. A manuscript letter of Juan Lorenzo Lucero dated Xeberos 1683 states that Logroño was first founded at the confluence of the Paute and Zamora Rivers and that 'today Pedro Espino de Caceres is missionary on that great river.'"

jas and they came to said city, killing in the outskirts of the towns all of the people that they found, numbering more than 40 men, until finally they came to said city and surrounded it, where the 12 men and the women who had remained in said city defended it as long as the siege lasted.

Maldonado, in his account made in Quito, February 7, 1584, states that while he was in Sevilla del Oro--

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, by order of his lordship Juan de Salinas, left and went to populate the city of Logroño in the Xíbaros country, which he did with the soldiers that Villanueva had and with their arms and ammunition and with them populated the city of Logroño; and said province being raided by the Jivaros and the Hon. Juan de Salinas being advised of it and having notified me of said raid and the death of seven Spaniards, said Villanueva sent hurriedly some Spaniards to aid said city of Logroño, because without such assistance said city would suffer great risk."

"Fernando de Montesinos, in his Anales del Perú, (33) quotes the following from original documents in the Archives of the Indies:

Year 1564--After many trials that Governor Don Juan de Salinas Loyola suffered in the pacification of his territory, he populated the cities of Valladolid, Loyola, and Logroño de los Caballeros, he appointed mayors and established regulations for them, put the Royal treasury in the city of Logroño which was nearest the Gibaros, the province richest in gold that he had discovered. He gave each Royal official 100 pesos of gold as salary from the same coffer. They enjoyed this benefit with much uneasiness since the Indians are warlike and rebellious so that they are very unsure of them. At the end of a year and a half, the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola killed the camp master, Francisco de Mercado (uncle of the wife of the governor), and 12 other soldiers. Capt. Juan de Alderete (brother-in-law of the Governor of Loxa) went to punish them with 30 soldiers and friendly Indians and attempted to make peace with the rebels but they would not permit it until after engaging in many battles, and finally, seeing the injury that was being done to them, they gave in peacefully and returned to rebuild the cities, so at once they reestablished Logroño. [16]

González Suárez tells us (34) that the soldiers sent for the defense of Logroño gathered

"33. Vol. II, pp. 12-13.
34. Historia General , vol. vi, p. 79."

together in a palisade which they constructed, where they remained for an entire year. They suffered so much want, that after sampling the leather on their shields without getting much nourishment from it, they were forced to kill and eat all of their watch dogs, which were greatly needed to warn them of the frequent sorties on the part of the Jivaros. The trail to Cuenca being held by the Indians, they finally succeeded in sending word down the river to Santiago. Juan de Cáseres Patiño, curate at that city, proceeded at great personal risk to their assistance."

"THE JIVARO REVOLT

Unquestionably the source of much of the gold utilized by the Incas of the Highlands was in the rich placers of the Jivaro country. It is therefore not surprising that during the second half of the sixteenth century such strenuous efforts were made by the Spaniards to colonize this humid and jungle-clad region. If we are to trust the figures of the contemporary historians, many of these settlements became surprisingly populous, but although dignified by the name of cities, one should not lose sight of the fact that the houses were nothing but small huts built of cane and roofed over with thatch. The walls were of a light wattle-and-daub construction and in the entire region not a single solid or permanent structure was erected. Although these settlements were laid out in squares, with streets and the ground plan of a city, they were probably not very impressive to look upon.

During the first years of their foundation, at which time the Indians appear to have submitted in a docile manner to their encomenderos, the cities prospered and gave promise of great development. With the death of Salinas no one with sufficient strength of character or executive ability arose to take his place and from this time the decline of the Spanish settlements in the region was rapid. As the oppression and cruelties of the encomenderos began to make themselves felt the Indians grew more rebellious and the attitude of

the wild Indians became more and more hostile toward the Spaniards. Successful revolts were carried out by the Indians in many places, they being favored by the nature of the country and the climate which was natural to them but unfamiliar to the Europeans. The cupidity of the colonists in the end resulted in the final destruction of themselves, of their settlements, and of their ambitious plans. The series of revolts carried on by the Jivaros culminated in the great uprising of 1599, which terminated in the complete destruction of Spanish rule in the Jivaro territory and enabled the Indians to [17] revert once more to their native customs and manner of life. The following is Velasco's account:

In 1599, the year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jivaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jivaros would not, and were about to resolve to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of

the River Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary, and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jivaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy, the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all Spaniards in that region on a certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and the other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now

poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learned that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant 25 leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jivaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Morona Jivaros intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huâmboya (16 leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone toward Riobambo.

When the Jivaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; [18] when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor

Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12,000. Sevilla had 25,000 inhabitants; one-quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jivaros nearly destroyed the neighboring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force in the Indian country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jivaros as far as the River Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jivaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the others into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish Government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barks, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jivaros lay in ambush and destroyed the whole of the expedition. After 6 months those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He

appled to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.
Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four. (35)"

"35. Bollaert, 1863b, pp. 116-118. Translated from Velasco, t. III, p. 152."

"The cities of Santiago and Nieva on the Santiago River apparently continued to be occupied by the Spaniards to a certain extent following the great uprising, but for 20 years Spanish activities in the Jivaro country were practically at a standstill. The descendants of the Conquistadores, however, never lost the idea of colonizing the region of the Santiago, and finally in the month of September 1619 the Governor of Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, went from the city of Santiago on an expedition with 68 soldiers and 3 priests on a new effort aimed at subduing the Jivaros.

This well-equipped expedition embarked in 22 large canoes on the Santiago River. Saabedra says that the river had a width of four-quarters of a ship (400 rods) at the city of Santiago. He continues:

It is very quiet and navigable. Scarcely traveling 10 leagues down the river, the Marañon is encountered which is very swift and powerful and, at the point of junction with the Santiago, it is the width of three-quarters of a ship, and together the two rivers continue their course to the Mar del Norte and, in a little less than half a league, begin to narrow and surge through the pass of [19]the Pongo, which constricts the torrent which leaves at that place the general range that crosses all of Peru, which range this river divides, passing with such fury that it is beyond description because of both rivers going through the pass of the Pongo which in places is only the width of one-quarter of a ship and in other places twice the width of a street. It is a league and a half long, so that one passes

through in little more than an hour.

In this stretch there are three places where the violent turbulence of the water produces dangerous difficulties, the first two being due to currents exceeding the ordinary ones in the pass and which originate due to the water striking large rocks which project through the torrent in the channel, producing from one end to the other of these rocks huge whirlpools whose vortices extend across the river, in which torrents lie the danger, and in order to pass them it is necessary to wait when the river rises; and the last torrent, which is the most dangerous, the Indians call Marceriche [sic], because of the big jagged rocks which the river here divides, the top of which is barely visible when rushing through and the surface of the stream is composed of huge whirlpools and their vortices, caused by the river striking against the big rocks and one big one that is in the middle of the narrow channel where the river suddenly shifts direction and it takes a vast amount of energy to pass that point; and they call this latter Manseric because of the many small parrots that are on the rocks.

Through this pass went the governor and three leagues farther down the river encountered the first province of the infidel Mainas Indians which were subdued by the Royal Service for there must be about 800 of them without counting many that come every day from the river and lakes where they live. These gave the governor a good reception. (36)"

"36. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

"Saabedra describes how Vaca de Vega continued down the Marañon and up the Pastaza to Lake Rimachuma, being very successful in his dealings with these Indians and having no trouble with them. He then says:

The governor, having seen that there were sufficient Indians in these two provinces to found a city, determined to populate the city of San Francisco de Borja and so it was done in the name of Your Majesty below the Pongo and its pass, half a league from the general range on the left hand, on the Marañon River toward the west; a healthful land with good air and climate and a very good location. He founded it after considerable deliberation because the cities of Santiago and Santa Maria de Nieva of the province of Yaguarzongo are protected by it from the continuous assaults that the infidels are accustomed to make. (37)

Borja, the newly founded city, appears to have been inhabited for some time by a mixed population of Spaniards, mestizos, and representatives from numerous Indian

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"37. The account of Saabedra contains a very interesting description of the Mainas Indians under the heading 'Manner and nature of the Indians and their mode of living; fruits and sustenances supplied by the land of the Mainas, which land is reduced to the Royal Service.' Unfortunately, Saabedra gives us no account of the Jivaros.--Saabedra, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxliv--cxlviii."

tribes of the region, including some Jivaros. When Vaca de Vega returned he was named Governor of the province of Mainas on condition that he pacify the Jivaros. However, he apparently made no move to do this."

"In May of 1645 his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who succeeded him in office, sent two Franciscan monks, Lorenzo de la Cruz and Andrés Fernandez, into the Jivaro country from Cuenca with a military escort under Antonio Carreño. This expedition resulted in complete failure, but it is interesting because it marked the first of a series of combined religious and military expeditions which enabled those attempts at subduing the Jivaros to be cloaked with a more commendable purpose than was the case with the purely military expeditions of the past.

During the early part of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing some flourishing missions in the regions east of the Jivaro territory, from which source numerous expeditions penetrated the Jivaro country with the avowed intent of converting them to the evangelical faith regardless of consequences.

In 1656 Don Martín de la Riva Aguero, governor of Cajamarca, organized a company consisting of 100 soldiers and an equal number of Maynas Indians from the missions of the Jesuit father Raimundo Santa Cruz. (38) The expedition followed the left bank of the Marañon to the junction of that river with the Pastaza and here on July 25, 1656, they founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, however, had a very brief career. The Jivaro Indians, who were promptly dressed by Father Raimundo in what he considered to

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"38. Chantre y Herrera, p. 176."

be a modest and proper manner, took the first opportunity to flee from the expedition. When they were pursued they killed a considerable number of Spaniards from ambush.

In 1690 Father Lorenzo Lucero, with a small squadron of canoes, made a peaceful entrance into the Jivaro country, hoping to persuade the Indians to submit to kindness rather than to the use of force. The Jivaros, however, had not forgotten the cupidity of Martín de la Riva and their unhappy experiences with that expedition and Father Lucero was unable to succeed in his attempt. The only result of this expedition was the establishment of a settlement in the Jivaro country which they named Naranjo. There was so little to hold it together, however, that the town soon failed and was deserted. (39)"

"39. Chantre y Herrera, p. 283."

"THE EXPEDITION OF DON JERÓNIMO VACA

In 1692 a very ambitious and determined effort was made to convert the Jivaros by force and by persuasion. The Indians, however, evidently had other ideas about the saving of their souls, and the failure of this expedition was as great in proportion as was the effort put forth to insure its success. By order of the Royal [21] Audiencia, Don Jerónimo Vaca, Captain-General of Mainas, accompanied by the Superior of the Jesuit missions, Father Viva, undertook the direction of this attempted conquest. Father Viva supplied the expedition with canoes and a picked army of his best mission Indians, consisting of Conivos, Cocamas, Xeveros, (40) Cutinamas, Paranaporas, Muniches, Otanavis, Chamicuros, Aguanos, and Tibilos. The expedition was also manned by inhabitants of the town of Santiago and of Gualiaga and the entire army, which now consisted of 900 natives and approximately 100 Spaniards, assembled at Borja. Each of the many groups of Indians represented were in command of their own missionary and each was armed in accordance with its own customs. The expedition had instructions from no less an authority than the Royal Court of Madrid to find out for once and for all the real truth concerning the richness of the alleged gold and silver mines which were supposed to exist in the Jivaro country. All of the missions had contributed liberally not only toward supplying

"40. Not to be confused with Jivaros."

the expedition copiously with all sorts of foods and equipment but generous financial support was rendered by them as well.

The historian tells us:

Many people in the city of Santiago not far from the land of the Gívaros had high hopes for the successful conclusion of this entrada. Among them, the Vicar of the city, Don Isidro Moreno, a strict priest of exceptional demeanor, was very much pleased with the prospect of seeing the Gívaros conquered and he contributed his share to the conquest, offering as many supplies as he could without sparing expense, but the captain and the Spanish soldiers were not a little disheartened because of the sad experiences which they had had in the past with similar expeditions. (41)

The priests, however, bolstered the spirits of the soldiers by explaining that the company of Jesuits would cover the entire expense of the expedition and that the soldiers need not depend upon receiving anything from the Royal Audiencia, and so they set forth on this final great effort for the spiritual welfare of the infidel Jivaro."

"41. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-304."

"The chronicler continues:

Don Jeronimo (Vaca) having seen that everything was prepared, sent his orders to the army to assemble at Borja. This was done, although not without some difficulty because numerous canoes were cracked on account of the violence of the currents in the river which in some places are very turbulent. But finally having passed everything without special loss and having taken from San Ignacio de Mainas the best Indians of that nation, they came to the city of Borja, where they were received with many cheers and salutations because of being one of the best and most well-organized armadas that had ever been seen in that territory. The governor wished to assure the undertaking and, knowing very well that courage and prudence for those in the army must come from God, he commanded that, everyone having disembarked, [22] they come in military order to the church of the city where, kneeling before the Holy Sacrament, they made their vows, imploring the aid of Heaven on the trip. Encamping near the ciy, all of the army prayed for several days that they might pass without accident through the very dangerous gorge of the Pongo, because a flood came up that prevented the transit of the armada. They asked the Lord to lower the waters and, on the ninth day, they resolved to pass through, which they did without losing anyone because, although five of the canoes were overturned by the violence of the current, those who did not upset easily picked up the people.

Having passed the gorge of the Pongo, the entire party of canoes entered the Santiago River, where General Vaca had embarked and was received with applause and joy by the soldiers. Upon passing through the city of Santiago they collected new provisions, and having done this, they took the direct route to the former town of Naranjo, having sent ahead some canoes of Xeveros and Cunivos, who, being more skilful in fishing, caught as many fish as they could for the army. The squadron having arrived at a place called Cusabn in the Gîbaros territory, the General decided that some Spanish soldiers with some 30 Xeveros should disembark and reconnoiter the country, which party succeeded in capturing 21 Gîbaros, by virtue of surprising them while they were celebrating noisily a solemn drunken feast, because of having killed two famous wizards, whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering. As they had not been able to capture the rest of the Gîbaros who were bathing some distance away in the river, these latter promptly spread the news to the whole nation which rebelliously armed itself, collected together all their belongings and carried those people unfit for war to their inaccessible hiding places. The Spaniards camped between a ravine and the Santiago River and in 3 days had fortified themselves in this place with a palisade and counterscarp made from sticks and straw, which although it was not perfectly solid, was sufficient to impede the blows of lances, the weapon used by the Gîbaros. All of our force consisted of 900 Indians, each armed according to the custom of his tribe, and not quite 100 Spanish soldiers in whom, because of the superiority of firearms, was principally placed the hope for the subjuga-

tion of the Gíbaros. This purpose would have been accomplished if the Indians had come to a decisive battle; but far from pitting their arms against ours in this manner, they followed the mannor of warfare which they had learned on other occasions to be most advantageous. They did not appear gathered together in a large body, but in small groups without order, but in advantageous places, and when they saw the conflict going against them, they fled through rough ground where they could not be followed. Our men left the camp in various companies, some Spanish soldiers always accompanying the Indians, and they made various expeditions in all directions and they even penetrated almost up to the city of Zamora of the other band of Gíbaros; but the result of these expeditions was so slight that it was soon seen that it would be impossible to subject that nation strongly fortified in their impenetrable mountains and hiding places in caves, if they did not come out of hiding.

In brief, during the 5 months that this expedition lasted, only 372 people were captured in reality a very small result when the great preparations are considered, the number of people taking part, and the long time that was spent in this much-talked-of expedition. It should not be omitted that various captives were the result of the diligence and efforts of the missionaries who attracted and won these over by their good manner and kindness. The children were immediately baptized and the people sent to the city of Borja and to the [23] Concepción of the Xeveros; but as a result of carelessness during their transporta-

tion, some of the more daring ones escaped and returned to their lands. The army, suffering now from hunger, depleted by illness, and diminished by the death of several who fell into the hands of the enemies, was disbanded and each section with its respective missionary took the path to its own land without having even begun the conquest of the Gíbaros, who were made strong by their rough country and rocky cover from which some of the most courageous emerged from time to time always leaving those people useless to them behind in safety. Regarding this the Spaniards noticed a remarkable thing which they admired very much. The mothers in order that they would not be discovered and in order to free themselves from encumbrances would hang their children to trees fearing that the cries of the children would give the Spaniards some indication of their secret hiding places. (42) The expedition served a certain purpose in that it enlightened those who thought that force of arms would be sure to succeed in that territory particularly when uniting the missionaries with the soldiers But the Spaniards were so far from

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"42. González Suárez adds the following: 'The Givaros violently taken from their native farms, either fled or committed suicide: Mothers killed their own young children, purposely choking them with dirt or with dirt or with mud and stones.' Suarez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, p. 204."

succeeding in the subjugation of the Gibaro nation that the principal result of their undertaking appeared to be that they had succeeded in nothing more than discovering a way by which it was possible to travel to the city of Cuenca. (43)

When the disastrous results of this attempt were brought to the attention of the Viceroy of Peru he issued an edict prohibiting similar military forays in the future."

"43. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-307."

"THE LATER JIVARO MISSIONS

The Jivaros were left undisturbed for a long time. It was not until 1767 that a new attempt at their conversion was made. In this year the Jesuit father, Andrès Camacho, went along into the country around the headwaters of the Morona, where a large group of Jivaros had established themselves. He also visited others on the Santiago River and still others between the Morona and the Pastaza. Father Andrès gained the friendship and confidence of the Jivaro chief Masuthaca, and because of the friendly manner in which he conducted himself seemed well on the way to making considerable progress with his plans. He succeeded in baptizing about 200 children. However, just at this time the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies and, as a result, his efforts came to naught. (44)

The missions which had thus been launched were turned over first to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. It appears, however, that no progress was made by the missions and the period was principally one of decadence and disorganization. [24]

During the time that the Jesuits from their eastern missions were attempting to con-

"44. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 574-577."

vert the Jivaros the Dominicans were trying to do the same thing from the west. The Dominican convent of Quito sent out four priests in the year 1581 into the territory of the Jivaros and the Canelos. Valentin de Amaya traveled down the right bank of the Pastaza while Baltasar Quintana explored the left bank of the river. Diego de Ochoa and Sebastian Rosero penetrated into the mountains of Pendoy and Puya near the source of the Pindo River. During the year 1581 the town of Canelos was founded at the mouth of the Pindo and missionary work was started at this point. However, the Spaniards were continually harassed by the attacks of the Jivaros and it became necessary to change the location of Canelos twice. It was finally established on the left bank of the Bobonaza on the spot where it exists at the present day. (45) This mission was officially turned over to the Dominicans by Charles II in 1683 but it did not progress, and by 1778 it contained only 22 converts.

About this time Father Santiago Riofrío arrived, and under his administration the mission began to make headway. He succeeded in adding three small villages to the territory of the mission in 1789. These were Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Jacinto, and San

"45. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, p. 134, cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 345."

Carlos de los Achuales. (46) In 1803 the Dominicans relinquished control of the mission and it was placed under the Bishop of Maynas.

During part of the eighteenth century the Dominicans attempted to expand the mission at Macas, but with little success. In 1736 Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, acting under instructions of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, began work among the wild natives of the region but succeeded only in introducing smallpox to them instead of Christianity. The Indians, having no resistance to this new disease, suffered terrible fatalities and the survivors fled. (47)

In 1785 Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, Corregidor of Loja, by order of the President of Quito, dispatched an expedition to Zamora and vicinity. (48)

With the expulsion of the Jesuits and the dawn of the nineteenth century the series of attempts at the conversion of the Jivaros temporarily came to an end. For more than a century they had resisted the moral persuasion of the priests as successfully as they had the firearms of the Spanish soldiers."

"46. González Suárez, Historia General, vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

47. Compte, p. 55.

48. According to González Suárez, the diary of Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta contains considerable information of an ethnological nature concerning the Jivaros living in the vicinity of Zamora. This account, which is apparently still unpublished, also contains a map of the region showing the site of Zamora at that date as lying to the east of Loja."

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"During the last quarter of the eighteenth century there arose a rumor that there was a rich treasure concealed in the ruins of the old city of Logroño, destroyed during the uprising of 1599. It was also believed that, could these ruins be relocated, it would be possible to again discover the placer mines in the vicinity, which in legend had grown to be fabulously rich. The expeditions which went into the Jivaro country during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries were inspired with the hope of discovering these treasures. The invasions usually were thinly cloaked as missionary efforts for the conversion of the Indians.

In 1788 and 1789 expeditions were dispatched in search of Logroño by the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. It was hoped also to discover an easy path from Cuenca to the territory of the Mainas missions, with the idea in mind of opening this country to exploitation. These expeditions located some ruins which were evidently an archeological site of aboriginal origin but which they mistook for the ruins of the old city, and the rumor was kept alive.

The most interesting of these treasure-hunting parties was organized in 1815 under the direction of a Dominican friar, José Prieto, who conducted an expedition to the spot where Logroño was supposed to have been founded. Prieto proceeded to the mountains of Gualaquiza, where he was received in a friendly manner by the Jivaros, and he succeeded in baptizing some of their children . Having thus began the work of conversion,

he took the opportunity to establish a small settlement and here founded the town of Gualaquiza, 1 league from the confluence of the Bomboiza River with the Paute of Santiago. He was encouraged in this effort by the Jivaros, who were motivated by a desire to obtain free European trade goods and other favors from the Europeans. The Indians told Prieto that the location of Logroño had been carried down to them by tradition transmitted from fathers to sons and pointed out to him some orange trees, saying, 'here lie buried the whites, your ancestors.' (49) Prieto's article, 'Descripción de la provincia de los Jivaros, su religion, costumbres y producciones', was the best ethnological account of the Jivaros prepared up to this time. (50)'

'49. González Suárez had in his possession the diary of Prieto written during this expedition which contains among other things a detailed plan of the ruins which he found at the junction of the Bomboiza and the Sangurima Rivers. It is obvious fromthe description that these are of pre-Columbian origin."

50. Prieto, in Compte, pp. 63-68."

2: Stirling--25-26 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
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"Following this period, the political disturbances in the South American colonies and the various wars of independence practically brought to an end further attempts at penetration into the jungle country of the Andes. The Jivaro were left in peace until about the [26] middle of the nineteenth century, at which time the missionaries renewed attempts at their conversion.

In 1848 Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza but did not have much success in his mission."

"In November of 1852, Fray José Manuel Plaza, Bishop of Cuenca, being desirous of colonizing Gualaquiza, set out for the region of the eastern Andes in spite of the fact that he was more than 80 years of age. He spent about 5 months among the Jivaro Indians on the Zamora and has described his expedition in a report to the Ecuadorian Minister of State, dated April 9, 1853. After describing the natural resources of the Gualaquiza region, he says:

The Indians called Jivaros live in Chuquipamba and principally on the banks of the Zamora up to the point where the Chicani are found, this being the place which serves as a port of embarkation in coming from Loja and which is 5 days from Gualaquiza going up and only 2 coming down. The Jivaros live in that complete natural liberty which is so lamentable to the body as well as to the soul, since from it arises polygamy without the vigilance and toil of the priests being able to restrain it, resulting from this a repugnance towards embracing the Christian religion and consequently a state of slavery and abjection for the women, victims of the pleasure, incontinence and libidinousness of the men; one can well affirm that these three passions form the distinct character of these infidels.

Their dwelling, which they change every 6 years at the most, is exactly elliptical in shape, it holds several families and each one occupies a kind of berth made of Gadua bamboo-cane, in which one sees a blowgun, a lance, a shield, some feather ornaments, black seeds, and four to six leashed dogs. Round about this house there is a plantation

of yucca, bananas, cotton toquilla, and guayuza. They abandon the house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink, and the house closed and remains closed and no one ever returns to live there; which proves according to them the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, the judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ikuanchi. Their language is poor and contains many quichua words; their numerals only reach as far as four and in order to express a greater quantity they make use of the digits of their hands and their toes. As descendants of the old rebels of Logroño they preserve the maxim of not fighting as a unit but scatter throughout the woods and reduce their tactics to treachery. Their clothing consists of a skirt that covers them from the waist to the thigh.

There are about 40 groups of houses dismantled between Gualaquiza and Yamasa, maintained by 12 people, men and women who have remained notwithstanding the terror that the infidels inspired in them. (51)

"51. Letter of D. Fr. Manuel Plaza dated Apr. 9, 1853, in Compte, pp. 293-299."

"It does not seem advisable to attempt to outline the many accounts of travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions into the Jivaro country during the second half of the nineteenth century, but it will be of interest to indicate in a sketchy manner missionary work which contined during this period. [27]

In the year 1869 the Jesuits were again permitted to return to their old field in eastern Ecuador. Missions were established at Canelos and Macas which had been taken over from the Dominicans. Other establishments were begun at Gualaquiza and at Zamora. In 1869 the Jesuit fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán began their work at Canelos. The following year Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Of the old missions, only Zamora was abandoned. In 1873 militant uprisings of the Jivaros forced the abandonment of Gualaquiza and in 1885 Macas suffered the same fate. On October 4, 1886, the ecclesiastical authority again intervened, and the missions of Macas and Canelos were taken away from the Jesuits and given to the Dominicans, so that the Jesuit order was once more completely out of the Jivaro country.

In 1893 the Franciscans took charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group, who have operated their missions in this territory to the present time.

In the year 1902 the first Protestant mission was established in Jivaro territory when the Gospel Missionary Union of the United States established a mission on the Upano,

where it was operated under the direction successively of Mr. Freeland, Mr. Olson, and Mr. Eamigh. At present this mission is located at Chupianaa, on the Upano River between Mendez and Macas.

Attempts at the establishment of any sort of military posts within the Jivaro country have failed in modern times as completely as they did in the past.

In the year 1865 the Peruvian Government reestablished the agricultural colony at Borja. The attempt to found this colony started very auspiciously. Entire families were collected and embarked up the Marañon on river steamers which it was intended would be run on a 6 months' schedule in order to furnish them with food and necessities after they had established new homes until such time as their crops materialized. The foundations of the town were laid, the first houses built, and the first crops planted. At the end of 6 months the steamer arrived to find a flourishing community of about 100 people. Six months later the boat returned to find nothing but charred ruins. They had been visited by the Jivaros from above the Pongo. (52)

The latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries was the period of the great rubber boom in the Amazon basin. In place of gold seekers the Jivaro country was invaded by unorganized groups searching for wealth in the form of wild rubber."

"52. Up de Graff, p. 171."

2: Stirling--28 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
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"These cosmopolitan adventurers left few records of their contact with the Jivaros, but they made no attempts at permanent settlements. With the collapse of the rubber market, they soon left the region. Comparatively speaking, the first of the present century has been a quiet period for the Jivaros with respect to alien invasion.

During the last part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries the Jivaros occasionally made forays as far downstream as the Peruvian post of Barranca below the mouth of the Morona.

In 1915 a Peruvian garrison on the upper Morona was attacked by the Jivaros and practically the entire garrison was killed. In 1925 the village and mission of Cahuapenas on the Apaga River was completely wiped out by an attack of the Aguaruna Indians. In 1928 there were further encounters between the Huambizas and the Peruvians and many of the Indians were killed."

2: Stirling--28 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
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"In the year 1580, wishing to have an exact account of the encomiendas under his charge, Juan de Salinas dispatched agents to the different cities which he had founded in the territories of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros of which he was governor, in order that they might make an accurate census of the native Indians in these regions. The census takers were apparently more than a year in completing their work and returning their reports to Valladolid, which at that time was the 'capital' of the territories. During this period Juan de Salinas died and was succeeded by Gaspar de Salinas. The latter being absent at the time, Capt. Juan Aldrete, acting in his place, ordered the scribe Joan Pizarro to assemble the material of this census and to include with it a brief description of the environs of each city taken from the reports of Juan de Salinas himself. This census bears every evidence of having been carefully made and gives us an excellent idea of the aboriginal population in the Jivaro territory in the sixteenth century just before the breakdown of the encomienda. Because of its unique interest, the report is here translated in its complete form, although the sections relating to the cities of Loyola and Valladolid are not included in Jivaro territory."

"ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF TAMUARZONGO AND PACAMURUS (53)

In the city of Valladolid, where this government of Yahuarzongo and Pacamoros is located, December 1,1582, Capt. Juan Aldrete, governor of said territory, because of the absence of Gov. Gaspar de Salinas de Loyola, proprietor of said government, by order of the most powerful President and Judges of the [29] Royal Audiencia of Quito, commands me, the present scrivener, to make an account and census of the Indians and impressions of the things that are within the territories of the cities that are established in the said government surveyed by Don Juan de Salinas (on be his glory), whose memoranda and account of the character of the cities that are populated in said government are the following:

THE CITY OF SANTIAGO DE LAS MONTAÑAS

The city of Santiago de las Montañas of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (on be his glory). He commissioned for said visit Captain Juan de Roda Medrano and Pedro de Lasarte, who visited the scattered Indians in the territory of said city and it appears, according to their examination, the number of Indian men and women are as follows:

First, in the encomienda of Captain Francisco Perez de Viverd, which includes the towns of Yangorasa and Yatashinas [sic] and Ranamoo and Andoas, 1,645 Indian men and women, children and adults, of which 951 are males and the rest females.

"53. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. 33-45."

In the encomienda of Captain Hernando de Orozco, adjoining said city, which includes the towns of Yranaones [sic] and Guatuzas and Andoas, 1,082 Indian men and women, adults and children, of which 536 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Hinojosa, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Cama, Jumbare and Tayones and Andoas, 916 Indian men and women, of which 496 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Francisco Briceño, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Yaguiza and Curiza, 1,016 Indian men and women, of which 588 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Bernardo de Loyola, including the towns of Yanones and Andoas, 615 Indian men and women, of which 380 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Ortega, inhabitant of said city, including the town Yranaones, 360 Indian men and women, of which 220 are males.

In the encomienda of Rodrigo de Solis, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Caciruma and Chuguaca, 640 men and women, of which 335 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cornejo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Pinchonama, 188 Indian men and women, of which 102 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Acarrero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Moronaza, 339 Indian men and women, of which 188 are males.

In the encomienca of Francisco de Herrera, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Curaguana, 308 Indian men and women, of which 168 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Bautista, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Cumigarapa, 212 Indian men and women, of which 146 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Medina, in the town of Civiraonas, 90 Indian men and women, of which 36 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Cardela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbaza, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males.

In the encomienda of Simon de Carvajal, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Cuyumbana, 543 Indian men and women, of whom 304 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego Vela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Bobonaza, 323 Indian men and women, of whom 160 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Tapia, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbaza, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males. [30]

In the encomienda of the late Alonso Perex de Toro and his wife who owns them, including the town of Marazaconas, 216 Indian men and women, of whom 145 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Zamorano, including the town of Patocurapa, 260 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The Indians who are under the head of Governor Don Gaspar in the districts of said city in the towns of Cenisa and Cangaza number 661 Indian men and women, of whom 357 are males.

Total, 10,159; men, 5,759. * * *

This city of Santiago has jurisdiction over more districts and Indians than these, but, because they were down the river and not all pacified, it was not possible to visit them.

His lordship, Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory), populated this city in 1558 on Santiago day, which was when he discovered the said territory. The city was settled on the Marañon River, by which river his lordship embarked in canoes for the exploration he made of said river. It was located in a place seven leagues before arriving at the Pongo, which is a pass and boundary made by the sierras and mountains, because from it, down to the Mar del Norte, all is level plain. The natives make use of canoes by means of which they travel on the rivers that are within the territory of this city. There are many of these in proportion to the population and with these canoes they come to the aforementioned city. The land is mountainous and very hot; they do not have herds of llamas and therefore they dress in cotton, of which much grows in said land. Formerly they went about generally unclothed, but now all the men, women and children usually are well clothed, because of this training having come to them. The rivers contain a great quantity of very large fish; even porpoises go up to the aforementioned city from the sea. There is plenty of food, maiz, and roots, and many different kinds of good fruits, and much hunting in the mountains, which are not very rough, such as wild hogs, deer, tapir, and many other game animals, which said Indians kill easily with bows and arrows. There are many very beautiful birds, pauxies and piures (piuriés) and big

partridges, and many other birds that the Indians domesticate in their houses. There are mines of rock salt and large springs of salty water. They trade this with the Indians on the river below, where salt is not found. They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief, under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died. They used to suffer much harm before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them from all the neighboring Indians, because of being very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes, which often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they traveled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains. They had neither rites or ceremonies, but only to be born and to die; and thus they entered the evangelic faith without difficulty, and all in general know prayers and are baptized and receive and ask for the sacraments; for which purpose the newcomers have formed towns and put them in order and neatness so that each town has its church and ornaments and its cabildos and their alcaldes and magistrates, by whom the Indians who commit crimes are taken and brought to justice in said city; and they decide civil cases with all fairness. There are in the territory of this city four clergymen who preach and administer the holy sacrament, each one in accordance with his stipend and salary, which is about 500 pesos of silver for each clergyman

without his altar fee and provenciones. They did not have to pay taxes [31] only the things that they took from the natives' lands being useful, and thus they have estimated that there is a certain quantity of food and from each six Indian men of a certain age, they took one so that he might take out gold seven months of the year, whom they call curicamayos; and those who are thus collected together are called cuadrillas, in accordance with the number of Indians that each encomendero has. Some have 20 curicamayos and others 50 or 80 more or less, according to the number; the encomenderos give them for each period or seven months, two vestures, which consist of two mantas and two shirts and the food, salt, meat, maiz, and beans necessary, and they keep them together in their houses with all kindness, and the other five months of each year, they live in their own houses and on their own territory; the curicamayos must be from 14 to 25 years of age, because the others do not travel in search of gold, which gold is taken out of the Cangaza and Iranbiza Rivers in the territories of said city, by which rivers all the natives go to take it out and they carry all their food from their own towns and inns up to the neighborhood of said mines by water and canoes and thus do not burden themselves.

They take out from said rivers each year 20 to 25 thousand pesos. They work the river bed and the flats. It is 23 carat and grain gold. The Spaniards have no other trade or contracts with the natives outside of said city and said mines, where the merchandise is sold publicly.

The said city obtained Castillian things through the city of Jaen, which came up to

said city in canoes and by beasts of burden from the city of Chachapoyas and Moyobamba, and they came by land; and from the cities of Cuenca and Loxa came many ordinary Indian natives of the cities of Cuenca and Loxa to said mines with their trade goods looking for barter.

They know that they should respect justice and obey calls and commands, and they come to complain freely of any grievance against their encomenderos and others, when they have been too rigorous in administering justice to them; and the governor and his lieutenants and alcaldes and their judges visit the districts of each city, and the Indians and chiefs come to them freely to recount any small grievance that they might have received. They have knowledge of each particular pertaining to the repairing of the roads and maintaining them and the Royal Inns in which are sold those things necessary for travelers, according to the prices in the book of rates."

"THE CITY OF LOYOLA

The city of Loyola of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship aforementioned, who gave the commission to Captain Hernando de Vega, who visited said city and its districts and visited the following Indians:

First, the encomienda of Anton Sanchez del Castillo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Capaparachu, 345 Indian men and women, of whom 185 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Gomez de Rueda, inhabitant of said city, in the town of Cambuco, 320 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The encomienda of Martin Correa, including the towns of Chamanama and Zanlonama, 460 Indian men and women, of whom 264 are males.

The encomienda of Nuño de Monsalve, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Camilache, 434 Indian men and women, of whom 226 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ferel, inhabitant of said city, absent, including the town of Yanachima, 112 Indian men and women, of which 61 are males. [32]

In the encomienda of Captain Francisco Gonzales Montoya, including the towns of Misacandoro and Cutirimi, 332 Indian men and women, of which 196 are males.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Oviedo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Marizana, 269 Indian men and women, of which 148 are males.

In the encomienda of Doña Ines de Estrada, including the town of Calaqui, 413 Indian men and women, of whom 214 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro Gomez Duarte, including the towns of Changoma and Cutirinci (Cutirimi?), 336 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro de Bañuelos, including the towns of Mijanoma and Paima, 229 Indian men and women, of whom 167 are males.

In the encomienda of Jerónimo Ponce, including the town of Ambo, 334 Indian men and women, of whom 212 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando de Orellana, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Namai and Lalanguiche and Tantamora, 316 Indian men and women, of whom 166 are males.

In the encomienda of Gasper de Ortego, including the town of Tanchinama, 328 Indian men and women, of whom 184 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Caballero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Guarindilla, 337 Indian men and women, of whom 192 are males.

In the encomienda of Antonio de Herrera, in the town of Cumbare, 91 Indian men and women, of whom 43 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando Jedeon, including the town of Muchonami, 183 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

In the encomienda of Alonso Sanchez, including the town of Marracó, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego de Albarreda, including the town of Caronoma, 168 Indian men and women, of whom 85 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Alonso de Fuentes, including the towns of Zambotama and Manguiche, 258 Indian men and women, of whom 149 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ramos de Larangui (from Carangui?) including the town of Changata, 164 Indian men and women, of whom 86 are males.

In the encomienda of Bartolomé Lopez, including the towns of Pomanga and Lacuemache, 366 Indian men and women, of whom 198 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Nuñez, including the town of Misacho, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 147 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cano, absent, including the town of Caxunguima, 112 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Mixalalangui, which is under Governor Don Gaspar, within its territorwa 400 Indian men and women, of whom 186 are males.

Total 6,616. * * *

This city of Loyola was settled by his lordship Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory) when he began establishing this government. It is a land of hills and valleys, and the natives all dress in wool, because of possessing a great number of llamas in the terri-

tory which have the customary stones (53) in their stomachs. They are a people of equal rights who never were subjects nor do they pay taxes or give tributes. They have chiefs and leaders who lead them as captains in their wars, which they have with one another and kill each other regularly, and thus they establish their settlements in the strongest places, which are now towns formed by the newcomers. They [33] have many drunken feasts and these, as well as the wars among themselves, decimate them. They put herbs of witchcraft in their drinks, with which they kill one another. Gold is taken from all the rivers and more will be found. The Spaniards have discovered exposed mines and veins where gold is now taken out. They do not have in their land anything with which to pay taxes and thus they are taxed by making certain plantations of maiz and roots for the maintenance of their encomenderos and curicamayos, and in every district, according to the number of Indians in it, they give one out of five as he must be a boy of 14 to 25 years of age, who work said mines seven months of the year and the rest they spend on their lands and in their own houses. They do not mill the metal but wash it with troughs for which every year a vestura is given to each Indian. Said mines are about seven leagues distant from said city. They provide them with all necessities. They take out every year in the districts of this city 30 to 35 thousand pesos. It is 42 leagues from the city of Loxa to this city, and 35 from the city of Xaen, and 30 leagues from

"53. These bezoar stones were considered by both the Spaniards and the Indians as having magical properties."

Zamora; and 50 from Santiago, and 18 from Valladolid; this is all broken mountainous country. There are many rivers across the trails and very powerful ones that cannot be forded, and over all of them are bridges of reeds or canes. These Indians do not leave for any trade outside of their native land. They trade among their own towns. There are three clergymen in this city and in its district who preach to them and administer the holy sacrament, 400 pesos of stipened being given to each one. In this land, in order to make their farms, they do not plow the land, but, having cleared an area on the mountainside with axes and burned it over, they sow here the mayz [sic] and roots which they gather three times in fourteen months, because of its being a rainy land, the seasons not being definite, and having many marshes. All the towns have churches and alcaldes and they live in an orderly manner and are intelligent people; and the curicamayos and all are very well treated, because, although in the beginning they made their vestments very short, in order not to hamper them in warfare, now they make them down to their knees. The Spaniards do not mix with them. This city obtains plenty of merchandise from Spain which ordinarily comes from the city of Loxa and which is publicly sold in the city and mines, including cattle and hogs and all necessities."

"THE CITY OF VALLADOLID

The city of Valladolid was settled by the aforementioned lordship when he entered to establish this government in 1556, and by his command his captains returned to rebuild it, it having been depopulated and abandoned by the Spaniards at first because of his absence and occupation in his exploration and because of the hardships and wars with the natives, who are very warlike people and who killed many of the Spaniards.

By command of the aforementioned lordship (so be his glory), the Indians within the territories of said city were visited in 1580, although said city and the rest of this government had been visited other times, although not reduced to towns. Pedro Gomez Duarte visited it and found the following number of Indian men and women.

The encomienda of Captain Garcia de Paredes, absent, including the town of Guambuco, 96 Indian men and women, of whom 64 are males.

The encomienda of a minor of Vasco Martin, dead, including the towns of Yanapinga and Yanzame and Ongomanta, 340 Indian men and women, of whom 250 are males. [34]

The encomienda of Captain Hernado de Vega, absent, including the town of Palanda, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 120 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Navarro, including the towns of Tangoraca and Colalayer (?), 160 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

The encomienda of Andres Lopez de Agurto, including the towns of Picuncha and Yaca, 243 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

The encomienda of Juan de Saucedo, including the towns of Tapala, Larinamanta, Callanga, Hongomanta, 263 Indian men and women, of whom 137 are males.

The encomienda of Francisco Magariños, including the towns of Pangora and Gariuba, Colomata, Cananche, 215 Indian men and women, of whom 132 are males.

The encomienda of Alvaro Camacho, including the worns of Zamayoc, Yuminche, and Mohoche, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 100 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Aldrete, including the towns of Licaroma and Yarami, 228 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Ximenez Magariño, including the towns of Zacapo and La Rinconada, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 106 are males.

The encomienda of Diego Alvarez, including the towns of Misalanchi, Posirimi, Quichiparra, Yangonama, 176 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

The encomienda of Elvira Montero, including the towns of Yumba and Yambamba, Curpa, and Paco, 178 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

The encomienda of Aldonza Martín, minor, including the towns of Tacanambe and Pacamari, 120 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Culichima, with the others of Captain Juan Navarro, 108 Indian men and women, of whom 50 are males.

Total, 2,975; males, 1,560. * * *

The natives of this city of Valladolid live on slopes and defensible places, because of being warlike people and people of complete equality, and, as they say, they have many times defeated the captains of the Inca who entered to subject them. Their arms are lances of palm wood more than 25 palms in length, and stones and axes and javelins. They do not have chiefs, but the most courageous is chosen as leader, and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs. They formerly clothed themselves with wool from the llamas, although the clothing was very abbreviated; now they travel and are dressed in all good taste. They work their land with plows (tacllas) and the richest ones have the best plantations because some 100 Indian men and 100 Indian women are collected together to plow and they turn back the land to them (the rich ones). They work until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance, and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because after they had sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought about others.

Gold is found in all the rivers and in three of them which are very great, it is found everywhere and the Spaniards have discovered mines and veins in the hills which are worked separately, although, the working of them is very difficult because of the lack of

natives at present, for, in addition to those used up by the drunken feasts that they have, many of the younger Indians having lost their parents have left and gone to the cities of nearby Peru, and since those remaining did not have in their land anything to give as tribute they were taxed in the same manner as the rest by giving to their [35] encomenderos, curicamayos, and making plantations for them. There are two priests in this city and its territory and one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the natives. The encomenderos pay the priest of the natives and they give the priest of the Spaniards 300 pesos out of the royal treasury. They do not breed any kind of stock in this land except cattle. Wheat is raised, although the crops are frequently lost. It is about 5 leagues from the Cordillera and 18 from the city of Loxa."

2: Stirling --35-36 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

"THE CITY OF SANTA MARIA DE LAS NIEVES

His lordship ordered this city established in order to satisfy those who had not been given an encomienda of Indians in the city of Santiago de Las Montañas, which is on the Marañon River in the direction of the city of Chachapoyas de Moyobamba. Captain Joan Navarro de Beaumonte visited this city by command of the aforementioned lordship in 1580, although it had been visited and examined before. From this visit it appears to have the following number of Indian men and women.

In the towns of Titibupata and Ticancama, encomienda of Luis Darmas, inhabitant of said city, 369 Indian men and women, of whom 230 are males.

In the town of Bambaro, encomienda of Juan Izquierdo, 297 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the towns of Curagurapa and Cociata, encomienda of Juan Gonzales, 103 Indian men and women, of whom 55 are males.

In the town of Yungagones, encomienda of Juan Diaz, 150 Indian men and women, of whom 83 are males.

In the town of La Cordillera, encomienda of Francisco Bustamente, 341 Indian men and women, of whom 190 are males.

In the town of Chichicaza, encomienda of Pedro Vello, 213 Indian men and women, of whm 117 are males.

In the town of Yauinare, encomienda of Bartolmé Mendez, 223 Indian men and women, of whom 116 are males.

In the town of Zangona, encomienda of Pedro Sanchez, 283 Indian men and women, of whom 125 are males.

In the towns of Yuniangones and Zagazagas, encomienda of Garci Gonzalez, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

In the town of Palenque, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz, 123 Indian men and women, of whom 63 are males.

In the towns of Cangaza and Tugurogones, 240 Indian men and women, of whom 156 are males. It is the encomienda of Juan de Saldaña, inhabitant of said city.

In the town of Chingama, encomienda of Benito Gil, 232 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

In the town of Catarima, encomienda of Doña Francisca Valera, 262 Indian men and women, of whom 153 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 52 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 66 are males. [sic]

Total, 2,427; males, 1,332. * * *

2: Stirling--35-36 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 161

The land and territories of this city of Nieva [sic] is mountainous and of the same temperature and nature as that of Santiago. It developed that gold was not to be found in the territories of this city and therefore cotton clothes were made there by the order and measure that the curicamayos of the other[36] cities gave them, and the encomenderos gave them spinning wheels and cotton and other things necessary for making said clothes. For their work they paid said Indians their vestuaries. In the territories of this city, there is a sierra and range that is all salt. It is situated 30 leagues from the city of Santiago, the Marañon River being in between, and thus the Indians have suffered greatly from the wars made on them by the neighboring Indians on the river below. It is a fertile land, productive of maiz and other roots, which they plant on the mountains. There are two clergymen, one of whom administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians as in the rest of the towns. They are a very settled people, like those of the Santiago. They are all orderly and well behaved. They do not have treaties or contracts with the Spaniards."

" SEVILLA DEL ORO--LOGROÑO

In this government was established the city of Sevilla del Oro in the territory of Macas, which city, because of the few people settled there and also because of the natives not being in servitude and of suitable temperament, has not been visited in order to be divided into towns. It is a mountainous land which adjoins the province of the Quijos, by the royal road with the seat of Riobamba. It is a land where gold is found and taken out, although, because of the Indians not being settled, cuadrillas have not been ordered. The land produces much cotton and much food. There are likewise two clergymen there, of whom one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians, as in the other cities.

The other city which is populated halfway between this city of Sevilla and that of Santiago, is the city of Logroño de los Caballeros. They are a very warlike people and have killed a great number of Spaniards and every day they kill them. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and ravines, all of which in general have gold, and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits they can obtain and which the land promises. They tried to take out gold and with a great deal of difficulty, took out almost 30,000 pesos the first year, which they had to spend in subsistence and necessities, dividing it into lots of five for the neighboring cities, which is the reason they did not give any profits to Your Majesty.

because of not having any other industries in the land but the mines, and thus not having any other profit; and thus there are no military officers or town officers or secretaries there; because first it is necessary to find someone who would like to organize it after the manner of the governments of the other cities. Because of not having anything else to say concerning them, it is unnecessary to enlarge the account more.

In the city of Valladolid, December 1, 1582.

JUAN ALDRETE.

By command of the Governor.

JOAN PIZARRO,

Public Secretary.

2: Stirling--36-38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

"Thus we find the combined population of the districts of Santiago and Santa Maria de Las Nievas was 12,586, of which number 7,091 were males. The region enumerated under Santiago evidently included the Zamora basin and the upper Santiago River. That of Nieve apparently included the lower Santiago and the Alto Marañon above the Pongo Manseriche. Because of their hostility at the time, [37] no census was taken of the Jivaros occupying the Upano basin. Apparently no record was made of the inhabitants of the Morona and Pastaza. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the figure given represents considerably less than one-half of the total Jivaro population at the time.

In the year 1599 it was said that 20,000 Jivaros joined in the attack against Logroño. (54) There can be little doubt that this figure is exaggerated, but judging from the partial census of Salinas, the Jivaro population in the last quarter of the sixteenth century must have totaled more than 30,000.

It is not easy to obtain an accurate estimate of the complete number of Jivaros at the present time. Delgado gave a census for the Upano basin and the upper Morona of 3,151 Jivaros, of whom 600 were men old enough to fight. Ten years previously this same group was said to have had 2,000 fighting men. (55) At the same time there were said to be 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries. (56)

"54. Velasco, t. III, p. 152.
55. Delgado, p. 413.
56. Colección cartas domínicas. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 357."

In 1907 the Salesians estimated that the Jivaro population in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza was 9,790. It is not clear upon what data this figure is based and it appears likely that it is in excess of the true number occupying this region at the time.

In 1905 Von Hassel gives us the following figures: Aguarunas, 2,000 to 2,500; Antipas, 2,000; Huambisas, 800 to 1,000.

Taking this estimate for the lower Jivaro country, Rivet admits a total population of 20,000, which number, using the proportions of Vacas Galindo, would include 4,000 fighting men.

There can be no doubt that the population has diminished considerably since the time of the conquest. The decrease of population in the Upano during the decade from 1880 to 1890 was more than 50 percent, according to Vacas Galindo.

In the year 1888 there were 172 Jivaros at Capahuari and 83 at Copataza. The next year the combined populations of these two communities was only 100 after a war had taken place. (57)

The present writer has mentioned a similar instance where the Jivaro population of the upper Yaupe and Canga Rivers was almost exterminated between the years 1925 and

"57. Vacas Galindo 'Nankijukima,' p. 184."

1930 as the result of repeated war raids. This sort of thing has been of regular occurrence throughout the Jivaro territory and has been without doubt an important factor in holding down the population. Smallpox has been an even greater factor in reducing the number of Indians at various [38] times. The combination of disease and warfare would probably have brought about the virtual extinction of the Jivaros had it not been for the fact that women are not habitually killed in war raids. Thus the polygynous customs of the Jivaros tend to keep the birth rate higher than wartime casualties would seem to warrant.

Although the Jivaros are probably the largest tribe inhabiting the Amazon basin, owing to the large extent of their territory they are spread out so thinly that the population is evidently not much more than one to the square mile."

2: Stirling --38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 175, 721

"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

2: Stirling--38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 624, 175, 721

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

2: Stirling--38-39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 592, 624

"At the present time the political organization of the Jivaros is at best a very flexible thing and is simple both in theory and in practice. The Jivaro-speaking peoples are divided into scores of so-called tribes. These tribal divisions, however, are merely artificial denominations given by the whites to groups more or less isolated in certain geographical units such as rivers or divides. Tribes in this sense have no existence in the minds of the Indians themselves.

The simplest unit of organization is the patrilineal family group living under a single roof. Such a household is quite independent and self-sufficient, being subservient to no one. The head of the [39] household is usually the oldest man in it, known by the Spanish term 'capito.' Where there are a number of houses in the same general vicinity these may recognize a common war leader known by the Quechua term 'curaka.' It is significant that there is apparently no word in the Jivaro language indicating the equivalent of our idea of a chief."

2: Stirling--39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 624, 628

"A typical unit or group under a curaka [KS: head of the household]consists of six or seven houses, each with its capito [KS: common war leader], situated over an area of 5 or 6 miles on some small river. Such a group has no name to designate it other than that of the stream on which it is located. The blood ties in such a group are likely to be rather close. All groupings of the Jivaros other than the household group proper, which is a natural family unit, are traceable directly to the custom of blood revenge. Such groups are in the nature of loose alliances for defensive or offensive warfare. Insomuch as war raids are purely in the nature of feuds, these alliances are never very extensive or very permanent."

2: Stirling--39 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 554

"The power of the curaka [KS: head of the household] is purely advisory and is confined to warfare. He had no authority to order men against their will for any purpose, even that of fighting. The curaka has no special insignia denoting rank and has no special privileges, other than the prestige which his position gives him. He holds his position only as long as he retains his personal influence with the group. Realinements of household groups are frequent as leaders lose prestige or die."

2: Stirling--39[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701

"The number of households under the influence of a given curaka is subject to a great deal of fluctuation. It frequently happens that a strong curaka will build up a fairly powerful group of warriors about him. A weak curaka or capito may have a blood-revenge killing to attend to but will find himself outnumbered by the enemy to such an extent that he is afraid to attempt a killing with his own group. In this event he is likely to call upon the strong curaka to arrange the killing for him, paying him with a gun or a woman. Often, too, a weak curaka, fearing that his group would not be able successfully to defend themselves against an attack from enemies, will voluntarily place himself and his group under the influence of the strong curaka in a loose sort of alliance. In this way the strong group tends to grow and to become even stronger until one curaka may have 8 or 10 lesser curakas more or less under his control. This state of affairs is usually not very permanent. Owing to the loose organization and lack of any real power on the part of the head curaka, the large group becomes unwieldy or develops diverse interests and it tends to split up again into independent units. Consequently, in as little as 2 or 3 years' time, the original head curaka may find that one or more of his former lieutenants are now stronger than he."

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuki, known to the Ecuadoreans as José Grande. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuki was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Cangu River and the upper Taupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Cangu Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cocosha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucusha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

2: Stirling--41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

"At the present time the Jivaros are without doubt the most warlike group in all South America, and it is probable that this statement would hold true for the past century. In this respect, however, they have merely retained a custom and a war pattern that was widespread in northwestern South America at the time of the conquest."

2: Stirling--41 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161, 721

"The present-day practices of the Jivaro with regard to war resemble closely the sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions given by the Spaniards who attempted to conquer them and who had an excellent opportunity to observe this aspect of Jivaro ethnology. The accounts given of the methods of warfare practiced by neighboring tribes and by distant tribes of the highlands of Ecuador and Peru would seem to indicate that their motivation and method of fighting was very similar. Raids on distant groups in order to obtain trophy heads, individual prestige enhanced by this same method; even the preparation of tsantsas and the accompanying feasts and ceremonies were carried on over a large region."

2: Stirling--41 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 135, 669

"The gold in the headwater streams of the Santiago brought the Jivaros in contact with the Spaniards at an early date. During the sixteenth century they apparently did not offer much resistance to the intrusions of the Spaniards, although they were continually fighting among themselves in much the same manner as they do at the present day. It took some time for the Spaniards to establish themselves as natural enemies, but after enduring the encomienda for about 30 years the Jivaros finally arose in a united revolt which freed them permanently from foreign rule, in spite of the fact that continuous efforts have been made since that time to exploit their territory."

2: Stirling--41-42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The type of warfare which enabled them to maintain their liberty against the European invaders was, however, considerably different [42] from the internecine fighting which they have always maintained among themselves. It involved the temporary alliance in a common cause of several groups of natural enemies who laid aside their personal feuds until their purpose was accomplished. The success of the great revolt of 1899 is probably due primarily to the fact that in the person of Quiruba the Jivaros found an exceptional leader in a time of need."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

2: Stirling--42 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 609

"When Benavente first encountered the Jivaros he found them thoroughly belligerent and described them as being the most insolent and independent of all of the natives that he had ever seen in the Indies. It is likely that word of Benavente's harsh treatment of some of the Indians bordering on the Jivaro country had preceded him. The fact that he attempted to capture some of the first Jivaros that he saw by setting dogs on them did nothing to assist in attaining for him a friendly reception.

A few years later, when Juan de Salinas first penetrated the Jivaro country and established his colonies, he found the Jivaros a friendly and docile people. He repeatedly contrasts their friendliness and domesticity with the fierce, warlike nature of the tribes encountered in the highlands."

"We know, however, from many early descriptions, that the Jivaros were as active in their head-hunting raids in early times as they are at present and, from the meager descriptions which have been left us, it would seem as though their manner of conducting these blood feuds has changed but little with the passage of centuries.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 concerning the Jivaros of the Santiago River, says:

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of the chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and take the heads of their enemies * * *. Their chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died * * *. They used to receive much harm from all the neighboring Indians before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them because of being a very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes that often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they travelled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains."(59)

A few early observations on the Indians of the higher valleys west of the Jivaro country are interesting because of the similarity they show to the customs of the Jivaros. In 1571 Salinas says of the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola that they are---

warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect but each town has its chiefs and captains under whom they band

"59. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. 36-37."

together. (60)

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of Valladolid, writing in 1582:

They do not have chiefs but the most courageous is chosen as leader and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs * * *. Parties of about 100 men and 100 women work together in the gardens until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because having ashered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought on others. (61)

"60. Relaciones Geográficas, p. lxvi.
61. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, p. 42."

"In 1682 Lucero, who accompanied the expedition of Diego de Vaca, described the methods of fighting by the Jivaros in the following account.

The Jivaros appear formidable at first sight because their robust, tall, and well-proportioned bodies give them an advantage over many tribes on the great Amazon River; their lances and shields are not like those of ordinary men but of giants; their garment is so long and ample that it reaches their feet and is encircled with a belt a palm wide, very well made of hair, in such a manner that this long skirt can be drawn up through it so that it only reaches the knees, enabling them to climb their ridges with ease, carrying in the part of the garment hanging over the girdle many stones for some purpose or other. Their head is encircled with a red band in the form of a wreath, all decorated with spangles of shell which was showy workmanship and pleasing to see. Seeing many Jivaros together produces an agreeable sight; however, in keeping with what has already been referred to, his arrogant mode of speaking and his fierceness, even though he had no other adornment, would be sufficient to make him known as a haughty son of the mountains * * *. The sharpened blades with which they tip their lances are of bones taken from men whom he has killed from ambush, a prize among them of inestimable value because he who carries it gives to all in the region authentic testimony that he has commited murder, or Ayumba, which is the same thing. Their houses are large and

are all in the wilderness because each family lives apart; the reason for living thus being that they are all treacherous and kill each other without abatement except for the women, whose number alone increases their force; and thus they observe only the law which says, he lives who conquers, and for this reason no one trust another, for experience with so many fatal results has shown them that he who trusts his best friend dies without recourse, and it has been demonstrated that the women of the dead belong without any question to the murderer, besides which he needs other means in his possession to show the blood on the lance and to dance with the head in a joint festival of Ayumbas, in which the drinking runs in proportion to the amount of manioc turned into very strong wine, so whose who become intoxicated undertake new expeditions to kill others; and as similar excesses follow one another and are continued without fear, either to chief or cacique (whom they do not have) [sic]; they live so well armed and keep such careful guard that it seems a miracle to a Spaniard that any escape in their houses; because, since they live on such high ridges, those who climb up to them by slow degrees and with much work are necessarily discovered, there being, as I have said, sentinels posted on all such advantageous places. It appears from what I have said before that on the first rumor of a Spaniard the word went almost at once through all of the province, and then there was a general truce between Xibaro and Xibaro, considering the Christian their greater enemy, against whom they joined together hoping to [47] ambush them in the roughest part of their trails. The Christians, not knowing of the hatred, died without

warning.

In the narrowest and highest part of the ridge they set up good-sized stones held by supports made of sticks fastened with vines, which being cut, the stones being free fall heavily on whomever might be below and break them to pieces, those who are coming up being unable to help themselves; then the Xibaros without fear of injury or of falling into the hands of his enemies get down behind the stones, so that they appear as if they were part of the roadway itself. They rush down then to compete against each other to see who will be successful in returning with the greatest load of heads, but when the sides of the narrow roadway were grown with thick tree trunks the Christians protected themselves behind them, remaining so free that the Xibaros who came down blindly, eager for heads, found themselves prisoners of those they had considered dead.

And when they fell into the hands of Christian Indians, not only did they find themselves prisoners but also cut to pieces, the Spaniard being careful to defend them from our Indian friends, which fact the Xibaro knew so well that when he fell into the hands of the Spaniards he knew his life was safe, and on the contrary, when he fell into the hands of Indian friends: and for this reason if he is able he calls in the Indian language to the Spaniards, saying many times: 'Apache', when they wish to say Spaniard. (64)

"64. Lucero, p. 27."

It is of interest to compare Lucero's account with the following description of the Quijos written in 1577 by Diego de Ortegón:

> They do not form a great state or an organized nation; each section is governed by itself; and, when they go to war, they elect for leader the most valiant and courageous among the caciques, and his command lasts the duration of the war, no longer; their arms were wooden lances, shields, the macana, and javelins. They cut off the heads of their enemies and they arrange them on stakes stuck in the ground, around their houses * * *.
>
> As expedients against their enemies they made use of big stones, which, having tied them with vines, they suspend them from the sides of the hills over the narrow and uneven trails; their enemies passing unsuspectingly they then cut the ties and the stones fall with violence, bounding and knocking down in their path as many as they strike on the trail; a manner of warfare very terrible and disastrous, of which some of the soldiers of Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda were victims. The thickness of the vegetation contributes to making the danger more serious, hiding from sight that original method of warfare. (65)"

"65. González Suárez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, pp. 58-59."

116, 175, 721

"Concerning the warlike customes of the Jivaros, Prieto wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> Their inclination to make cruel and ferocious war on their fellow creatures distorts and obscures all their good qualities to such a degree that the Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel enemies in all the world. Traveling from mountain to mountain, from forest to forest, from river to river, looking for other infidels like themselves in order to take their lives and dance with the heads of the dead is what most amuses, delights, and enraptures them. In order to satisfy this ferocious custom, hardships, nakedness, long trips, hunger, and whatever one might imagine, does not hinder them, as they aspire to no other [48] glory nor greater happiness than to merit the name Cocarama,(66) as the continuous wars which I myself have observed demonstrate; and thus it happened in my time when I was Cura-Doctrinero of the town and mission of Canelos, during the years previous to my arriving at this parish, that the town of Copataza was annihilated, and at the same time the town of Palma in the time of M. Rdo. P. Santiago Riofrio of the order of Predicadores, my predecessor in Canelos. In my time these same Jivaros of Gualaquiza, Bonboisa, and Zamora, together with the Jivaros who lived on the Paute River in the vicinity of Macas,

"66. The Jivaros called the brave ones and those who had proved their valor by killing many people, Cocarama."

made various forays on the other side of the Pastaza River, where they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them * * *.

Their dances are a horrible abomination and make even those with much courage and sprit afraid upon seeing them. A few years ago they sacrificed all the Christiansof the new Zamora near Loja to this wicked end. Among those suffering the sane fate was Don Julian Eguiguren, a native of Spain, who was in the town of Zamora when the revolution of the Jivaros occurred. Two months before I entered tis conquest, a horrible battle occurred between the Nantipas Jivaros, who live on one of the rivers tributary to Zamora, and those who live in the vicinity of the longo Manseriche; also another battle between the latter and the Pafocamas, who live on the headwaters of the Marañon near Jaen. Also the Jivaros of Mayalio and Suinde are preparing to wage a cruel war against the Jivaros of the great Achual near Canelos. (67)"

"Prieto, in Cempte, pp. 65-66."

2: Stirling--50 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 555, 181

"It is certainly true that at the present time the most important thing in life to a Jivaro is war. His greatest aspiration is to become renowned as a fighter. His reputation increases in proportion to the number of heads he has succeeded in securing during his career. Warfare consists of raids conducted by one group or alliance upon another, and, while of very frequent occurrence, they are sporadic in nature."

2: Stirling--50[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 756

"The following information regarding war practices and the preparation of tsantsas was obtained directly from Anguasha, a veteran warrior of the Yaupe River who had participated in many raids. While this description may be said to apply particularly to the Yaupe group of Jivaros, it may be regarded as typical of the whole Jivaro territory, save for minor details.

When a man dies or when he is seriously ill the shaman of his group takes natima. (70) While under the influence of the narcotic the source of the man's illness is revealed to him. Then, in the event that death occurs, a raid is made upon the house in which the offending shaman lives."

"70. Banisteria caapi."

2: Stirling--51 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 866

"The art of warfare is drilled into young boys from earliest childhood. When about the age of 6 a son is instructed by his father every morning at dawn concerning the necessity of being a warrior. He endeavors to implant in the son's mind the idea of revenge by reciting the feuds in which his particular family is involved. For example, he says:

> So-and-so killed your uncle; some one else killed your grandfather; we must have our revenge, otherwise bad luck will fall upon us. Our crops will be poor and we will not have success in the hunt.

This is repeated every morning regularly for more than 5 years, until the parent sees that the son has been thoroughly inoculated with the warlike spirit and the idea of blood revenge.

When a man goes to war he usually takes with him his sons of more than 7 years of age. These small boys do not take an active part in the actual combat, due principally to their lack of strength, but they often enter the fight and here accustom themselves to the methods of warfare. Most particularly they learn to defend themselves and learn not to be afraid. They also harden themselves in this manner to the bloody realism of the actual killings. The first time a young boy goes to a fight a special feast is held in his honor in which chicken blood is put on his legs."

2: Stirling--91 [2] (1930-1931) 1930 Jivaro
136, 727, 864

"The first time a boy or young man kills an enemy in actual combat he is ordered by the others to cut off the head of his victim. During this process some experienced warrior stays by his side to instruct him in the proper technique. This adviser also stays by him later to instruct him in the preparation of the tsantsa. After this has been done and the boy has gone through the subsequent ceremony on the return of the successful raiding party he is considered a full-fledged warrior and now enough confidence is placed in him that he may be sent out to act as a spy."

2: Stirling--51 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 648

"The Jivaros usually attempt to maintain a spy system in all of the groups with which they have contact. Spying is a dangerous mission as it is common knowledge among the tribes that the others, as well as themselves, maintain a system of espionage. When a spy learns something which he thinks his group should know, under the pretense of going hunting, he notifies his friends. Cases have been known when a Jivaro has betrayed his own group in return for a girl or a gun."

2: Stirling--51-52 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"Sometimes both sides in a feud become weary of the fighting and the affair is officially terminated by means of a peace ceremony during which a lance is buried. The actual interring of the lance is done by the wishinu, who goes into the forest at night and buries it in a spot known only to himself. The lance is supposed to carry with it the animosity of the feud. Unfortunately, it usually hap-[52]pens that all of the ill feeling is not buried, so that generally it is not long before some event transpires which causes the feud to break out anew.".

2: Stirling-- 52 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"War is declared with a ceremony in which the lance is officially disinterred and carried into the jivaría. Immediately following this ceremony, an emissary is sent to notify the enemy. Following the conclusion of the ceremony, which may last for 24 hours, the attacking party leaves on its mission. Occasionally the enemy, after being notified, immediately launches a counter attack. However, the ethics of Jivaro warfare require that they too must sent an emissary in advance in such a case.

As a rule, while the ceremony is being launched, a messenger is sent out to notify all of the allies and friends. This messenger runs to the nearest jivaría carrying a lance which is relayed to another messenger from that jivaría, who in turn passes it on to the next, until in this manner all of the friendly houses have been notified, which fact is signaled by the return of the lance over the same route to its starting place. Each messenger, upon arrival, delivers a warlike talk, attempting to incite the occupants of the household to a desire to accompany the expedition. He tells of the strength that can be mustered, of the bright prospects for victory and of the glory and prestige to be gained by those participating in the fight. By the time the lance returns with the recruits the attacking party know what their strength will be and plan their tactics accordingly.

Any individual may be the instigator of such a raid, which follows some supposed hostile action on the part of the enemy, as described before."

2: Stirling--52 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"During the lance ceremony much nijimanche is drunk, warlike songs are sung, threats are made against the enemy, and the wrongs that have been suffered are rehearsed. All of the relatives of the wronged person assemble and take an active part in the ceremony. In the dances accompanying the ceremony only lances are carried, the guns being kept apart. It is interesting in this connection to note that the chonta palm, of which the lances are made, contains tsarutama; those made entirely of chonta wood possessing more supernatural power than the lances with iron heads. The lances are frequently decorated with markings which indicate the fierce spirits whose power they contain."

2: Stirling--52-53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The emissary, who is sent out to notify the enemy that the lance ceremony has taken place, is always one of the most able warriors, as this is a rather dangerous mission requiring considerable skill, owing to the pitfalls and set-guns which he is likely to encounter when approaching the enemy's habitation. However, the messenger is rarely killed. In the event that he should be killed, the wishinu, [53] under the influence of natima, is supposed to get in touch with his spirit and receive his advices in this manner. Sometimes, instead of notifying the enemy verbally, a head is fashioned out of manioc or mud, in the form of a tsantsa, or some animal head is placed on the point of a lance and set up near the house to be attacked, in a place where it is sure to be seen."

Z: Stirling--53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"When the wishinu has decided that the proper time has arrived for the fight, those intending to participate are notified. The day before they leave, the curaka takes natime. While under its influence the spirits speak to him and give him advice calculated to help in the combat. In the event that the curaka is too old to fight, or is sick, he names the most able fighter in his group to act in his place as a war leader."

2:Stirling--53 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 714, 726, 301

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the nalima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."

"At dawn the dance ends and the warriors prepare to leave. Each man is accompanied by a woman bearing nijimanche in earthenware jars. From this time until the beginning of the attack no one speaks except the curaka, who does so only to give the necessary orders and advice. Only the curaka bids farewell to the women remaining in the house; the others are silent. They leave the house in single file, each man followed by a woman. The curaka is the last to leave and he brings up the rear of the file at all times on the march. When all of the war party have started the curaka closes the door of the house.

As soon as the party has gone the women remaining in the house begin to dance and sing songs of victory, meanwhile playing the small drum. This is continued until the return of the warriors. With the women are the old men and children and any others who may be incapacitated for the fight."

"When the attacking party arrives in enemy territory they walk carefully without making a sound or breaking a twig. Walking in single file, each steps exactly in the footprints of the person ahead. They do not travel on the trails but keep well to one side in order to avoid pitfalls, spring traps, and set-guns. As they approach the enemy house their presence usually is made known by the dogs, which have been posted for this purpose. The approach is made in the dark, as the attack is usually made just at dawn.

The people within the house, expecting the enemy, have kept the fires down and the house dark. When they become aware of the attackers lurking about, the defenders join hands within the house and commence a dance to the music of a flute made from the leg bone of a jaguar, which is supposed to carry with it the magical fighting force of the animal it represents. As they dance, they sing songs of defiance. The enemy are accused of being cowards, while at the same time they extol their own bravery, predicting that because of fear the attackers will run away.

Hearing these taunts, the attackers are made still more angry. They reply in similar vein, contradicting the statements of the defenders. Frequently some of the attackers, who are not particularly strong-hearted, become frightened and return home. There does not seem to be much stigma attached to such an action but it adds nothing to their prestige.

The statements and conversation exchanged on these occasions are reduced by custom to rather definite formulae. A typical exchange goes much like this: Defenders--'Come!

Come! We have the power of jaguars. The anaconda is with us also!'--then they shoot their guns in the direction of the enemy, saying, 'Take this--and this! We have plenty of ammunition! Go away! Go away! Take nijimanche in your own house!' They whistle shrilly. The attackers reply, firing their guns in the direction of the house, saying: 'No! No! We will take nijimanche in your house! We prefer it right here!'

If the attacking party feels that they are outnumbered, or if they are short of ammunition, the attack is not made directly but they will lay siege to the house, concealing themselves and firing at intervals, sometimes for as long as a week, until the defenders run short of water and food. The Jivaroe rarely have the foresight to provide themselves with these commodities in sufficient quantities to withstand a siege. During the siege, if anyone tries to leave the house, they are, of course, fired upon. The besieging party are tended by their women, who bring them food and nijimanche. When the defenders have used up the last of their food and drink, an old woman or a boy is sent out to see if the besieging party is still [55] around. As a rule, this individual is not molested because the attackers prefer the defenders to think that they have deserted.

The attackers frequently resort to the stratagem of pretending to go away, sending some of their men to fire shots at a distance who then quietly sneak back to their places. It is usually after such a ruse that the investigator is sent out. When nothing happens, the women leave the house to gather food in the chacra and to get more water. All the

moment the women have left the house the attackers make a rush for the door. Sometimes they pretend to run away and those in the house run out after them. After allowing themselves to be chased until the defenders are well clear of the house they turn about suddenly and the fight is held in the open.

Another ruse utilized by a force which is outnumbered is for its various members to run rapidly here and there over a long line, firing in as many different places as possible and shouting things calculated to indicate the presence of a large force. This stratagem is usually employed by a small group of men who have been attacked in the woods by a large party.

Under normal conditions the attacking party will consider themselves of equal or superior strength to the defending party. As soon as the first light of dawn begins the exchange of taunts ceases and the attack is begun. The assault is made with as much rapidity as possible, the attackers shouting loudly in order to bolster up their own courage and at the same time to terrify the enemy. As the house is rushed, guns are thown aside and only lances are used. Once the house is entered, a scene of great confusion transpires. The dogs are barking, women screaming and crying, the fighters shouting, the old men pleading for protection and shouting advice to their defenders. Children under 7 years of age are lanced and thrown aside. All of the men possible are killed, as are the old women. Only the young and desirable women are spared. Young women are also killed if they take too active a part in the combat. The attacking party always at-

tempts to kill the wishinu first. They fear his power and their confidence is greatly increased when he has been eliminated."

"When a man has killed an opponent he takes his head as soon as circumstances permit. It is customary with the Jivaros that a man, when struck, even though not severely wounded, will fall to the ground. Thus it frequently happens that the severing of the head is begun while the man is still alive. The removal of the head is usually accomplished with the lance blade. The skin is cut low on the chest in a V-shape just above the nipples and is peeled up until the lower part of the neck is exposed. The neck is severed, cutting through to the bone, and the head is separated from the body by cutting between two of the neck vertebrae.[56]

If the women of the defending party are able to conceal the body of a man who has been killed they do so quickly in order that his head may not be taken. When the battle is fairly equal they are sometimes able to do this.

During the fight a man is always exceedingly careful not to kill any of his blood relatives, who are likely to be present among the two combating forces if they live in the same region. The heads of women killed are taken, but not those of small children, their bodies merely being thrown aside.

As soon as the fight is over, assuming that the attacking party has been victorious, the curaka calls his men together for a discussion to decide which of the victims are relatives of the attacking party. Any member who has had a relative killed points him out. These are set aside, as tsantsas are not made from their heads out of courtesy to their relatives in the attacking force. During the heat of the fight, if someone notices

that a relative of his has been killed, he shouts to the victor: 'Do not take his head! That is a relative of mine!' However, any man who has killed an opponent and has not been able to take his head for this reason is entitled to make a tsantsa of a sloth's head, as will be described later. Captured women are divided among the successful warriors, the curaka taking his choice first.

All this having been decided upon, the victorious party mill around, shouting, and wrecking everything inside the house. They break the earthenware, kill the dogs, and rush about sticking their lances in the ground where they think the dead have been buried. (71) Any loot of value is taken. They then burn the house and uproot the plants in the garden. Meanwhile those who have taken heads string them on bark strips, wrap them in leaves or place them in a basket to be carried on their backs. The party is then ready to return home."

"71. The custom of burying the dead in the houses has resulted from missionary influence in some regions."

"They march back bearing the heads with them until at a distance where they are presumbably safe from pursuit. Here a camp and a temporary shelter is erected, usually on a sand bar in the river, and the preparation of the tsantsas is begun. This process requires approximately 20 hours; 12 hours for the preparation of the heads and 8 hours for smoking them. As soon as the camp has been made the heads are taken from the baskets and the leaf wrappings are removed.

A slit is made vertically in the back of the neck and each head is skinned as a skin is removed entire from a rabbit. Then any meat [57] adhering to the inside is scraped off and a fine piece of Chambira (72) fiber is used to fasten the eyelids shut. The skin is then reversed so that it is in its original position, the head forming a sack with the neck as the opening. Three pins of chonta wood are thrust through the lips so as to hold the mouth closed evenly and string is wrapped over them on the outside so as to insure the lips remaining in position during the succeeding operations.

A large earthenware pot is then half filled with water. In this is placed the juice from a parasitic vine called chinchipi. This mixture is brought to the point of boiling and the head placed in it for two hours. The astringent qualities of the chinchipi, according to the Jivaros, prevent the hair from falling out. At the end of this time the head, reduced to about one-third of its original size, is fished from the pot. It is well cooked, the skin very thick and of a rubbery consistency and pale yellow in color. As a rule, nothing is done to the eyes, although sometimes a large red-and-black seed is placed under each lid

72. Astrocaryum tucuma.

to bulge them out slightly. At this time, when the head has cooled sufficiently to handle, the slit up the back of the neck is neatly sewed up.

While the head is cooking the operator collects from the beach a series of rounded stones, scaled in size so as to fit the neck orifice during the further shrinking process. These stones are placed in the fire so as to be thoroughly heated when the head is taken from the pot. The operator then holds the head in the palm of one hand with the neck up and, picking up the largest of the heated stones with the aid of a pair of sticks, he drops it into the cavity inside the head. He then begins rotating the head rapidly in his hand so that the stone rolls around continuously inside the cavity. The hot rock give off a sizzling sound as it contacts the wet skin and a smell like that of burnt leather.

While this is going on the operator picks up another small stone with his free hand and with it smoothe out the features, keeping them as nearly as possible in a natural position. As soon as the rock inside has cooled somewhat it is removed and another freshly heated one substituted, smaller rocks being used as the head continues to shrink and harden from the drying-out process. During the procedure the external smoothing of the features is continued. This goes on for 2 or 3 hours, when the head has become reduced to a minimum. From time to time hair is plucked from the head and eyebrows and eyelashes so as to keep the hair in proportion to the other features.

As a final process, hot sand is used in place of the heated stones, the head being about half filled at each application; this penetrates [58] into crevices and completes the desic-

cation of any niches within the head. About evening the shrinking process is completed. The reduction of the features makes the fine facial hairs or down very prominent. At this stage the operator singes off most of this fuzz with an improvised torch, being careful not to damage the eyebrows and eyelashes.

Frequently the base of the neck is sewed around with fiber. This being done, the crown of the head is perforated and a loop of string is passed through and attached to a small transverse piece of chonta wood on the inside. By this the head is hung from a rack about 3 feet above the fire. Here it remains all night over a smudge, being heated and smoked.

The men do not go to sleep but lie before the fire with their feet over a rack as they sleep on their beds at home, warming their feet over the fire at the same time that the heads are being dried. The smoke changes the color of the heads from yellow to black, and the final drying process makes them very hard.

As a last procedure, the heads are polished with a piece of cloth, much as one would shine a shoe.

At dawn a young man is sent to the village to report the victory and the number of tsantsas which have been prepared, whereupon the women in the jivaría prepare to receive them. For each head that has been taken a fowl is killed and a bowl prepared. The heads of the fowls are cut off and the blood is drained into each bowl. In the same

way a bowl filled with ooa is prepared, one for each head.

While these preparations are being made the victorious party bearing the tsantsas are on their way home. As they approach the house each victor suspends his tsantsa around his neck. When they arrive they enter the house and each man having a tsantsa sticks his lance into the ground, butt down, the tsantsa being placed on the point of the lance. The women, wives or female relatives of the victors, then come up bearing the bowls of blood and ooa and, while the men are standing in this position, the right leg of each is painted in spots with the blood from one bowl, while the left leg is similarly spotted black from the ooa of the other bowl.

Following this, the men go to their various beds, the women following them with the two bowls. Here each man sits down and smears blood on his chest and arms, saying that this blood is the blood of his victims. When this has been done, all of the party drink nijimanche and partake of food.

Then begins a celebration of a very warlike nature, during which they dance around the tsantsas, brandishing lances and dramatizing the killing of the victims. During the dance the captured women stand by weeping. This is apparently such an important part of [59] the ceremony that, if no women have been captured, proxies are appointed from their own women to weep for each tsantsa. The dance continues all day, terminating at dark with much singing and drinking of fermented nijimanche. As soon as the dance is finished

each tsantsa is wrapped in cloth, placed in an old earthenware jar, and either put over the man's bed or buried in the floor of the house.

Each man who has taken a head now goes on a strict diet, which lasts for a period of about 6 months. During this time he must remain continent and is not permitted to eat any of the fierce varieties of animals, birds, or fish. During this period the vicharo never go out hunting alone."

"The Jivaro house is generally constructed with an eye to defense. As a rule, a house is erected in a small clearing, one side of which either faces a steep mountainside or a river bank. The walls of the house are constructed of poles or slats set vertically in the ground and as close together as possible. The house has a door at each end, made by placing hewn planks side by side in a vertical position so that when closed both the upper and lower ends are fitted into a slot. In order to open the door, these planks are lifted up so that the lower ends come out of the slot and the butts are set to one side so as to make an entrance in the shape of an inverted V. These doors can be barred from the inside.

If a jivaría has reason to suspect that an attack is impending a palisade of balsa logs is set up around the house with small loopholes here and there between the posts to serve for observation and to shoot through. The walls of the house itself are reinforced on the inside with posts about 5 feet high. At intervals along the trails leading to the house strong saplings are bent back, attached with strings leading across the trail with trap releases. Spears are attached to these saplings so that when the string is stepped against, the sapling will react as a catapult, launching the spear into the body of the person releasing the trap. Deadfalls with pointed chonta sticks on the bottoms are dug at various strategic points. Frequently a trench with the bottom covered with chonta points in this fashion is dug entirely around the house. Great pains are taken to cover this nat-

urally, so as to make its location difficult to detect. Loaded guns with strings attached to the triggers are also set up here and there along the trails in the manner of the spear-catapults. Sometimes houses which are built near a river bank have concealed tunnels leading from inside the house through the bank to the edge of the river through which they can excape or send out messengers if badly pressed."

2: Stirling--60 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 712

"On the Casu, a tributary of the Apaga River, were two large abandoned jivarías, both strongly fortified by means of an inner wall 6 or 8 inches from the main wall standing about 5 feet in height, the intervening space being filled with small boulders gathered from the river bed, thus affording an excellent barricade in case of attack. Just off the end of the building which was evidently considered least vulnerable there was a small room barely 15 feet square which was protected on all sides in the same manner, but was raised about 20 feet from the ground, supported by four stout posts and placed conveniently near the little door of the main building so that one could at once step on a notched tree trunk and climb to safety, throwing the ladder away. These places are used for the safety of women and children in times of raiding and as a final refuge. Should the enemy try to climb to the hut, a shower of rocks is dropped down upon them, a supply being kept ready for that purpose. Climbing into one of these curious towers, it was found to have convenient niches in order that the occupants could command a complete view of the clearing on all sides and any Indian being fortunate enough to own a rifle and ammunition could easily hold at bay a strong force. However, the purpose of the structure is primarily as a protection for the women while the male occupants of the jivaría fight the enemy with their lances and shields."

2: Stirling- 60 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 202

"When warned that they are to be attacked, the chief plays on the big telegraph drum in order to notify their friends and call them to their assistance. When the allies arrive from the other houses the little drum is played."

2: Stirling--60 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 411

"The blowgun is never used in warfare and, as has already been mentioned, only lances are utilized in the hand-to-hand fighting in the house.

Poison is never used in warfare because of the fact that it was given to men for the purpose of hunting game and to use it for fighting would be to offend the spirits. Force only is supposed to be used in killing enemies in war."

2: Stirling--60-61 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"As soon as notification has been received of an impending attack, dogs are tied up all around the clearing. If, while awaiting attack, a dog barks or growls, an old woman is sent out to investigate. When the attack takes place, if the defending party is victorious, they, of course, kill as many of the attackers as they can and, when the remainder have been routed, they will follow them into the woods in the hope of killing more. They do not, however, conduct a raid to the attackers' house. After the attackers have been thoroughly routed the defending party return to their own house, where tsantsas are prepared from the heads of the enemy who have been killed and a consequent celebration is held. While this is going on the wishinu takes natima in order to find out when the enemy will reorganize and [61] reattack, for the vanquished, by virtue of their defeat, have that much added to the vengeance which it is required of them to take, and, if possible, they will later make another attempt, usually with redoubled vigor."

2: Stirling--61 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 72

"The desire or obligation of revenge is the principal cause of war. This may happen as a direct act of reprisal brought about by the killing of one member of a group by another; it may also come about as a result of woman stealing or adultery. Perhaps the most common cause is the death of a member of the tribe which presumably has been brought about by the magic of the wishinu of another tribe. The Jivaro wishinu is supposed to have the power of sending death to anyone whom he desires. As a result, many deaths from illness or natural causes are laid to this source."

"Of all the accomplishments of the Jivaros, their custom of shrinking and preserving human heads has most caught the popular imagination. In spite of the fact that the general method of preparing these trophies has been known for centuries, the legend persists that it is a most mysterious and carefully guarded secret.

The Jivaros themselves make no mystery of their methods, although they may be reluctant at first to speak of it in a personal connection, because of their suspicion of the possible motives of the white interrogator. The early descriptions of the methods used in preparing tsantsas are lacking in detail, while the majority of the many given in more recent years have obviously been based on the garbled second-hand accounts received from mestizos and missionaries living on the borders of the Jivaro country. Because of the interest in this subject I have thought it worth while to devote to it a special chapter.

Far from being an art developed only among themselves, it seems very clear that the Jivaros are the last group to retain what was, at the time of the first white contact, a widespread custom in northwestern South America."

2: Stirling--61-62 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 171, 727

"There is considerable archeological evidence that the preparation of shrunken heads was practiced in pre-Columbian times over a rather wide area in Peru. Representations of reduced trophy heads occur commonly in both ceramic and textile art and less frequently in carvings on stone and shell. Max Uhle in 1908 noted pottery vessels from Ica and Nasca decorated with paintings of head trophies, 'showing the custom of closing the mouth by means of sewing in the manner now used on the reduced heads produced by the [62] Jivaros.' (73) At Tiahuanaco there are carved stone figures of warriors carrying trophy heads. (74) Castelnau figures two effigy jars, one from La Paz and the other from Cuzco, decorated in the art style of Tiahuanaco (pl. 34 c). Both of these have likenesses of reduced heads. Tello figures one in which a warrior is shown holding two shrunken heads by the hair. (75)

Tello states that figures of shrunken heads are common in the art of Chimu and reproduces from Baessler (76) two representations of a jaguar divinity shown in each instance carrying a shrunken human head by the hair. These were taken from Chimbote. He further makes the statement that this same divinity represented carrying the shrunken human head trophy occurs in the black ware of northern Peru."

"73. Uhle, p. 263.
74. Tello, 1918, p. 23.
75. Tello, 1918, p. 24.
76. Baessler, pl. 60, fig. 240, and pl. 71, fig. 261."

"It is in the region of Nasca, however, where evidence of head trophies is most abundant. Tello illustrates numerous examples from various localities, some on textiles and others on pottery (77) (Fig. 1).

As final evidence of the former use of head trophies in this region, Tello figures a number of actual examples recovered from graves. While these head trophies were not of the shrunken variety, there is much about them reminiscent of the present-day Jivaro tsantas (pl. 34, d). The frontal bone was perforated with a circular hole and the head suspended by means of a cord which passed through this hole and through the foramen magnum, where it was kept in place by being fastened to a transverse wooden peg. This method of suspension recalls the technique employed by the Jivaro, but the most striking comparison is to be found in the preparation of the lips, which were pulled forward and sewered together by means of wooden pegs in precisely the manner employed by the Jivaro. Tello states that these heads are from graves representing a late period and in several instances they are post-Columbian. It would appear that these trophy heads were either prepared by people who had formerly practiced the shrinking of heads or who had been in contact with such people. In preparing reduced heads it is necessary to sewer or sew the lips, whereas this would not be essential when the heads were mummified without removing the skull. Since there are so many representations in earlier Nasca

-77. Tello, 1918, pp. 34-53."

art showing what seem to be true reduced heads, it seems likely that the head trophy, prepared without removing the skull, in this region at least, developed out of the more highly specialized technique of shrinking heads. [63]

When Lubbock presented his article on Jivaro shrunken heads before the British Anthropological Institute in 1874 Franks called to his attention a specimen in the National Collection of London, which had been presented by the Prince Consort of 1853. This example is described as being about 1 inch in height, attached to a stick and dressed like a doll. It was said to have been discovered in a tomb in Pisco, Peru. (78)"

"78. Lubbock, 1874, pp. 29-32."

"There are several references in contemporary writings of the sixteenth century indicating that it was a common practice among the Incas to take the heads of enemies killed in warfare and to return with them as trophies. Cobo reports that the Inca, Tupac [64] Yupanqui, having learned of a revolt led by the chiefs of Collao, sent an army which successfully put down the rebellion. Cobo says:

> He flayed two of the most important chiefs and he ordered two drums made of their skins, with which and with the heads of those killed placed on lances and many prisoners to sacrifice to the sun, he returned triumphantly to his court where he celebrated these victories with many sacrifices and festivities. (79)

Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti says that---

> Inca Yupanqui in the war that his father Huiracacho had with the Chancas, fought with great ferocity, destroying the Ancohallos and Chancas and breaking through victorious up to Quiyachili, where he cut off the heads of the enemy generals Tomay Huaraca, Asto Huaraca, and Huasco Tomay Rima. ***(80)

"79. Cobo, pp. 168-169, cited in Tello, 1918, pp. 20-21.
80. Pachacuti, pp. 271-272, cited in Tello, 1918, p. 21."

Pachacuti states further that Tupanqui on returning to his city sent to his father presents consisting of heads of the Chancas and Hancoaillos.

Referring to Huayna Capac, Pachacuti says that after conquering those who were fortified at Sacsahuan---

> he enters the fort and takes out all the Carambis and Pastos and those who took part in the war, and the severed heads of the defeated which had been prepared for this purpose, he anoints with the blood of llamas and puts them on the spears. They display them, gloating over them as far as Curicancha. * * *.

The heads mentioned above were very probably of the type described by Tello from Nasca in which the skulls were not removed. There are, however, other references which indicate that shrunken heads prepared in precisely the manner now practiced by the Jivaros were still being made in various places in northwestern South America at the time of the Conquest."

"Estete, who went to Peru with Pizarro on his third voyage in 1527, describes the practice as it was then followed on the Ecuadorian coast.

> The heads of the dead they preserve with certain balsams in this manner: After removing the skull through the neck, the face, retaining its true form of nose, eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and hair, they cure and give it a certain confection by means of which they preserve the flesh or skin so that it does not rot, and the gristle of the nose is entire and the hair and eyebrows and eyelashes (remain) attacked to the flesh. So many are the baths that they give it, so as to cure and preserve it, that they make the face of a man to be wasted and shrunken and become quite small, much more so even than that of a newborn child. After having reduced it to a small size, they guard it in some small chests that they have in the temple, and it lasts so many years without rotting that the Indians say it lasts for two or three ages. Certainly it is a thing to admire, and one never seen before. And so it seemed to us when we[65] first saw it, holding it to be certain that they were faces of a race of dwarfs that had lived in the country, until we learned the truth of the matter. (81)

Zárate, who went to Peru in 1543, wrote in 1555 concerning the natives of Pasao (82)

"81. Estete, p. 317.

82. Cape Pasado is on the coast of the provinces of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques."

near the Equator:

> In some temples, especially in the towns that they call of Pasao, on all the posts of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so well cured that they did not smell badly and fastened to the posts many heads of Indians that had been shrunken with a certain decoction until only the size of a fist. (83)

Figueroa, writing of the Itucalis of the Mainas provinces in 1665, states that when they have taken a head they insert a palm husk in an incision on the bridge of the nose, which forms an excrescence when it heals and thus indicates the number of heads each individual has to his credit. (84) Regarding the preparation of the heads he says:

> The first process they perform on the heads they bring with them, is to boil them, and having stripped the skin from the head and visage, it is stuffed with straw and dried in the smoke, thus forming a mask. (85)"

"83. Zarate, 1555, p. 465.

84. Juan de Salinas evidently refers to this mutilation of the nose, when in 1557 he encountered the Mainas and states that they were made striking by a 'device of the nose, not seen before.'

85. Skinner, 1805, p. 289."

"More details from Figueroa are given in the chapter on warfare. It is interesting to note that boiling, the most essential process in connection with head shrinking, is here mentioned for the first time, and as far as the writer is aware, is not mentioned again in any account until the present century.

In 1692 Father Lucero was with General Vaca when they captured 21 Jivaros who were surprised 'while they were celebrating with loud shouting, a solemn drunken feast because of having killed two famous wizards whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering.' (86)

Saffray, while traveling among the Cuans and Caimanes Indians on the Atrato River in northwestern Colombia in 1868, received from an old Indian by the name of Comagré the following information:

> When a chief dies his body is placed above a slow fire on a frame, until completely desiccated, then it is wrapped in cotton cloth decorated with gold, pearls, and jewels, and it is religiously cared for in a separate room. Of the common people, they preserve only the head. Comagré showed me one of these mummified heads. The bones had been taken out, and it had been dried in such a manner

"86. Chantre y Herrera, p. 305."

> that the skin, having been contracted in a uniform manner, [66] remained a perfect reproduction of the original, reduced to almost one-sixth of its original size, without wrinkles and without deformation of the features.

Saffray reproduces a crude drawing of this head which seems to be identical with the Jivaro tsantsa as it even has the string tassels depending from the lips. It seems possible to the present writer that this specimen may have been imported from the Jivaros, but if the information is correct as quoted above it is of unusual interest. (87)

Some other tribes employ methods of preserving the bodies of their enemies that suggest the technique of the Jivaros. Mendoza, speaking of the Popayan of southern Colombia, says:

> The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, are filled with coarse ashes and they have attached them to the walls of their houses like people. (88)

Lorente, referring to the pre-Columbian Huancas of the Jauja Valley, Peru, says that these natives skinned their prisoners and with these skins, which they filled with ashes, made victory trophies which they exhibited in their temples. (89)

"87. Saffray, 1873, p. 103.
88. Colección Documentos Inéditos, vol. V, 1866, p. 489.
89. Lorente, 1860, p. 82."

At the time of the Conquest similar practices were followed as far north as the Panuco River in Mexico. In the Huastec country the Conquistadores on visiting a native temple found that the heads of their captured companions had been skinned and tanned and then placed on the walls of the structure. It was a common practice in Mexico to skin the heads of sacrificial victims and exhibit them on poles. These heads were described by the Spaniards as being dried, wrinkled, and shrunk to the size of the heads of small children. (90)

The stone monuments at Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa in Guatemala display numerous carvings depicting warriors holding human trophy heads which apparently have been reduced. There are many indications that Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa was subjected to Nahuatl influence. Fowler (91) describes the practice of head shrinking reputed to be carried on by Indians in the interior of British Honduras. The account, however, emanated from Father Pozzi, who had previously spent a number of years in the Jivaro country, and it is obvious that his descriptions apply to the Jivaros of Ecuador and not to any Honduran tribe."

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90. Thompson, 1933, pp. 124-125.
91. Fowler, 1879, p. 16."

"Several of the sixteenth century travelers in the Jivaro country refer to the practice of these Indians of taking heads and dancing with them, but the first to attempt a description of the actual process of their preparation was Prieto, writing in 1815. Prieto, who made an expedition in search of the ruins of the ancient city of Logroño, [67] became well acquainted with the Jivaro Indians. Concerning the preparation of shrunken heads, he says:

> * * * they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them, which was done in this manner: When they have killed the infidel, they cut off his head from his shoulders and take out the interior, leaving only the neck, the hair, nostrils and ears; then they introduce hot stones, and thus keep it 20, 30 or more years in some earthenware jars, from which annually they take out many heads in order to dance with them and celebrate for 15 days the anniversary of their victories, preparing beforehand with many foods and beverages. (92)

Among the writers of the early part of the last half of the nineteenth century, the first to give a brief description of Jivaro tsantsas was Villavicencio. Writing in 1858, he says

"92. Prieto, in Compte, 1885, p. 65."

In their wars these Jivaros are accustomed to cut off the heads of their enemies and to carry them home with them in order to have a celebration with the skin of the face and scalp which they remove intact and dry by moulding it with hot stones; they strip the long hair from their enemies in order to make braids and tie them to their naked waist, for the purpose of showing their courage and to terrify the enemy. (93)"

" 93. Villavicencio, 1858, p. 261."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Europeans first became acquainted with Jivaro shrunken heads in 1862 when Maiz presented before the Anthropological Society of Paris an example which had been sent to him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. The specimen was said to have been found in an old tomb located in the territory between the Chinchipe and Pastaza Rivers. The repost of this meeting of the society is interesting as it gives a very good idea of the type of speculation concerning tsantsas which has characterized discussion on the subject even among scientific bodies. In describing the example, Maiz said:

> Simple inspection of this head makes it clear that these Indians were very skillful in the art of taxidermy. They have removed in a single piece all of the skin of the face and of the cranium and of the upper part of the neck; then they have desiccated it with so much skill that it shrank uniformly so that the head became in volume the size of that of a newborn child, still preserving perfectly all of the contours and even small features of the face.(94)

After expressing the opinion that Peruvian mummies were often preserved naturally by burying them in the dry sands of Peru, he quotes Dr. Lorente's opinion that the Indians 'make in the hot sands of their countries some pits where the corpses are buried for some time in order to be exhumed later.'

"94. Moreno-Maiz, 1862, pp. 185-188."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

He then misquotes Villavicencio as saying that---

The skin is dissected and separated from the bone and put on molds of earth, where it is baked and dried at a high temperature."

2: Stirling--68 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175, 727

"At the conclusion of Dr. Maiz's presentation different members gave opinions on the procedure of preservation. M. de Quatrefages thought that some pieces of skin had been removed and that thus was explained the small size of the head. M. Broca remarked that this explanation could not hold because the slightest trace of an incision would be visible on the surface of the skin. M. Trelat believed that an exterior mold must have been employed, desiccation in the free air or by artificial heat never permitting such perfect preservation of form. M. Gratiolet said that chemical action had been necessary, without which the dermestes would have invaded and destroyed the skin at the end of a short time.

The following year, 1863, Bollaert described a tsantsa which had been secured by José Felix Barriero and sent to Bollaert in 1860. Barriero sent a letter with the specimen in which he briefly described the process of preparation as follows:

> After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims, a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process. (95)"

"95. Barriero, in Ballaert, 1863a, p. 112."

"Barriero's description of the ceremonies carried on in connection with obtaining the tsantsa are more complete than his description of the method of preparation. Bollaert apparently was not convinced of the accuracy of Barriero's description, for he says later:

> A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mold of clay. (96)

In the same year, 1863, Merritt presented two examples before the American Ethnological Society of New York, which with eight others had been obtained in the vicinity of Macas. Merritt says:

"96. Bollaert, 1863a, pp. 114-115."

There is a tradition among the Indians, that these heads were originally taken from 'Huacas' (97) belonging to their ancestors, many generations ago, and that since they have been kept in their huts, preserved with great veneration, and jealously guarded as household divinities.

How these heads in question were contracted to such a diminutive size, I can only repeat rumors; one is, that they were contracted by hot stones or pebbles, which were put into the cavity of the head after bones were removed; another is, that they were contracted by a process which occupied a year. (98)

After quoting from Bollaert's article, he describes in detail the specimens in his possession. In this account Merritt expresses the opinion that the tassels depending from the lips of the tsantsas may have some connection with the old Quipu records of Peru. (99)

"97. Tombs. It is evident that the practice of burying trophy heads with their owners was commonly practiced in ancient Peru as described earlier in this chapter. The Jivaros appear now to have abandoned the custom. If Karsten is correct regarding the motives in preparing tsantsas this would seem to indicate a different attitude in earlier times.

98. Merritt, 1863, p. 13.

99. Merritt, 1863, pp. 14-16."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175, 727

From this time on, descriptions are so numerous that it would be impracticable to mention them all. Both Rivet and Saville give lengthy bibliographies of the literature referring to shrunken heads, where most of the later references may be found.(1)"

"1. Rivet, 1907; Saville, 1929."

2: Stirling--72 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

"When during a raid an individual is killed who happens to be related to a member of the opposite party, Jivaro custom does not permit that a tsantsa be made of the victim's head. It also happens that a Jivaro will sometimes succeed in killing an enemy but will be compelled to retreat before he has had the opportunity of taking his victim's head. Sometimes during the heat of a battle the friends of slain Jivaros have an opportunity of concealing the bodies or taking them away before the enemy can secure them. In such instances the Jivaro victor later prepares a tsantsa from the head of a sloth, which serves as a substitute (pl. 33). There is a reference by Barriero which seems to refer to this practice:

> If pressed by the enemy so that the Jivaro does not have time to cut off the head of his dead enemy, the traditional ceremony takes place anyway and the tsantsa is replaced by the head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy. (3)

This must have referred to the sloth and Barriero probably misunderstood his informant."

"3. Barriero, in Bollaert, 1863a, p.113."

"In the origin myth of the Jivaros, Uñushi, the sloth, is represented as the first Jivaro and, when the original blood revenge feud took place, the sons of Mika and Ahimbi cut off Uñushi's head and from it made the first tsantsa. (4)

The writer had an opportunity of witnessing a portion of a ceremony of this nature at the jivaría of Cahaka on the lower Upano River. Several years previously one of the wives of Nakata, a brother of Cahaka, was persuaded by a man of the Achuales tribe by the name of Ungucha to run away with him. Nakata followed them to Ungucha's jivaría, where he succeeded in killing Ungucha and recapturing his wife, whom he brought back with him. As she had been an accomplice in the affair, he cut off her ears and her nose and then with a machete cut off both her hands before the other women in the jivaría as an example to them, and he threw the body into the river.

Ungucha was a relative of Nakata, for which reason his head was not taken at the time of his assassination. After several years had elapsed Nakata killed a sloth and the ceremony was performed in Cahaka's jivaría. In general, the ceremony is very similar to the regular tsantsa feast, except that the head is shrunk in the jivaría [73] and the ceremony of leg painting is omitted. In this instance the sloth was prepared during the night in Cahaka's house, where it was hung from a pole. A large number of visitors were

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"4. See p. 128."

present, representing numerous jivarías in the vicinity, including some who had been enemies as a result of the killing of Ungucha. Enough time had elapsed that these had temporarily at least become friends.

The head was hung over the fire from a lance, the butt of which was planted diagonally in the ground. The ceremony lasted for 4 days until the food and nijimanche was exhausted. Cahaka, as head of the household, played the large wooden drum, while Nakais played the small drum or tambo. At the conclusion of the ceremony the head was placed in a closed basket and hung from the rafters of the house. Shortly afterwards the writer secured this head (pl. 33)."

"Apparently the term ulkuki, the ceremonial name for the cloth, is properly used for trophies of this sort. When on the Chinganaza River, we inquired of one of the jivaros if they had naki tsantsa. Naki being the regular Jivaro word for cloth, the Indians corrected us, saying not to call them that but to refer to them as ulkuhie. This same distinction between common and ceremonial names is encountered in numerous instances. Thus the common name for lance is uangi, while the chonta war lance charged with tsarutama is referred to as chiagi. Ordinary pottery vessels are called by various names according to their use, but the ceremonial nijimasiha vessels are called mika. The common name for the gastrocher is nuka, whereas, when mentioned in his mythological connections, he is referred to as ulkiru."

'There are evidently other occasions when animal heads other than those of the sloth are prepared in the manner of tsantsas. Karsten refers to an instance when a woman on the Zamora was killed by a jaguar. Her relations killed a jaguar in retaliation and shrunk its head. (5)

Homer Eamigh told the writer of having witnessed the ceremonial preparation of a condor's head in a jivaría, on the Upano, but unfortunately did not inquire as to the circumstances.

When we were on the lower Santiago we had with us a number of Jivaros from the Yaupe River who killed a Matasapi, one of the large monkeys of this region. We requested one of these Indians, who was said to be the most expert in the art, to make a tsantsa of [74] its head. He complied with our request and we were able to watch the process in detail.

"5. Often deaths in the jungle are attributed to the supernatural action of the jaguar. The writer was told on the Chinganasa of a boy who had recently been killed by a jaguar. Further inquiry developed the fact that he had fallen from a tree while retrieving a monkey shot with a poisoned dart. The 'jaguar' had caused a limb to break, thus killing the boy. In the same manner a Jivaro will say that a person or persons were 'eaten by an anaconda' when actually they had drowned in the river after the canoe was upset by 'Pangi.'"

First he cut the two muscles which run down from the base of the neck along the top of the shoulder. These were both cut through at about the center of the shoulders. Then he selected a point at the top of the sternum, making an incision and bringing the cut in wide curves on either side from this point until it joined the cuts which he had made on top of the shoulders. A similar cut was then made in the back. When the skin had been cut completely around he lifted it up and severed the neck at a point just below the chin.

Then, making a small vertical incision in the back of the neck and part way up the rear of the head, he extracted the skull by literally peeling off the skin, taking great pains that none of the face should be torn and easing the process along by using a small knife. When the skull had been removed the skin of the head and face resembled an empty sack with holes where the eyes and mouth had been and a wrinkled portion where the nose bones had been removed. The ears were left attached.

The skin was then put into a pot partially filled with water which was brought almost to a boil. From time to time he lifted out the skin by the hair to see how it was progressing. After being immersed in the hot water for about 10 minutes he removed it, as he did not desire to shrink it too much. By this time its size had decreased approximately one-fourth.

With his fingers he then picked the loose flesh from the lips and face, much in the manner that one would pick off the dead skin from a mild case of sunburn. Then, putting his

hand inside the head, he carefully cleaned it of any clinging flesh that still remained inside. This being done, he placed it back in the pot for about a minute in order to wash off the loose sections of skin.

Again removing the head, he skewered the lips together with three splinters of palm wood placed completely through the lips in a vertical position. He next took a length of chambira fiber and laced around the splinters, thus binding the lips firmly together. Then he inserted a hot stone just large enough to enter the neck orifice, rolling the head about in his hands in such a manner as to thoroughly sear the inside of the skin. After the rock had cooled off somewhat he removed it and inserted another one which had been freshly heated, repeating the process. With his fingers and a smooth pebble he molded and smoothed over the face.

Next he pierced the crown of the head with a heavy splinter of palm wood and ran a cord of chambira fiber through the opening thus formed. With this he hung the head from a stick so that it was about 2 feet above the fire, which by this time was blazing very little, so that the smoke from the fire curled up around the head. He [75] also placed a number of green leaves on the fire in order to produce a smudge. After allowing it to smoke in this manner for about an hour he removed it, carefully wiped it off, and, using a small bone awl, very carefully and neatly selvaged the rim of the neck with chambira fiber. The head was then considered complete.

While this was no doubt an abbreviated method of making a tsantsa, particularly since

he did not desire to make the head extremely small, it probably represents approximately the technique employed in preparing a human head."

2: Stirling--75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 778

"To understand the motives behind the preparation of tsantsas it is necessary to realize that the tsantsa possesses tsarutama or magical power in much the same manner as did the prepared scalps or the sacred masks of the North American Indians. Properly cared for, they were agents for the good of the possessors. Improperly treated, they were powerful factors for misfortune. Anguasha, the famous head hunter of the Yaupe, explained that the tsantsa was a trophy which indicated that the maker had properly fulfilled the obligation to his lineage in taking blood revenge and therefore possessing it would act for his good fortune as it would please the spirits of his ancestors."

2: Stirling--75 [2] (1930-1931)1938 Jivaro
116, 769

"According to Anguasha, the Jivaros gave much more thought to harm that might come to them through the ill will of neglected relatives than they did to the revengeful actions of enemy ghosts. At the time fathers instruct their young sons in their duties along these lines they recount the killings that their enemies have perpetrated and urge them to take revenge whenever the opportunity affords, saying that if they do so the spirits of their dead relatives will be pleased and will bring good crops and good luck to them, but that if they neglect doing so these same spirits will be angry and will bring them corresponding misfortune."

2: Stirling--75-76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 769

"The ceremonies held with the tsantsas are in the nature of an exhibition for the benefit of departed relatives in order to show that the Jivaros are fulfilling their obligations of blood revenge. The severed head, previous to its preparation as a tsantsa, is looked upon as inert and impotent. The ceremonies and processes attendant upon the preparation of the head, transforming it into a tsantsa, charge it with magical powers so that it becomes animated with tsarutama, much in the same manner as ceremonial masks and other paraphernalia are vitalized in the pueblo area of the American Southwest. (6) [76] Because of this fact, it is necessary in making a tsantsa to follow these rituals carefully and to continue to comply with certain observances, which link the tsantsa with its maker on the one hand and his lineage on the other, for a stated period of time following the preparation.

Most of the early tsantsas that came to the attention of Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century were looted from burial sepulchers of the Jivaros. There is no doubt that in former times it was the custom to bury the tsantsa trophies with the warrior who had prepared them, and this is probably done in some sections of the Jivaro country at the present time. It seems very improbable that a Jivaro would desire to have the bottled-up ghosts of his enemies interred with him in the same tomb. The preparation

"6. This interpretation differs considerably from that of Karsten, who says that the principal reason for the preparation of the tsantsas is to paralyze the spirit of the dead enemy attached to the head so that it cannot escape and take revenge upon the murderer."

of a tsantsa is considered a definite insult to the enemy. Because the ghosts of relatives are feared more than those of enemies, tsantsas are never made of relatives killed in fights or battles."

2: Stirling--76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 439

"In concluding this discussion of shrunken heads, a word should be said concerning counterfeit tsantsas. It is probably safe to say that the majority of specimens now in private collections, and even in many scientific museums, are of fraudulent origin. Formerly it was not easy to induce the Jivaros to part with their tsantsas. However, in recent years, the more or less standard price of a gun for a head became established between traders and the Indians. To discourage this traffic, both the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Governments have passed laws prohibiting their exportation. Nevertheless, as might be expected, a good many are smuggled out. The majority of the heads which leave the country, however, were never in the hands of the Jivaros but were prepared by various individuals from the bodies of unclaimed paupers to supply the constant demand of tourists and travelers."

"The trade of manufacturing imitation tsantsas has been pursued for at least 75 years at various places in Ecuador, in Colombia, and in Panama. The first reference to this profitable form of taxidermy is by Philippi, (7) in 1872, who calls attention to the activities of a white man living on the borders of the Jivaro country. This man, having learned the method of preparation from the Indians, had made and sold two such heads which Philippi had seen. Philippi's description and illustrations of an acknowledged fraudulent specimen shows the difficulty, in some cases, where Jivaro techniques are closely followed, of detecting spurious examples. [77]

Ambrosetti, (8) in 1903, published another less clever imitation, and Rivet, (9) who discusses this matter at some length, illustrates an example which he secured in Quito, made by a student in Loja."

"7. Philippi, 1872b, p.343.
8. Ambrosetti, 1903, pp.519-523, pl.IV.
9. Rivet, 1908, pl. I, fig. 1."

"In most instances it is not difficult to detect the frauds. The Jivaros have a somewhat stereotyped method of distorting the features by pulling out the lips and spreading the nostrils, producing a false prognathism and giving the impression of a retreating chin. The forehead is compressed laterally and at the level of the temples there are two depressions, probably resulting from the technique of grasping the head at these points while preparing it. Most of the counterfeit heads reproduce the features much more naturally than the genuine specimens, preserving the aspect of the features more nearly as they were in life.

Many of the false specimens do not have the facial down removed, nor are they polished. The Jivaros usually singe off this fine hair and polish the skin. Likewise, some of the counterfeiters fail to blacken the skin. This black color is superficial, however, and in old or worn specimens the yellow color of the skin is often exposed.

On most of the genuine examples there is a median posterior incision extending from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed. Sometimes there are two lateral cuts going up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and Rivet (12) describes

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"12. Rivet, 1908, p.80."

one in which the posterior incision does not disjoin the cervical section but is in the form of an occipital buttonhole.

The nature of these incisions is not a safe criterion in judging specimens, as similar techniques are employed by the counterfeiters. However, the method of sewing the incision may often tell the tale. [78] The counterfeiter usually does a more skillful job of sewing than the Jivaro, having finer tools, and generally uses a much finer fiber than the Indians, or he may even substitute thread.

The Jivaros invariably pierce the crown of the head with a circular hole through which the suspension cord is passed. Sometimes there are two such holes placed along the median line of the crown. The counterfeiter usually omits these perforations.

The Jivaro specimens likewise have the lips perforated vertically; as a rule with three or four holes made by passing through the chonta pins to prevent the mouth from warping during preparation. Sometimes the pins remain in place with cotton cord lashings; sometimes they are removed and the lips tied together with cotton strings, often with long ornamental pendant tassels. During the present century, in order to enhance the 'showiness' of their products, it has become the frequent practice of counterfeiters to decorate their tsantsas with feather headdresses and similar ornaments, a practice never followed by the Jivaros. The only decorations ever seen on genuine tsantsas are the lip cords, which sometimes have a few beetle wings or feathers attached, and occasionally small toucan feathers are attached to miniature tubes in the ear lobes, but not through the rims of the

ears as is done by one counterfeiter.

Occasionally, as Up de Graff has indicated, counterfeiters shrink an entire body after the fashion of a tsantsa. Most of these specimens have evidently originated in Panama. Von Hassel states that a tribe exists in the region of the Cusicuari, Rio Negro, and Orinoco who reduce entire bodies in this manner. However, if his information in this regard is no more accurate than it was when he recorded that the Aguarunas reduce human heads to a fifth their size, more or less with hot stones and the smoke of a bonfire of the roots of certain palms, saying, 'This smoke, which has the same quality as alum, contracts and reduces the head to the size they desire', we may well discount the former statement.

Rivet encountered an Ecuadorian who told him that in exchange for an old gun he had persuaded a Jivaro to shrink an entire body for him. This brings up a final type of counterfeiting most difficult of all to detect, namely, occasional shrunken heads prepared by the Jivaros for trade or to order, which are not actually tsantsas at all."

116, 411

"A study of the weapons used by the Jivaros in warfare and in hunting indicated that interesting changes have taken place since the Spaniards first entered their country. Benavente, in 1540, speaks of the first group of Indians that he encountered in the Jivaro country, [79] probably on the Paute River, as being armed with lances and round shields. Later, at the point where he terminated his penetration, he encountered another considerable group of Indians which he described as being dressed in camisetas and mantas. He says these Indians were armed with slings and shot at the Spaniards with bows and arrows. From this general description I believe that there might be some doubt as to these latter being Jivaros.

Salinas, writing in 1571 (second letter), says that the Indians in the vicinity of Santiago have copper axes, (13) shields made of tapir skin and of wood, and spear throwers.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 of the Jivaros of the Santiago, says that they hunt game with the bow and arrow. Speaking of the Indians of Valladolid, western neighbors of the Jivaros, he says that their arms are lances of palm wood more than 25 palms in length, stones, axes, and javelins. The stones very probably refer to the use of slings.

Salinas says that the Mainas, eastern neighbors of the Jivaros, for their arms have darts, shields, throwing rods with spear throwers, and wooden clubs (macanas) made of palm wood. There has been no reference to the use of clubs by the Jivaros.

"13. The author found two archeological specimens of copper axes on the lower Upano River."

2: Stirling--78-79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 411

"Lucero, writing of the Jivaros a century later, speaks of lances and shields, adding that the lances were frequently tipped with human bone taken from enemies killed in battle. He also speaks of the Jivaros of the Santiago carrying stones in the slack of their skirts, which might point to the use of slings."

2: Stirling--79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"Guns did not come into general use among the Jivaros until the early part of the twentieth century. During this period they captured some guns from the Peruvians, and later the light muzzle-loading escopetas or shotguns were introduced in considerable numbers by the traders. At the present time it is the ambition of every Jivaro to own a gun, although probably less than half of the men possess them. This strong desire to own 'escopetas' can scarcely be based on practical considerations, since they are little more effective for hunting purposes than the blowgun and have the additional disadvantage that the noise made in shooting frightens game. While guns are becoming more common, blowguns still continue to be important adjuncts of every Jivaro household.

It seems clear that during the sixteenth century the Jivaros used lances, spear throwers, and bows and arrows. Sometime during the latter part of the seventeenth century the bow and arrow and the spear thrower began to go out of use, being replaced by the blowgun with poison darts."

2: Stirling--80 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175, 411

"During the writer's investigations he noticed that the blowgun, now the most striking and characteristic weapon of the Jivaro, is never mentioned by the sixteenth century writers. This is of special interest when we observe that later writers have been particularly impressed by its occurrence and never fail to speak of it. This fact led to an investigation of early records in other regions of South America in an attempt to discover from which direction this weapon reached the Jivaro. The only instrument at all comparable which is mentioned in the sixteenth century is the pea shooter or pellet gun of Mexico and Central America. This simple device, which was little more than a toy for shooting small birds, is a far cry from the elaborately manufactured, complex blowgun, shooting long-range piercing darts made effective by the use of poison. The earliest reference to the true blowgun found by the writer is in Saabedra, who in 1620 describes the blowgun with poison darts in use among the Mainas on the Morona, who were the first of the eastern Andean tribes to be missionized."

2: Stirling--80 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"The remarkable parallel between this weapon [KS: the blowgun] and its accessories as manufactured in Indonesia and in South America has been a frequent subject of comment by ethnographers. Details regarding the nature of many of these parallels and the improbability of their independent development need not be mentioned here. As far as the writer is aware, no one has suggested the post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun into the South American region. The amazing similarity in the methods of manufacture and materials used would seem to make it extremely unlikely that this highly specialized complex could have developed independently in the two areas. It seems to the writer much more probable that the use of the blowgun and its equipment was brought into South America by southeastern Asiatics, possible from the Philippines, who were carried across the Pacific on one or more of the many Spanish galleons which followed this route in the sixteenth century. These individuals, escaping into a familiar jungle environment which supplied all of the necessary materials, could easily have used their knowledge to manufacture this complicated but most useful weapon. (13a)

"13a. The writer has been informed by Dr. Wendell Bennett that there is an early Chimu vessel in the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle, of Trujillo, with a painting of what appears to be a man using a blowgun. This may represent a pellet gun."

2: Stirling--80-81 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 411

"Judging from the early literature, its [KS: the blowgun] use in South America originated in the general vicinity of the Mainas, from whom it was obtained by the Jivaros, who today are probably the most expert blowgun manufacturers in South America. From this region it spread across the northern Amazon basin to the Guianas, where its intro-
[81] duction appears to have been comparatively late. It seems quite certain that the Jivaros did not have it until the seventeenth century.

In northwestern South America the blowgun is called variously cerbatana, or bodoquera, or by the Quechua term pucuna. By the Jivaros it is called umi.

There are numerous variations in the technique of making blowguns as practiced in different sections of the Jivaro country. The descriptions given by Rivet (14) and that of Up de Graff (15) approximate most closely the process as witnessed by the writer on the Chinganasa River. The writer has on numerous occasions observed Jivaros at work manufacturing blowgun darts and preparing them for use.

"14. Rivet, 1907, p. 594.
15. Up de Graff, p. 210."

"When a man desires to make himself a blowgun he first cuts down a suitable chonta palm which is allowed to dry in the sun for a period of about a week. At the expiration of this time the thorns are removed from the outside of the trunk and it is split in half. From these pieces, two strips, each about 3 inches in width, are split off and cut to the length desired for the blowgun. Then with a machete these strips are shaved until they are very straight and taper from one end to the other. One side of each is made flat while the other is rounded in such fashion that when the two flat sides are placed together the two strips form a cylinder which tapers from about 1 1/4 inches in diameter at one end to three-quarters of an inch at the other end.

The operator then places in the ground 8 feet apart two forked uprights at a height of about 3 feet, one of these being an inch or two lower than the other. A perfectly straight cylindrical rod of chonta wood is prepared, approximately a quarter of an inch in diameter and slightly longer than the intended length of the blowgun. Then a small straight groove is scratched with a bone awl down the full length of each strip in the center of the flat side, following the straight grain of the wood. Using a sharp tooth, this groove is enlarged on each strip until the two together are slightly less in diameter than the intended bore of the blowgun. The two halves are then placed face to face with the rod sandwiched between, in the middle, and are tied together with bark strips.

Sand and water are then poured into the hollow at the high end. The rod is worked back and forth, enlarging the groove. From time to time the implement is turned over so that the grinding goes on equally on each section. This operation is continued, the sand and water being constantly applied, until the flat faces of the two chonta [82] strips meet and have been planed perfectly smooth. The bore is then of the size desired.

Next a section is cut from the leg bone of a watusa (cayuca) forming a bone tube about 2 inches long. The edges of the bone are ground to make them smooth. Then secate(16) is melted over the fire and smeared over the entire surface of the inside of the two chonta strips, which are then carefully fitted together so that the edges meet exactly. The secate dries quickly, firmly gluing the two sections together.

Next the implement is wrapped closely in spiral fashion from one end to the other with tinyuci (fiber strips from the midrib of the ivory nut palm). The strips which are used about a half inch in width. This is fastened tightly in place and is then smeared all over with secate. After the secate has dried it is smoothed and worked over by heating a machete and applying the flat side. Sometimes the smoothing is done by means of a stick while the original application of the secate is still warm and soft.

A quantity of charora (17) is placed in a pot and heated until it melts and boils. Then it is mixed with sucuta (the juice of a green fruit about the size of a small orange) which

"16. Latex of Sinphonia sp.

17. Wax-like resin from the Copernica cerifera.

darkens the mixture. When it has taken on a black color, the pot is removed from the fire and set aside until the sucuta has cooled a little. Then with a stick or machete it is smeared all over the surface of the blowgun. Following this process, it is smoothed and dressed with a stick or a hot machete as before. When this has been done, the surface of the implement has taken on a gloss.

Next the large end of the blowgun for a length of 2 inches is dressed down until a small cylinder projects which is slightly larger than the bore. The bone mouthpiece is fitted snugly over this and the shoulder left by dressing down the end of the tube is covered over and tapered down by applying some of the warm charora which covers half of the bone mouthpiece. Another small lump of charora in the form of a small mound is applied to the barrel about a foot from the mouthpiece. The two incisor teeth of a watusa are then imbedded in this so that the groove between the teeth is parallel to the axis of the bore. This serves as the blowgun sight. (18)

Finally the bore is polished by drawing the blowgun back and forth over a rattan strip to which a wad of cotton or balsa floss is attached. Sometimes a long slender ramrod of chonta wood with cotton attached to one end is used in place of the rattan strip. This

"18. Rivet (1907, p. 595) states that this is not used as a sight, but as a guide to the hunter so that he always has the tube in the same position when shooting and can thus correctly allow for any error in the shooting quality of his weapon."

process being completed, the blowgun is ready for use. [83]

The work is done little by little as the maker has the leisure or inclination, so that it is difficult to say how long a time is required. A man in a hurry could probably complete the entire process in a week."

2: Stirling--83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 784

"The length of a blowgun varies more or less according to the desire of the maker. In general, however, they may be divided into two types: the short variety which are usually approximately 10 feet in length, and a longer type which may be as much as 15. The longer the weapon, the greater its range and accuracy. On the other hand, the long blowgun is an awkward implement to carry through the thick forest. The long blowguns are generally used in hunting larger game, such as wild pig, monkeys, and large birds which roost in high trees. During the manufacture of the blowgun various dietary taboos must be observed and the maker must remain continent, otherwise the blowgun will warp or check.

Frequently a pair of canine teeth of the jaguar or two alligator teeth are attached to the blowgun at the base of the mouthpiece by imbedding them in chorora in such fashion that the points of the teeth curve around the cheeks of the user when the tube is held in position. These seem to be particularly desired for ornament but they serve a useful purpose as well, giving a certain amount of lateral support to the weapon."

"In using the blowgun it is held with both hands, palms down, close to the mouth, with the sight held uppermost (pl. 22, c). The bone mouthpiece is placed to the lips and a slight puff is sufficient to speed the dart on its way. Although the range varies in proportion to the length of the weapon, it might be said that the maximum effective range of an average blowgun is about 45 yards.

In order to keep the weapon from warping or bending it is always stored in an upright position, muzzle upward, usually with the mouthpiece resting on a block of wood, and tied to the center post of the house, or suspended vertically, muzzle upward. In order to keep the bore clean, a piece of cotton or kapok is stuffed into the muzzle.

The blowgun darts, called tsensac, are made from the midribs of the leaves of the ivory-nut palm. The leaves are cut at the season when the ivory nuts are ripe, for at this time the wood is very hard. A cut is made just deep enough to go through the bark covering of the rib and then the bark is stripped off. These strips are cut into the proper length, which is measured from the base of the palm of the hand to the crook of the elbow. The strips are then split into sticks of the proper size and shaved to a point at one end, the stem of the dart having a diameter equal to that of a common match.

The darts are stored in a cylindrical quiver called tunda, made from a section of bamboo, with a cover to fit over the opening (pl. 36, a). The quiver is filled with a roll of the fibrous material obtained from [84] inside the midribs of tinyuci palm leaves in order to protect the darts and to keep them in place. Attached to the dart quiver is a hollow

spherical calabash with a small opening. This is filled with the floss of the silk cotton tree (19) which is attached as wadding to the butt end of the darts as they are needed (pl. 36, e). "

"19. Eriodendron anfractuos.

2: Stirling --84 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 278

"Poison is necessary to make the darts effective, except when shooting small birds. At the present time many of the Jivaros buy their poison from white traders or from neighboring tribes. This poison is mostly made at Llamas and Taratotoe on the Huallaga River in Peru. The Jivaros occasionally make poison of their own which is probably the type used when they first secured the blowgun. The Jivaro names of the ingredients as used on the Yaupe are as follows: Machápi, described as being a vine; Aimár, a root; Tságuami, the bark of a tree; Cacátza, a vine; Puíngish, the leaves of a bush; Ambi, a small pepper. (20) These are mashed together by pounding them with a stone in equal proportions. This mash is then mixed with water and boiled for about half an hour. Then the liquid is filtered through a piece of cloth, usually a piece of worn-out itipi. The filtrate is allowed to stand until it forms a black, pitch-like substance. This is again heated in a small pot and put into bamboo tubes or tiny earthenware pots (pl. 36, c).

Before putting it on the darts it is heated in order to thin it. It is smeared on the points of the darts with a spatulate piece of wood. Then to dry them so that the poison will adhere better the darts are planted in the earth around the fire, points up; after which they are placed in the quiver and are ready for use."

"20. Karsten gives a list of 30 ingredients used inmaking poison on the Upano."

"When Up de Graff was dealing with the Indians of the Santiago he learned how to manufacture dart poison from the Indians below the Pongo, and made it himself in quantities in order to trade it to the Antipas Jivaros. He describes the process as follows:

> The vine from which it is made grows in great profusion throughout the upper Amazon zone, and the process is simple in the extreme. It is cut into sections a foot in length, and the thin hard outer crust of bark is carefully removed by scraping. The main bark, white when first exposed to the air, turns brown in just the same way as an apple. This inner bark is scraped into fine shavings by means of shells and flints, and these are placed in a colander which rests upon a pot in which water is boiling. The water is poured over the contents of the colander repeatedly, until the constant action of it has drawn out the alkaloid, when the lifeless shavings are thrown away and the residue is boiled down until it resembles plain chocolate in consistency, color, and smell. While still warm it is poured into a bamboo receptacle and when cool it becomes semisolidified.(21)

Up de Graff mentions that when the Jivaros manufactured their own poison the process was involved in considerable superstition and ritual. Only the wishins might make it. He must also make the small pots in which it is kept. In addition to the use of the vine

"21. Up de Graff, p. 213."

as described by Up de Graff, numerous other ingredients are employed, such as spiders, ants, and vegetable extracts supposed to contain tearulsons. Up de Graff gave it as his opinion that the addition of these other materials served only to dilute the poison, as the Indians found his poison to be more effective than their own. It is probable that the 'Machapi' vine mentioned by the informants on the Toupe as the first item in making poison, is the same vine as that used by Up de Graff, and it is probably the only active ingredient in the mixture."

2: Stirling--95 (1930-1931) 1930 Zicaro
116, 411, 224

"Attached to the dart quiver (pl. 34) is part of the jaw of a fish with sharp teeth (Serrosalmo piraja). This instrument is used for making a circular cut around the dart about an inch from the point so that this section will break off in the wound. This procedure is particularly necessary in shooting monkeys, as a monkey always will attempt to pluck the dart out immediately upon being hit."

2: Stirling--85 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 278

"When poison in storage dries up and becomes hard it is unfit for use. However, there is a process for renewing it. This is done by putting lemon juice in the poison pot and heating it over the ifre, meanwhile stirring with a stick until it becomes plastic again. About 24 hours are required to complete this process. Poison may only be renewed once in this fashion, as to do so more frequently causes it to lose its effectiveness.

According to the Indians, the length of time required for the poison to take effect varies with respect to the location of the wound, the species and size of the animal, freshness of the poison, and similar factors. Large birds usually resist the poison from 10 to 15 minutes. The writer has seen large monkeys, wounded with several darts, live for almost half an hour."

2: Stirling--85 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 713, 411, 777

"The blowgun is never used in warfare. The Jivaros say that it was given them for the purpose of obtaining game. To use it against man would bring bad luck. (22)"

"22. Figueroa, writing of the Mainas in 1665, specifically states that the blowgun and poison darts were never used against their human enemies. Skinner, 1805, p. 285."

2: Stirling --85-86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The traditional war equipment of the Jivaro from earliest times has consisted of the lance and shield (pl. 28). Before the spear thrower was abandoned, a small lance or javelin was in common use. The ordinary name for lance is nangi, but ceremonially it is referred [86] to as shingi. It is made from the hard black wood of the chonta palm and as a rule is from 6 to 8 feet in length. The head is usually in one of two shapes; either diamond-shaped with a low ridge running down the center of each side and tapering to a cutting edge, or triangular in cross section without the cutting edges (pl. 14, a). At the present time lance heads of the former type made of iron are in common use (pl. 11, a). From a practical standpoint, these are unquestionably superior to the wooden lance, but the Jivaros believe that the all-chonta lances contain magical properties not possessed by iron, and therefore the more conservative Indians still prefer them for use in warfare. Until comparatively recently the Jivaros say that they used lances tipped with points made from the leg bones of the jaguar. In the seventeenth century Lucero spoke of lances fitted with points made from human leg bones. These seem to have been a smaller type of spear and probably represent the javelin which was formerly propelled by means of the spear thrower."

2: Stirling--86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The use of the spear thrower appears now to be entirely forgotten by the Jivaros. Pigorini figures a spear thrower credited to the Murato. It consists of a straight stick tapering slightly from the butt to the tip. An inch or two below the tip a spur is attached, apparently by means of binding made secure by the addition of some sort of wax or resin. The handle has a small perforation through it about an inch from the base through which a string is passed, evidently for the purpose of fastening the implement to the wrist. It is not dissimilar in general appearance to archeological specimens from the Peruvian highlands. (22)

Mortillet says that the javelin proper consists of a shaft 76 cm. in length made from a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia), which is smooth on the outside but filled with pith and unusually light in weight. One of the extremities is closed by a plug made of a resistant wood for receiving the spur of the throwing stick. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta point in the form of a very sharp prismatic prong about 22 cm in length. (23) "

"22. Pigorini, p. 46, pl. 1.
23. Mortillet, 1891, p. 241."

"The Jivaros call the shield pandara. Like the lance, it has apparently changed but little during the passage of the centuries. They are made from the large flat buttresses of the camusha (ceiba) (24) tree. These buttresses do not have a definite grain and therefore do not split or check easily. In addition, they are tough and light. The shields are circular in form and, although approximately 3 feet in diameter, are always made from a single piece. The shield is fabricated in such a manner as to make it appear to be composed of three [87] superimposed concentric disks, each about a half inch in thickness and each with a diameter approximately one-half that of the disk upon which it is superposed. Thus the center of the shield, while apparently somewhat thicker than the outer edge, is actually not as much so as it appears because of the concavity of the inner surface which is really in the form of a very much flattened cone. A hand grip of rattan is attached at the apex of this cone and is fastened in place by being pegged into three small holes made on either side of the central disc (pl. 28).

As a rule, the shields are painted with sua and achiote. The decorations usually represent animals or spirits designed to give power in warfare. The shield which the writer obtained from Hisama on the upper Chinganasa River had a design depicting Pangi, the anaconda; the moon, and the sun's rays. The round shield itself represents the sun.

"24. Bombax ceiva.

The shield, like the chonta lance, is supposed to contain tsarutama so that it is used for other purposes than for defence in fighting. Hisama carried his shield with him when night fishing, in order to ward off Iguanchi. He stated that the shield was called upon frequently when it was suspected that evil spirits were in the vicinity, or that a rival wishism was attempting to work harm through magical powers.

As is the case when making the blowgun, the maker of a shield is required to undergo rigid taboos during the period of manufacture. He must remain continent during this time, must not talk, and must be particularly careful of his diet. If the proper observances are not followed, it will lose much of its power, and is likely to warp and check.

Formerly shields were also made from the skins of the tapir and of the manatee, but this practice has apparently been abandoned."

"As has been indicated elsewhere, the Jivaro houses are usually erected singly in defensible situations on the headwaters of affluent streams rather than on the main rivers. The typical Jivaro house (pl. 1) is about 75 or 80 feet in length with a width of from 40 to 45 feet. It is approximately elliptical in shape with parallel side walls and rounded ends. The walls are made of chonta palm laths and bamboo or cane stakes, about 9 or 10 feet in height. These stakes are set close together and lashed firmly with strips of bark or vine.

The roof is made of palm thatch and is typically supported by seven tall upright posts, as shown in figure 2. A ridge pole about 40[89] feet long extends between the central posts. From this, rafters constructed of poles are dropped to the eaves, the lower ends of these poles extending about 2 feet beyond the stakes forming the walls of the house. These rafters are lashed into place with bark and vines. The rafters forming the ends of the house radiate from the end posts in the form of spokes from a common center.

At each end of the house is a door, one to be used by the women and the other by the men. The doors are the full height of the walls and consist of three or four heavy slabs of hewn timber set vertically in slots at the top and bottom. In order to enter the house it is necessary to lift these planks at the bottom and set them to one side. They can be barred from the inside by a crossbar which prevents them from being lifted. As a vari-

ation to this type of door, sometimes doors are constructed of a broad brown plank, the full width of the entrance (pl. 26,g). Sometimes this type of door is attached by means of bark or leather hinges.

The cracks between the wall stakes provide ample ventilation and in the daytime sufficient light enters between them to prevent the interior from becoming gloomy. The floor is of packed earth, which is kept neatly swept at all times."

"On the Chingamasa River a house in process of construction was observed (pl. 27, a). The skeleton of the house had been erected, the uprights and roof poles being mostly in place, tied together with vines. On the floor of the house were coils of vines to be used for binding purposes and more cut poles for roofing. There were also several baskets of wet yellow clay which had been used for packing the holes in which the upright posts had been set, obviously for the purpose of setting them in place more firmly. The clay had been tamped in place about the base of the posts by means of wooden stakes. Alongside the new house had been erected a small temporary shelter under which were neatly stacked palm leaves to be used for thatching the roof.

In addition to the typical permanent house just described, the Jivaros on the lower Santiago and on the Marañon occasionally construct houses of a different sort. These consist merely of a thatched roof supported by a ridge pole held up by two tall end posts and terminating against low uprights 2 or 3 feet high at the edge of the eaves. This type of house has no walls and as a rule is intended as a more or less temporary home (pl. 27, b)."

2: Swanton--89[2] (1930-1931) 1930 Zioaco
106, 342

"The architectural plan of the jacale varies to some extent depending upon the size of the house. A small jacale such as that of Hiamna on the Chingassaka has a single center post with a short ridge pole lashed on top of it in the form of a T."

2: Stirling--90 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 342

"The house of Sakacha was built on the edge of a 30-foot bluff on a small hill in the jungle a couple of miles from the left bank of the Marañon about 10 miles above the junction with the Santiago. This house was a long, rambling structure, about 14 feet wide and 60 feet long, with low eaves and no side walls or ends. It was supported by five center posts arranged more or less in a row. There were four men, three women, and five or six children living in this house."

2: Stirling--90 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 352

"One end of the house is used as living quarters for the women while the other end is occupied by the men. The beds of the men consist of square platforms of split bamboo elevated about 20 inches above the floor by means of four short uprights supporting cross-pieces. In front of this platform and at the same height a rack is made by placing a pole across two Y-shaped uprights. Directly in front of the bed platform and under this rack a fire is kept burning at night over which the sleepers toast their feet. The fires are built from radiating logs, the ends of which are pushed together as they are consumed (pl. 2). At each corner of the bed platform is an upright pole to which the platform is attached. These uprights extend 5 feet above the bed where they support a second platform of split bamboo the same size as the bed. This makes a cover for the bed and is utilized as a place for piling various odds and ends, such as bundles of tobacco, blow-gun dart quivers, nijimanche bowls, empty gourds, shields, feather ornaments, etc.

The beds of the women are constructed in the same manner, excepting that walls of split bamboo are built around the four uprights, forming a cubicle and giving them a privacy which the men do not have. Also, the foot rack is absent from the women's bed. The small children sleep with the women, boys moving to the men's end of the house when about 7 years of age. When not in use for hunting purposes, the dogs are kept tied to the women's beds."

2: Stirling--90-91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252

"Around the walls at the women's end of the house, racks are constructed on which a hundred or more earthenware jars of all descriptions are stacked. Sitting in the middle of the floor between the two center posts are four or five large red jars, or mikas, covered by means of banana leaves lashed around the orifice. These contain the chewed manioc which is always kept on hand for returning hunters or visitors to the house. These are frequently raised from the ground on three sticks slanting inward, set at equal intervals as props under the swelling body of the jar. Each man of the house has his own special drinking bowl, the curaka having an especially large bowl a foot in diameter.

Here and there around the sides of the room at the men's end of the house long cords hang from the rafters, terminating in a num-[91]ber of wooden hooks from which are hung the majority of a man's possessions; his darts and poison, the latter being contained in a small leaf-covered pottery bowl, his gun (if he owns one), a net bag containing such personal odds and ends as combs, necklaces, and ear ornaments, achiote seeds, and other small objects. By the side of each bed there is generally a large gourd with a curved neck in which is a small round opening. These the women keep filled with water for drinking purposes or for washing the hands and face.

Against the upright posts of the house are lashed the war and hunting weapons; the lances, blowguns, fish spears, etc. The lance generally rests point down on a block of wood at the base of the post."

2: Stirling--91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 343, 231

"To a limited extent, particularly on the Upano, the Jivaros keep domesticated fowl and pigs, these having been early introduced by the Spaniards. They are cared for by the women and regarded as the women's property. The native 'pavo' (Penelope cristata) is also sometimes domesticated. Small conical structures, strongly built of poles, are erected in the clearing of the jivaría where the domestic animals repair at night as protection against prowling members of the cat tribe (pl. 26, b). Various pets are frequently encountered in the jivaría, monkeys, parrots, and toucans being the most common. These, as well as the dogs, are kept inside the house."

2: Stirling--91 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252, 574

"The women cook in the houses by placing the pots over one of the several fires, the pots generally resting on the ends of the burning logs. The women and girls when in the house constantly chew manioc which they spit in large juicy mouthfuls into one of the big jars placed in front of them for that purpose. Whenever a man enters the house he is at once served with nijimanche by the women and of course it is always offered to a guest who must drink it or else risk offending his host."

Z: Stirling--91 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 352, 662

"Hanging from the uprights of the men's beds are their spinning outfits and stacked on the canopy above, when not in use, are the looms, for all of the Jivaro spinning and weaving is done by the men."

2: Stirling--91 [4] (1930-1931) 1930 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

"The cotton when ready for spinning is packed in a case of leaves shaped like a tamale, open at the lower end. From this the Jivaro spins his cotton thread on a spindle of chonta palm to which is attached a circular bone spindle whorl (pls. 30, 31). As a man sits loafing or resting on the edge of his bed he usually keeps his spindle busy so as to keep on hand enough thread for weaving purposes. Looms are of the suspension type erected in a take-down rectangular frame. Shuttles are made of chonta wood (pl. 32). The men weave the women's clothes as well as their own and also make the woven headbands and belts which they use."

2: Dyeing--92 (1936-1937) 1938 Zuñi
114, 384, 642

"The dyeing of the thread in various shades of brown is done by steeping it in a solution of vegetable dye made from achiote seeds and various kinds of bark, depending on the shade of brown desired. The dyeing is done by the women, the Indians explaining that the process takes a considerable length of time and the men do not care to be tied down by it."

"In each house is a large signal drum, tunduli, made from a hollowed log about 5 feet long. With the drum is a short wooden beater padded on one end. As a rule, these drums are permitted to rest on the ground but the sound carries a much greater distance and has much more resonance when they are suspended by means of the wooden lugs at each end. The face of the drum has four diamond-shaped openings connected by slots. The drum is beaten on the tongue formed by the V-shaped slots connecting the two middle openings (fig. 3). (25)

There is also in each house a small dance drum made of a cylindrical piece of wood about 10 inches long and about 7 or 8 inches in diameter. A monkey-skin head is attached to each end by means of a tight-fitting hoop. This drum is beaten with a small bone or a straight stick. It is used in connection with singing and dancing (pl. 22, d). The large drum is also used for dances in the big ceremonies."

"25. Karsten says that the drum represents the sacred anaconda Pangi. The lugs are the head and tail, the openings the pattern on the snake's back.

2: Stirling--92 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 533

"The Jivaros in common with most American Indians are fond of music, both vocal and instrumental. Dances and ceremonies are always accompanied by songs, the performers singing in unison. The songs run the entire gamut of human emotions---warlike songs, songs of triumph, mourning songs, love songs, and songs which represent ordinary prayers. Singing may or may not have instrumental accompaniment. The two types of drums in use have already been described."

2: Stirling--92-94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 534

"Bamboo flutes of various types are popular. These are used as a rule by young men in love, or for playing melodies when in a sad mood (pls. 17, d; 37, a-f). Trumpets are made from the shells of the giant land snail (pl. 37, g). These are used for signaling purposes and can scarcely be classed as true musical instruments. The Aguaruna make a primitive violin called quer-quer from cedar or balsa wood (pl. 37, h) which normally has two strings made of monkey intestines or of chambira fiber. It has a hollow sounding box at the large end, which is covered with a thin slab of wood fastened in place with wooden nails. Upon this is a fret held in place by two projecting wooden plugs. The strings are tuned by means of two [94] chonta-wood pegs, to which the strings are attached. The instrument is played by means of a small bow which has a string of rattan (pl. 37, i). The quer-quer is only played when the musician is alone in the house. It is used to recall war expeditions and memories of the dead. The music is always sad and the player weeps as he plays."

2: Stirling--94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 534

"The snail-shell belts (pl. 10) and leg ornaments worn by the women at dances might be classed as musical instruments, as the jingling sound they produce marks the cadence of the dance."

2: Stirling--94 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 463, 533

"While all Jivaros sing and all Jivaro men are able to play upon the flutes, some are regarded as being much more talented than others, and these are more frequently called upon to perform."

"Just as the men when in the house spin or weave when they have nothing else to do, so the women are likely to keep themselves busy in making pottery. Considerable care is taken in the locating of outcrops of suitable potters' clay. Selected lumps of rough clay wrapped in bark are placed in baskets and carried to the jivaría. The work of preparing and refining the clay is done within the house. A chunk of clay is placed on a flat slab of wood and pounded with a heavy stone. Impurities, such as small stones and other foreign substances, are picked out by hand. This refined clay is then mixed with a small amount of ash and moistened, after which it is stacked in piles on another wooden slab. One pile is a stiff olive green clay which is used to furnish the main body of the pot; the other pile consists of a rather sloppy yellow clay which is used for thinning. The latter is added to the heavy clay until the proper texture is obtained.

The mixture of the two clays is kneaded together by the potter in the proper proportions and placed in a third pile which is used for building up the pot. Squatting or sitting on the floor, the woman picks up a handful of this clay and, between the palms of the hands or on top of the thigh, she rolls it into a rope 2 or 3 feet in length (pl. 24, a, b). The pot is then built up on a flat slab of wood by a coiling process. As the sides of the vessel rise, each rope of clay is carried around the rim with the right hand, the left hand pinching it flat so as to make it adhere to the coil below (pl. 24, c). When thus pinched into place, the potter from time to time dips a gourd shell into water and with it smooths

down the coil, both on the inside and outside surfaces (pl. 24, d).

After the bowl has been completed it is set inside the house to dry in the shade. At this stage the bowl is sometimes decorated with simple geometric incised designs in the form of wavy or zigzag bands. As a rule, a considerable number of vessels are made and [95] dried at the same time so that a dozen or so pots may be fired simultaneously. There is a variety of shapes, but the vessels may be classified into three types according to use---deep cooking vessels, large storage jars for nijimanche, and small bowls for drinking or eating purposes.

After the drying has been completed preparations are made for firing. Two good-sized logs are laid parallel on the ground about a foot apart. Smaller cross-logs are then put in position, leaving spaces between, of a proper size to admit the vessels which are to be fired, the crosspieces supporting the sides of each vessel when in position. Then smaller pieces of dry wood, preferably rotten wood and dry bark, are piled around and over the bowls (fig. 4). The entire mass is thickly covered with palm leaves and the pile ignited. The evenness of the firing depends largely upon the care with which the fuel has been arranged and the slowness with which it burns.

The firing being completed and the vessels cooled and wiped off, they are ready for painting. The storage vessels and drinking bowls to be used for nijimanche are usually painted a solid red color on the outside by means of achiote mixed with caraña or gum copal. The drinking bowls are painted red on the outside and the inside surface is painted

with designs which are geometric in character or which represent mythologic episodes in the career of Mika, who is the patron of pottery vessels. The Aguaruna cover the interior of their vessels with a white slip on which the designs are painted in red and black, the black color being obtained from charcoal. Caraña is used as a varnish to finish the inside of the bowls.

The clay which is used for pottery making is called mieway. Small drinking vessels are called pininga and when decorated are known as pininga agajmo. The large storage jars, which sometimes have a capacity of 10 gallons, are called mika. Various names are applied to distinguish the many smaller varieties of pottery vessels according to their shape and special use. (For typical forms see pl. 35.)"

Z: Stirling--96 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 721

"Because of their continuous state of warfare, the Jivaros are suspicious of strangers and there is a certain amount of ceremony involved in visiting a distant jivaría. It is customary for a visiting party to give notice of its approach by shouting or firing guns when a short distance away. In the case of a fairly large party, an emissary is usually sent in advance to announce the arrival, partly in order to avoid surprise and partly that the host and his group may have time to assemble, dress themselves properly, and make preparations for feeding the visitors. The etiquette upon such a visit consumes a considerable length of time and the foreign visitor must be prepared to lose almost a full day because of the attendant ceremonies when visiting a new jivaría with a party."

2: Stirling--96 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302, 574

"The writer had numerous experiences of this sort and, as a typical example, a visit to the jivaría of the curaka, Caneros, on the upper Yaupe River is here related. Our party, with 60 Jivaros from the Upano, after breaking a trail across the intervening mountain range, arrived within a quarter of a mile of the clearing surrounding the jivaría of Caneros. Early in the day a messenger had been sent in advance to announce our coming. Upon reaching this point, all of our Indians gathered in a group before entering the clearing. Here they engaged in a great deal of conversation, bathed themselves in a small stream, carefully combed their hair and painted faces. They took out from their bags all of the personal adornments which they had carried with them; feather headdresses, ear tubes, necklaces, etc. When ready, the entire party proceeded in close formation to file quietly through the clearing and into the jivaría.

Caneros, who had been expecting us, was seated on his official stool in the middle of the house facing the door by which we entered. He was rather a young man, tall, well muscled, and fine looking. He sat very straight and did not move or say a word as our men filed in and seated themselves in rows along the walls on each side of the door. By his side sat a man stained entirely black with sua and wearing a monkey fur headdress. This visitation was more than an ordinary event, as with our 60 carriers were four curakas from the Upano: Utita, Tuki, Teamagashi, and Ambusha."

While our men were getting themselves quietly seated there was great activity in the women's end of the house, where the wives of Caonroo' household were preparing the nijimanche. Lining the walls in the middle of the house were seated Caonroo' men, all with their faces and bodies elaborately painted with achiote and oca. The women of the house too were dressed in their best, with woven colored hair fillets decorated with red and yellow toucan feathers.[97] Most of them had their arms painted with achiote or oca in various geometric patterns. We noticed that the women affected a different style of face painting than that of the men. The females used light, narrow, parallel lines with dots, usually smeared on without much care.

Finally, Caonroo' head wife approached him, apparently to tell him that all was ready, whereupon Caonroo gave a short command to the women and they carried five huge earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and placed them in a row about 12 feet in front of the door. This having been done, Caonroo spoke again and each of our four curakas sent a man to drink, whereupon with earthenware bowls and calabashes our men came up to the jars and began to drink in an orderly and quiet way, never crowding around the jars, until all had drunk heartily and the jars were empty. Our visiting curakas were among the last to drink. The women then refilled two of the jars and the drinking continued. During all of this time no word was spoken. Five minutes or more of silence followed and then Caonroo arose and, beginning at the left, asked each of our men individually if he were satisfied, the visitor answering 'Ayu!' (Good!). When he had finished the round, he re-

turned to his seat.

As though this were a signal, the men began to talk, and a babble of conversation started which lasted until after midnight. Caneros' men moved around talking to our party, but all of our men retained their seats along the wall near the entrance. Later in the evening the women served them with food, consisting of boiled and roasted manioc."

2: Stirling--97-98 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 521, 195

"The remainder of the night our men slept in this same section of the house and during most of the following day they retained their places along the wall of the Jivaría in comparative quiet. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or 24 hours after our arrival, Caneros pulled his seat in front of Ambusha and began a vigorous ceremonial conversation, very loud, and delivered in a sort of syncopated rhythm, beating time with his feet and gesturing with his arms, while Ambusha replied in similar vein, each of them punctuating the talk with ejaculations of 'Casa', 'Casa', (So that's it!), 'Ho', 'Ha', (Good! Fine!), 'Tsa', 'Tsa', 'Tsa', (No, no, no!), 'Tcah', 'Tcah', (I don't know). The substance of the conversation concerned the events that had happened on the trip and other events of interest that had taken place since the speakers had last met.

After about half an hour Caneros moved his seat in front of Utita and went through the same performance, then with Tuki, and finally with Tsamagashi. Meanwhile, the remainder of the men sat quietly by the walls, apparently indifferent to what was being said. During [98] these curious conversations, the fist is closed lightly and the palm of the hand turned toward the face. While talking, the knuckles are placed against the mouth. As they talk they spit vigorously and frequently between the fingers. The conversation is also punctuated with tongue clicks and smacking of the lips. This continued until evening, various other pairs now teaming off in the same manner so that the noise of talking was much greater than on the previous day."

"As an example of the type of episode which frequently produces serious trouble as a result of a visit by strangers, an incident occurring the following night is also recounted. At 4:30 in the morning we were awakened by a sudden uproar when Caneros took his place at the women's end of the house, facing the men, and began shouting in a rhythmic manner, stamping his feet and making warlike gestures with his lance, which he brandished in his right hand. Occasionally his head wife would put her head out from her cubicle and contribute a few words. Caneros continued in this manner for well over half an hour. When he had concluded, Yerenu, who appeared to have considerable influence in the household, took the floor in his place and orated in similar fashion, stepping back and forth as though going through a dance. He likewise talked for more than half an hour while various of the seated men interjected occasional remarks, creating a terrific uproar; not unlike the effect produced by an evangelist haranguing his congregation, punctuated with the Amens and Hallelujahs of his listeners.

About 7 in the morning the discourse died down and Tsamagashi, one of the curakas with us, said a few words. It developed that an old woman had taken sick during the night. It appeared that Tsamagashi was formerly a wishinu. Caneros was accusing him of having caused the old woman's sickness, and stated that unless she got well promptly he would declare war against Tsamagashi and his household. His wife occasionally joined in saying, 'Yes, we will dig up the lance!' Yerenu took up the talk in the same vein and others of Caneros' group put in a word now and then indicating that they would support.

Tsamagashi then replied that he was now an old man and had lost his power as a wishinu and denied being responsible for this sickness. He further volunteered the information that in his opinion, we, the whites, had been the cause of the illness. Caneros refused to accept this explanation and denied our responsibility.

After the excitement died down Tsamagashi and his wife, who had accompanied him, left for about an hour and then Tsamagashi returned alone. During the rest of the day the attitudes of Tsamagashi and Caneros gave no indication that anything unusual had transpired. [99]

Fortunately, the old woman felt much better and evidently no further action was taken. There is little doubt that had the woman's condition taken a turn for the worse, serious trouble would have developed."

2: Stirling--99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 826, 152

"The Jivaros are as a rule vain of their personal appearance. In this respect the men rather outdo the women. The Jivaro idea of what constitutes good looks does not differ radically from our own. An athletic physique for men and well-rounded contours for women are admired, as are regular features for both sexes.

Long dark hair is desired and this is a feature which almost all possess."

2: Stirling--99[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116. 302

"Young men spend a great deal of time and care on their hair, which is frequently washed, combed, and trimmed. The hair is cut low on the forehead, forming a straight line above the eyes (pl.4, b, c). It is allowed to grow somewhat longer over the temples where it hangs down on the cheek about on a level with the tip of the nose and the ear lobe. The rest of the hair is allowed to grow long, sometimes hanging to the waist. Women generally allow the hair to hang free, although sometimes a woven fillet is worn about the head (pl.17, c). The men, however, have various methods of doing up their hair. The usual method is to gather it together at the base of the skull where it is wrapped with a narrow woven cotton band called 'eztma' about 2 feet in length, which is decorated at either end with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. Sometimes the hair thus gathered is allowed to hang down the back (pl. 5, a, c), but generally it is wrapped around the head (pl. 5, b, d). The hair hanging over the cheeks is frequently wrapped and allowed to hang in the form of two small pigtails (pls. 4, a; 7, d)."

2: Stirling--99[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301

"The men wear in their hair rather elaborately made combs, called temashi, carved from narrow slivers of palm wood lashed together at the base with an ornate cotton weave. These combs hold the hair in place when wrapped about the crown of the head (pls. 5, d; 7, b).

The men and women both pierce the lobes of the ears through which bamboo tubes are thrust (pl. 5). These ear tubes, or jarusa, are usually decorated with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers and white down. Sometimes feather tufts are tied directly to the lobe of the ear.

Girls when still very young have the lower lip pierced and through the opening formed at this time the women wear a small cane lip plug (pl. 9, a)."

2: Stirling--99-100 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302

"When traveling or when engaged in ceremonies, both men and women paint the face and occasionally the arms and shoulders with the oily red pigment from the seed of Bixa orellana, called achiote [100] (fig. 5). The juice of Genipa americana, called sua by the Jivaros, is also used as a black stain in decorating the face and body. When achiote is fresh it is rather bright red in color but when somewhat old it turns to a reddish brown. Sua is colorless when put on but in about an hour it becomes dark blue in color and after about 8 hours turns almost black. Men frequently smear the face red all over with fresh achiote and on top of that paint the designs in brown achiote. Sua stays on the skin for about 6 days. After 4 days it again turns blue and then begins gradually to wear off. As a rule the face designs on men are painted in heavy, coarse lines while those on the faces of women are drawn in fine, narrow lines."

2: Stirling--100 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 304

"Tattooing is also indulged in to a limited extent. The writer saw a number of examples of facial tattooing on the Yaupe River (fig. 5.)"

"The costume of the men consists of a rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth which is brown in color with light vertical stripes, called an itipi. This is wrapped around the waist where it is tucked in and allowed to hang just below the knees. The men are uncovered from the waist up. When traveling the men wear a bag of monkey skin with the fur attached in which they carry their ornaments and other small articles (pl.13).

The costume of the women, called tarachi, consists of a much larger rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth not as heavy nor as finely made as those of the men (pl.3). It is wrapped around the body in such fashion that the two upper corners meet over the right shoulder where they are pinned together with a chonta-wood pin. A cord is worn around the waist and the lower part of the skirt is drawn through it in such fashion as to makem loose blouse about the waist. In this infants and very young children are carried by their mothers, either on the back or at the breast (pls.23,c; 17, a,b). The skirt of the women also hangs just below the knees and the left shoulder is bare. When a family does not have sufficient cloth garments, or a woman has no man to weave for her, the tarachi is sometimes made from bark cloth (pl.19). Boys also occasionally wear clothing of this material."

2: Stirling--100-102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 562

"Three principal types of feather crown are worn by Jivaro men. One called 'taguaza' consists of a disk-like brim formed by lashing together with cotton thread several concentric hoops of rattan. The outer circumference is decorated with bright-colored feathers, usually the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan, and with green beetle wings (pl. 32). Another showy crown consists of a woven hoop of vegetable fiber which fits the head and to which are thickly attacked the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan (pls. 4, a; 5, a). The third type of crown consists of a band of monkey skin [102] with the black fur attached, about 2 inches high, worn as a hoop about the head. Women do not wear feather crowns of this nature."

2: Stirling--102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"Numerous types of collars, necklaces, and body ornaments, consisting of seeds, shells, teeth, bird bones, and at present heads and buttons, are worn. One conspicuous ornament worn somewhat after the fashion of a Sam Brown belt consists of numerous strings of small black seeds held together at intervals by transverse cotton strings worn in such fashion that it crosses both shoulders and encircles the waist. It requires almost a year of work to manufacture one of these ornaments which the Jivaros call 'nupish.' It is worn at the big fiestas and occasionally when a Jivaro wants to make an impression on a visit (pl. 6, a). Necklaces consisting of many strands of this same seed are also worn, as are similar necklaces of glass beads (pls. 4, b, c; 5, a, c). Collars woven of chambira fiber or made of bark completely covered with shells or buttons are a favorite ornament of the men (pl. 5, b). Another elaborate ornament worn by the men is the 'tayocunchi.' This is an elaborate back ornament made from hundreds of femurs of the tayo bird, which is found only in certain caves in the Jivaro country. The possession of such an ornament marks the owner as a brave man, as it requires courage to enter the caves which are the dwelling places of jaguars (or jaguar spirits) in order to obtain the birds. These ornaments are further embellished by the addition of bright-colored feathers and beetle wings. The most elaborate type of ear ornament consists of long hangings of iridescent green beetle wings which depend over the shoulders and terminate in tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. These are called 'kuishi' (pl. 15, a)."

2: Stirling--102 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 415, 484

"When the Jivaro is traveling he carries his feather ornaments neatly rolled and packed in tubes of bamboo. These tubes, together with other ornaments, hair combs, ear tubes, achiote paint and other accessories, are carried in a rectangular bag with a flap which is either woven of chambira fiber and suspended by a strap over one shoulder or else is made of monkey skin with the fur attached and suspended in the same manner (pl. 13)."

2: Stirling--102 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"While the women do not wear as elaborate ornaments as the men, they are fond of bead or seed necklaces or collars. A characteristic ornament of the women is the dance girdle, made by attaching to a cotton tape numerous triangular segments cut from the shells of the giant land snail which jingle like sleigh bells as the wearer walks or dances. This girdle is called 'unda acacho' (pl. 10)."

2: Stirling--102-103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 778

"Jivaro men also wear a girdle made from human hair called 'indashi acacho.' Tufts of human hair taken from the head of a courageous Jivaro who has died are attached by means of a resinous gum to a woven cotton tape. These girdles are supposed to possess magical power which transmits to the wearer some of the qualities of the orig-[103]inal owner of the hair. The manufacture of them involves definite taboos and practices on this account. While at work on the girdle the maker accounts the most noteworthy feats accomplished by the original owner of the hair and upon completing his task he holds a small feast, during which he dances while wearing the girdle and sings songs calculated to give him additional strength and courage."

2: Stirling--103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 832

"The women frequently wear on the breast an amulet which they call 'napue.' This consists of a collection of objects which are supposed to be beneficial in producing sexual attraction and in holding the affection of the woman's mate. These objects consist of certain perfumed herbs, manatee teeth, bird bones, and similar miscellaneous objects. While collecting and attaching each object to the napue the woman sings and prays for assistance from each spirit represented in the amulet."

2: Stirling--103 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 825

"Both men and women occasionally wear about the wrists and ankles narrow circlets made from the skin of a small variety of green snake which are supposed to protect the wearer against evil influences in the forest. There are numerous variations to be found among the ornaments worn by both sexes, but as a rule they conform rather closely to the types enumerated above."

2: Stirling--103 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 226, 262

"In the higher mountain regions where the streams are small and torrential very few fish occur. In most of these streams the only food fish is the naiumbi, a curious looking fish whose body is surrounded by a hard shell and which attached itself on the under surface of rocks by means of a sucking appliance similar to that of the pilot fish. These ugly and bony creatures, while not very delectable in appearance, are sometimes the only available food supply in the gameless regions of the higher mountains. The Indians capture them by simply wading out into the stream and overturning rocks to which they are attached, removing them with their fingers. In the lower regions and along streams which are less turbulent fish life is very abundant and the Indians have devised many different ways of capturing them. Fishhooks are seldom used excepting where the Indians have been able to obtain them from the whites. The Jivaros apparently do not make or use fish nets at the present time.(26)"

"26. Up de Graff describes the use of nets among the Antipas, saying: 'Their nets are made of palm fiber, and in place of corks and leads they use balsa wood and stones. The net is fixed across a rivulet, and the party makes its way by a detour to a point upstream. There they throw stones into the water and frighten the fish into a hurried flight to where the trap awaits them. The meshes of the nets are so proportioned as to catch the fish by the gills as they rush downstream.' Up de Graff, p. 210."

2: Stirling--104 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 226, 278, 461

"The aboriginal methods of fishing appear to be poisoning, trapping, and spearing. Fish traps as a rule are constructed during high water in overflow areas where streams are about to subside, or along small swollen streams up which fish have ascended from the main rivers. For poisoning fish a dam is generally constructed along a small stream during low water. Barbasco shrub is gathered in sufficient quantities, macerated by means of pounding it between large stones, and then thrown into the water, being careful to distribute it evenly at a point 30 or 40 yards above the fish dam. The juice of the plant spreading through the water stupefies the fish, which rise to the surface in a more or less helpless condition, where they are gathered up by the Indians. On these fish-poisoning occasions generally a large part of the community participate; men, women, and children taking part and make of it an enjoyable social affair."

2: Stirling--104 [2] (1930-1931) 1930 Zivaro
116, 227

"In constructing a typical fish trap a mat is made of flattened bamboo strips. This is laid across parallel sticks and two winged dams are made to divert the water onto the mat. In flowing over the mat the water strains through, leaving the fish stranded as they swim downstream. The edges of the mat are rolled up a little so as to make a trough of it, and a dam of leaves is placed at the far end to prevent the fish flopping out (fig. 6). Fish spears are made of a long, slender shaft of chonta palm, fitted with a bone point."

2: Stirling-104-105 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 136

"In the forests of the Santiago wild game is very abundant. Among the larger mammals are to be listed the tapir, the capybara, the paca, the peccary, wild hogs, the giant ant bear, deer, and monkeys. Several members of the cat tribe are also to be found, the puma occurring in the higher mountains while the jaguar and ocelot are very abundant in the lowland jungles, as well as in the eastern foothills of the Andes. In the rivers are to be found both the manatee and the fresh-water porpoise. The most striking members of the reptilian family are alligators, turtles, the giant boa constrictors, and anacondas."

2: Stirling--105 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 136, 262

"Bird life is remarkably abundant and varied. The principal food birds are the greater and lesser pawil and toucans of several species. The Indian does not scorn for food purposes the various members of the parrot family, or in fact almost any bird which he might be able to kill.

Various insects are also utilized for food purposes. A certain variety of giant red ant is a favorite delicacy, these as a rule being eaten in a parched form. In addition to this, large white grubs are secured in quantities from rotten wood and are considered to be a particularly choice morsel of food. Frogs, lizards, and snails are likewise frequently eaten.

It is seldom necessary for the Jivaro to go hungry. With his skill in woodcraft and his knowledge of the wild plant and animal life of the jungles in which he lives, he is able as a rule to find food at all times on comparatively short notice."

2: Stirling--105[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The Jivaro is at his best when hunting in the forest. His knowledge of the habits of the game animals, his keen ears and eyes, his ability to imitate the calls of animals and birds, all contribute to his success in the hunt. Where a white man could walk through the forest without being aware of any game in the vicinity, the Indian is constantly aware of the presence of birds and animals and is able to tell from the sounds just what varieties they might be..

A common Jivaro method of hunting is to construct in a suitable location a blind made of palm leaves in which the hunter sits quietly with his blowgun, from time to time repeating the calls of certain birds or animals so that the game will come to him instead of his pursuing the game. Great patience is exhibited in this form of hunting, and as a rule is rewarded by success."

2: Stirling--105-106 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224

"When any member of a jivaría locates the trail of a herd of peccaries or wild hogs a community hunt is organized. Preparations for such a hunt constitute somewhat of a social occasion. All of the dogs owned by the jivaría are put on leash and, under the care of the women, are brought with the hunting party into the forest to the point where the trail of the herd has been seen. A consultation then takes place between the leading men in order to decide the probable course taken by the herd. Many things are taken into consideration, such as the direction of the wind, the occurrence of trees furnishing suitable foods on which the animals are likely to be feeding, the physical nature of the terrain itself, and the probabilities of the herd being turned aside by streams or gullies. After the likely location of the herd is determined, various individuals are spread through the forest to act as drivers, while others are stationed [106] with their weapons at favorable points where it is expected the animals will be driven past."

"Guns, lances, and blowguns are all used. The peccary is a dangerous animal when aroused and a man in the path of a charging herd is forced to take to a tree in order to save his life. Because of this fact, a great deal of excitement prevails at the final contacting of the game. The beaters with their dogs have all arranged a series of signals sounding like bird calls, by means of which they make their presence and position known one to the other. With the dogs howling as the trail is struck, the woods are filled with bedlam as the animals are driven out and swing into motion.

As the herd approaches, grunting and with teeth clashing, the hunters stationed along the path grow excited as the shooting begins. Those with guns fire and reload as rapidly as possible. The men with lances station themselves at the base of trees where they are able to receive the rush of the animals, lancing one or two if possible as they charge, and then immediately taking to the tree above them in order to escape the rest. As soon as the herd has arrived, all of the Jivaro hunters are to be seen seated on the lower limbs of small tree, frantically ramming charges in their muzzle loaders or shooting blowgun darts as rapidly as possible into the herd of charging animals. The men with the lances lower themselves from the trees in order to use their lances effectively, but taking care not to allow themselves to fall to the ground or get in the path of the peccaries.

In due course of time the excited animals rush past and the hunters descend from their perches and collect all that have been killed. Those shot with poisoned darts it is necessary to follow a considerable distance. All of the dead animals are then brought together,

singed, cleaned, and carried back many weary miles through the jungle to the jivaría. All of the carrying is done by the women. In case there are not enough to bring all of the animals which have been killed, instead of the men helping so that it could be done at one trip, the women return and make a second trip in order to secure the remainder.

Meat which is obtained as the result of a community hunt is divided among the hunters by the curaka. On one occasion when we were present at a peccary hunt of this sort we were unable to purchase any meat because of the fact that, inasmuch as it had been a community venture, there was no one entitled to receive payment for it. The only solution was to give us part of the meat as our share for participating in the hunt.

Another mass method of killing wild pigs or peccaries is to drive them into a large stream where they are pursued in canoes and lanced in the water. A hunt of this nature was witnessed on the Marañon when five pigs were secured from a large herd crossing the river."

2: Stirling--107 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 262, 224

"Certain of the available animals are not utilized by the Jivaro for food purposes on account of magical taboos. Notable among these exceptions are the deer and tapir. Deer are considered to contain tsarutama of the feared spirit, Iguanchi. The Indians have no hesitancy in killing deer and furnishing them to white people to use as food, but no Jivaro will partake of deer meat himself. In the same way, in some regions, the flesh of the tapir is taboo."

2: Stirling--107[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 262, 462

"Although the Jivaros receive a considerable part of their subsistence from the products of the chase and from fishing operations, they might safely be termed a truly agricultural people. Maintenance of the gardens is almost solely the duty of the women. The only portion of the labor of preparing and maintaining a garden clearing which is done by the men consists in the felling of trees in making the original clearing. The planting, care, and harvesting of the crops is all women's work.

Sweet manioc, taken in the form of nijimanche, constitutes the most important single food item. The boiled fruit of the chonta palm is likewise used to form a drink prepared in the same manner as nijimanche. To a lesser degree, maize, sweetpotatoes, sugar cane, squash, and peanuts are raised. As a general rule, a good-sized garden clearing surrounds the jivaría itself, but frequently additional fields are maintained which are a mile or more distant. Bananas, plantains, and papayas are grown extensively, but require no care other than planting."

2: Stirling--107[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 412, 482, 462

"The ground is not tilled in any fashioned. The only agricultural implements are a digging stick and a planting stick; frequently, the same implement serving both purposes. A typical digging stick is made of hard chonta palm, is about 4 feet in length, 1 1/2 inches in diameter, and is flattened at one end (pl. 23, a). The manioc is planted by taking small shoots from growing plants and placing the stems in shallow holes punched in the ground with the digging stick. The earth is then packed around the stem with the fingers and the plant requires no further care, the moist ground and the more or less continual rains doing the rest. The roots of the manioc are usually harvested when about a foot in length. If permitted to grow to a much larger size the tubers become coarse and woody. In harvesting manioc, which is one of the principal routine duties of the women, the tubers are excavated by means of the digging sticks, placed in the carrying baskets and borne by means of a head strap from the gardens to the house. This is no inconsiderable task, especially where the fields are at a distance over steep mountain trails from the jivaría (pl. 23, b)."

Z: Stirling--108 (1930-1931) 1938 Zimmer
116, 252, 241

"Bananas and plantains, as is customary in the region of the eastern Andes, are seldom permitted to ripen. When the fruit is mature the bunches are picked. The bananas or plantains are first peeled and then either boiled while green or roasted in the coals of the fire. The Indians prefer it in this mealy and tasteless fashion rather than in the form of ripened fruit."

2: Stirling--108 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 249

"In addition to these staple food plants, other plants for various purposes are raised in the clearing about the houses. Among these might be listed cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, achiote, and barbasco shrubs."

2: Stirling--108 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 222

"While fruits are rather extensively used for food purposes. Among those occurring most abundantly in the region of the Santiago are guava beans, sapotes, and the fruit of the chonta palm."

2: Stirling--108 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241

"The combination of fertile soil, warm and abundant rainfall, and mild temperature causes the various agricultural products to grow rapidly and luxuriantly. No finer bananas or plantains are to be seen anywhere in the world."

2: Stirling--108 [5] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 583

"Marriage among the Jivaros is by a form of purchase. When a man sees an unmarried girl or a widow whom he wishes to take as a wife he speaks to her father or brother and, unless they particularly object to the suitor, a price is agreed upon and he takes the woman away. There is no ceremony attached to the transaction and no ceremony of marriage. A woman does not have the right to refuse a man if her father or brother have accepted payment for her. Very frequently immature girls of 8 or 9 years of age are purchased as wives. They are at once considered as being wives and go to their husband's household to live. Sexual intercourse does not take place, however, until puberty. In other respects, the young girl functions as a wife, attending to her household duties along with any other wives her husband might have."

2: Stirling--108-109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 595

"Because of the prevalence of the custom of head hunting, the women outnumber the men considerably, as marriageable women are rarely killed in the head-hunting raids. As a result, polygamy is an inevitable consequence. José Grande, an old chief on the upper Upano River, has 11 wives and 5 or 6 wives not uncommon for an influential man.

It is not to be supposed that the lot of women is an unhappy one because of these facts. Most women appear to have a real affection for their husbands and the young girl wives appear to be as much attached as a rule to their husbands as to their own parents. [109] Jealousy between wives is apparently a very rare trait. Almost always a household of women get along very well together and the various wives of a man become very fond of one another. A typical marital group in the case of older men consists of three wives---one, an older woman of approximately the husband's age; another, a young wife of 16 to 20 years of age; and the third, an immature girl."

2: Stirling--109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 581

"Just because a man may usually purchase any woman he likes, it cannot be assumed that romantic love is lacking in the live of the Jivaros. As a general rule, a man does not care to have a wife who does not reciprocate his affection. When he sees an eligible woman who stirs his emotions, particularly if he be a young man, he begins a rather elaborate campaign of courtship in order to gain the affection of the woman. When a man is in love he quite naturally desires to put on his best appearance; therefore he always keeps himself well painted and decorated. He is very particular about his hair and dress."

"When he begins his courtship he pays a visit to the house where the girl of his choice lives, always taking care to invent some other reason to account for his presence there or else making the visit seem quite accidental. When he enters the house, according to custom he is served mesato by each of the women in turn. When his particular woman steps up with her bowl of nijimanche for him he acts very serious and gruff. He takes the bowl roughly from her and, after drinking, returns it with the same violence. Following the chicha drinking, again according to custom, the women begin serving him food. When the woman of his choice brings him manioc or sweetpotatoes he takes it from her without looking at her, examines the food, breaks off a piece and hurls it on the ground. If there was any doubt in her mind before, this assures her that the man is in love. Generally this is all that is accomplished on the first visit.

As a rule, before his second visit, he allows an interval of 3 days to elapse, on the theory that during this time the girl will have a chance to think about him and his actions and to wonder if she created enough of an impression for him to return. His preparations for the second visit are considerably more elaborate.

First he goes to the river and calls upon Tsungi, the mythical water monster, to aid him in his affair. He sings songs especially composed for the occasion. Tsungi is supposed to exert a particular control over love affairs. In the forest he has probably already collected leaves of the plant called muspa, which he dries and from which he makes a powder. The Jivaros believe that when the otter wishes to catch fish he rubs his paws

on this plant and on his face. [110] The lover goes through the same procedure when he collects the leaves. The muspa powder is mixed with achiote and yaona, a sweet-smelling herb. This combination is then mixed with a little grease and placed in a small bamboo tube. Sometimes the preparation is purchased from the wishinu. This preparation is called semica.

On his second visit he also brings with him the fangs of an anaconda or a boa; these are supposed to bring good luck to a woman. Other little gifts as well are prepared, such as nuts, from which she can make amulets, vanilla beans, yaona plants wrapped in cotton, combs, and similar trinkets. The teeth of the manatee are supposed to be effective in fostering a love affair and are regarded particularly as being good luck charms for women.

When he enters the house on his second visit he contrives, if possible, to rub some of the semica on the palms of her hands and on her breasts. If the man had succeeded in making any sort of impression on his first visit, the woman is likely to act with more affection toward him on this occasion. She may even go so far as to encourage him by inquiring as to why he had not returned before and expressing interest in his doings. The girl's acceptance of his present is her way of indicating that she reciprocates his affection. All that now remains is for the suitor to make satisfactory purchase arrangments with her father.

There is generally a show of reluctance on the part of the girl's male relative. They

drive as good a bargain as they are able and express a real or feigned dislike of the idea of the girl leaving home. In pressing his plea the suitor usually employs a friend as spokesman and the debate that ensues is somewhat in the nature of a stereotyped ceremony. While the girl's mother theoretically has nothing to say, actually she takes an active part in the argument."

"It frequently happens, however, that a wife is purchased without a word being said to her. This is usually the case when an older man acquires a young wife. There are two prime requisites that make a man attractive to a woman, or, for that matter, respected generally in the community. One is that he be a good warrior, and the other that he be a good hunter. The symbol of his ability as a warrior is the number of tsaulaas he has made. The symbol of his ability as a hunter are the bones of the tayo birds which he has killed. One bone is taken from each wing and these are worn as ornaments. The tayo frequent a few caves where they are hunted with the aid of torches. Because of the fact that the hunter is likely to encounter a jaguar, it requires a brave man to obtain a large number of these bones. Both items are a considerable asset to a man in gaining the regard of a woman. Desirable traits in a woman are that she be a good worker, have a good disposition, and be free from nagging. [111] When tobacco is blown up a woman's nostrils and she is able to retain it, this is regarded as an omen that she will have strong children."

2: Stirling--111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 585, 462

"Marriage takes place immediately following the purchase arrangements and the woman takes up her duties in the man's residence, where they do not differ much from the duties to which she has been accustomed at home. The work of clearing the chacras and the work of housebuilding is done by the men. The women plant and tend the crops. The men do the hunting and fishing, while the women cook and attend to the household duties. The house is divided into two halves, each of which has its own door; one for the men and one for the women. In one half are the beds of the men and the section in which they remain while in the house. In the other half the women live and tend to their household functions."

2: Stirling--111 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro'
116, 843

"When a woman becomes pregnant, the husband is much more attentive than usual and performs numerous little services that he would not do ordinarily. If it is her first child she is likely to be nervous, in which case the others in the house attempt to keep her mind off the coming event and distract her interest in various ways. Children are very much desired by both men and women and a barren woman is almost invariably discarded as a wife."

2: Stirling--111[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 844

"When the time for childbirth arrives the woman drinks water with which has been mixed scrapings from the spine of the cashparay. This is supposed to deaden the pain of childbirth. The mother is usually attended by one or two old women. Delivery is from a sitting position, or, if difficulty is experienced, from a half-standing position. As a rule, Jivaro women are very little discommoded by childbirth. At delivery, the umbilical cord is tied in a knot and then cut. Immediately after the delivery the mother goes to the water and washes herself while the old women wash the child. One month after the birth of a child a fiesta is held."

2: Stirling--111 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116. 846

"From the time a child is born until it has begun to walk the father observes a moderate sort of couvade. During this period he abstains from eating the foods from animals or plants containing tsarutama. Such foods have power over the spirit of the child and may wreak harm upon it."

2: Stirling--111-112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 857, 867

"Young children are very seldom disciplined, in spite of which, like most primitive children, they are very wellbehaved. The children, especially young boys, have almost complete liberty to do as they please. As they grow upthe girls stay with the women and learn the various household duties which it is necessary for them to practice in earnest after they are married. Inasmuch as many girls[112] marry at 8 or 10 years of age they have very few years of childhood. Small boys play at hunting and fishing and accompany the men on their hunts at an early age. They are even brought on war expeditions by their fathers when as young as 7 and 8 years of age, for the purpose of becoming accustomed to fighting as soon as possible. The daily instructions a boy receives in warfare and in inculcating the idea of blood revenge in his mind has been described under the section dealing with warfare.(27)"

"27. See p. 41."

2: Stirling--112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 524

"Children do not have many formal games which they play but, like children in all parts of the world, they contrive to occupy themselves. There are usually mud banks to slide down and a fine playground in the jungles adjoining the chacras. Most of the games played by the girls consist in playing at making pottery, cooking, or working in the chacras. By playing at these tasks, they learn the duties which they must later perform, and at a very tender age they begin to be of real assistance to their mothers."

"The subject of death and burial customs appears not to have been mentioned by the earliest writers on the Jivaro. Plaza, writing in 1853, says:

> They abandon their house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink; it is closed and remains closed, and no one ever returns to live there, which proves, according to them, the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, a judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ihuanchi. (28)

Villavicencio, writing at about the same period, says:

> It is with difficulty that they are persuaded to bury their dead in the churches, since they prefer to bury them in their tambos, for the reason of thus having some guardians to watch over their belongings. They believe that death is not natural, and when someone dies, they attribute it to sorcery sent by some enemy, which is a cause for division among families, and they profess an eternal hatred against the supposed sorcerer. When they do not know to whom to attribute the ill deed they believe, notwithstanding, that it is caused by some hidden enemy. (29)

"28. Plaza, in Compte, p. 295.
29. Villavicencio, p. 357."

Vacas Galindo states that the dying person usually indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in nijimanche and food. As to the final disposal of the body, Galindo says:

> They seat the dead person on a kulanga, well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from [113] other souls, human or animal, who will come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many pinings of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of maniac and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away. (30)"

"30, Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, pp. 78-79."

116, 764

"The Salesian missionary, Father Pancheri, at Gualaquiza, has left a detailed description of the manner in which a prominent Jivaro had been buried. Hearing that the body of this individual had been disposed of in the pagan manner and wishing to give his bones a Christian burial, he searched for and found the body in a native sepulchre. The shelter consisted of a well-built house 2 meters long and 1 1/2 meters wide. As viewed from the outside, it gave the appearance of an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade overgrown with living plants. The interior, likea small room, was furnished with a seat having a back, on which the corpse had been seated, hands and feet crossed after it had been dressed in its best clothing and personal adornments. A second palisade, erected in the form of a cylinder, surrounded the body so closely that it could not fall over. This palisade was even more solidly constructed than the other and was covered inside and out with large leaves, making it so tight that even mice could not enter. The circular opening at the top of this cylindrical palisade was covered by a thick disk of wood weighted down by a large rock. In the little circular corridor between the first and second barriers a large quantity of food was placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc.; many earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and other liquids were set against the walls.

Pauchari says:

We had to break the first palisade with a machete. Here many vases of nijimasche were hung and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambaalu were found. (31)"

"31. Bulletin Bolléien. August 1896, p. 178. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 611."

2: Stirling--113-114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764

"The following information was received directly from informants on the Yaupe River. Twenty-four hours after a Jivaro dies his body is placed in a log which has been hollowed out, in a small canoe, or in a box made of split bamboo. All of his hunting and fighting weapons, lance, blowgun, poison kit, etc., are placed with him. When the coffin is made from a log the bark is first peeled off and a space hollowed out in the log of a size sufficient to receive the body. The bark is then replaced and secured in place with pegs and vine wrappings, so as to cover the opening (pl. 25, b). If a canoe is utilized the opening of the canoe is covered with bark and large leaves which are bound in place with vines. When a box of split bamboo is used a cover is made of the same material.

The coffin is then suspended from the ridge pole of the house by means of two vines. An ordinary warrior is suspended horizontally. [114] If the deceased should be a curaka he is suspended in an upright position. The body hangs in this manner without further attention except for mourning by the women for a period of 6 days. On the sixth day, if the dead man be a curaka, nijimanche, meat, fish, manioc, and plantains are placed in vessels on the floor and on that day the house is abandoned, the body remaining suspended from the rafters. Each month for 2 years someone returns to replenish the food supply."

2: Stirling--114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775, 765

"The Jivaros believe that after death they are reborn in various forms of animal life. A warlike curaka becomes a jaguar when he dies and goes to live in the forest near enemy tribes in order that he may continue his vengeance toward them. The explanation of the 2-year period during which the corpse is fed and tended is that it requires 2 years for a jaguar to develop to the point where he can competently shift for himself. When this time has expired the bones are taken down and buried."

2: Stirling--114[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"In the case of an ordinary warrior the house is not abandoned following the 6-day period after death, but during this time a strongly built small house is erected in the vicinity of the jivaría and the body is placed in it. Here it is fed and attended during the 2-year period in the same manner as described for a curaka."

2: Stirling--114 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"The bodies of women are treated in the same manner as those of ordinary warriors, excepting, of course, that the woman's domestic utensils and implements are placed with her instead of weapons."

2: Stirling--114 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"In the event of the death of young children the bodies are placed in a small thatched shelter near or in the clearing without any attendant ceremony. It is believed that children under the age of puberty change into small birds."

Z: Stirling--114 [S] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775

"When Angusaha was asked if he expected to become a jaguar he said no, that he hoped to be a chicken hawk, because he was very fond of eating chickens and birds."

2: Stirling--114 [6] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 587

"The levirate prevails among the Jivaros. When a man dies the brother who is closest to him has the right to claim his widow. It is not compulsory for him to take her as a wife, although usually he does so. Custom dictates, however, that in the event he does not take her as a wife, she nevertheless lives in his house and becomes a member of his household until someone else marries her. It is not necessarily the oldest brother upon whom these duties fall."

2: Stirling--114-115 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 765

"Mourning customs are not very elaborate. During the 6 days following death the women of the house wail and lament and, if the deceased were a married man, his wives cut their hair in the form of a bob. During the time that a corpse is suspended in the house the men generally leave, going into the bush, or visiting some other jivaría, leaving the mourning and the tending of the body [115] to the women. There are evidences of a lasting affection for the dead on the part of close relatives, and mothers sometimes retain keepsakes which they treasure in true sentimental fashion as remembrances of their dead sons."

2: Stirling--115 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764, 797, 172

"Since the advent of missionary influence, the Jivaros in some places have been persuaded to bury their dead, which is usually done in the floors of the houses. There is archeological evidence that urn burial was formerly practiced in the Jivaro territory, and Figueroa describes this custom among the Maynas in the seventeenth century."

"The practice of shamanism among the Jivaro Indians is basically conditioned by their religious beliefs and conceptions of life and nature. The impersonal magical force which gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants, or natural phenomena is called by the Jivaro tsaruisma, more or less the equivalent of the Iroquois orenda, the Siouan wakonda, or the Polynesian mana. Possessing this force or quality are a large group of spirits, usually of an animistic nature, as well as all of the animals and plants which are mentioned in the sacred origin myth. Certain birds, fish, insects, reptiles, and plants contain tsaruisma, each of which is responsible for producing certain important effects upon the welfare of man."

2: Stirling--115[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In time of war an attacking party always attempts to kill the shaman or wishinu of their enemies as early in the fight as possible, so as to free themselves from possible injury by the spirits which he controls."

2: Stirling--115 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 577

"Not only is the wishinu respected for the power which he wields, but he is likely also to be the wealthiest man of his group, because of the high prices which he charges for his services in curing. He may also draw pay for sending sickness for someone who desires revenge upon another person. There can be no doubt that the wishinu believes in his powers. He is thoroughly conscientious as a practitioner and spends many long sleepless nights working with his patients. He is regulated by a code of ethics whereby he will respond to a call however inconvenient it may be for him to do so. This conscientiousness may be partly determined by the fact that the wishinu is held personally responsible in the event his patient dies, and being so responsible, is liable to either compensation or blood revenge. As a curing doctor, it is the task of the wishinu to identify the particular spirit which has invaded his patient and then, through his knowledge of the method of controlling this spirit, to call it forth."

2: Stirling--116 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 776

"All of the principal nature gods or culture heroes contain powerful tsarutama. These, as a rule, are personified and are assigned particular dwelling places. Thus, for example, Piribri, the Rain God, lives in the solitudes of the cloud-wrapped mountain peaks. Therefore the mountain itself is charged with his tsarutama. The trail from Mendez to Yaupe crosses Cuticu, and no Jivaro will speak while crossing the summit of the mountain because Piribri likes solitude and silence. If offended by disrespectful invasion of his dwelling place, he causes heavy rains to fall upon the traveler, produces floods in the streams, and makes the way difficult and dangerous. Likewise, Pangi, the great anaconda River God, dwells a captive in the Pongo Manseriche, the great cataract of the Marañon, and the same taboo of silence is observed by the Jivaros in passing through this gorge. Etsa, the sun, and Nantu, the moon, contain powerful tsarutama, which influences all that goes on on earth. The chonta palm, one of the plants mentioned in the sacred origin myth and much used by the Jivaros in making weapons, utensils, and even their houses, also contains tsarutama. The Indians believe that a lance made entirely of chonta wood is more effective in warfare than one which is tipped with iron."

2: Stirling--116-117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 628

"In discussing the matter of shamanism it is necessary to understand something of the background of the system of blood revenge as practiced by the Jivaros, because many shamanistic practices result directly or indirectly from this basic custom. The Jivaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft and ordinary disease. If a man is afflicted with localized pains in some part of the body the trouble is attributed to witchcraft. However, there are a number of ailments, particularly those which have been brought to the Indians by the whites, which are looked upon as natural ailments.

If someone brings sickness to the house of a Jivaro so that a member of the family becomes ill and dies, that person is considered responsible for the death and is liable to blood revenge by the relatives of the victim. They may be willing to admit that the disease was not brought intentionally, but this does not excuse the responsibility. However, where the culprit is not considered morally liable, in most instances he may free himself from the blood revenge system by paying compensation to the family of the person who has died.

In the same way the Jivaros are apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases where the crime has not been caused willfully, as for example, when someone in a state of intoxication or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause of another person's death. However, in any of these instances, if the [117] evildoer refuses to pay to compensation asked, he becomes liable to blood revenge."

2: Stirling--117 (1930-1931) 1938 Zvaro
116, 756

"To illustrate the manner by which a man becomes a shaman and how he performs his many duties, the experiences of Tendetsa, a prominent wishinu of the Taupe River, are related (pl. 22, b). Tendetsa first determined to become a wishinu through his interest in watching others operate in curing the sick. It so happened that among his relatives there was not one to look after those who became ill and he felt a desire to perform this service.

After making up his mind that he would attempt to become a wishinu, he went to consult Usatcho, an old wishinu of the Taupe tribe. A bargain was reached whereby Usatcho agreed to train Tendetsa. It was necessary for Tendetsa to pay a high price for this course of training. He gave Usatcho many things, including gifts of food, ornaments, clothing, and other articles of considerable value. The period of training lasted for one month, beginning and ending with the full moon.

The principal function of a wishinu is that of a curing doctor. In order to be able to cure sicknesses he must learn how to gain control of the various spirits which cause different classes of illness. Once in control of these spirits, he likewise has the power to send sickness into people as well as the power of calling it forth, a fact which makes wishinu the most feared and the most respected member of his tribe."

"Sickness is carried on an allegorical blowgun dart called tsensac, which is identified with the thorn, tsuchi, of the magical chonta palm. One of these darts exists for each class of illness. This is a widespread belief in northwestern South America. During the process of becoming a wishinu it was necessary that Usatcho give Tendetsa control of each tsensac. The course of instructions took place in the house of the pupil, Tendetsa. Before beginning his instructions, in order to determine his eligibility, he was sent out by Usatcho at night to catch a small type of fish called chumagaie. He was given bait which Usatcho previously rubbed under his armpit and was instructed to throw in the hook with closed eyes, not looking until the fish was caught. He obeyed these instructions and succeeded in catching the fish, which Usatcho then told him to eat. Then Usatcho went into the forest and collected a bunch of leaves called sasango. These, when waved in the air, make a swishing sound and are used for the purpose of calling the spirit desired.

The first day of his initiation Tendetsa fasted, but, with Usatcho, took quantities of piribri (an herb which is chewed and mixed with water, in which form it is taken as a drink which has a narcotic effect). The two men sat facing each other during the entire time. [118] On the second day the same routine was followed excepting that the narcotic myrot was taken instead of piribri. On the third day the drug was changed to ahinhibri. On the fourth day sango (tobacco) is made into a strong liquid infusion which is snuffed up the nose, each blowing the liquid up the nose of the other in large quantities. On the

fifth day natima is taken. During the next 5 days this cycle is repeated, beginning with piribri on the sixth day and ending with natima on the tenth day. During all of this 10-day period no food whatever is taken. On the close of the tenth day the initiate ate two ripe plantains, mashed and mixed with water, and later he ate two green plantains, roasted or boiled.

At the close of the tenth day, before taking the food they blew into the air calling to Pasuca, the spirit of the blowgun dart. After 10 days of taking quantities of drugs without food they were very light-headed, especially the initiate. They sat waving the cassango leaves and blowing, repeating songs to Pasuca until he appeared finally to them in the form of a bold warrior. When Tendetsa saw him he called out to Uestcho, who began to massage his body vigorously. During this operation he became unconscious. When he recovered his body was sore from head to foot and he knew then that the spirit of Pasuca had taken possession of him.

During the next 20 days they ate only a few boiled green plantains each day and drank a little carefully strained nijimanche. During this period they also ate cameron, a small reddish fish. For another month the diet of the last 20 days was followed, excepting that they ate only snails in place of cameron. The green plantains and the nijimanche were taken as before. During the last 20 days of the first month Tendetsa was instructed in the method of controlling the various spirits of disease which are borne by Pasuca."

"The first of these spirits [RD: disease spirits] is Bilsana, the spirit of the realga, or ray fish. This is the strongest of all of the disease spirits and consequently the most difficult for the wishian to remove. In order to call Bilsana, the massage leaves are waved persistently after the wishian has taken saliva, during which time he calls upon the spirit by name, asking him to come forth. He sings songs addressed to the spirit, meanwhile playing upon the small shaman's drum."

"When treating a patient the wishinu at intervals sucks the afflicted part of the patient and if successful in his efforts, which may last for many hours or even days, the spirit will enter the mouth of the wishinu, who then rushes out of the house, gagging and retching while he spits or vomits the spirit out of his own body. After this has been done, with many gesticulations he orders the spirit to leave and not to enter the house again. He makes a complete circuit of the house, pausing at intervals to repeat the performance. As he [119] does this, he is helped out by the people within the house, all of whom are shouting for the spirit to go away. The treatment is always carried on at night and in the darkness, no lights being permitted in the house while the wishinu is operating. The spirit Minura is described as looking like a bearded warrior. Because of the difficulty of calling this spirit, it is necessary for the wishinu to take natima three or four times in order to give him extra power for the purpose.

When the wishinu desires to send Minura into some person in order to give him the sickness he goes alone to the river where the cashpa lives. The spirit is called out by blowing tobacco smoke toward the river and when Minura appears to the wishinu he sends him by means of the blowgun dart tsensac into the body of his intended victim. The same songs are sung as are used in calling him out from the body of a patient. Because of the difficulty before mentioned of calling out this powerful spirit, the wishinu charges exceptionally high rates for his treatment, sometimes as much as a gun. If the neophyte

shaman does not succeed in producing Minura's appearance during his training he will be unable to do so as a practitioner. The same holds true of all the other spirits."

2 Stirling 119 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"The second of the disease spirits is called Amaron. This is the spirit controlled by napi, the snake. He is called out in cases of snake bite or other poisonous bites of similar nature. The method of treatment is exactly the same as in the case of Minura, excepting that this spirit responds more easily and the wishinu does not have to work so hard nor so long. The songs which are used in calling are, of course, special songs to Amaron. In addition to the magical treatment, the patient who has been made sick by Amaron is also given an enema of crushed red pepper. The wishinu fills his mouth with the fiery liquid and by means of a bamboo tube blows it forcibly into the rectum of the patient. In order to send Amaron into the body of anyone he deisres the wishinu goes into the forest and calls the spirit in the same manner as described for Minura, using, of course, the appropriate songs."

2: Stirling--119[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 842

"The third disease spirit is Yabi. This spirit is described as appearing but rarely. It is said to have no face and is 'like a door.' The wishinu in calling it addresses it as a door, calling upon it to open. Yabi causes barrenness in women. The method of procedure in controlling this spirit is the same in general as the others.

A fourth spirit is Chingi. This spirit is controlled by the toucan (Tsucanga) and by the woodpecker (Tatash). All stomach troubles are caused by Chingi. The beak of the bird pecks at the entrails, thus producing the illness."

2: Stirling--119-120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"All localized aches and pains in various parts of the body other than in the stomach are caused by a fifth disease spirit known as [120] Morovi. This spirit is possessed by the night bird which the Jivaros call by the same name. The treatment of these sicknesses is as before described. When the wishinu wishes to send the spirits of Chingi or Morovi to someone else he goes into the forest and calls them by blowing tobacco. Such parts of the forest are selected as are known to be occupied by the birds which represent the spirit.

The sixth disease spirit is Tunchi, the spirit of the biting insects, such as ants. This spirit produces all rashes, itches, and skin eruptions. Tunchi is controlled by the wishinu in a similar manner to the other spirits."

2: Stirling--120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 262

"It is interesting to note that when a wishinu has sent a disease spirit into a man he does not have the power to cure this individual, although a cure might be effected by another wishinu.

After the first month of training, during which the new wishinu has learned control of the spirits, he undergoes a strict diet for another month and thereafter a number of foods are taboo to him. He cannot eat deer, armadillo, peccary, wild pigs, tapir, cholo monkey, manatee, peanuts, chonta fruit, and many other animals, birds, fish and vegetables. The reason for this taboo is that all of these possess tsarutama. Should he eat any of these foods their tsarutama would enter him and neutralize or confuse the particular class of tsarutama that he might be attempting to isolate for his particular purpose."

2: Stirling--120 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753

"Not all diseases are caused by spiritual invasion. Colds, fever, dysentery, and others are regarded as natural sicknesses in which no spirit is involved. The Jivaros are very much afraid of contagious diseases. Whenever a man develops a cough or symptoms of some contagion the other Indians abandon the house and disappear into the bush, where they will have no contact with him. In the same way, they will avoid all persons who have been in contact with the sick person after he contracted his illness."

2: Stirling--120 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 752

"It is also the duty of the wishinu to treat natural diseases. The remedies used are generally herbs or extracts taken internally or applied externally according to the nature of the trouble. In the case of broken limbs, chicle is put around the injured member as a cast after first setting the bone. Leaves are wrapped around this and wooded splints placed over the leaves and fastened by means of vine wrappings."

The wishinu has many duies apart from his function as curing doctor. In fact, while this may be considered the most important of his occupations, it comprises considerably less than half of his duties. When a young man wishes a particular woman to become enamored of him he calls upon the wishinu to prepare a love potion, which requires the mixture of several articles containing the requisite tsarutama and which can be prepared only by the wishinu. He [121] also has control over the great body of nature spirits. He is able, when necessary, to contact Piribri, the rain spirit, in order to produce storms and floods or to stop them as the case may be. In order to call Piribri he blows smoke in the direction of the spirits dwelling place, using the proper songs, much in the same fashion as he calls upon the disease spirits. Likewise, if he wishes to call on Pangi in order to overturn the canoe of some enemy or to control the river in any way, he can do so. All sudden storms or floods are attributed to the activity of some enemy wishinu. The wishinu is also called upon to determine action in many tribal matters; for example, when a curaka dies the wishnu is called upon to take natima in order that it will be revealed to him who the successor should be. The wishinu also plays an important indirect function in the conduct of warfare. If a man dies in his group, he takes natima and by this means determines which rival wishinu sent the fatal illness. This, of course, applies only to death brought about by the disease spirits and not to deaths from natural causes. Occasionally a Jivaro desires to join some tribal unit other than his own. In this case his eligibility is determined by the wishinu of the new group.

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 756, 554

Because of the lack of real political organization among the Jivaros, the wishinu, on account of his ability to control supernatural forces, is the most influential individual of his group. Frequently a wishinu is also a curaka, but this is not typically the case."

"The Jivaros have been subjected to Christian missionary influences since shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century. Traces of this can be detected here and there throughout their stories. The story of a universal deluge occurs at such an early date, however, that it may be aboriginal in the region.

The myths of the Jivaros, in common with many other culture traits, appear to have formerly been widespread over a large area.

After stating categorically that the Jivaros do not have any religion, Prieto proceeds to disprove it by saying:

> They know that there is a supreme being, giving him the name of Cumbanama as God, and at other times the name of Neche; but they do not give him any worship or type of adoration. They know that there is a bad spirit, who is the devil, but they say that they like him; they have him always for a friend so that he will be favorable to them in their wars. They believe in the immortality of souls, forming the opinion of transmigration, like some bad philosophies, saying that if the Jivaro who dies has been a man of spirit and courage and one who killed many of his enemies, his soul changes into some brave animal, as a lion, tiger, bear or other of this class; but if the Jivaro who died has been a coward, of little spirit, and has not done any heroic deed, his soul changes into a snake, spider,

toad or some other repugnant [122] animal. Aside from this, they do not worship any deity or adore idols, not do they have any other kind of belief beside the aforementioned.

They are very exact in their traditions, communicating from fathers to sons all the wars, heroic deeds and glorious actions of their grandfathers and forefathers, as can be seen by the circumstantial stories about the lost city of Logroño and of the city of old Zamora. For proof and in order to be sure their traditions are constant, let it be shown by their opinion of the universal flood. They say that a cloud fell from the sky and that it inundated the land with water; that all the animals were killed and that a Jivaro man and woman fled to a big high hill, where they found a cave in which they shut themselves up with all the animals, and the waters having subsided, they all left and began to reproduce and populate the world. They likewise have a tradition confused with the curse that Noah gave to his son Ham. They say that there was a rich man who had some good sons and one very bad one, who separated from the others, cursing the first. All the foreigners and white Christians descend from the good sons and for that reason have the things necessary for passing through life with much ease and an abundance of riches; but the Jivaros descend from the bad son, and for this reason do

not have axes and machetes, suffer innumerable hardships, and have an extremely miserable life. (32)"

"32. Prieto, in Compte, p. 64."

2: Stirling--122 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 773

"The story of a universal deluge is widespread among the Jivaro, differing considerably in detail in different sections of the territory. Suárez reccunts one version, which relates that at the time the deluge took place two brothers escaped by taking refuge on a high mountain which projected above the level of the flood. After the water had dropped they came down in search of living things but were unsuccessful and decided that they had been the only survivors. On their return to their refuge they were greatly surprised to find some dishes of food placed in the shelter that they had constructed. In order to solve this mystery one of the brothers concealed himself and saw two parrots enter the hut in the form of women who prepared the meal. Jumping from his hiding place, he seized one of the birds, married her, and from this marriage three boys and three girls were born who were the ancestors of the Jivaro people. (33)"

"33. González Suárez, 1904, p. 28."

"In the early part of the seventeenth century Saabedra gives a legend from the Mainas near Lake Rimachuma which is reminiscent of the above.

Von Hassel gives the following creation myth from the Muratos:

> The creator amused himself by making pottery objects. He constructed a large blue vase and placed it at the height where the sky is found, thus creating the universe. A Murato had been fishing in a lake near the Pastaza when a small crocodile swallowed his hook and the fisherman killed him. The crocodile's mother was enraged and beat the water with her tail in such a manner that she inundated all the territory surrounding the lake. Everyone drowned excepting one individual, who climbed up a chonta palm tree, where he stayed for many days in the midst of continuous darkness. From time to time, he dropped one of the seeds of the tree but always heard the splash [123] in the water. Finally one day the thud of the seed falling on dry ground rewarded his ears. He descended the tree, constructed himself a house, prepared a field for cultivation, and, cutting a piece of flesh from his own body, he placed it on the ground and made a woman who became his wife.
>
> At the beginning of the world, all men lived in a big subterranean cave, the entrance to which was guarded by a huge jaguar. One Murato more intelligent and courageous than his fellows attacked the animal and killed it,

giving freedom to his fellow creatures. The occupants of the cave prepared to leave but, as they were very dirty, they warmed water in a large jar in order to wash themselves. The first to wash, while the water was clean, became white men; those who followed, after the water had become dirty, are the Indians; those who were last of all are the negroes.(34)"

"34. Von Hassel, 1905, pp. 68-70."

"At the present time the Jivaros recognize a distinction between the sacred origin myth which they term Nuhiño and the many disconnected legends and tales which are not sacred in character. Most of the Indians interviewed by the writer professed ignorance of the origin myth, although they knew of its existence and mentioned two or three old men whom they stated would probably know it. After a considerable search, one of these men was located, Anguasha, on the Yaupe River, who recounted the tale.

The story was told dramatically with much gesturing, pantomime, and voice modulation, and with the display of considerable emotion. Anguasha stated that it had been many years since he had occasion to call the story to mind and he had to correct himself many times as it gradually came back under the spell of the candlelight and his own oratory. Frequently he paused to say that he wished Hisama were with him so that they might discuss certain points together, because he was not always sure of the proper continuity. A number of times he corrected himself on a previous statement, seeming very anxious that the details should be correct as well as he could remember them. Finally he announced that it gave him a pain in his heart, reminding him of older and more virile days, and requested that he might tell the rest alone with his old friend, Santiago, the interpreter, and with unlimited quantities of nijimanche to loosen his memory and his tongue. In its proper and complete form he said the story is much longer, all of the principal characters having many more adventures than the ones here recounted, but that the story as told gives the principal outline of the significant events of the myth.

116, 773, 537

It seems strange that a myth of this nature should become forgotten while the general culture of the Jivaros has changed so little, but Anguasha lamented and the other Indians agreed that, with the death of himself and one or two others, the sacred Nuhiño [KS: for text of myth see category 539--pp.124-129] would be gone forever. Most of the Jivaro myths that have been recorded appear to be disconnected fragments which were once a part of this connected account."

"THE NUHIÑO OR 'EARTH STORY' OF THE JIVAROS

In the beginning there were two parents, Kumpara, (35) the Creator, and Chingaso, his wife. They had a son, Etsa, the Sun. One day when Etsa was sleeping, Kumpara took a piece of mud and, placing it in his mouth, blew it on Etsa, with the result that it became a daughter, Nantu, the Moon. Nantu was created in this fashion in order that Etsa might make her his wife, which he could not do were she a blood sister.

There was a bird, Auhu, (36) the goatsucker, who was active only in the nighttime. When the Moon appeared he became enamored of her and attempted to have an affair but his advances were not received by Nantu.

After a time Etsa likewise became enamored of Nantu, having a strong desire to have children. Although he paid ardent court to her, Nantu was coy and kept away from him. One day Etsa was painting his face with achiote to make himself attractive and, while he was doing so, Nantu took advantage of his preoccupation and disappeared by shooting up to the sky. Nantu, upon arriving at the sky, painted herself black with sua (witau) so that her body would become the night. She also painted her face, these being the markings on the surface of the Moon. Then Nantu followed a steep trail upward, climbing and climbing like a jaguar over the curving vault of the sky.

"35. Doubtless a corruption of 'Compadre.'

36. Also called Aishiru."

Auhu, seeing his loved one climbing thus above him and sensing that Nantu was escaping from Etsa, decided to try his luck again at courting. There was a vine hanging down from the sky and Auhu began to climb this in order to reach the object of his desire. Nantu, seeing him, cut the vine, which fell and became entangled in all the trees of the jungle where one may see it now. Auhu, foiled in his pursuit, fell with it, and once more sulked among his trees.

Now when Etsa discovered that Nantu had eluded him, he was very angry and immediately decided to go in pursuit. At first he knew no means of reaching her, but finally he caught two parrots, Awamasa, and two parakeets. On each wrist he fastened a parrot and on each knee a parakeet, saying to them: 'Let us look for Nantu.' The birds flew upward with him, carrying him to the sky, where he finally caught up with Nantu and a violent quarrel ensued. During the altercation Etsa became more and more angry and struck Nantu. When this happens the Sun eclipses the Moon [sic]. Nantu retaliated and struck Etsa; this is the Moon eclipsing the Sun. As a result of this exchange of blows, Nantu was subdued and began to cry, Etsa saying: 'Now you see how much bigger and stronger I am [125] than you and all you can do is weep.' Now whenever the face of the Moon is red it is an indication that it is going to rain.

Following this quarrel, Nantu went off by herself to prove that she could produce a son unaided. She gathered some dirt and, blowing upon it, created a son, which she called Nuhi. Being lonely, she devoted her affection to this son. Auhu, seeing this, became

jealous and, approaching stealthily, broke this son, modeled of clay, and Nuhi died, becoming the earth.

Nantu, lonely and now thoroughly subdued, received the advances of Etsa. They were married on the River Kanusa. Here a son was born to them, Ushshi, the sloth, who was the first Jivaro. Being so old, he now moves very slowly. The waning Moon indicates the period of pregnancy; it wanes as it gives birth. The mating of the Sun and the Moon takes place on earth when they have both descended from the sky. The earth was used as a place for Ushshi and his descendants to live and also as a mating place for Etsa and Nantu. Ushshi was put into the forest, which was to be his home henceforth.

Nantu and Etsa then constructed a canoe of caoba wood and in it went out into the river where a second son was born. This was Apopa, the manatee. He was immediately placed in the water and told hereafter he was to live in the river and that whenever Ushshi should encounter danger on the water he was to come to his assistance.

Following this, a third son was born to them in the mountains. This was Huangsli, the peccary. He was born during a tempest to the accompaniment of rain and thunder, for which reason the peccaries always move about during storms, following the rain as the storm moves along; a fact of which the Jivaros take advantage in hunting.

Shortly after this, Etsa and Nantu were in an open space in the forest when a daughter was born. This was Nijamanche, the manioc plant. She was destined to be for all time

the friend and intimate companion of the Jivaros.

Some time elapsed and no more children were born to Etsa and Nantu. Then it was that Chingaso gave them two eggs which they were told to place on a sand bar by the side of the river. This they did, but upon returning next day found that the two eggs had disappeared. While they were puzzling over this fact, Tingishapi, the cricket, came out of the ground and tried to speak to them. He was so small that they did not notice him, so to attract attention to himself he bit them on the feet. They picked him up and said: 'Who are you?' The cricket replied: 'I am Tingishapi. I am one of your family. I have come to tell you that Untujo, the egret, has flown away with the two eggs which you left here.' Etsa immediately set [126] out in pursuit of Untujo and finally caught up with him. Untujo, when caught, dropped one of the eggs, which fell and was broken. The other one Etsa recovered and returned to Nantu.

Remembering how they had almost missed seeing Tingishapi, Etsa instructed him not to move around during the daytime because then many people would be walking about and he would likely get stepped on. He was told that he should henceforth, live in the houses of the Jivaros as a guardian. All of this transpired. However, in addition to the desire to guard the house, when night comes on he feels the desire to bite something so that he eats the clothes of the Jivaros.

The egg which had been recovered from Untujo was the color of the sun and, tending

it carefully, they produced from it a woman, Mika. (37) Then they brought Mika to the River Kanusa, where Uñushi was sleeping, in order that Mika could become his wife. (38)

They were married and then instructed by Etsa and Nantu as to what their respective duties should be as man and wife. Uñushi was to do the clearing of the forest where their home was to be built and was to build the house in which they were to live, after being told the manner in which it was to be constructed. Mika was to attend to the planting and care of the manioc, to the preparation of food, and to general household duties. It developed, however, that Uñushi was very lazy by nature, with the result that most of the disagreeable work was passed on to Mika, so that now the biggest share of Jivaro work is done by the women. After establishing their household, Uñushi and Mika got into a canoe and started to go down the river. During the voyage, a son was born in the canoe. This was Ahimbi, the water serpent.

After the birth of Mika, Chingaso gave many eggs to Nantu from which were produced the birds and animals inhabiting the forests and mountains; these were to be the friends of the Jivaros and were to furnish them with food.

Now, however, Uñushi and Mika were away from their home terrritory and they needed food. At this juncture two little birds flew to the canoe, calling to them to follow, so

"37. Mika is the name of the red bowls in which chicha is stored and served.

38. Here again it is interesting to note that Mika is produced from an egg, apparently in order to prevent an incestuous marriage."

they left the canoe and went ashore. The two birds preceded them, entering a hollow tree, which immediately was transformed into the chonta palm, laden with ripe fruit. Gathering the fruit, they cooked it and, after satisfying their hunger, they returned to the beach where they had left their canoe. There was a surging of waters and out of the river came Pangi, and anaconda. Crawling onto the gravel bar, he broke with his tail a large rock from which he fashioned a stone axe for [127] them, showing them the method of its fabrication. With this, Ahimbi cut down a tree, Awamo (the cedro), and from it fashioned a canoe. He was of an adventurous disposition and wanted to shift for himself and see the world. Getting into his canoe, he left his parents and set out on a long trip.

Far down the river he met a white man, Apachi, who was traveling in an iron canoe. He showed Ahimbi iron and various mechanical contrivances, saying: 'These are my things. You don't know them so I will show them to you.' In order to show Ahimbi, Apachi constructed a large boat of iron, saying: 'Now you know what these things are, but they are not for you. On the water you are to use canoes and balsas.' Saying which, Apachi left. During a long period of time Ahimbi traveled and had many adventures, but finally decided to return to his parents.

On his way back, in the evening, he encountered Mika traveling alone. He asked her the whereabouts of Uñushi. Mika replied that she did not know; she had not seen him for some time, because he had wandered off and become lost in the forest.

When night came on Ahimbi told his mother that he would like to sleep with her. This he did but overslept in the morning, so that when Etsa came at dawn he was still with Mika. Etsa was angry and awoke them, grasping them both by the hair, saying: 'Why are you two together this way?' Ahimbi replied: 'We are doing nothing; it has been a long time sinceI have seen my mother. I am so pleased to be with her again that I merely wanted to be close to her.' Not deceived by this tale, Etsa ordered them to leave immediately.

They went away together, after which several children were born to them as they wandered looking for a place to reestablish themselves, but all of the birds and animals who had previously fed them were so much offended by this unnatural union that they refused their help. When they wished to sleep in the cave of Yumbingi, the jaguar, their former friend drove them out and has been an enemy of man ever since.

Finally, Uñushi learned what had happened and, much enraged, brooded upon the idea of taking revenge. When Nantu came down to visit her offspring, Uñushi accused her of having consented with Etsa that Mika should go away with a man other than her husband and have children by him. Refusing to listen to her denial, and being much enraged, he fell upon her with his chonta lance and beat her violently, finally throwing her into a hole and covering her over with earth.

It so happened that the dove witnessed this episode and told Auhu what had happened. He also told him to put on fine beetle-wing ear ornaments and to paint his face beautifully

with achiote; then to [128] go to the river where he would find a large land snail. This Auhu did, and still following the instructions of the dove, made a trumpet of the snail shell. With this, he entered the hollow trunk of a fallen chonta palm where he blew upon the snail-shell trumpet. At this call, Nantu very suddenly burst out of the hole where she had been buried, passing through the hollow chonta palm, knocking Auhu violently out of it, and heading straight for the sky again. (39) Auhu cried: 'Come back! Come back!' in his most entreating tones, but Nantu was so anxious to return to her place in the sky that she did not even look back, let alone pause to thank Auhu for enabling her to escape. Thus once more, having had an opportunity to gain the favor of his loved one and again having had his hopes dashed to earth, Auhu resumed his melancholy condition. For this reason he sings only on moonlit nights his mournful cry, 'Aishiru, Aishiru', meaning 'Beloved.'

When Nantu had made good her escape she told what had transpired. The sons of Mika and Ahimbi, hearing the tale, immediately sought out Uñushi and cut off his head, making a tsantsa of it.

When Mika found out what had happened she beat her sons born of Ahimbi and killed

"39. In relating this episode the Jivaro have in mind the action of a dart going through a blowgun."

them, saying that they had killed her husband. After this had taken place Ahimbi fought with Mika because she had killed his sons. (40) They fought so violently that a great tempest was brought about. Huge black clouds came up, rolled along by a terrific wind; torrential rains descended with great fury; lightning flashed and terrific peals of thunder reechoed through the sky.

At the height of the hurricane there came a tremendous clap of thunder and out of the blackest cloud there flashed to earth a mighty bolt of lightning which struck the ground and at the spot there leaped up immediately a powerful Jivaro armed with lance and shield. This was Masata, the embodiment of war.

He viewed the fighting with great enthusiasm, enjoying it so much that when he saw signs of the struggle slackening, he encouraged both sides, going among the many children of Ahimbi, Uñushi, and Mika, urging them to fight one another and assuring each faction that they were in the right. So successful was his propaganda that they all separated into their various factions, this being the origin of the different Jivaro groups.

After this split had been completed Masata visited each group, secretly telling each that they were right and that those who possessed any manhood would go out and kill their enemies, and that he who killed the most would become powerful and would be a great Curaka. [129] Some were partisans of Mika, some of Ahimbi, and some of Uñushi. 'Go

"40. This sequence of events is the origin of the custom of blood revenge."

out and avenge yourselves and you will become a strong Curaka', said Masata. This was the beginning of war.

When Etsa and Nantu looked down and saw the turmoil that had been created they were much displeased. They descended to earth and sought out Ahimbi, accusing him of being responsible for all of the trouble because of his conduct with Mika. Seizing him, they brought him to the Pongo Manseriche. Here Etsa took the trunk of a hollow chonta palm and thrust Ahimbi in it. Then Etsa, blowing upon the chonta tube after the fashion of a blowgun, turned it slowly while so doing. As he did so, Ahimbi slowly came forth from the other end in the form of Pangi, the boa. After he had emerged completely from the chonta log, Etsa bound him up and placed him under the waters of the Pongo Manseriche. The boiling, turbulent waters of this narrow gorge are brought about by Ahimbi's titanic efforts to free himself from his bonds.

After this punishment had befallen him Ahimbi desired that his sons should have peace, so he thrashed his tail and sprayed water into the air, forming the rainbow, as a sign to Etsa to be compassionate and release his bonds in order that he might restore peace among the warring factions. Masata, however, saw the rainbow and ingeniously placed clouds and rain in the way so that Ahimbi's signal would not be seen by Etsa, and thus bring about an end to the fighting. Whenever Ahimbi attempts his signal, he has always been thwarted thus far by Masata, who has obscured his rainbow with rain and mists.

Having successfully prevented this threat of peace, Masata once more started visiting each of the tribes, hurling out his slogan, 'Make war! Make war!' Chingaso, however, feeling sorry for the plight of Ahimbi and desiring to see peace brought about, went down to the Pongo Manseriche in a canoe with the intention of releasing him. Ahimbi, however, thrashing about in his rage, did not recognize her. He overturned her canoe and ate her, thus ending his best opportunity for freedom.

Thus ends the Nuhiño of the Jivaros."

3: Simson--385 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 157, 181, 177

"The tribe or family of the Jívaros is a large one, and one of the most distinguished, independent, and warlike in South America. They alike withstood the attacks of the Jucas and the Spaniards, burning the once famed cities of Logroño and Mendoza, and massacring all the male inhabitants who did not succeed in making their escape; and even to this day they maintain the most thorough independence. The missions at Macas and Gualaquiza have as yet produced no practical results, nor obtained any authority over the Indians. A Jesuit padre, who had resided three years at Gualaquiza amongst them, informed me that he had found it impossible to make any progress with them; and more than once his life was personally threatened. During these three years twenty nine whites (i.e., half-caste traders) were killed in the neighbourhood of Gualaquiza."

3: Simson--105 [2] (No date) 1890 Jivaro
116, 131, 197

"The Jívaros speak a language of their own, Jívaro, and occupy the country generally from the Upper Pastaza to the Santiago, both rivers included, down to the Pongo de Manseriche, on the Marañon. Most of those, however, at Pintuc understand and speak Quíchua."

3: Simson--385 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 121

"*These notes were chiefly taken during a very short stay at a Jívaro Settlement on the borders of the River Pintuc (or Pindo), one of the tributaries on the left bank of the Upper Pastassa, in Ecuador, and refer mainly to that portion of the tribe inhabiting this region."

3: Simson--386 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 342

"Their houses are large and built of 'chonta' or 'tarapoto' palms, split in two and standing vertically in the ground, close to each other, like a stockade; the principal stakes for supporting the roof being entire stems of the same palms. The roof is composed of rafters of bamboo, and thatched with interwoven palm-leaves, principally 'yarina.' The ground-plan of the house is shaped like a bagatelle board, square in front and round at the back, with doors at both ends."

3: Simson--386 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 352

"The dwellings are vary spacious inside; and the even plaiting of the high pointed roof thatch gives the ceiling a pretty and finished aspect. Several families live together in one house, each in its special corner or portion, where it has its separate fire; the earthen pots and other cooking utensils being stored on a sort of tray of split bamboo suspended from above."

3: Simson--386 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 372

"The way the fires are maintained is very ingenious: three large logs, about one to one-and-a-half feet in diameter and ten to twelve feet long, are placed with their points converging to a centre, at equal angles; and on the approximated inner ends the pot is stood. As the logs are consumed, the fire is fed merely by pushing them a little further in towards the centre; and if a stronger fire is required, smaller wood is thrown on the always red-hot and smouldering ends and fanned for a few moments with a fan of plaited grass."

3: Simson--386 [4] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 574

"The Jívaros are hospitable; but are, like most others of their race (and perhaps ours too), very fond of giving little so that they may receive more. However, a traveller, immediately he arrives, is always offered refreshment in the shape of boiled yuca, plantain, or whatever may be cooking, and the never-failing 'chica,' which stands about in every house in very large earthen pots of the 'lotah' shape."

3: Simson- 386 [5] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 273

"This chief sustenance of the Indian of these parts is made of the cassava root (yuca) boiled, and then partly chewed by the women, and partly mashed, after which it stands to ferment, on the third day becoming a little sharp in taste, which quality increases as the fermentation proceeds. Its consistency and appearance are much like mashed potatoes; and to prepare it for drinking a couple of ladlefuls (the hand is the ladle) are taken and worked and kneaded in a calabash of water, until well mixed: then all the coarser fibre, which floats on the surface, is removed with a fork (the digital one supplied by Nature), and the refreshing and sustaining beverage is in condition for drinking."

3: Simson--386-387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 595, 152, 837

"Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe--and, I am authoritatively informed, also the [387] other hordes observe the same practice--is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy. "

3: Simson--387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Pintuc Indians do not come under the Spanish denomination of 'bravos;' they offer no violence to strangers of gentle purpose, but they ally with their half-brothers, the Canelos and Sarayacu Indians against the more aggressive Jívaros on the right bank of the Pastassa, and near the Morona, or Paute. They have a most perfect and finished method of scalping, by which the victim's head is reduced to the size of a moderately large orange, maintaining tolerably well all the features. Only the lips, point of the nose, and all the thicker fleshy portions, of course acquire too much prominence. To produce these ghastly objects, the skin is cut round the base of the neck, and the entire covering of the skull removed in one piece. This is then dried gradually by means of hot stones placed inside it, until the boneless head shrinks to the required size. They also wear their slain enemies' hair in long plaits round the waist."

3: Simson--387 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 411

"Their arms are the spear of chouta, sometimes furnished with an iron head, and 'bodoquera,' or blow-gun, for smaller game and birds. Some use shields."

3: Simson--387 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 202, 361

"The Jívaros practice a system of telegraphy, which has at all times been very dangerous to their adversaries in war, by giving strokes on the 'Tundull,' a large drum, which is heard from house to house, and passed on from hill to hill. The houses are all over their territories at convenient distances for the purpose; and in this manner very varied information is conveyed in a few moments to all the families of hordes dispersed over a large extent of country. This was the greatest danger the Spaniards had to contend with, and is still a main source of protection to these Indians, as they can rouse large numbers at a moment's notice; and sound the alarm through entire hordes."

3: Simson--387-388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 461, 512

"They are regular workers, and do not pass the whole day in idleness like many others of their race. They issue forth to hunt, work in their plantations, build canoes, attend to pig breeding, etc., regularly every day; returning to the house generally early in the afternoon to enjoy repose in the lighter occupations of scraping lances or darts for the 'bodoquera,' making combs, feather ornaments, etc., whilst the women, who sometimes go out to work with them, cook and prepare the chicha [388] mass--their standard alimentation, and during their journeys the only one, being convenient and light to carry wrapped up in plantain leaves."

3: Simson--388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 796, 276, 852

"Amongst the Gualaquiza Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festivities are held when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and mysteries of smoking* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member then makes an oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to be witnessed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the number of enemies they have slain, and so forth. The hope is then expressed that the representative of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, and after the manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address delivered, the pipe is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few whiffs, all the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disporting themselves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event."

"*"This strange and interesting custom was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Pozzi, who resided as a missionary amongst these Indians for some years."

3: Simson--388 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 846

"The 'couvade' is rife among the Jívaros; and at the birth of a child, the mother has to undergo all her parturient troubles outside the house, exposed to the elements, whilst the husband quietly reclines in the house, coddling and dieting himself for some days, until he has recovered from the shock produced upon his system by the increased weight of his responsibilities as a father. This custom is still also in some measure extant in many of the civilized villages on the Solimoens, where amongst the Tapuyos, and even degrees more approached to white, the father, on the birth of a son or daughter, lays himself in the hammock, from which he will not move on any consideration to do any kind of work, nor especially to touch any cutting instrument, fearing thereby to exercise evil influences upon the healthy development of the child."

3: Simson--388-389 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 827, 751, 262

"The Jívaros of the Pintuc, and most others, have the habit of vomiting nearly every morning, by the aid of a feather--a practice similar to that of the Piojés of the Putumayo--arguing that all food remaining in the stomach overnight is unwholesome and undigested, and should therefore be ejected. It has been asserted that their remarkable health and prowess is partly attributable to this habit; certain it is that it obviates some of the bad effects of the not unfrequent 'gorging' in which Indians after long fasts are so prone to indulge. However, the Piojés, who treat themselves in the same manner, are certainly not more healthy--and less brave--than most other similarly placed [389] tribes. If it is a fact that the Jívaros are generally healthier and more robust than the rest of their race near the Equator--more astute and fearless they certainly are--it would seem reasonable to attribute this to the simple fact that their habits of work and rest are more regular, and they are much more provident than other tribes in keeping themselves supplied with food of good quality."

3: Simson--389 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 437

"We continued our friendly relations at the Pintuc and received many daily presents of yuca, plantains, sweet potatoes, and fowls, presenting the Indians in return with hatchets, looking-glasses, and beads for the men; and needles, thread, and beads for the women. We also procured some of their tiger and monkey-tooth necklaces and some feather ornaments."

3: Simson--389 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 198

"The 'cluck' of satisfaction referred to previously requires a little explanation; and it seems to be an expression common to all the tribes of the Provincia Oriental. It is not produced by a mere 'click' of the tongue inside the closed, or nearly closed, teeth; but by placing the tongue forward between the teeth, exhausting the air in the buccal cavity, and then suddenly opening the jaws and allowing the tongue to spring back to its normal position when at rest. The cluck usually signifies admiration, satisfaction, or astonishment; but it means something more than either of these, and occasionally expresses all of them together. When some other Indians were carrying our baggage later on, if they had set down the load and had to hoist it on to their backs again, or if they came to a bad step on the forest track, which had to be struggled over or climbed up with difficulty or strong effort, the muscles were always first braced with a 'cluck,' as a man might say 'here goes,' before taking a powerful leap."

3: Simson--389-390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 144, 197

"Canelos, the once attractive Spanish settlement, but now forlorn Indian village is situated on the left* bank of the Bobonaza, one of the most important, if not the largest, of the tributaries of the Upper Pastassa, and is inhabited by a mixed tribe of Indians, in whom the chief element is Jívaro; though [390] some of the better traits of these seem to be wanting in them. Their language is Quichua."

"* Professor Orton in 'The Andes and the Amazon,' says on the right; but he never went there."

3: Simson--390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 461, 157

"They [KS: the Canelos] are lazy workers; and the young men, much after the fashion of more civilized communities, given up to dandyism, drink and trivial loquacity. All are excessively curious, and some even coolly placed their hands in my pockets to find out of what the contents consisted. However, some of the old and more serious men are quite steady-going members of society, as a rule; but even these also, on occasion, are fond of their little excesses."

3: Simson--390 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Canelos are not so jealous of their women as the true Jívaros and the Napos; but retain the valour of the former, and are always ready to face wild animals, or to defend themselves bravely against the attacks of the Jívaros bravos who sometimes fall upon them, and on which occasions they ally with the Indians of the Pintuc and Sarayacu, the latter a village further down the Bobonaza."

3: Simson--390 [3] (No date) 1890 Jivaro
116, 411

"Their [KS: the Canelos] fighting is done entirely with the lance, which is their inseparable companion, and all my attempts to induce any of them to part with his weapon were useless. The same reply was always elicited: 'Wherewith shall I kill the jaguar when he comes?' These spears, as those of the Jívaros, are very well made, of chonta-palm, and generally with a well-shaped iron or steel head, procured from traders. Some men have, however, on one or two occasions, penetrated into civilization as far as Riobamba solely with the object of purchasing a spear-head to their taste. The shaft is gracefully tapered towards the end, and sometimes tastefully coloured."

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro -1
116, 562, 151

"Amongst all Indians 'Women's Rights' are at a very low stage of advancement; but amongst the Canelos probably more so than others. As with many tribes, the young male grows up very independent; and as soon as he can run about, rapidly acquires all the habits and vices of his elders. His day is chiefly spent in lolling round about the village, or further in the woods, with his blow gun, which he learns to use from childhood to the destruction of all the small birds. He also learns to fish and follow game, and soon becomes an adept in woodcraft, recognising at a glance the slightest trace of a track of man or animal, the nature of the thicket before him and the trees above him; and, when still a boy, every tree and spot for miles around his home is familiar to him. Besides this, he acquires that knowledge, almost instinctive in the Indian, of locality and direction, so difficult to understand, but which undoubtedly is instilled into the mind by the almost unconscious observation primarily of the position of the heavenly bodies, the direction of prevailing winds as frequently illustrated in the [391] growth of mosses and lichens, and the bend of trees, the general currents of the smallest streams, and the closest appreciation of many minor sources of enlightenment which would escape the notice of any but the most practised woodsman. It is truly marvellous to witness the knowledge an Indian displays (especially the Záparos) in detecting the presence of animals and tracking them, without even following on their trail half the time, when the unsophisticated can neither see nor hear anything to indicate that game has been or actually is near at hand. For an Indian, the slightest sound, rustle, or a glimpse of the

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro-2
116, 562, 151

tip of a feather indicates to him at once all the particulars and species of a bird that may be hidden in the dense wood at the top of a tree through the heavy foliage of which it seems impossible to discern anything."

3: Simson--391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 224, 581

Once a proficient hunter [KS: the Canelo] and possessor of good poison, of which fact the community is made aware by the number of toucans' tails with which he adorns his person--this bird being one of the most difficult to kill as it is nearly always seen at the tops of the highest trees and is one of the toughest preys to the Tecuna poison--he finds no difficulty in successfully making his advances to any young squaw to whom he may have taken a fancy. In reality there is little romance in the Indian maiden's preference for the greatest hunter: her 'penchant' for him lies in the hard probability that he, above others, will be more likely to provide her with an abundance of animal food."

3: Simson--391 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 584, 562

"The wife [KS: the Canelo] selected, she is bestowed upon the happy swain by her father; and all the bridegroom is required by custom to do, either then or previously, is to clear the ground necessary for a plantain and yuca plantation. This practically almost ends his destiny so far as work and the care of his family is concerned; and on the days he has not a special fit of laziness at home or jollification in the village, such as a wedding, death, the cleaning and weeding of a plaza, the arrival of friends from or departure to the Marañon for the purchase of salt and poison, each of which occasions constitutes a drinking bout of at least three days and nights, he merely strolls into the woods to seek game, which in the neighbourhood of the villages is generally rather scarce. He consequently returns usually unladen; but if successful, upon entering the house, throws his sport with disdain to the ground and himself into the hammock, and haughtily receives the attentions of his wife and the 'chicha' proffered for his refreshment. Every time a stranger enters a house, he is barely seated before each one of the women separately offers him a calabash of chicha."

3: Simson--391-392 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 562

"The poor woman [KS: the Canelo] leads a hard life; for apart from the arduous duties falling to the lot of all natural mothers, she has [392] to plant the 'chacra,' clean it and gather the fruit--a harder toil than may be imagined--make the chicha constantly, cook, cut and carry the firewood, provide her own dress and ornaments, and whenever her husband is drunk follow behind him like a dog by day and go before him by night fanning a firebrand to and fro to light his path, with the general duty of aiding him to rise each time the ground may come into contact with his lordly head, and assisting him in any other manner that may offer. The precedence is given to the wife by night, so that any venomous snake or other vermin lurking in the path may attack her first and not her affectionate husband, and to illustrate to him more clearly the steps he should choose.

When these Indians came, almost daily, bringing in large bunches of plantains, etc., the man always walked first with his lance in his hand and feathers on his head, whilst the wife followed meekly behind, laden like a pack-horse with the fruits, and often a child on her hip besides, and another dragging at her heels. I once suggested to some of the men that they should provide their women with some ornaments and clothing, but they evidently took my remarks to be pleasantry."

3: Simson--392 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 534

"The favourte amusement current seemed to be beating the drum, an instrument about eighteen inches long and twelve in diameter, scooped out of a solid log, and generally importedfrom the Napo, where the Canelos and Sarayacus go on foot to fetch them, thinking nothing of walking from Canelos or Sarayacu to Aguano and back, only to buy a drum. During the fetes before referred to, the three monotonous strokes, one long, two short, and a res, are heard day and night; or a solitary Indian, decked in feathers, and followed by his faithful spouse, may be seen reeling from house to house tattooing on the instrument, which is suspended by a cord from his neck."

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jívaro-1
116, 361, 576, 721

"We noticed a sheltered creek on the left bank which had not been visible before. A few strokes more and it was in view. On the hillside above, some two hundred yards from the bank, a bright yellow patch among the dark-green forest, stood a Jívaro shack. [188]

The sight of that hut on the hillside was as good to us as water to a man dying in the Sahara. We felt a new strength, and the word 'fear' had no meaning for us. All we thought of at that moment was that there lay our goal, a few hundred yards ahead. Of the difficulties and dangers which lay in our path, not one thought crossed our minds. To push ahead was all that mattered.

And then we saw human life. Four Antipas, long-haired and stark naked, were crossing the stream ahead of us in a dugout. Indifferent as to the effect it might have on them, we gave a yell, in which was voiced all the pent-up joy which was in our hearts at meeting our own kind after the weary search which lay behind us. If we had stopped to think a moment, we should gave realized that a whoop such as we let fly could carry but one message to a Jívaro--war.Those four in that dugout did not even stop to turn their craft. They stood up, faced about, and paddled hard astern for their lives, throwing the water eight full feet into the air, and racing for the left bank where (as they thought) safety lay. No sooner had they landed than the Boom-boom, Boom-boom of the call to arms came floating across the water to us, to be taken up in fifty settlements all round the country. Clearly it was to be war. Little we cared, however--not because we were particularly brave, but rather particularly hungry. And after all, [189] approaching on the water and

armed with Winchesters, we had little to fear from spears. Following the flying dugout we came upon some twenty more pulled up on the beach, and we made our way to the landing-place and hauled ashore. Then broke out a storm of war-whooping and howling which beggars description. The object, of course, was to impress us with the idea that we were faced by innumerable warriors. There was nothing, or almost nothing, to be seen of the savages, sheltered as they were behind the thick palisades of split palms which surrounded their huts and which could be guaranteed to stop even a bullet from our rifles."

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 721, 609

"We had not come for war, and somehow an end had to be put to this clamourous deadlock. There seemed no end to the capacity of those Jivaros' lungs. For three long hours they yelled, with varying intensity. At times I would start up the bank in an attempt to get into conversation, but each time they took it for a hostile movement on our part and redoubled their efforts to persuade us of their strength.

The spell was broken in the end by my leaving my rifle with Game in the canoe and walking slowly up the trail which ran up in full view of the barricaded house nearest to us, suffering agony from my raw feet, but managing to cover the ground by reason of the soft sand. It was not more than a matter of fifty yards all told. I had gone a little more than half-way (with my six-shooter slung out of sight) when there emerged from the hut three quaking youths. The unfortunates had evidently been chosen for a parley much against their will, for I do not exaggerate when I say that their knees would barely hold them and their 'walk' resembled that of a man sick of the palsy. Indeed I was convinced at the time that they were really sick--that perhaps some disease had swept through the whole tribe of Antipas. I tried to [190] open the negotiations in Inca, in Spanish, and with every odd scrap of every language at my command, but all to no purpose. The Jivaro dialect was at the time unknown to me. I then attempted to calm them by offering my hand. The custom was evidently unknown to them for they searched my palm attentively to see what present I might be bringing. Finally I resorted to gesture--motioning them to the canoe as if to invite them to see what we had. They were for making me go

first, but it is a safer rule to go last. So down we went in single file to where Game was sitting with his rifle across his knees, nursing his feet."

4: Up de Graff--190-191 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 431, 576

"We had been careful to bring with us an assortment of trade-goods--a few beads, some small round looking-glasses, and (most successful of all) a supply of their own particular brand of poison. This latter we carried in sections of bamboo cane, about an inch in diameter and six inches long. The poison is poured in after removing one of the knots or partitions which grow at regular intervals, and the cup thus formed, when full, is closed with a palm leaf tied down with a strip of bark; the latter is put on green, and when it dries it automatically tightens up, sealing this natural receptacle as securely as a jam-pot

Once they began to take an interest in the presents, things went swimmingly. Little by little the howling of the tribe in the huts behind the undergrowth had died away, open hostility gave place to confidence, more and more savages slipped down to the canoe to see what we had, urged thereto by their companions who had already done so, and little by little friendly relations were established. Finally, their curiosity, nursed by the evident delight of their men-folk at the treatment they were receiving at our hands, overcame the women of the settlement. Down they came to the bank, each one bearing an enormous gourd full of giamanchi, first in one and twos [191] and then in one great stampede. The etiquette in connection with the welcoming of guests, be they friends or strangers, is rigid and extremely burdensome to one whose stomach is not accustomed to receiving unlimited gallons of liquid. A rough estimate proves that there must have been presented to us in all some 600 gallons of giamanchi, all of which we were expected to

4: Up de Graff--190-191 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 431, 576

drink if possible. If not, we were at any rate bound to taste each one of the gourds which were brought down to the river by the some 300 wives of the numerous warriors who were assembled on that beach. For refusal to accept food at the hands of any one of the women, who represent their lords in this ceremony, is sure to incur grave displeasure. After the tenth drink or so Game, who was of a distinctly independent turn of mind, began to protest to me in no uncertain terms that he would 'see himself dead before he would touch another drop.' I implored him at any rate to go through the motions of imbibing, to which he eventually allowed himself to be persuaded. And so we solemnly raised every one of those nauseating receptacles to our lips, and were at peace with the Antipas."

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 201, 624

"We were flooded out by the human tide. They clambered into the dugout, delved into everything they could lay hands on, and behaved generally like a crowd of school children to whom the free run of a candy store had been given. They chattered, grinned and gesticulated; they held our trumpery trade-beads up to the light and tried the effect of wearing them; they gazed spell-bound into the hand-mirrors which we had rightly regarded as one of our strongest lines; and finally they were completely overwhelmed by the shoddy striped cotton shirts which the favoured few among the men donned with all the exquisite satisfaction which a youth fresh from school experiences when first he puts on a 'swallow-tail.'

So the ice was broken. But no conversation had taken [192] place as yet, for conversation was impossible. We found that the language spoken by the Antipas was quite unintelligible to us, and that Inca, the only Indian tongue I knew, was unknown to them. Progress was made, however, in the sign-language which is common, to a greater or lesser degree, to all men. They made it clear to us that they wanted a token to send to their chief, a sign whereby the truth of their incredible report of the arrival of white men in the land might be impressed on him; seeing us using machetes they seized on them as serving their purpose well. Three they sent by special envoy to the Chief, and three more they sent a little way down-stream to a point where there was a trail along which he might be expected to pass if the envoy missed him; there the machetes were stuck into the earth as we pile arms in the field. He would be sure to see them, and would be put

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 153, 201, 624

on his guard.

And so we sat down to await his arrival."

4: Up de Graff--192-193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 101, 361, 721

"A few words about this tribe will not come amiss, as they played such an important part in our personal history during our search for the Inca gold, and are, indeed, one of the only six known head-hunting tribes of the Amazon zone, grouped under the common name *Jívaros*, the others (all their enemies) being the Huambisas or Pantecunas, the Aguarunas, the Muratos and the Zaparos. To form an estimate of the relative strengths of these peoples is more than I dare attempt; their migratory habits and their custom of living in small scattered settlements hidden in the dense jungle makes it an impossible task. Indeed, one of the main points of their policy is to conceal from one another not only their whereabouts but also their fighting strength, even going so far as never to use the same trail twice, if possible, in approaching their homes. For these reasons an air of complete mystery surrounds the whole region, [193] and the casual white invader stands no chance of obtaining accurate statistics."

4: Up de Graff--193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 142, 304, 481

"The personal appearance of the Antipas is briefly as follows: The men are shorter than we are, averaging avout 5 feet 6 inches, are muscularly built, and many are covered with the scars of spear wounds, the marks of warfare; they are swifter of foot than we, compare well with monkeys in agility (they are wonderful tree climbers) and are all apparently well-nourished and well-conditioned. From childhood up they have their front teeth filed to a sharp point and coated with a jet-black shining vegetable pigment which produces the same effect as nitrate of silver. The hair on the top of their heads is the only hair on their bodies, but that is magnificent. It falls on an average to their waists, sometimes even as far as their knees, is jet-black, straight and glossy. They wear it flying loose like a thoroughbred's mane before it is cropped, only occasionally winding it round their necks as, for example when they are weaving or cooking, and coiling it on the tops of their heads, as a Turk would his turban when travelling or hunting in the forest. They seldom adorn it with feathers or other ornaments. Their skins are more chocolate than red-brown. Technically speaking, they cannot be described as 'red-skins' under any circumstances; occasionally we met with signs of their having mingled with the colonials of Borja whose women their ancestors carried off into captivity. Their eyes are invariably black when uninfluenced by this intermarriage with the white race. We met a few with a trace of whiskers. Their toes are splayed like those of all bare-foot savages, and they make considerable use of them as secondary hands."

4: Up de Graff--193-194 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 301, 555

"They are singularly free from the love of personal adornment which is a characteristic of nearly all savage and semi-savage people. Indeed there is only one orna[194]-ment which they wear, a small tuft of toucan or stork feathers fastened to the lobe of the ear. Furthermore these are worn but infrequently, that is to say for battle or on the occasion of great festivals; finally, the wearing of these feathers is a sure sign of the owner's prowess in the hunt, for to kill either bird with their only means of bringing down game, the blow-gun, is proof of great skill and strength, the toucan always lives among the topmost branches of tall trees and the stork is equally shy; we could never approach within 500 yards of the latter."

4: Up de Graff--194 (1897) 1923 Rivero
116, 142

"As for the facial characteristics of these men they resemble the Mongol type far more than they do the North American Indian; the form of their face, their eyes, and the lack of hair on their chins are reminiscent of the Chinese."

4: Up de Graff--194-195 (1897) 1923 Zivaro-1
116, 304, 153

"They are given to tattooing themselves, but only to a limited extent. They mark their limbs with simple little designs--a cross, or a circle, or a wavy line; they never indulge in the showy designs of races such as the Japanese who have brought this form of ornamentation to a high art. The process is simple. With a thorn they prick the required pattern on their skins, drawing blood; they then hold a lighted piece of crude rubber under the prepared area until it becomes well sooted from the black smoke given off by the rubber; finally, they rub the soot into the wounds, and blue marks similar to powder burns are left in the skin. Where they learned this art, I do not know; it would, as a matter of fact, appear to be indigenous. The contrary being the case, they would be more likely to make it a universal practice and to show signs of an exterior influence. When called upon by the medicine-man (the Antipas, as far as I could discover, only had one) to tattoo him with some distinctive design, the first thing which occurred to me was the [195] Psi Upsilon badge of the fraternity to which I belong. If any of my fraternity-brothers ever make their way to those parts, they will probably be greeted by a large and flourishing new Chapter (let us call it the 'Pongo Chapter'), for the idea appealed to the tribe so strongly that, within a few months, the design had been copied with considerable skill by quite an appreciable number of warriors. I assured their chief that should he meet any 'member of my own tribe' and show him the sign which he carried on his arm he would be received with open arms and greeted as a brother. Incidentally, we happened to leave a packet of the well-known 'L. L. F.' brand of cigarette papers

lying about; shortly after, we found an excellent replica of the three letters tattooed on a savage; while we were there, we noticed quite a few who had joined the Lamda Lamda Phi's." [sic]

4: Up de Graff--195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 302, 141, 482

"Passing on to the women of the tribe, there are a few outstanding characteristics to be noted. Their hair is not allowed to grow much below the shoulders, in direct opposition to our own more modern practice. They stand about 5 feet 3 inches on an average, are well-built and strong, move with the grace of a jaguar (I select this animal as being a native of the same woods), and are as much at home in the water as on the land. They do all the packing when the family is on the move, being capable of lifting 100 lbs. to their shoulders and moving through the forest with perfect ease."

4: Up de Graff--195-196 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 291

"As for clothing, the men wear the loin cloth when out hunting or fighting or on any special festival, but seldom when in their own homes or in wet weather. The women, in addition to the loin cloth, wear a blouse in the form of a square piece of cloth with a hole cut in the centre for the head; this garment is tied round the waist with a fibre cord. The material for the clothes of both sexes is a fine cotton 'homespun,' woven by the men, composed of thread of [196] various shades dyed with fast colours produced from the leaves and barks of the vast storehouse of the woods."

"To take up the tale; we had not to wait more than an hour for the arrival of the chief, a fat, sleek, cunning-looking old thief, who greeted me as his Christian brother and produced a small piece of paper, carefully protected from the elements by a palm leaf, on which was written in ink the name 'Lazaro.' He professed to have been baptized by a Jesuit priest at Macas (where we were destined to go ourselves within a few months). The holy water certainly never penetrated his skin, for to the end of his days he was a shameless rascal, no better than the rest of his kind.

His arrival saved the situation, however, for he spoke Inca (known among the Jívaroo as 'the white man's language,' curiously enough, the reason being that it is spoken at all the points of contact between the savage tribes and the outposts of civilization). We always imagined that he owed his chieftainship to the fact that he had lived with the priests, and, later, answered the call of the wild, returning with a wider knowledge of the world than any of his fellows possessed.

He was full of interest concerning our movements. Where had we come from? What were we looking for? Where were we going? Had we any companions, and, if so, where were they? We were subjected to a brisk catechism. Well, we told him we were looking for gold, that we were going up the Santiago (known among the Indians as the Pauta), that we had a camp just below the Pongo, and, above all things, that our camp was one vast treasure-house of presents, such as those we had had the pleasure of giving to his subjects. Indeed, it was a source of great sorrow to us that, owing to the bad going in

4: Up de Graff--196-197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 624, 152, 574

the Pongo, we should be unable to bring them up...a pity, for they were certainly a very fine col[197]lection....No, no efforts of ours could overcome the difficulties of navigation in the cañon, with so many heavy dugouts laden with merchandise destined to enrich his people...Yes, a great pity, for we had brought them up from many moons distance expressly for this purpose, having heard of them from other and lesser peoples who trembled at their name.

Pressed to stay with him as the guests of the tribe before returning, we accepted, lamenting once more that we should be unable to give them some small recompense for their generous hospitality, as our stores were irremediably shut off by the Pongo.

After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

4: Up de Graff--197-198 (1097) 1923 Zivaro
116, 753, 152

"While preparing our canoe to cross to our new home, Game happened to pull up his trousers to scratch a bite. His leg was a mass of old scars made by the constant scratching of sand-fly and mosquito bites during the first weeks of our expedition. Many of them had been reopened and were infected, the result being a nasty mess resembling a rash. One sight of his leg, and a general stampede set in. The whole tribe disappeared. In a moment it became clear to us that they feared the small-pox scourge.

It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded the chief to return to within a few yards, from which distance he could be shown that Game was not a victim of the disease; we had to make a long practical demonstration to convince him, but at last he summoned his [198] people to return and we made across to the island."

"The medicine man, the biggest Jívaro I ever saw, jumped into our canoe, having seized a paddle from a neighbouring craft. These paddles are some four feet long, of which three feet is handle and one foot blade, the latter being pear-shaped and from 14 to 15 inches broad at the centre: the action is a short, quick stroke, from 50 to 60 per minute, the blade forming a strong suction behind itself owing to the speed of the stroke. Gripped with one hand close to the water and with the other at the extremity of the handle, these paddles are tremendously powerful. They are made of a very tough, fibrous, yellow wood called by the Incas remo caspi (remo being the Spanish for an oar or paddle, and caspi the Inca for wood). The process is painfully slow, owing to the crude tools at the command of this stone, their chisels are of animal's teeth, and the only substitute for the file and the plane which is known to them is sand, with which they get a wonderful finish to their work. The Jívaros call paddles 'canalis.'

The medicine man paddled us across, then. He was the finest canoeman we ever had. He sent our dugout flying straight across the strong current in a way which the two of us together could never have equalled. His first strokes were so strong that the canoe shot away from under us and we toppled off the thwarts into the bottom."

4: Up de Graff--198-199 (1897) 1923 Jívaro
1[illegible], 574, 262

"Arrived at the island, with a dozen Jívaros to build a house, start a fire, and unship our kit, we were treated to a most efficient exhibition of camp-pitching. In an hour a fine palm shelter was constructed with a thick thatched roof and a fire was roaring outside with our few stores landed and stacked. We had supper of roast yuca, roast corn on the cob, roast plantains, with peanuts and wild honey for dessert. [199]

The last named dish must have been the ambrosia of the gods; it is delicious beyond description; the peanuts are not cooked, but dried in the sun just enough to remove the raw taste and the honey is pure white and of a fragrance finer than the finest perfume.

That meal was a feast, for we had passed through lean days, as will be remembered."

"A word as to the bananas of that country is necessary. So superior are they in taste to the varieties which reach our markets that one who has never tasted the fruit fresh from the plant can have no conception of its quality. The largest, the platain, is about 18 inches long, and correspondingly thick; it is always eaten cooked. The platain has, of course, great nutritive value, and is, indeed, the staff of life in the American tropics. Not only does it form the sole support of millions of human beings for months at a time, but also of their cattle and domestic animals, even down to the chickens. The smaller varieties are exquisitely flavoured; when the skin is peeled off in the raw state they give off a strong, delicious scent as does a tangerine."

4: Up de Graff--199 [2] (1897) 1923 Zidero
116, 574

"After supper we settled down to rest. Such was the confidence which we had been able to establish in those few hours that the savages slept peacefully round the fire all night unarmed. Game and I endeavoured to do guard duty in turns, a Herculean task after so exhausting a week.

Resting, nursing our feet, eating, chatting, and waiting, we passed four days on that island. Our feet were skinning over again, helped by the freedom from the constant soaking to which they had been subjected."

4: Up de Graff--199-200 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 431

"Bit by bit the leaven of our carefully chosen words was seen to be working in the minds of the Indians. From time to time the chief would bring up the subject of those presents, with childish inquiries as to the size [200] of the hand-mirrors and the colours of the beads. Had we made him a direct proposition to come down-stream with us, it is very likely that his natural caution would have persuaded him that we were preparing a trap. We were in a quandary that third night of our stay with him, for the next day we should have had to go back to camp in any event, having arranged with the others to return within fifteen days at all costs if alive and free. We were debating as to whether we should openly propose to 'Lázaro' that he should accompany us with a party of canoe-men, when we saw him putting off in his canoe to come over to the island.

He landed, came straight over to where we were sitting by the fire and sat down. A few minutes' talk brought him to the real purpose of his visit.

Why could not the difficulty about getting the presents through the Pongo be overcome by him going down with us with some of his expert river-men and helping us?

We jumped to our feet. What fools we had been never to think of that way out!... How brilliant an idea had occurred to him!.... Why, at one blow he had solved the whole problem, and his tribe would reap the benefit of his astuteness. Most certainly! We had never thought of such a thing, but would avail ourselves of his offer. When should we start? The sooner the better, after all: on the morrow?.... Right. We would waste no time.

4: Up de Graff--199-200 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 574, 431

And, although it was never sure whether we should reach the Pongo with any Antipas until we were actually under way and, what is more, out of sight of the hutments on the bank, it is a matter of history that we did. For next day, without any fuss or ceremony, we bought a sound dugout for one carisa of poison, and pushed off with eight canoemen, led by the medicine man Pitacunca en route for Borja and our friends."

4 Up de Graff--201 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177

"There is so very little known about the head-hunters of the Upper Amazon that I think a short digression on their mode of life will not be out of place. They form an interesting study in that they differ in many respects from any other known savage tribes, and are a living example of the Stone Age Man, one of the very few surviving. The inaccessibility of their country, its fine climate, and the abundance of foodstuffs, animal and vegetable, provided by the woods and rivers, all go to preserve them from the taint of civilization which, bringing disease in its track, has exterminated so many wild peoples. Almost the only literate persons who are in a position to make a record of the lives and habits of these tribes--the Jesuit priests who have established missions in the country adjoining their territory, as for example at Macas, Andoas, and Archidona--appear never to have availed themselves of the chance. They live in the gold-bearing country, and are too much occupied with exchanging blessings for the most coveted of worldly commodities."

4· Up de Graff--201-202 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177, 797

"It is worth noting in passing, that whereas those Indians (of other tribes) who have lived for fifty years under the influence of the priests at the missions I have mentioned, remain to-day in every respect as ignorant and more superstitious than ever, having acquired merely [202] the doubtful benefit of a Christian catechism which they cannot understand (and could not have been expected to), those of their brothers whose domains have been invaded by the caucheros have in the short space of some two years jumped from stone axes to Singer sewing machines, and what is more important, from sheer barbarism to self-respect. The former, as I know from personal experience, shrink from contact with strangers, under the influence of the priests' teaching (as though they feared outside intervention, which might rob them of some of their influence). The latter are deliberately taught the advantages of steel axes and machetes over stone not, be it said, by reason of the philanthropic instinct of the cauchero, but nevertheless with gain to both sides. It remains to be seen whether together with the worldly goods and broader knowledge which they have acquired, there has been left among them the scourge of disease. But at any rate their intellectual progress, and, as far as I could make out, their moral outlook have made far more rapid strides than in the case of their brothers who have fallen under the influence of 'religion.' "

4: Up de Graff--202-203 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 221, 361, 241

"The Antipas, then, are semi-nomadic. The year for them is divided into three parts, not corresponding to the seasons as we know them, but to the capacity of the crops which they plant for keeping them alive; that is to say, they have three distinct homes, some ten or twenty miles apart, each with its own clearing (chacra in Inca), between which they divide their time. At each homestead they plant fresh crops before leaving for the next, living the while on the produce they find waiting for them on arrival, the result of the last sowing. Each crop takes about eight months to mature, on an average. The exception, of course, is the banana-plant, which bears fruit for many years; the old plant dies each year, after bearing one bunch of fruit, but automatically there spring [203] up round the roots fresh shoots which bear the next year.

Living as they do well to the west of the area which is annually inundated, and consequently being free from dependance on the seasons, they can sow at any time of the year, with the certainty of reaping at the end of the unvarying number of months which are needed in order that the crop may ripen. Yuca, for instance, is ready in six months; Indian corn in three months; yams (a potato which grows three to four feet in length and fifty pounds in weight) in a year; sweet potatoes, peanuts, and tobacco are also cultivated in large quantities."

"If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.

The first step in making a chacra is to remove the undergrowth; the soft stems are cut with hard-wood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works for days and weeks, until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable net[204]work of creepers among the upper branches. With a rending crash, a hole in the roof of the forest is made, and the sunlight pours in. At the same time the Indians pour out, leaping for their lives not only from the falling trees, but from the myriads of ants, bees, wasps, hornets, scorpions and centipedes which have been aroused. Worst of all is the iuturi (Inca), a dark red ant an inch and a half in length, which stings with its tail the moment it touches flesh, unlike any other poisonous

insect or snake in those woods; it does not wait to be disturbed but attacks of its own accord. I have even seen one make its way along the canoe rope, which was purposely passed under the water for a distance of two or three feet as a protection against crawling things. It must have been immersed for a full minute.

After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers."

"In the corners of the clearing thus made, the houses are built. The ground having been carefully 'scalped,' palms are cut down, trimmed of their tops and cut to a length of from fifteen to twenty feet. This particular wood is selected for its durability and strength. For each house six posts are prepared, the two center ones supporting the centre of the gable being some four feet longer than the rest. They are sunk firmly into the ground, at an interval of about seven feet between the centre posts and the corner posts, thus giving the house a width of fourteen feet and a length of about twenty feet. This is the average size for a family of one man and six wives. Sometimes larger houses are built, with [205] extra supports for the ridge-pole, in which two or three families live together. The framework having been completed by a number of saplings placed parallel on the three main horizontal roof supports (these saplings are technically known as perlines) and tied with green bark on rattans, the house is ready for its palm-leaf thatch. The latter is made of many layers of gigantic leaves; split down the centre of the spine and folded over double, six or eight layers bound securely together forming the regular unit of which the thatch is built, and corresponding in wooden houses to one slate or shingle. As in the modern roof, these units are placed to overlap, forming a final thickness of eight to ten inches, which not even a tropical downpour can penetrate. The framework of such houses can last indefinitely, but the roof must be renewed every eight or ten years on account of the inroads of insects; the underside is preserved from

the latter by smoke, but the outer layers are exposed to their attacks. On entering by one of the gaps at either end which serve as doors, a somewhat bare interior is seen."

4 Up de Graff--209 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116. 352

"The only furniture is beds and meat-racks; the inhabitants live on the floor, squatted on their heels. The beds are made of split bamboo laths supported on posts of the same wood, the whole about six feet long, of which the last two feet are left open, they are some three feet wide, and are raised about eighteen inches from the ground. Each member of the family has his or her own bed. In the open space at the bottom of each bed are placed glowing embers which keep the sleeper's feet warm."

4: Up de Graff--205 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 251, 263

"The meat-racks of which we have spoken are built to some four feet in height and placed over the fires, keeping the fish and meat outside the radius of the flames, and allowing it to be cured in the smoke. The Antipas have no salt."

4: Up de Graff--205-206 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 352

"Hung round the house, suspended from the roof by [206] chambira cord are various bunches of bananas in different stages of ripeness, ears of corn, blow-guns, and spears. Tucked into the corners of the roof are stone implements, hand-looms, fire-making tools, and balls of cotton-yarn ready for weaving. Here and there hangs a basket made of be-juco (the local rattan, which grows in any size up to a foot in diameter) full of quivers, bamboo cases for blow-gun arrows, tubes of poison (carisas as the Incas say), partially woven cloth, paint-pots, small gourds full of fluffy cotton used on the arrows in place of feathers, and all the odds and ends of their simple household lives. In one corner a couple of monkeys and a turkey have been dropped, shot by the lord of the house, and packed to the settlement by one of his wives (no man will ever pack anything except his weapons or war and the chase; it is infra. dig.)."

4: Up de Graff--206 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 252, 323

"Ranged round the walls are the 'fireplaces'--mere piles of embers without even a hole in the ground--with the grids placed over them. Each wife has her own, on which she does what cooking she is ordered to do. Piled neatly round the fireplaces are the earthenware pots of various sizes and shapes, all with cone-shaped bottoms, the largest the giamanchi containers, which are about four feet in height, with narrow necks and a maximum diameter of three feet. These gigantic vessels are fashioned without the aid of anything resembling a potter's wheel; ropes of clay are rolled in the hands, and the sides of the pot are gradually built up from the ground, the joints being filled in and rubbed smooth until the whole is as perfect in shape, as far as the eye can see, as a modern piece. After being sun-dried they are baked hard in the fire. They are never painted with any design, a practice common among primitive potters."

4: Up de Graff--206-207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 356, 462

"In general the houses are clean, free from bad odours, and kept in good repair. The work is divided very [207] unevenly between the sexes, the larger share falling to the lot of the women. They do the cooking, spinning, packing, and have the care of the plantations (weeding is one of their heaviest tasks, for they have to fight against a persistent growth of thorny and poisonous plants, which harbour all manner of venomous insects). Finally, their most important duty is the daily chewing of the yuca root for giamanchi, the standard dish of every household."

4: Up de Graff--207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"The men are before everything else warriors--the protectors of their womenfolk from the raids of neighbours; after that, they are the hunters; and lastly, they are the weavers. Why this last task should be by common consent allotted to them instead of to the women, remains to me a mystery. The latter do the spinning and every other kind of manual labour in the life of the tribe, and yet it is the men who not only weave their own loin-clothes, but also the material for the women's garments."

4: Up de Graff--207-208 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 283

"The spinning and weaving machinery of these people is simple yet very efficient; the cloth produced being woven with a fine thread comparable to our sewing cotton, is firm and soft, in fact very similar to our better grade cloths for men's suits, as far as the layman can tell.

For spinning they use a stick (generally hard-wood, for it needs to be heavy) about eighteen inches long by half an inch thick, slit at the end to a depth of less than an inch, the same end being also cut to a point; at the feet of the spinner lies a basketful of raw cotton. And that is all. The process is to all appearances as simple as the apparatus. Plunging the pointed end of the spinning stick into the cotton, twisting it rapidly at the same time between the fingers of the right hand, the thread is drawn away to a full arm's length, the twisting motion never ceasing; this movement produces the cotton [208] thread. The arm is then drawn in again, the stick still revolving rapidly in the fingers, but this time in the opposite direction; in this way, the thread which has been spun on the outward swing is wound on the blunt end of the stick on the return swing, giving the stick added weight, and leaving the spinner free to repeat the process and add to the ball of finished thread which has been started. Backwards and forwards flies the stick with incredible ease and rapidity, until the ball becomes so heavy that it has to be removed and stored. The women are so adept and strong that they spin even while packing heavy loads on the trail."

4: Up de Graff--208-209 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 286

"To weave this thread into cloth (this being the only raw material for the purpose known to the tribe) a primitive loom is set up in the ground, composed of two pairs of sticks some two feet in length upon which the woof is wound in an unbroken length in such a way that each thread that is added to the 'wall' thus formed crosses the last in the opposite direction, then, when the height of the 'wall' is the width of the piece to be woven, the sticks are drawn from the ground and the whole thing is laid flat. The two centre sticks are now withdrawn and replaced by specially prepared weaving-staffs, polished with sand so as to slip up and down the roof without catching.

To operate the loom, one of the original outside sticks is made fast to some heavy outside object, the other tied to the weaver's waist. He then commences to pass the shuttle (a broad flat stick, on which the warp is wound)to and fro, manipulating the threads of the wool by means of the weaving-staffs, on just the same principle as modern machinery, so that the result is a firmly woven piece of cloth. He commences at the end nearest to him, gradually winding the finished cloth, and working toward the far end. To prevent disaster in the event of [209] the weaving-staffs slipping out of position, every alternate thread has been fastened securely by a loop to a small square stick which is left attached to the work until it is completed."

4: Up de Graff--209 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 386

"Seldom do they dye the cloth when finished, for it is almost always woven in coloured stripes from thread already dyed. On rare occasions, however, a piece is made from natural thread and dipped afterwards, but cloth of one colour is not in vogue."

4. Up de Graff--209-210 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 226, 278

"Anxious to see how the Antipas supplied themselves with fish, I once went with them (men and women) for a day's sport to a small stream a couple of miles from the settlement. While making our way along the trail, the women cut down barbasco wood (the Inca name for a vine whose sap is a deadly poison) and packed it along with them. Arrived at the water's edge, we looked for a suitable pool, exercising great care not to scare the fish away. The party divided into two sections, and each formed a barrier at one end of the pool. The men proceeded to pound the barbasco between heavy stones and throw it into the pool, where it floated about without having any apparent effect on the water. Within a minute or two the fish began floating to the surface, upside down, and swam about aimlessly in a dazed condition, easy prey for the savages who waited about (swimming and diving themselves when necessary) collecting them. We caught in half an hour at least a hundred pound weight.

This is the only method of catching fish they know, [210] except netting. Their nets are made of palm-fibre, and in place of corks and leads they use balsa wood (Spanish) and stones. The net is fixed across a rivulet, and the party makes its way by a detour to a point up-stream. There they throw stones into the water and frighten the fish into a hurried flight to where the trap awaits them. The meshes of the nets are so proportioned as to catch the fish by the gills as they rush down-stream."

"While speaking of the food supply, I will add a word or two about that deadly weapon, the blow-gun, which is the only means the Jívaros have of procuring meat. These 'guns' are about ten feet long, with a bore of about 1/4 inch, and an outside diameter of some two inches at the mouthpiece, tapering to 3/4 inch at the 'muzzle.' They have a killing range of two hundred feet at least, within which distance perfect accuracy is assured. Any target from the size of a squirrel upwards can be hit every time by the skillful hunter. Their absolute silence adds to their deadliness a thousandfold, for the hunter can bag a large number of monkeys or turkeys before the troop or flock discovers that death is flying through the air.

The ingenuity that the Jívaros display in the manufacture of these weapons with the primitive implements at their command is worthy of attention, for the finished article could not be turned out any better by a modern factory. What machinery in the world could better overcome the mechanical difficulties of producing a perfectly true 1/4 inch bore ten feet in length than do these simple people?

The wood used is the same as that employed for making spears, and it is known in Inca as chonta. In grain and colour it resembles ebony, but is much heavier and harder. It belongs to the palm family and bears good fruit. It is remarkable for its absolutely straight [211] grain and its rigidity (the qualities which make it fit for this particular use). It is so brittle that when broken it splinters into a number of long sharp needles, it is so hard that it is impervious to moisture and unaffected by heat, so that it

never warps.

The strips of the shell of the chonta are selected, cut to the right length, and smoothed to a thickness of approximately an inch by the removal of the pith, being split to a breadth of an inch and a half. Then by means of the crude tools they have--flints, stones, animals' teeth and shells--a groove is scraped in each piece 1/4 inch wide and 1/8 inch deep. It would, as a matter of fact with such primitive tools be materially impossible to cut a crooked groove in this wood, on account of its perfectly straight grain. The two strips are then placed together and bound here and there with bark; then the outer surface is split off bit by bit till it is round in form; next, by making incisions at various points and stripping off portions of the chonta, the weapon is tapered so as to comply with the dimensions given above. Now the process of binding commences. The 'gun' is tightly wound with green bark tapes (about half an inch in width) from end to end. On this binding is melted black bees' wax (taken from an insect which builds its hive in the ground, and produces a honey which is used for medicinal purposes) which is smoothed over with hot stones and forced into the cracks so as to perfect the surface; next, another layer of bark tapes, slightly thinner, is bound on, and more bees' wax (a heavier coat this time) is applied; the final step in the finishing of the exterior is a second treatment with hot stones, which produces a hard, even surface. Then the completed weapon is a perfectly straight, round, tapered black tube.

Next the bore is trued and polished by means of a cord with a rag tied to its centre

and stretched between two [212] trees. The tube, having been slung on this cord, is run backwards and forwards for weeks, while sand and water are fed into one end; toward the end of this laborious but efficient process, finer sand is used. At the end, the bore has a surface equal to that of the barrel of a shot-gun. Finally, to the butt end of the gun is fitted the mouthpiece, a carefully scraped funnel of hard-wood fashioned to fit the mouth exactly, so as to admit of no air escaping and robbing the weapon of its power. This piece is made to fit over the end of the tube to which it is bound, and waxed by the same process as I have described above."

4: Up de Graff--212-213 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 411

"The arrows are always treated with jambi (poison--Inca). The particular kind which is used, the product of boiling the bark of a vine, has a swift and painless effect on all the animals and birds of the forest, as far as I know, except the jaguar. (I once tried one of the latter, and filled him so full of arrows that he looked like a porcupine, without any apparent effect except that of angering him.) The arrows are made from a bamboo having a triangular cross-section, and of the same size at the joints, which the other canes and bamboos are not. From this species can be cut an absolutely straight missle, which would be impossible in the case of the others, in which each section between the joints is, however slightly, concave. By splitting and scraping, an arrow some twelve inches long and one-sixteenth at its greatest diameter, is made. One end is sharpened to a point one inch long, from the base of which the whole arrow is tapered toward the rear to a point equally fine, in order to give it a perfect balance in flight. The head is dipped in the jambi and dried in the sun or before the fire. The base of the head is ringed by means of an instrument which is always carried attached to the quiver (a section of bamboo); this consists of the lower jaw of the paña (the barking fish--[213] Inca) which is fitted with razor-edged teeth. A tuft of cotton is twisted round the shaft about three inches from the tail, which serves the double purpose of the feather of an ordinary arrow and the wad between the powder and shot of a cartridge. Forced out by the air behind the cotton tuft, the missle leaves the 'muzzle' so rapidly that it is invisible to anyone looking across its path (though of course visible from behind). The

trajectory for the first fifty yards is remarkably flat for the class of weapon, and will penetrate a pine board half an inch at fifteen yards' range. I have hunted with these guns a great deal and can bear witness to their deadly efficiency."

4: Up de Graff--213-214 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 278

"The big monkeys are the hardest game to bring down with shot-gun or rifle. I have shot them to pieces with a Winchester, until their entrails actually fell to the ground, before they have fallen. Even when dead, very frequently they remain suspended by the tail, and the tree has to be climbed before they can be recovered. But the poisoned dart from a blow-gun, as long as the skin is broken at any point, kills them within two minutes. Experiments which I have carried out on domestic animals have proved, moreover, that the poison (of which I brought home a small quantity) acts painlessly, the effect being much the same as an overdose of morphine. This fact leads me to believe that a drug could be manufactured from the same vegetable which would be invaluable in medicine. A trial was once made in the Guianas by an English naturalist with the same drug (under the local Indian name of huareli) on a bullock, which died in twenty minutes as a result of three arrow wounds. The vine from which it is made grows in great profusion throughout the Upper Amazon zone, and the process is simple in the extreme. It is cut into sections a foot in length, and the thin hard outer crust of bark is carefully removed by [214] scraping. The main bark, white when first exposed to the air, turns brown in just the same way as an apple. This inner bark is scraped into fine shavings by means of shells and flints, and these are placed in a colander which rests upon a pot in which water is boiling. The water is poured over the contents of the colander repeatedly, until the constant action on it has drawn out the alkaloid, when the lifeless shavings are thrown away and the residue is boiled down until it resembles, both in

consistency, colour, and smell,plain chocolate. While still warm, it is poured into the bamboo receptacle previously described and when cool, it becomes semi-solidified.

Of course there is a great deal of superstition among the Jívaros in connection with the manufacture of this poison. The medicine man alone can make the pots which are used to boil it, and he is furthermore the only person who is privileged to make the poison itself. He collects the stings from various species of noxious insects. Spiders' teeth are also greatly favoured; both these ingredients are introduced into the pot with due ceremony and unlimited confidence in their deadliness. If water can be obtained from the spot where a rainbow touches the earth, then indeed the brew will be immeasurably potent! But be that as it may, the poison which we bartered to the Antipas had not been tempered with any strange charm, as we who made it know, and yet it is declared by them to be the best they had ever used.

There is really a certain amount of risk and danger connected with its manufacture, insomuch as the fumes given off by the boiling liquid are pungent and noxious. I believe that they would prove fatal if inhaled in sufficient quantities; which supposition lends credence to the stories of the Indians that many a medicine man has been found dead over the pot."

4: Up de Graff--215 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 278, 721

"Despite its proved deadliness, this poison is never used by the head-hunters in warfare. (I say 'deadliness' with some justification, for it compares very favorably with, say, the poisonous snakes of India, whose bites take more hours to bring on death than the jambi does minutes.) Why, I cannot explain, unless it be that a man can snatch an arrow from a wound so quickly that the poison would never have time to be absorbed by his system, as it clings to the arrow-head in a gelatinous form. While speaking of this poison and its effect on men, I recall an incident that happened on the Yasuní when Jack Rouse and I were existing through those ghastly eighteen months. An open wound that had become fly-blown and full of worms (there was nothing in the nature of a fresh cut about it) had to be cured somehow, and every remedy we could think of had failed. The case was one of desperate urgency, and Jack declared that 'he would rather be poisoned than eaten alive by worms.' So it was decided that I should fill the wound with this same jambi, and I applied about a thimbleful, or enough to kill an ox. Neither Jack nor the worms took the slightest notice. Now it may be that his life was saved by the fact that there was no fresh blood flowing, or again that the poison, for some strange reason, has no effect on men, which latter supposition would account for its never being used in battle. I may add that the worms were summarily ejected in the space of half a minute by the application of a wad of cotton soaked in nicotine procured by condensing cigarette smoke on the finger-nails. (The juice of the same cigarettes when boiled has no value whatever)."

4: Up de Graff--215-216 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 262

"It is a self-evident fact that the fish and meat on which the Antipas live so largely is nearly all poisoned, for we have noted already that the blow-gun is the only weapon of the chase, and that they kill their fish more often than [216] not with barbasco. Curiously enough, as is often the case with poisons, not only is the flesh of the fish, which has not been hypodermically infected, good to eat, but even that of the animal which has."

4: Up de Graff--216 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 762, 278

"It is this same barbasco juice [KS: poison used for fishing] which the Jívaro women drink to commit suicide."

"The religion of the Antipas, as far as I was able to discover, is simple and primitive. They fear two gods; the god of rivers and rain, and the god of the forest, the former called by the Incas Yacu mámam (the Odd-footed One), the latter Chulla Chaquicuna (the Great One of The Waters).

The true Inca religion is of course sun-worship, but those descendants of the old kingdom who still retain the mother-tongue, but who have strayed from the mountains into the woods of the Amazon basin have, in the course of generations, adapted themselves to their new environments, and dropped the worship of the god they scarcely see, adopting those of the Jívaros in their stead to whom they must look for prosperity. The rivers, the rain and the forest give them all they possess, while the sun plays but a small part in their lives. To the worship of the two Jívaro gods they have added a lively appreciation of the existence of the Evil One, in the person of Supai, at whose door they lay every misfortune that overtakes them.

I have digressed for a moment on the subject of the religion of the Incas rather in order to compare it with that of their neighbours, the Jívaros, of whom we are speaking, than to examine it in detail. To return, then, to the latter; Chulla-Chaquicuna is Lord of the Forest, and moves through it unseen by any, in the form of a man with one human and one jaguar's foot. The Indians point out his tracks, as indeed they have done to me many a time. The obvious explanation of their ex[217]istence (for they do indeed exist!) seems never to have occurred to their simple minds. When he has been found to have

passed their way they attribute anything out of the ordinary (abundance or scarcity of game, an unsuccessful brew of poison, or the presence of dangerous snakes, for example) to his influence.

Yacu-mámam possesses the power of changing from a tapir to an anaconda, from an anaconda to a frog. His haunts are the rivers and streams, and he brings on destructive floods or beneficial showers as he wills. Thus these three animals are never molested by the Jívaros, for fear of the anger of Yacu-mámam. This fact accounts for the tameness of the tapir throughout the region of which we speak.

As far as I know no sacrifices are ever offered to these gods. They are regarded from a respectful distance, rather than cultivated with complicated ceremony. Images and religious festivals are unknown to the Jívaro. His is the religion of a simple, practical forest-folk, based on superstition, which is, after all, common to all primitive peoples."

4: Up de Graff--217-218 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 396

"Canoe-making is an art which must have been passed down among the Jívaros for many centuries, and with little or no advancement in method, for to-day the process is so primitive as to be almost certainly the same as that employed by the original inventors. With infinite patience, a large semi-hard-wood tree three to four feet in diameter is cut down. (I give it no name, as several varieties may be used.) A clearing is made in the vicinity of the fallen trunk to allow the work to be done. The top of the tree is then burned off, until a rough log some twenty to thirty feet long in the case of the biggest canoes, is left. Then, over a period of several months, the arduous task of removing the bark and sap, and of fashioning the log, inside and out, to the shape [218] of a dugout is carried out. With fire and stone axe, little by little the tough wood is charred and chipped. Over and over again the same process is repeated; the women stand fanning the flames, the men work on the blackened surface with their slow tools. Not more than a couple of inches can be burnt at a time, when the charcoal must be scraped away, and a fresh fire built. And so the log gradually takes on the shape of a canoe, and the first rough process draws to a close. As the last of the fires are doing their work, wedges are driven in between the sides of the craft to give them the outward slant which is noticeable in the finished dugout. The fire also serves to drive out any insects which may have made their way into the wood. Then comes the still longer process of scraping and polishing with stones and sand, until the surface of the canoe, inside and outside, is free from imperfections."

4: Up de Graff --218 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 412, 437, 177

"We had with us many cases of machetes and steel axes, which we bartered from time to time. It may be, then, that the next time I visit them, to get them to work the 'placer' deposits of gold which lie hidden somewhere in their territory I shall find that a great change has been wrought in their lives by the advent of these tools. For of all the blessings of civilization which these people needed, the axe and the machete to combat the prolific growth of weeds and bush in their clearings, and to make for themselves the multitudinous necessities of life--for almost every thing they use is cut from numi (wood--Jívaro) --stand out first and foremost."

4: Up de Graff--218-220 (1897) 1923 Jivaro -1
116, 512

"During our sojourn among the Antipas in their homes, I had many an opportunity of studying their every-day lives. You walk into a hut and a typically domestic scene presents itself. The women are seated on their heels about a great earthenware jar of freshly boiled [219] mama (arrowroot--Jívaro). Some are half-clothed, some not clothed at all. Those who have lost their husbands in war must pick up what cloth they can, the cast-offs of their luckier neighbours whose menfolk still live to weave for them. A monkey or two is pottering about, chewing bananas, and even a tame paujil is perched on a cross-beam, uttering its peculiar call. A woman stretches out her hand and selects a piece of yuca from the pot. She puts it in her mouth and chews it to a pulp resembling mashed potatoes; satisfied that it has reached the desired state, she deposits it on the ever-growing pile of the same pulp, which stands within reach of all on banana leaves. This is the giamanchi, the staff of life. (Preserved with the human saliva, it will last for six months if stored in crocks and buried in the ground against contact with light or air. When the time comes for it to be consumed, or in other words, when the proper amount of fermentation has taken place, it is mixed with water in a gourd until it looks and tastes like buttermilk. The whole idea is to our modern minds repulsive, but my own experiments have proved that there is no other way (in the woods) of preserving arrowroot. It is a highly sustaining starchy tuber, containing 80 per cent. starch as against the potato's 20 per cent. Cooked when fresh, it is light and fluffy--a delicious vegetable

dish.

One or two of the women are carrying babies slung in a small cloth hammock on the back. One of them is nursing a baby which cannot be less than three years old. (This is a common custom, which appears to us both strange and undesirable. The Antipa women do not wean their infants until they are grown to the kindergarten stage as we know it. They even pack them long after they can walk, run and swim. Thus the step from babyhood to marriage is only a matter of seven or eight years. [220]

Another woman is nursing her baby when she remembers the young monkey curled up on her head. It too she treats as her own offspring, and suckles it with the same care as she does her son. (This is common among the Indians of the Amazon, be they semi-civilized or savage.)

Six or eight fires are smouldering round the walls, one for each wife. On a meat-rack steaks from a freshly killed huangana (wild hog--Inca) are being cured, and their smell fills the house."

4: Up de Graff--220-221 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1

116, 512

"Leaving the women to their daily task of chewing, after having accepted the giamanchi proffered by one, we pass outside to where a group of bucks are engaged in wild conversation. They are, to all appearances, imitating the action of a trombone player. Their right hands fly to and fro from their mouths to the full extent of their arms, palms inwards. Their tones are loud and deep, and the light in their dark eyes betrays their emotion. They are talking of war; this we know, for only then do they indulge in these gestures and forced tones.

Nearby in the forest rises the smoke of many fires, and the thudding of the axes is heard as the party works on a new dugout. Over there comes a string of women heavily laden with yuca, bananas, and faggots cut from the chacra. Entering another house, we find a man at work on a blow-gun, with a pot of boiling beeswax at his elbow, his hair wound round his neck to keep it from the fire. A boy of some ten years is eagerly helping his father to complete the weapon which is to be his. Soon he will be off into the woods after humming-birds, which will give him plenty of chances to perfect his aim before his lungs are strong enough to allow him to take his place amont the hunters of his tribe, with real poisoned arrows. Grouped at the door under the shade [221] of a pántam (banana plant--Jívaro) are half a dozen women making baskets. They manipulate the split rattans with ease and dexterity, weaving intricate patterns, and producing baskets of great strength. They are made in pairs, one set slightly smaller than

the other; the larger is then lined with a specially tough palm-leaf and the smaller is placed inside it. The two are then sewn together round the top, and a cover, composed of another pair of baskets is hinged to the first. The result is a durable, rainproof receptacle, which is used for packing anything and everything, or for storing household goods; those which are destined for packing only are made three feet high and two feet broad. I learned the art of making them myself on the Yasuní, and the knowledge stood me in good stead."

4: Up de Graff--221 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 164, 757

"All the men and women we meet are strong and healthy, for although once in the hands of the medicine man thay have but a poor chance of recovery (he generally starves his patients to death), they have little need of his services, being absolutely free from diseases, except smallpox and one other of which the chief symptom is a cough, but which I was never able to identify."

4: Up de Graff--221-222 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 757

"I am reminded of an incident which took place when I was with the Antipas. One morning, there was brought to me a warrior who had been wounded by a Huambisa with a shot-gun loaded with powder and pebbles and fired at short range (surely part of the booty of the Barranca raid). The bone in the upper arm was shattered, the limb dangling useless. The man was so emaciated that he could hardly stand, and the wound was septic. I syringed him with bi-chloride of mercury and dressed his wound for him. On enquiring as to the diet on which he had been put by the medicine man, I found that he was forbidden to eat anything but green bananas! [222] However, persuaded by the rapid progress that he made under my care, the local oracle gave in, and the man was permitted to take proper nourishment. He recovered completely as I found on my return from the Santiago."

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 511, 181, 619

"Contentment reigns supreme. Men and women seem happy in their lot. They have an abundance of every necessity and luxury they know. Their one worry in life is the constant fear of attack by raiders, but this they forget as easily as children do the dangers of the street. Light is the daily round of all, and above all others of him who has a daughter to give in marriage! He who aspires to her hand becomes to all intents and purposes the slave of his future father-in-law for a term of five or six months until he proves his worth. The young savage takes over the scouting, hunting and fishing duties of the house into which he is going to marry; he is at the beck and call of its head, and must answer every call like a fag at school. But only once does he go through the mill; his own household set up, he takes to himself as many wives as he can find among his own people or steal from his enemies; thus it comes about that there is many a woman among the four Jívaro tribes who has been stolen and re-stolen until she is as much at home on the Santiago as on the Marañon, as happy burning hair off monkeys for an Aguaruna as spinning cotton for a Pautecuma. Indeed to my mind there can be one explanation of the existence of identical languages, habits, clothes, modes of fishing and hunting, and applied arts among all the Jívaro peoples, namely that they spring from a common ancestral tribe. A family would break away from the common hunting grounds, move off and establish itself on another river, and nurse its hatred of the parent group until, joined by others, little by little it became the nucleus of another tribe. And so through the course of [223] time they have drifted so far apart that to-day no one tribe

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 511, 181, 619

is found with their headquarters within thirty days' canoeing of another, and a deadly hostility exists between them all. There are white men alive to-day in the States who have been scalped by North American Indians; but after the Jívaro has taken his war-trophy, 'finita la commedia.' "

4: Up de Graff--224-225 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Jívaros are credited by those who have never come into personal contact with them, with many a virtue of which they are entirely innocent. Contrary to what is generally supposed, these untamed sons of the forest are a compendium of all that is cunning, knavish, and diabolical; they have the courage of wild animals in battle, [225] but unlike the latter, their guiding principle is 'every man for himself.' The truth is not in them. Their attempts at understanding the psychology of the white man are even more puerile than were those of the Germans in the Great War. A totally unenlightened race, they must be controlled by fear and superstition."

4: Up de Graff--226-227 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224

"The anungatas (steersmen--Jívaro) made for the shore. We landed, all of us except Game and Noagra, who stood guard over the canoes. Game was a little chary of venturing barefoot into the woods, after what he had gone through on our passage upstream. Then started an exhibition of rifle versus blow-gun, in which the latter came out with flying colours. The type of monkey which we were after, the coto (the howling monkey--Inca), weighs about thirty pounds, and is like the ostrich, in that it hides its eyes in the conviction that it is itself concealed from its enemies. Hanging by its hands, feet and tail from the underside of one of the big limbs, it remains immobile, and even the crack of a rifle does not scare it into flight. This animal is the evening and morning 'songster' of the Amazon woods. At sunrise and sunset, each troupe parades in single file about the branches of the tree which is their temporary home, uttering a deep growling call which can be heard for miles. The first time I heard it, a monkey was the last thing which occurred to me; it seemed that all the tigres on the Amazon were engaged in a death-struggle. Breaking through the silence of dawn, the loneliest hour of the twenty-four, it drowns the squawk of the waking parrots, and sets the woods reverberating. The coto has ten fingers and as many toes, and its tail, two and a half inches in diameter at the thickest part, is tremendously powerful. When shot, he first lets go his hand-grip, and then his feet loosen [227] their hold; last of all his tail slips gradually from the branch to which it is tied, and down he crashes. Sometimes he dies where he hangs, his tail coiled about the limb in a grip which tightens more and more as

his body grows cold. That was when Ungucha had a chance of showing his skill as a climber. Up the strands of bejuco he went, hand over hand, a hundred feet and more, until he was among the topmost limbs of a big tree where he swung from branch to branch until he reached his prey, which came crashing to earth a moment later."

4: Up de Graff--227-228 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 825

"The Jívaros tell how it came about that the coto has an enormously oversized larynx. One day the maquisapa and he met each other in the woods. The coto was showing the other how to break cocoanuts by pounding them together, but his long-legged cousin, when he tried to imitate him, caught his thumbs between the nuts and lopped them off. Determined to revenge their loss, when next he met his bearded friend, he persuaded him by means of slight-of-hand that it was unnecessary to crack them at all, and that they tasted much better when swallowed whole. The credulous coto followed his [228] advice, but the cocoanut stuck in his throat, and left its mark on all his progeny to this day, while the children of the maquisapa must go for all time without their thumbs, although they still retain their ten toes."

4: Up de Graff--228-229 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 252, 262

"That afternoon we dropped some two dozen cotos, only three of which fell to my rifle. The condition of these three caused the Jívaros furiously to think, for they were shot to pieces, and were indeed an ugly mess. We packed them back to the bank, tied by their tails in bunches of four, and carried slung over the head. The game was dipped in the river to moisten their hair. A brushwood fire was built to singe them as they hung by their tails from a pole, which stretched the whole length of the blaze. As the muscles contracted with the heat, a gruesome spectacle presented itself, for their limbs moved, they clenched their hands, and their faces were distorted with an ugly grin which exposed their regular teeth. When singed all over, they were taken from the fire and scraped with machetes. There is only one word to describe the portions of meat which were hacked off--hunks. Regardless of joints or bones, they were chopped up by the savages, who had never known any better instrument than the stone-axe; the pieces were thrown into the boiling-pots, still half-covered with burnt hair which the hasty scraping had missed. For twenty minutes they cooked, emitting an unspeakable odour which was as welcome to the Antipas as that of breakfast bacon to the hungry white hunter.

I have omitted to mention what is always the tid-bit of such feasts. Before the singeing and cooking of the animals begin, they must of course be cleaned. (When meat is scarce, nothing is thrown away but the bones; even the guts are scraped and toasted.) The contents of the stomach are extracted and mixed like giamanchi, with water. Then without any further ado [229] they are drunk. At first the very idea is repulsive, but

4: Up de Graff--228-229 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 252, 262

after all, the monkey lives on fresh wild fruits and his inside is a [sic] clean as ours. He has merely started the process of peptonization and digestion for us, which saves us trouble. I was expecting, when first I tasted this delicacy, to find a trace of bitter gastric juices, but was pleasantly surprised; only the pure flavour of the fruit-pulp was there, and it made an excellent drink."

4: Up de Graff--229 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 262

"The Jívaros, as I have said, throw nothing away but the bones, and even these they break with their teeth to get at the marrow. Although I have found many of their dishes excellent eating, I must say that soup cooked without salt, more especially when it is strongly flavoured with burnt hair, is not palatable. Indeed, in order to allay our hunger Game and I selected a young coto from the bag, skinned it and roasted it on the embers. Prepared in this way, they are just as good eating as any other game I have tasted except their cousin the maquisapa, whose equal, in my estimation, cannot be found on any table."

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Jivaro -1
116, 609, 576

"Pitacunca, [KS: medicine man and navigator] having landed, shot one glance at the camp and its inhabitants, and turned on his heel. Followed by the rest of the savages, he walked to a spot some twenty yards away, sat down with his back to all of us, and set up a dismal wailing chant in a minor key. His every action was imitated by the others, who joined in the chorus, and sent that dirge floating across the Marañon. Never a word had any of them spoken since they had caught sight of our outfit. They seemed to be stunned [231] by the sight of so many apaches (white people) and so much kit, as if the folly of having entrusted themselves to these unknown white creatures was suddenly brought home to them. No other reason occurs to me for so much yowling. It seemed as if they would never stop and we did not care to interrupt them, until finally Jack, whose first introduction to the Antipas cannot be said to have been inducive to a happy understanding, enquired in plain English whether they didn't see their way to changing the tune. The tune never was changed, but at the end of half an hour or so it died a natural death.

Little by little the Jívaros drifted over and seated themselves by the camp fire. Finally Jack and Ed. roused them from the trance into which they had fallen, the former doing a double-shuffle in the bottom of the Exploradora to the accompaniment of the latter's banjo. The savages were greatly inpressed, both by the unrivalled quality of the music and the dancer's skill! To complete their recovery, we presented them with the most glaring specimens of the shirts we carried for barter--they were striped

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Rivera-2
116, 609, 576

indiscriminately with orange, black, red, yellow and green, and were known among us as 'Hallelujahs.' "

4: Up de Graff--232 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 262

"One day, driven mad by the screaming of the macaws which had come to feed in the palms near camp, I suggested to the medicine man that we should go out and bag a few. The expedition was successful and we brought a few back. I noticed that the first thing the Jívaros did was to extract the contents of the crop, pure fruit-pulp, and eat it, giving it the first place among the delicacies which the bird had to offer. I cannot lay too much stress on the excellence of this dainty morsel. The palm-fruits on which they live are exceedingly hard, and contain a number of seeds or kernels embedded in the meat, making it more trouble than it is worth, despite the attractiveness of the meat itself, to eat the fruit. But all the spade-work is done by the parrot, whose sharp beak and dry tongue separate and reject the seeds, with no deleterious effect on the fruit itself. Once more we have an example of the possibility of taking advantage of the digestive efforts of a wild creature and finishing the feast."

4: Up de Graff--232-234 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 251

"Finding plenty of hog-tracks in the vicinity, we de[233]cided to hunt them down and cure their meat against the day when we should be setting off up-stream once more. The meat of these hogs or peccariesi seems to preserve its flavour, despite the daily smoking to which it must be subjected to protect it from insects, better than any other meat to be found in the forest. Of this game there are two species, the huangana and the sajina (both Inca); the former is more the shape of a domestic pig than anything else, is black, and weighs about a hundred pounds; it carries a musk-sack on the middle of the back, the use of which is somewhat obscure to me; perhaps it may be a form of protection against insects; anyway, a man can track them through the woods by scent as easily as a hound follows a hare, so powerful is the smell they leave behind them on every object against which they rub. It is armed with a pair of fine tusks set in the lower jaw, which it uses both to dig up roots, and to rip the entrails out of its antagonists, the jaguars. The latter are afraid of them, but occasionally follow a herd in the hopes of being able to grab a young hog and make off with it. Not always do they succeed, and when caught their fate is sealed. They are torn to pieces by the infuriated beasts and devoured, head, tail, skin and feet. The huangana will eat snakes, lizards, and anything else that he can find. The herd can be smelt a full mile away if the wind is set right, and long before one is found it will be heard rooting and snuffling in the ground, cracking nuts, one animal fighting another for the tidbits which the monkeys have dropped. The herd often numbers two hundred or more and will attack on sight. To approach

these beasts is easy, for they are too busily occupied in searching for food; their sight and scent are not highly developed, no doubt because they have never had to fear anything that walks in the woods. If you are stalking these animals you will be wise to select [234]your tree before you cover the last fifty yards (and see that the tree contains no ants' nor hornets' nests!) When the nearest huangana sees you, he will utter his war-cry--an ominous rattling of his tusks--which is taken up by the whole herd. A noise is produced which is at the same time fearful and wonderful. It is like a thousand pairs of castanets. It echoes and re-echoes round the woods until it seems to come from every tree. With what terrific speed the lower jaws of this animal must vibrate to give out such a volume of sound may well be imagined.

Select your tree, then, and stand ready to jump as soon as you have fired your shots. The herd will start milling round looking for something to charge, until it sees your smoke, or a movement of your body. Then jump! And may the branch bear your weight, or you will shoot no more huanganas!

The herd, usually sweeps on under the tree and leaves the hunter to descend in peace, pick up the kill, and make his way back to camp. In any event you will be left in peace, if you are not located by sight or scent, for the hogs will go tearing off in one great avalanche, charging some imaginary enemy, and will not pull up until they have covered four or five miles and feel like settling down to continue their feed."

4: Up de Graff--234-235 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 224

"The second species, the sajina or collared peccary, is [235] somewhat smaller and, though fierce enough when disturbed, is not so formidable as its cousin. Briefly it can be described as closely resembling the wild boar of Europe--thinnish wiry hindquarters, heavy shoulders, and short thickset forelegs, a lean flat barrel, bushy hair on shoulders and neck, long fierce tusks, and patches of white to relieve the dead black all over the body. It hunts in pairs, or very small groups of a few pairs.

I once had occasion to prove the temper of the sajina. Having strayed from camp a little way without my rifle (a risky thing to do, I must admit) I came across a couple rooting for food in the bush. They came out into the open to within twenty yards of where I was working with an axe, regardless of the noise and flying chips.

They would perhaps have left me alone, had I not thrown a stick to frighten them off. The challenge was accepted, however, and one of the beasts came on with such an ugly snort that I turned monkey at once and took to the upper branches. After one look into those wicked little eyes, I felt that a well-covered retirement was distinctly indicated. An axe has its uses. It is all very well for chopping trees, for if you miss your swing, the tree won't bite your leg off. For carving pork on the hoof I prefer an instrument with a longer reach."

4: Up de Graff--238-240 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 427, 484

"On the sand-spit at the junction of the Santiago and the Marañon lay some two hundred Antipa canoes, heavily laden with fruit, vegetables, honey and giamanchi in enormous quantities. They were drawn up in a great uneven fringe for a distance of a full quarter of a mile all around the edge of the tongue which juts out between the two rivers, and scattered all over the miniature peninsular were hundreds of savages, men, women, and children--three or four to every canoe--squatting in groups of families, some gossiping, some cooking, others speaking excitedly of war, others polishing their spears with sand, and yet others already partaking of their evening meal. The slanting rays of the sun tinted the whole scene with a purplish light, and threw into restful harmony the naturally crude colouring of forest, river, sand and savage. No cloud obscured the deep blue dome of the evening sky. The three long wailing notes of the yungaruru floated across the water, and the screams of the first flock of parrots rose high above the hum of human chatter as they skimmed over the trees on their return home from the days' foraging.

As we toiled up the stretch of bad water that lies between the gate of the cañon and the junction of the rivers, the scene gradually unfolded itself before our astonished eyes. What a change was this from the deadly [239] emptiness of the landscape when Game and I first paddled by the long desolate first reach of the Santiago, straining our eyes for the sight of any living thing!

To say we were taken by surprise is to understate the case. We were amazed at the

rapidity with which the fame of our expedition had spread amongst the savages. Apparently a good proportion of the whole tribe of Antipas had ventured well outside the radius of their home territory--a rare display of boldness--in search of those confounded presents of ours. There they were, sitting patiently waiting for hand-mirrors and striped shirts, with tons of fruit, vegetables, and other products of the rivers and woods. The full capacity of our fleet of four canoes was five tons at the most, and we were already heavily laden. Despite this, we found it wholly impossible to convince these adventurous merchants of the impracticability of their suggestion that we should take possession of all they had to offer in exchange for the coveted trade-goods. That evening we spent weary hours in trying to drive this obvious truth home to them, without any success attending our efforts. We transacted what business we must, and when we had bought more peanuts and honey than we could possibly want, we decided to sleep on the matter.

Next morning we were forced with the necessity of getting rid of that great concourse of Jívaros and, more important, seeing them go off in a contented frame of mind. We decided eventually to go the round of the whole beach, and present the crew of each canoe--generally a man with a couple of women and a child or two--with something to keep them quiet. I may mention that we had made the whole party leave the tip of the tongue of sand to us, where we pitched our little linen tent in a strategic position; on three sides water, which nothing could cross alive unless we wished it so, [240] and on the fourth

the flat open sand-bar with no protection whatever for lurking bodies.

The plan which we adopted was successful up to a point; the savages were certainly well satisfied to receive their presents, and to obtain a close view of the far-famed apaches, whost arrival had caused such a stir in the country; but all the good which had been done was threatened with instant reverse by our refusal to 'trade in' their tons of supplies for which we had no use nor space for carrying along in our four dugouts; so acceptance was the only possible course to follow. The beach became littered with the finest produce of the country."

"Then came the stiffer problem, the ultimate object of all our manoeuvering up to this time, viz., to organize a fleet of canoes and canoemen not only to move our cargo and outfit up the Santiago but to accompany us as a guard against attack and as a war party in any possible conflict with the Huambizas. These Antipas were bitter enemies of the Huambizas and therefore we figured they would admirably suit our purpose. For many days we had been working up to this climax, endeavouring to convince old Pitacunca that it would be worth his while to give us thirty days' paddling in exchange for his choice of an axe or machete, with the same terms for every one of his men. No other bait had been tempting enough, as we had known only too well would be the case. Bit by bit we had led them on, until at last we had made our final offer, and before their bulging eyes we opened a box of axes and a case of machetes. The sight of the glistening steel and the bright red paint on the handles struck home to their very souls (if they had any), and I could see that they decided then and there to possess themselves of these treasures by fair means or foul. They knew, and we knew, that they had no [241] intention whatever of fulfilling their contract, despite the solemnity with which the terms were propounded and agreed to. Jack remarked at the time, I remember, that it was a moot point as to which party thought the other bigger fools. But we had our own ideas as to the enforcing of the contract. There was no doubt about it that if we wished to retain the services of the Indians we should have to be eternally vigilant and diplomatic. By day they could never give us the slip, clearly, armed as we were with Winchesters. The canoemen

would be divided between the several craft and escape would be out of the question. By night we should chain the canoes together, and always keep a guard mounted. By land they would never dare to face the risks of encountering a Huambiza war party. And so it turned out, with the exception that we allowed Pitacunca to take the Exploradora with three other Antipas, keeping them always within rifle-shot; in any event, they would not cut and run without their comrades and even if they did they could never paddle so heavy a craft away from us who manned the light twenty-four footers. In short, they were a slippery crew to deal with, and we couldn't be too careful."

"Meanwhile, the bulk of the gathering of Antipas had melted away, leaving only the wise minority, who saw something in the shape of a big haul coming when we turned the bows of our dugouts up the Santiago. Clearly we should leave behind us nine-tenths of our purchases, and the harvest would be rich for those who were there to gather it. (Old 'Pete' had probably warned them to be ready at midnight on our first night out.) Perhaps the bulk of the remainder watched us from the seclusion of the woods as we pushed off, as they hoped, in all innocence.

'Sept. 29th. Having finally satisfied the Antipas, by [242] means of our presents, that we are friendly disposed toward them, and closed the deal with the crew by handing them out their axes, we are due to start at mid-day to-day. 'Pete' and his men are obviously well satisfied with the business they have done. It is quite clear that they contemplate leaving us to-night with much relish.'

About five o'clock that evening we sighted a sand-bar for the first time since entering the Santiago...

That night it fell to Pedro to mount guard from sun-down till midnight. Long ago we had given our time-pieces away to the Antipas up the Marañon, for they were useless impediments. By the time each man of us had jumped overboard half a dozen times to save a paddle, a war-bag, or Ambusha, they were not much use except as presents. In the last-named capacity they were handed out to 'Lázaro,' Pitacunca, and one or two other important gentlemen. The original recipients kept the cases, which they hung

around their necks, and distributed the wheels to their less favoured fellows.

During that watch of his Pedro had no peace. Every few minutes the siege would be renewed. With smiling faces our friends would beg for a canoe to cross the river for one of a hundred purposes, urging reasons which were apparently so pressing as not to allow of even waiting till dawn. They had heard a troupe of night monkeys on the other bank; they had spotted a fine log for the fire five hundred yards down-stream (always down-stream!); they thought it would be a good idea to have some fish for breakfast; they were sure that the turtles would be out on the other end of the sand-spit, and they could approach noiselessly in a canoe. . . [243] and so on, until Pedro called me up in despair. I kept them quiet with a long story about the dangers of going off alone in the dark, with the possibility of a Huambiza surprise at any moment. I treated them in the only way possible, like children, meeting them on their own ground. Neither I nor Pitacunca believed our own words, much less those of the other. But the game of bluff had to be played out, like any other game, and the hardest bluffer won. So passed the first of a series of such nights, always the same farce had to be staged; endless machinations met by endless argument. At length, after four or five nights had passed in this fashion without any success being attained, it dawned on the Indians that other tactics must be adopted if they were (in the language of sport) to make a get-away. They began to fall sick, and with remarkable ingenuity discovered that the waters of the Santiago brought on all manner of ills, from loss of appetite, by way of general debility, to heart-failure.

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 484, 427, 152

Still we persisted, keeping them at the paddles after the fashion of galley-slave drivers. They were by this time a miserable, dejected crowd, keeping any way on the canoes, complaining of their ills, and bemoaning the certain death that awaited them if they continued."

4: Up de Graff--243-244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 152, 787

"On the eighth day the climax came. We sighted an island, which seemed to be ideal for pitching camp, and put into shore with the intention of deciding once and for all, what we were going to do with those treacherous and demoralized creatures who moaned and babbled between every half-dozen strokes of the paddle. But we were not destined to play an active part in the settlement of the problem, after all, for no sooner had we landed and lain down to rest than Pitacunca, by virtue of his high office, had resort to the never-failing hayahuasca (bitter wine--Inca). The plant is the means by which the medicine men of the Upper Amazon throw them[244]selves into a trance (in reality a state of drunken semi-torpor) from the depths of which they utter prophetic statements which are received with as much reverence as were ewer those of the Sybil. Their power for good or evil is thus unlimited, for they pour forth their visions to a spell-bound audience which hangs on every word."

4: Up de Graff--244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 787, 152

"That night Pitacunca was determined to go no further. He drank his hayahuasca with his 'prophecy' prepared. Within a minute he was rolling about on the ground, groaning, vomiting, sighing, and wailing out his awful warning to a concourse of terror-stricken individuals, who wished they had never been such fools as to venture up the Santiago for the sake of a shining axe.

'Your homes are on fire and your families fleeing through the woods,' wailed Pitacunca, his voice rising above the moans of his audience; 'the Huambizas have taken off half your wives into captivity; but far worse than all the Huambiza devils in the Santiago valley, comes the news to your fugitive children that they are running from their attacks only to be stricken down with smallpox that walks abroad among our people (renewed groans); hungry and homeless, they know not where to turn (a positive hurricane of wailing); black ruin and death await you all, if you return not to stem the tide of disaster.'

With a final long-drawn-out sigh, Pitacunca ceased. But he had done his work. Panic ran riot in the camp. Muttering and whimpering, the Antipas ran hither and thither at the bidding of the drunken old fraud who professed to be their protector. We saw that it was useless to expect to get another minute's work out of them. Pitacunca, with an invincible superstition at his back, had won the day."

4: Up de Graff--244-245 (1897) 1923 Jívaro
116, 756, 787

"Among all the Jívaro tribes the medicine man is omnipotent but short-lived. He lasts as long as his [245] prophecies are not too disastrously wrong. Sooner or later he leads his people (of whom he is virtually chief) into disaster, having made a bad guess, and is sacrificed by those who before followed his every word. Plain proof of the blind credulity of his followers is to be found in the manner of his qualification for his office. Some ambitious old fake with his eye on the coveted post takes a reed-flute (the only instrument except the tom-tom known to the people) and (according to his own story) goes off down the river at dead of night, alone, for many miles, where he seats himself on a sand-bar and plays till the anacondas come out of the water and dance round him. Many times he tries, until at length one morning he walks into the settlement and announces that his great powers have at last prevailed, and he has enticed the serpents to his very feet. And so his authority is born. In times of peace he is the official weather-prophet and astrologer, indicating the proper phase of the moon in which to plant; he is the one and only jambi-chemist; he is the doctor, with a forest full of remedies at his command, and it must be added, in all fairness to him, that he understands the use of ipecacuana, quinine (bellacacara in Inca), and a number of the natural drugs which he extracts from the forest, some known to modern science and some not."

4: Up de Graff--245-247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 757

"He [KS: the medicine man] is at his best as a curer of ills. Several times we had occasion to call in Pitacunca himself and he made speedy and efficacious cures, albeit with a great deal of hocus-pocus on the side. Once Morse was suffering from an ulcerated tooth, and 'Pete' volunteered to cure it in a few minutes. We had much ado to persuade the patient to allow the treatment to commence, and still more to allow it to go on. Morse was stretched out on his back on the sand, and the [246] 'doctor' sat down by his head and commenced a chant. At the end of each verse he sucked his patient's cheek noisily, and proceeded to produce from his own mouth an ant, a shell, a good-sized spider, a snail or a small crab, after which he would show us what he had 'extracted' and go into a fit of violent vomiting. Then another verse commenced with the same result; and so on, until he had produced a hatful of insects, dead or alive, after chanting some twenty verses. Meanwhile it was all we could do to keep Morse down. Finally the 'doctor' chose a live coal from the fire, blew it to a red heat, and asked Ed. to open his mouth. The latter took one look at the offer and jumped to his feet. After it had been carefully explained to him that he was not expected to swallow the burning embed, but only allow it to be held, in a mussel shell in his open mouth, he assented. Then came the real cure. Pitacunca broke up into powder some fine leaves (I didn't learn what plant it was) and scattering them on the hot charcoal, held the latter in Morse's mouth so that the fumes from the leaf powder passed round the bad tooth. The pain left him within five minutes and never returned. If it was a coincidence, it was a very remarkable one.

4: Up de Graff--245-247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 757

On another occasion, I myself had been bitten by a fly which deposits an egg under the skin which grows into a fat worm. I was suffering from the repeated attacks of the grub, which was embedded in my back. Once more Pitacunca volunteered assistance, which I gladly accepted. He asked for a cigarette, which I rolled and proffered him. He smoked it and blew through a fluff of cotton causing the nicotine to condense. The usual incantations commenced, and continued for about ten minutes (as many verses sufficed, apparently, to extract a worm!). With his [247] mouth close to the spot where the worm lay, he made a funny indescribable noise understood by the worm to be the only tune worth coming out to hear, applying the cotton at the same time. Well, out he came, sure enough (driven out, no doubt, by the nicotine, to whose cleansing qualities I have referred before)."

4: Up de Graff--247 (1097) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In times of war, the medicine man accompanies the fighting men (he fights himself, too) to cast spells on the enemy, to foretell victory (invariably), and to render his comrades-in-arms immune from hostile influence. Finally, he alone can make the pots in which the fruits of battle, the heads of the enemy slain, must be treated."

4: Up de Graff--247-248 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 153, 437

"To return to my tale, then, the canoemen had to go. But we were determined that they should not carry off with them the wage which they had done so little (and that little so very unwillingly) to earn. It would be a bad precedent to set, for, if ever we had occasion to need their services or those of any other of their tribe again, we should start at a disadvantage if they thought they could fool us, as they certainly did, despite our precautions.

We made them build us a shack that evening on the island, and next morning a permanent shelter on the mainland, in which to cache part of our stores against our return, being unable to paddle so great a weight up-stream without their help. They all worked hard and with a good will, for freedom would be theirs within a few hours. Then we broke the news to them that they must return their axes and machetes, having failed to keep their contract. After the usual pow-pow they were handed over. It was not so peaceable a transaction as it might have been, for we had to hold them up with our rifles before we could make them give up our property. And then they went. [248]

It was not till they had been gone two hours or more that we had the idea of opening our cases of stores to see that all was in order. Half the axes and machetes and three-quarters of the poison had gone. Now the boxes and cases in which they were carried were purposely fastened with long screws, the secret of which we had not thought that any savage would discover. But, too late, it dawned on us that I myself had been indiscreet enough to open a box one day when that old thief Pitacunca was looking on. So, day by

day, as we had been pushing up the Santiago, more and more stores were carefully extracted (the Jívaros using the very machetes we had given them as screw-drivers in just the same way as I did myself) and cached as we travelled along in the heavy verdure which lines the banks of that river. So it happened that they drew ten times the pay they had contracted for, after all. It was too late to do anything in the way of revenge. Had we had a speed launch at hand, we might have caught those stalwart robbers, but hardly otherwise. They must have reached home in one day's paddling. We never saw Pitacunca again.

The loss of that fine poison which Morse and Iberico had gone to such pains to obtain in the Huallaga River and bring along with the Exploradora, rankled in our minds for many a long day, aggravated by the thoughts of the sweet revenge which we could have taken, had we known in time, by appropriating that fine canoe in which the Jívaros escaped and turning them loose to their own devices on the bank."

4: Up de Graff--250-253 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 484

"Sweeping along under the right bank came fifty-five Jívaro canoes in single file, a huge serpent moving with perfect rhythm. [251]

Tuhuimpui, as we soon learned was the leader's name, landed on the point of the island, stuck his spear head-down in the sand, and advanced for a friendly pow-wow. His great following had shown a keen desire to overrun our refuge at his heels, but I had ordered him, at first sign of such a movement taking place, to command his party to retire to the main bank, and await the result of our parley. We were perfectly safe as long as we kept a strip of water between us. So the pow-wow began. The Aguaruna chief bore himself with conscious pride of office. His manner had not a trace of servility. He, by reason of his position and his knowledge of Inca had been elected as spokesman, and he was every bit as good as any apache.

'We have heard that you have come searching for gold,' he began. 'Here on this river are very many Huambizas, evil men, who kill the apaches and steal their women. I myself have talked with the apaches and been to Barranca, and know. You will be killed, so we have come here to take you back to safety. The Huambizas carry weapons such as yours' (indicating by signs and sound the firing of a rifle). [252]

'I have heard,' I replied, 'of the great chief Tuhuimpui down-river, and know him to be a friend of the white man. Clearly has he proved his friendship once more by coming on this errand fraught with perils to give us his advice and protection. To prove our mutual regard, we must drink together.'

The rum-barrel is produced, and a stiff drink handed out.

It is a curious fact, and one which throws a good deal of light on the much-discussed alcohol question, that any ignorant savage in the world will appreciate to the full his first drink of rum. It would appear that there is something in the natural constitution of man that answers to the call of alcohol.

'I would have you know,' I went on, 'that we appreciate your offer, but that we fear no Huambizas nor any other; we come in peace, but if attacked we know how to defend ourselves.'

The chief retires to the water's edge, and calls across to a fellow chief to put over to the island to consult with him. In the long line of canoes the warriors sit, watching the proceedings.

'Midia, midia,' cries Tuhuimpui (come, come), and an Antipa chieftain steers his canoe across the stream.

I have joined my comrades in the shelter and we discuss my interpretation of the pow-wow. We decide that we must try and get the whole war-party to go up-stream with us; their help would be invaluable.

In a few moments I am back talking with Tuhuimpui, who has returned from his conference with the Antipa.

'We are a war-party, come to kill the Huambizas.' Tuhuimpui turns with childlike simplicity to this new story.

'We will help you, then, for they are our common [253] enemy,' I answered. 'Let us join forces and push on together.'

Thus we struck a bargain. We were far from being deceived as to what was the real object of our new allies. Once more that canoe-load of presents was shaping the destinies of men. But all the same it suited us to avail ourselves of their help to penetrate further up-river, laden as we were with heavy stores."

4: Up de Graff--253-254 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 152, 726

"Next morning we started. All day long we sat and watched the great rhythmic strokes of the paddles, as the canoes flew along. Our escort was composed of some two hundred men of the Aguarunas and Antipas, evidently two parties which, finding each other bent on a common mission (which needs no explanation) had joined hands. By day they mingled so that there was no distinguishing the two parties, but by night they camped apart, suspicious, probably, of each other for they are natural enemies. Each carried with him a new loin-cloth, a rouge-pot, feather ear-ornaments, a záparo (rattan basket --Inca) of giamanchi, a spear, and a half gourd for a drinking-cup. Some had blow-guns with them also. They were for the most part naked. They were an impressive-looking crowd, and they took very little notice of us white men, with the exception of their chiefs with whom we had all our dealings.

The first day, everything seemed to go swimmingly. In the late afternoon we drew up on a sand-bar and pitched camp. Tuhuimpui volunteered to provide the game throughout the journey, and he certainly made a good start that day. He advised us not to use our rifles for hunting, as they might carry news of our whereabouts to the Huambizas, which seemed to us fair enough. We had our choice of supper from a great pile of game of all kinds--turkeys, pheasants, monkeys and wild hogs, principally--and selected what we wanted [254] before the rest was removed from before our tent. After supper, the chief came along with a basin-full of giamanchi; we were to drink deep of the comforting preparation and sleep in peace, while the Indians kept watch all night! To escape from

this doubtful blessing. I mixed a cup of condensed milk as a counter offer. If there is one thing which a Jívaro abhors it is canned food in any shape or form. The trick worked, for no more was said of drinks that night.

And how could he be expected--I went on, after disposing of the giamanchi difficulty--to find the guard all night, and leave us to sleep in slothful ease? Surely to this we could never consent. We would do our fair share. Indeed he must warn his men not to approach to within fifty yards of our camp, for our sentries would fire on suspicion--and who could distinguish between enemy and friend at night? In the common cause we must take half the burden on our shoulders, and we must carry it well. Too much care could not be taken now that we were so near the enemy, and what a disaster it would be if in our zeal we killed some of our own friends! No, there was no getting away from the fact that they must be very careful not to approach our bivouac at night."

"One day we came to a place where the river had cut a new channel and left the still warm water in a loop of the old bed. Here we had a chance of making some highly interesting experiments with that freak of nature, the electric eel. The water at this point was teeming with these fish and with rays, both of which are considered as great delicacies by all who inhabit the banks of the Amazon rivers. The former grow to an average length of three to four feet, being as many inches [256] thick. They seem to have no entrails except one straight canal, about the thickness of the little finger, which runs along the underside of the body from the head to the vent. Their general appearance is similar to the common fresh-water eel; they are slow swimmers, and therefore an easy prey to the spear. They are so heavily charged with electricity that a man cannot possibly retain his hold of a metal instrument if it comes in contact with their skins, or even with a metal pail in which one is swimming. Of course I was carrying with me no electric instruments with which to test their voltage, so could only measure the force of the shock they can give by touching the fish myself. With my machete I attempted to cut the head off one which had been speared and landed. I might just as well have tried to cut a trolley-wire with uninsulated pliers. The machete flew out of my hands and my arm was temporarily paralysed.

We finally picked up a small eel two feet long, and put it in a pail of water. We satisfied ourselves that it was perfectly safe to touch the fish, the pail or the water with a wooden stick, tending to prove that electricity is generated, and that the shock is not

due to any form of vibration.

Their [KS: electric eel] peculiar internal organism makes it possible to prepare them for eating by simply slicing them as one does a loaf of bread, no cleaning being necessary. Their meat is pure white and firm, and they make an excellent dish when fried. In this respect they are superior to the rays of which we also caught many.

It has occurred to me that the risk of swimming any stream infested with electric eels would be very great, for, as the natives of the Amazon basin confirm, they attack and kill other living things with the strong current with which nature has charged them. Two or [257] three such shocks as I myself received would be enough to paralyse the muscles of the whole body and cause death by drowning. In saying that these fish attack other creatures, I do not wish to infer that they are either carnivorous or vicious--merely that they use their natural powers instinctively in self-defence."

4: Up de Graff--257 (1897) 1923 Ficaro
116, 117

"It may be worth mentioning that it was here that I discovered for myself, with no previous knowledge on the subject, that those beautiful coffee coloured seeds which are picked up both on the Atlantic and on the Pacific shores of the two Americas, and are known as sea-beans, grow in huge quantities along the banks of the Upper Amazon and its tributaries. They grow in a pod like peas on a plant and when seeding time comes round large numbers of them fall into the water and begin their journey of several thousand miles. They are, of course, treasured by many people as a gift from the sea, which, strictly speaking, they are not. Doubtless they abound on the banks of many other tropical rivers. We put them to no practical use, but it was at least amusing to find 'sea-beans' over three thousand miles from the sea by the course they have to follow."

4: Up de Graff--257-258 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 137

"Many a time, on that journey up the Santiago, exploring the vicinity of our camp, while the Indians were out with their blow-guns after game, we came across fine vanilla-plants. These plants grow there in profusion, clinging to every kind of tree. The pods are twelve inches in length, being fatter and more fragrant than the ordinary commercial article. Their flower is like a small orchid, to which family they belong. The dark humid forests of the Amazon produce enormous numbers of beautiful specimens of every member of this same family, from the huge scarlet bell-shaped variety of the plant which weighs upwards to [258] a hundred pounds to the tiny purple specimens, somewhat like a violet in form, which cling in great masses to the roots of the trees and vines. Curiously enough, I was never able to find one that gave off a pleasant scent, though many times did I come across beautiful blooms with disagreeable odours. For the orchid collector, this would indeed be a wonderful hunting ground."

"On the evening of October 23rd Morse and I went off up-stream a few hundred yards to take a look round the next bend, the party having halted for the night earlier than usual, to make a careful search in the forest for indications of the recent presence of the enemy. We had a curious experience with an anaconda (the fourth and last which I found alive in the Amazon basin). I think the incident is worth recording, as being unique in all my travels, and as showing how inoffensive these great reptiles are during their period of dormancy. I cannot do better than quote from my original impressions:

'Having sighted the great reptile coiled up on a fallen tree which lay half in the water, half on the bank, we paddled quietly up to within a yard or two for closer inspection. It lay in a pyramid of coils, apparently sleeping. Surprised that it did not move, we splashed [259] water on it to wake it up; there being no result, I started to prod it with my paddle, and still meeting with no success, I lifted my paddle and brought it down on the snake's side with a resounding whack that actually broke the blade. It squirmed a little, but soon lay still again. Determined to get a closer view, I climbed out on to the log and kicked the fat black coils. It showed some signs of animation, so I got back into the canoe and continued to prod it. Finally it awoke, slipped into the water while still half rolled up, and swam leisurely away on the surface, giving us a good chance to judge its length. Comparison with the twenty-four foot canoe showed it to be some thirty feet long. Its indifference to our attacks was amazing, in view of our previous experiences

of the same species on the Yasuní. Moreover it did not appear to have eaten recently, no swelling being apparent.'

I did not enlarge very much at the time on the impression which the experience made on my mind, but it has stayed with me ever since in a very vivid form. It would appear that at one season of the year this otherwise alert, powerful, swift-moving creature lives in a state of slothful torpor from which nothing but the rudest shock will awake it. The contrast is astounding, and in this particular case all the more so, as there seemed to be no outward sign of any reason for the anaconda's dormancy. It was long and thin (thinner indeed than the three others I had seen). It might have been expected to uncoil and lash out at the first sign of our approach, but instead it behaved like a tame angle-worm."

4: Up de Graff--260 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"On the 26th of October, no sign of the Huambizas had yet been seen. During the morning of that day we were paddling along in the usual formation, Indian file, when suddenly a commotion started among the leading canoes, followed by a 'trombone concert.' Something which had been picked up out of the water was being handed round for inspection. On pushing up to the front of the column, we found that the centre of interest was indeed worthy of attention. It was no less than a piece of charred wood. So at last we were in touch with the enemy. After a lot of talk it was decided that we should push on and try and find the probable point from which it had drifted.

Paddling ahead for the remainder of the morning, we halted on a very long sand-bar for a mid-day rest. There was a feeling of war in the air. The Jívaro party seemed to have settled down at last with a will to the prospect of attacking their long-standing enemies. There remained but one stepping-stone to be crossed before they would reach a state of white-hot zeal for the attack--the omens must be read."

4: Up de Graff--260-262 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 789

"The meal over, the Indians disappeared into the forest which came down to the edge of the sand. In a few moments they were back, each man carrying a branch from a tree which bears a small green berry. (I was never able to identify it.) Some of the berries they stripped from the twigs, and the branches them[261]selves they planted in the sand in a long straight line parallel with the river. Tuhuimpui strolled up to me unconcernedly. 'We are going to make it rain,' he said simply. 'I hope you will not bring down enough to drench us and our cargo,' I said with mock solemnity. 'Never fear,' came his grave answer, 'only a light shower. To-night it shall rain and thunder and blow, but before we summon the storm, we shall build you a house.'

I was taken aback to say the least of it, for it seemed to me that he had very little hope of success, for all the effect a row of branches would have on a clear blue sky, the same sky which had smiled on us since we turned up the Santiago from the Marañon. In deference to his gravity, however, I said nothing more. On the contrary, I persuaded Jack and the rest to come along with me and take part in the show. So we cut our branches (we were not allowed to bring any but the right kind) and planted them.

The berries which they had pulled the Jívaros put into snails' shells, and threw into the river with a good deal of tom-foolery in the way of chanting and solemn gesture. (We used to call this kind of thing 'monkey-business').

And then we simply embarked in the canoes and left the playa to itself.

Within half an hour, gentle rain fell. A light cloud had gathered I know not whence

for the first time for three weeks. Now it may be said that it was a pure coincidence, but it was at the same time very strange that Tuhuimpui's efforts should so strikingly produce a result after so many perfect days had passed. It should be remembered that the rainy season does not set in, properly speaking, until the middle of January. Even down to the smallest detail the Aguaruna chief was right. [262]

The gentlest of sun-showers fell that afternoon--enough to freshen us all up, but only enough. Morse and I discussed the process of rain-making with the Indians. We discovered that Tuhuimpui had been making a test of his favour with the god Yacu-Mámam, the controller of Rivers and Rain, and that had he left the newly cut branches planted in the playa below to wither and die, our attack would never have been made. Without the River God's help, disaster would have overtaken us; but this gentle shower to refresh the tokens planted for his favour was his answering sigh of approval and protection in their mooted ventures.

'You see the power I wield,' grinned Tuhuimpui, finally. Suddenly his manner changed. Gravely he gave utterance to the sentiment which lies closest to the heart of every Jívaro. 'Now indeed we shall return with many heads'.... But in a moment he was boasting again. 'This is nothing to what will fall to-night,' he said mysteriously. 'It will thunder, there will be lightning, a great wind will blow; a storm will rage, Yacu-Mámam will smile on me.' "

4: Up de Graff--262-263 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"By six o'clock that evening we had found what the Jívaros had been looking for since we picked up the piece of charcoal. We discovered the mouth of a stream which ran into the Santiago, covered so effectually with heavy undergrowth that it was invisible from the centre of the main river. Why, I do not know, but the Antipas and Aguarunas who guided our destiny decided at once that this was where the enemy was to be found. So a scouting party of four picked men was told off to take a canoe and spy out the land. They slid off noiselessly [263] and disappeared in the gloom of the forest vault, moving with the catlike stealth of men who know that detection means death.

The chiefs signed to the rest of us to make for the bank of the Santiago opposite the mouth of the stream. Here we left the canoes, climbing ashore with great care on logs which had fallen over the bank, so as to leave no trail. Tuhuimpui was very particular that we should land in this way, himself supervising the operation. Next, a party of Jívaros collected all the canoes, moored them to the trees with bejuco strands, and half-filled them with mud dug from the water's edge. They sank from sight one by one, until of all that gallant array of craft there was no sign left. The bejucos appeared to be but vines which had lost their hold and fallen into the river--only a tiny detail of the vast network of tangled undergrowth which chokes the forest from end to end of the Amazon basin. The Antipas withdrew in the tracks of the main party which had moved into the forest, and anyone passing the spot in dugouts five minutes later could never have suspected the presence of a war-party."

4: Up de Graff--263-264 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"Dusk was gathering by this time. Tuhuimpui, in solemn preparation for the storm which was due to rise, ordered the building of shelters for all his men and a specially well-built one for his white allies. In an hour the camp was pitched--one half for the Aguarunas, the other for the Antipas, our own shelter in the middle. Each of them was about thirty yards from us. We set to work to thin out the undergrowth all round our camp by way of precaution. There was no knowing what these friends of ours might be doing if rain fell a second time at their bidding! We felt cramped, too, and hedged in by darkness after the safety of the river and open playas. I think as a matter [264] of fact, that in their anxiety to be after the Huambizas, they had by this time forgotten us more or less, or at any rate relegated us to a place of secondary importance; we should come in handy after the Huambizas had been routed, perhaps."

"We lit fires round our shelter, as the Jívaros themselves had done, and sat up for many an hour, spectators of the weirdest scene I have ever witnessed.

Tuhuimpui arrived at our shelter with a great gourd full of what looked for all the world like chutney sauce.

'We are going to paint,' he announced. A short interrogation sufficed to satisfy myself that this was huito, a kind of giant walnut, of which the outer shell contains a stain or dye, in just the same way as a butternut or a black walnut. The thorny root of a palm is used as a grater to reduce the outer shell to pulp. With this the skin can be dyed jet-black, simply by rubbing it in in the wet state. All the Jívaro tribes use it to paint themselves for battle, and are indeed loath to attack without doing so. It may be that they want a distinguishing sign so that in the excitement and confusion of the fight in close country a glance will suffice to tell friend from foe. I think, however, that this is a very unlikely explanation of the custom. [265] It is more probably a part of the usual panoply of war in which all savage tribes indulge.

The same huito is used extensively in the small towns, villages, and posts of Ecuador and Peru bordering on the Jívaro territory, by half-castes who are not as dark as the Indians, nor yet as light as the Spanish. They (chiefly women) stain their faces, necks, arms and hands with it in the belief that when it comes off it takes some of the black with it! They go about their ordinary occupations with it on, it being accepted by all as powder is on the beach. So durable is the stain that only time will bring it off; three weeks

or a month are required to efface it altogether. This temporary sacrifice of appearance is willingly made in their desire to cast off the taint of Indian blood.

We all readily agreed to paint up in preparation for the attack on the morrow. So we stripped, determined to do the thing thoroughly, and each saw to it that his companions did not overlook any odd corners. Even Jack's bald spot did not escape attention. The effect of the application of this dye is not immediately apparent. So it was not till morning that we noticed any change in our appearance. The rising sun, however, revealed to us the full possibilities of huito. Not only our skin, but even our hair and eyes seemed to have changed color overnight. We laughed till we were nearly sick. The Jivaros hearing the uproar, thought we were having a war-dance of our own. Tuhuimpui came over and inspected us, surveying with a face unmoved a scene the absurdity of which no white man could have resisted."

4: Up de Graff--265-266 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"But to return to the night's vigil. A moment after Tuhuimpui left us, he returned to tell us of the safe arrival of the scouting party. The enemy had been [266] located. The scouts had approached to within a few yards of a small settlement and had actually counted the warriors. With consummate skill they had withdrawn unseen. Had I not had so many personal experiences of these men's amazing skill in scouting, I should not have believed it possible for any living thing larger than a humming-bird to approach within earshot of a Jívaro in the forest.

Having painted themselves from head to foot, the Indians began to prepare themselves for the war-dance. Each camp built a huge fire, and supplies of fuel for the long night were stacked beside the shelters. At a given signal every man leapt to his feet, grabbed his spear, and all joined in a great capering throng about the blazing fires; with raucous yells they danced and danced and danced, two bounding swaying circles careering round the blaze, spears shaken in grim emphasis of the threats they hurled at their unsuspecting enemies.

Now the whole crowd would be scampering round the flames, now a few tireless warriors who had outlasted their fellows; sometimes a solitary enthusiast would prance and yell to the delight of the squatting onlookers, uttering curses and vowing vengeance on the Huambisas who had stolen from him a wife."

4: Up de Graff--266-267 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 726

"Suddenly with a clap of thunder the promised storm broke on the scene. Here was everything that Tuhuimpui had predicted--one of those summer storms of great intensity but short duration which occur in the tropics alone. Once more the necromancer's spell had worked. Even as he had said, the wind raged and the rain fell in sheets to the accompaniment of the thunder and the vivid lightning. So great was the fury of the elements that we had to post a sentry outside our shelter to warn us of falling limbs. All around [267] the cave they came crashing down--any one of them enough to obliterate us and our puny cover.

In half an hour it had passed, and we were out again, uncovering the fire and restoring it to life while the dying wind swept the last drops of moisture from the forest roof. It had passed, but left behind in every Jívaro heart an undying faith in the prowess of their chief. Sure of their victory now, the savages bounded to the dance with redoubled energy, cavorting and pirouetting in a mad frenzy of hatred and battle-lust. All night long they kept it up, a pack of tireless demons. We on our part had no recourse but to sit with our rifles at hand and wait for dawn. Sleep had no charms for us while that waking delirium possessed the Indians, fanned to white-heat by the splendid augury of the storm.

It is useless for me to attempt an explanation of the prodigious success with which Tuhuimpui met that day. I cannot allow that it was merely a case of coincidence. The correctness in detail of his prognostications may suffice to confound that theory. No;

4: Up de Graff--266-267 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 789, 726

either he knew by some sixth sense which many animals possess that there was rain somewhere near (a thing almost unbelievable, since there was apparently no difference in the barometric conditions of that day and the preceding days) or else he was able to detect the coming of the rain by a minute observation of the movements of certain animals, or even insects, signs which would mean nothing to any but the most highly trained child of the woods."

4: Up de Graff--267-268 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"With the coming of dawn, groups of weary savages were to be seen lying about and preparing leisurely for the fight. Exhausted by the night's revelry, they seemed but poorly fitted for the trials of battle. But our ideas [268] of battle differ very markedly from theirs. The long strain of a modern engagement is a thing undreamed of by these lovers of cunning and surprise. For us it may be a matter of days or weeks, for them it is one of minutes.

Here and there they strolled round the dying embers, busy with rouge-pots, feathers and loin-cloths, black from head to foot with the huito which had taken effect during the night hours, their black pointed teeth bared in a grin of anticipation--a band of veritable demons straight from Hell. But grouped round the fire which still burned before the central shelter of the camp was a company of creatures which fell not far behind them. Tousled, bewhiskered, stained the same ebony black, we sat and cooked our breakfast. Game, it was agreed, outstripped the rest of us in hideousness. With his mop of sandy hair, a three month's old ginger beard, blue eyes, great thick-set body half-clothed in ragged shirt and pants, every inch of skin as black as night, he was indeed a fearsome creature."

4: Up de Graff--268-269 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726

"Breakfast over--for the Jívaros a drink of giamanchi sufficed--we all moved off to the water's edge. The moment had come for the attack. The savages with their new loin-cloths, rouged faces, tufts of lumbiqui feathers (red and yellow balls of fluff) in their ears, looked a formidable company. Quietly we raised the dugouts, and made across to a sand-spit which extended from the mouth of the stream, up which we were to go, to a point some two hundred yards down-stream, an excellent base for the day's operations. Here a party [269] composed of old men and boys was told off to guard the canoes. Of the latter I have said nothing. A few lads of nine or ten years of age accompanied the party to learn the art of war from their fathers. It was manifest throughout the trip that they were happy and proud to have been called to an apprenticeship in the chief business of life.

Led up by the scouts who had come in the night before, in a long single file, we made our way into the forest, and moved up the left bank of the stream. According to plan the savages split up into two parties, the Antipas made off into the jungle on a detour, to take as their objective the further of the two settlements which had been selected for the raid, while the Aguarunas clung to the bank of the stream, moving on the nearer. We (black) white men brought up the rear of this latter column under the personal supervision of Tuhuimpui, who lived in fear and trembling of our clumsy movements. Game alone, had he come within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before the surprise had been sprung, would have queered the pitch. It was one of his whims never to go barefoot,

with the result that he was forever the victim of his own shoes. They caught in the vine-roots, they were sucked off his feet by the mud, they slipped in the moss and they were ever half-full of dirt--an interminable nuisance which their owner could never be persuaded to abandon. Tuhuimpui protested in vain, while Game went crashing through the undergrowth with the delicacy of a tapir. At last it was too much for our chief. He stopped us. We were to wait till the attack had begun."

"No sooner had we halted than there came to our ears the whang-whang of a machete on wood. So we were actually within earshot of a settlement at last. [270]

It is at this point in my narrative that I must pause a moment to make a few comments on Jívaro methods of warfare. They are utterly distasteful to the white man--the true white man who is brought up to a code of fair play. The attackers display no bravery, the attacked have no chance to defend themselves. As a cat creeps up behind a bird which is digging up worms, so the Jívaro attacks his enemy. A square hand-to-hand fight he will not entertain. With all his paint and feathers he is, unlike the North American Indian, a coward at heart. I must have given the impression in the foregoing pages that our heart was in the business; but such was not the case. We used the war-party for our own ends--they were our only means of getting up-river with our kit, once Pitacunca had deserted us. To have left them to attack the Huambizas alone would have been to stamp ourselves in their eyes as cowards. To have turned them from their purpose would have been to place ourselves between two enemies, each waiting as anxiously as the other for our heads. So there was nothing for it but to indulge Tuhuimpui's caprice in the hope that the affair would prove to be but an incident in our onward movement.

So we sat and listened to that single distant clanging of steel on wood, the only sign of human life in all that vast forest into which a moment ago two hundred men had melted. Whang-whang came the sharp-cut noise of the blade falling on a paddle which was

never to be finished.

With a hideous yell the van of the attackers leapt from cover, a bare ten yards from the nearest of their prey. We jumped to our feet at a word from Tuhuimpui, and in a moment were rushing to the scene of the slaughter. (The moment was a tragic one for Game, who left his [271] shoes in the mud, only one of which he ever recovered.) We never fired a shot, either in attack or defence that day. When we arrived at the scene of action, we found that the settlement, a mere handful of savages, male and female, had been rushed. The game was up."

"A victory on the battlefield is for these Upper Amason Indians the signal for the most hideous, the most significant of all their rites to be begun. On that never-to-be-forgotten day the whole scene was enacted before our eyes, an experience which it has, perhaps, never been the lot of civilized beings to undergo before or since. That is a sweeping statement, and at the best I am only assuming the probable, but I can only say that neither I nor my fellow explorers were ever able to discover, directly or by hearsay, that this ghastly performance was ever witnessed by any other white men. Certain it is that in all my conversations with prospectors and rubber-hunters, I have never heard of any but the most conflicting conjectures as to the mode of preparation of the Jívaro heads.

The comparatively little that has been written about the process through which they pass--and they are relics of war which are unique in all the world--has been invariably, as far as my study of the question goes, based on the hearsay evidence, often incorrect in essential details, of the white or half-caste planters or priests whose lives are spent at stations situated on the fringe of the real Jívaro head-hunters' country, the basins of the Marañon and Santiago within a radius of some three hundred miles from Borja. [273]

It would seem that this rite is so closely guarded a secret, by reason of the inter-racial hatred between white man, and brown man, and the obvious natural obstacles in the way of him who would explore these regions, that the ceremony is destined to be observed only by a very few. It must indeed be a strange set of cirsumstances, in which

chance must play no small part, which will combine to show a white man what we were compelled to observe.

Thus my account of the events of that day constitutes, if I may presume to say so, an authentic description of a process which has baffled many a commentator on the subject."

4: Up de Graff--273 (1897) 1923 Jívaro
116, 727

"Those of the Huambisas, then, who had been fortunate enough to escape from the spears of the raiders had fled to the shelter of the largest of the little group of houses which had been attacked. There cannot have been more than ten or fifteen of them shut up within its walls, but the Aguarunas had not the spirit to attack them now that they were aroused. That is the Jívaro way.

The enemy having left their dead and dying behind them in their flight, the victors dashed forward to seize the most highly treasured of the spoils of battle--the heads of the enemy slain. With stone-axes and split bamboo knives, sharpened clam-shells (rubbed to a keen edge on sand-stone), and chonta-wood machetes, they went from corpse to corpse, gathering and stringing their gruesome emblems of victory."

4: Up de Graff--273-274 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"I must mention that no delicate considerations of sex are allowed to interfere with these rites; a woman who fights, or a woman who refuses to accompany the victorious war-party to their homes and serve a new master, exposes herself by the acknowledged code of warfare among these people to the risk of suffering the same fate as her menfolk. Indeed I myself happened to watch [274] the fate of a Huambiza woman who had fallen in the fight wounded by three spears. Little did we imagine what the ultimate issue might prove to be, when we attacked that morning.

The woman lay where she had been borne down by the spear-thrusts. The Aguarunas, eager to collect her head, went to work while she was still alive, though powerless to protect herself. While one wrenched at her head another held her to the ground, and yet another hacked at her neck with his stone-axe. Finally I was called upon to lend my machete, a far better implement for the work in hand. This was truly an act of mercy, to put the poor creature out of her misery as soon as possible. It was a truly hideous spectacle. But it must be remembered that had we attempted interference, we were but five in a horde of fiends, crazed by blood and lust. When at last the head was severed, it was strung with the one other which had fallen to the lot of our party."

4: Up de Graff--274-275 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"Stringing of the heads is in itself an art, the object of which is to facilitate their transportation. They are strung on thin lengths of pliable bark stripped from some nearby sapling, which make a first-rate substitute for the hempen cord of civilization. These bark-ropes are passed through the mouth and out at the neck.

The party then set to work to loot the houses from which the occupants had been driven. Nothing escaped the raiders. I was there in one of the houses with them, and well remember the motley collection of things that we found. There were Peruvian coins, china cups and saucers, a butcher's knife, a number of red bandana handkerchiefs, all evidently looted from Barranca, a Jívaro hand-loom with a half-finished piece of cloth on it, an iron spear-head, and a number of small Jívaro household objects which are to be found in any settlement. Nothing was too small to escape the Aguarunas' atten[275] tion. They cleaned out the house from end to end, every man keeping for himself all he could lay hands on. Then they fired the roof, and in a moment the whole house was ablaze, the great heat roasting the decapitated body of the Huambiza woman."

4: Up de Graff--275 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"It will be remembered that a party of Antipas had separated from the main body, as agreed between the Indians before the attack, to storm another group of hutments further up the creek. It was at this moment, then, that we decided among ourselves to push on after them and see how they had fared. We had not gone more than a few yards when we were met by the same party returning, laden with dripping heads. No less than nine they brought; some tied in pairs by their own hair and slung round the neck of one of their conquerors, others slung with bark-ropes. This gruesome procession was led by a short, fat savage; laden with his share of the spoils, grinning in triumph, with his teeth stained black and filed to a point, his thick-set shoulders spattered with the blood of his victims, he was a diabolical-looking creature."

4: Up de Graff--275 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 727

"It seems superfluous to mention that these people, like all cowards, are absolutely devoid of pity. However, they do not indulge in the worst habit of the old North American Indians, that of torturing their prisoners."

"In single file the whole party retreated through the forest to the mouth of the creek where the canoes had been left, hurling threats at the Huambizas and admonitions not to follow, as certain death at the hands of the rifle-bearing Christianos awaited them--all this the merest bluff, it must be said, for in reality they feared an onslaught by their infuriated enemies who were believed to possess some form of firearms stolen from Barranca. To strike further terror to the hearts of the Huambizas, each man of our party indulged in a series of imitations [276] of the human voice guaranteed to give the impression that he was at least six men.

Arrived at our base, with the trophies and prisoners--three children--we settled down to the preparation of the gruesome spoils, destined to be displayed in the glass cases of some great museum or to pass into the collection of a curio hunter at the other end of the world. For, as it happened, they eventually fell to our lot.

While the warriors brought the heads from the canoes to the sand-spit on which they were to be prepared, the children sat round contentedly chewing bananas, all unconcerned at their parents' fate. With the empty canoes drawn up on the sand, outposts thrown out to guard against surprise attack, the sun blazing down on the whole scene, little groups of warriors formed themselves round the heads."

"The ceremony commenced with the placing of the heads in the sand, face upwards; each naked warrior in turn seated himself on one of them and the medicine men, of which there were two with the party, commenced to chew tobacco (borrowed from me, I remember). Approaching from behind, one of them took a half-Nelson on the seated warrior, drew his head back, took his nostrils in his mouth, and forced a quantity of tobacco juice up his nose. This strange procedure is not without explanation; it is the local equivalent to an anti-toxin against the baneful influence of the enemy's medicine man, a form of protection which the natives firmly believe makes them immune from the disasters and plagues to which their foes can subject them. (I may mention that my firm resolution to take a personal part in the ceremonies faded before the nauseous picture of this, the first degree of that wild brotherhood. Jack aptly termed this performance 'The Bull's Eye Degree.') The effect which this treatment had on the warriors was [277] at once exhilirating and overwhelming--the former on account of their unshakeable faith in its merits, the latter because of its natural physical results.

Recovered from their choking and gasping, the privileged few who had merited this nicotinous inoculation by reason of their having participated in the killing of the victims and dipped their spears in their blood, proceeded to peel the heads.

This is done by carefully parting the hair straight down from the crown to the base of the skull, slitting the skin down the line formed by the parting, hard on to the bone of the skull; turning it back on both sides, and peeling it from the bony structure just as a

stocking is drawn from the foot. At the eyes, ears, and nose, some cutting is necessary, after which the flesh and muscles come off with the skin, leaving the skull clean and naked but for the eyes and teeth.

The incision or slit from the crown to the base of the neck, was then sewn together again, with a bamboo needle and palm-leaf fibre (the chambira from which the hammocks, ropes, fish-lines and nets are made), leaving untouched for the moment the opening at the neck. The lips were skewered with three bamboo splinters, each about two and a half inches long and lashed together with strands of cotton fibre, which held them tightly closed, in the same manner as the sheets of a sailing boat are fastened to the cleats on the deck; tassels being afterwards formed by the frayed ends of the fibre. The eyeholes were closed by drawing down the upper eyelashes. The eyebrows were held from falling by small pegs or props of bamboo, vertically set between the outer rim of the eyelashes (thus effectively holding them in place) and the shoulders of the corresponding eyebrows. The holes of the nose and ears were temporarily plugged with cotton. [278]

The purpose of these several operations was to hold the features of the face in position and to seal the openings, so that the head could again be expanded to its normal proportions by filling it with hot sand and thus permit an even contraction of the whole in the further process of curing. The meat at the base of the neck was 'basted' with chambira, to prevent its wearing and wasting away by handling in the succeeding operations.

In the meantime, several large fires had been kindled and numerous earthenware crocks

filled with water were placed in readiness.

A description at this point of the ease with which the Jívaros start a fire by means of their primitive methods may be of interest.

A hard-wood stick is made to revolve at high speed by means of a bow whose string is wrapped about it, its lower end resting on a piece of pith. The necessary pressure on the stick is obtained by bearing on a flat stone which fits on the upper end of the stick, held in position by means of a small round hole which serves as a socket. The pressure of the stick on the pith sets up sufficient friction to cause the latter to smoulder, when it is easily blown into a flame. This simple equipment is packed with every party as we carry matches. But also, on short trips, the Jívaros carry with them a smouldering hornet's nest, at the end of the branch on which it was originally built, which serves the double purpose of a kindler and of a protection against the swarming myriads of sand-flies and gnats which infest the shores of some rivers during the summer months.

The crocks which are used on these occasions have been made with the utmost care by the medicine men in person, far removed from all human eyes and under auspicious lunar conditions; they are brought carefully [279] wrapped in palm-leaves to ensure the impossibility of their being either touched or seen by any unauthorized person until the moment for the ceremony arrives. For every head there is one of these red, baked clay, conical pots, some eighteen inches in diameter by eighteen inches deep; the apex of the cone rests on the earth, the sides being supported by stones; in this way the fire has

ample access to the greatest possible surface.

The pots were filled with cold water, straight from the river, and the boneless heads filled with sand placed in them. Within half an hour, the water had been brought to a boiling-point. This was the critical moment. The heads must be removed before the water actually boils, to prevent the softening of the flesh and the scalding of the roots of the hair, which would cause it to drop out. The heads, on being removed were found to have shrunk to about one-third of their original size. The water, I noticed, was covered with a yellow grease similar to that which forms when other meats are cooked.

The pots were cast away into the river, too holy to be put to any further use, and the fires were heaped up with fresh logs, to heat the sand on which they stood. For henceforth the sand played an important part in the proceedings.

Meanwhile, those who had been treated, or initiated by the medicine men, namely the participants in the actual kill, were privileged to hold a special ceremony of their own; the naked skulls were taken off, and each group retired a short distance to hold the sacred rites which follow the boiling of the flesh-heads. We were not allowed to participate, as is to be supposed, and furthermore, the temper of the Indians at that particular moment was not conducive to too close an observation of their doings on our part; we were, indeed, convinced by this time of the very real desire which shone through [280] the eyes of our brothers-in-arms to add five more heads, as well as five rifles and a canoe-load of presents, to the day's booty. It would appear that some form of muttered

parley took place, a serious business in comparison with the wild capers which follow when the skulls are brought back to the main party. The interpretation of these rites was undiscoverable by reason of the fact that the Chief, the sole interpreter among the Jívaros, was far too busily occupied with an attempt to persuade me of the absolute necessity of our going down-stream not more than one white man in any single canoe! The childlike simplicity of these people's natures, the blatant transparency of their ruses, is only another proof of their close proximity to animals.

So the skulls were brought back and stuck on spear-heads, the spears standing upright in the ground, and around them took place a dance, celebrated by all and sundry with wild yells, and the throwing of spears across the skulls from one warrior to another. We had to play our part, leaping and shooting our rifles into the air--but not more than two of us at a time exposed ourselves to the obvious risk of some accidental spear-thrust! With all of us in the ring together, the Indians would have made short work of the party.

By now hot sand had been prepared in large quantities. This was poured into the heads at the neck-opening and while thus filled they were ironed with hot stones picked up with the aid of palm-leaves. This process, which began that day on the sand-bar, is continued in the ordinary way for some forty-eight hours until the skin is smooth and hard and as tough as tanned leather, the whole head gradually shrinking to the size of a large orange. The resemblance to the living man is extraordinary. Indeed, the reduced heads,

when skillfully made, are exact miniatures of their former selves. [281] Every feature, hair, and scar is retained intact, and even the expression is not always lost. When perfected, they are hung in the smoke of a fire to preserve them from the depredations of the multitudinous insects which would attack and demolish them. As I noticed that afternoon, however, the preservation of the features in their former shape is not always the object of those who prepare them; some of the Aguarunas were to be seen deliberately distorting them while they were still flexible, as if in mockery of their enemies. They took a particular pleasure in distending the mouth, which accounts for the expression to be seen on many Jívaro heads.

Into the late afternoon the careful preparation of the heads continued. By this time, all were working with a will to cure them, so that a start down-stream could be made that evening. Time and again the cool greasy sand was poured from the half-dried heads, giving out the odour of an evening meal, only to be refilled with a fresh hot supply. Flat stones were always in the fires, being heated for the constant ironing to which the faces were subjected; they slid easily over the skin, like a flat-iron on linen, due to the natural oil which exuded from the contracting pores.

Hot coarse pebbles were substituted for sand in the final process, the heads being constantly tilted from side to side to prevent them from burning the meat, as dice are shaken in a box. The small amount of oil still exuding on the face was now wiped away with fresh cotton as fast as it appeared and the operation continued until all the fat and

frease [sic] was 'fried out' of the head when it was considered 'cured' or mummified; shrunk to the last diminutive size attainable.

Even the captive children were playing round the fires, innocent of the hideous import to them of this, the most tragic moment of their lives. Little did they [282] realize that in a few years' time they would themselves be called upon to kill and behead their own kin. Already they were friends with their captors into whose family they had been merged forever.

Thus ended a day unique, I verily believe, in the history of exploration."

4: Up de Graff--282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 595

"I will add a few remarks concerning the ultimate fate of the trophies whose early history I have told.

The Jívaros never take adult male prisoners, but the women and children who are caught in the periodical raids are given the same standing in the victorious tribe as those who are born into it. Polygamy is forced on the Jívaro peoples by the constant drain on the male population caused by the incessant inter-tribal warfare. But for polygamy they would soon become extinct."

4: Up de Graff--282-283 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"What the scalp is to the North American Indian, the battle-standard to the civilized warrior, the heads are to the Jívaro. But the comparison is only true up to a point. For whereas the glory of the battle-standard and the scalp is undying, that of the Jívaro heads endures only to the end of the great Festival of Rejoicing with which they are honoured on the return of the war-party to their homes.

During the absence of the warriors their women have made ready vast quantities of giamanchi. This preparation contains just enough alcohol to inebriate when taken in enormous quantities, as the savages do on these occasions. Unlike civilized intoxicants its only action is stupefying. The tom-toms are brought out, and men and women throw themselves into the business of dancing and drinking themselves to sleep. The rhythmic beats of the drums resound through the woods for many a long hour. Only the soporific effect of the liquor suffices to bring the orgy to an end.

Afterwards the heads are shorn of their hair, which [283] is converted into permanent trophies in the form of belts to be worn round the loin-cloths of their distinguished owners in battle or at the feast. The possession of such a trophy singles a man out for special regard. But the heads themselves have now lost their value, as surely as pearls which have died. It is curious that the fanatical jealousy with which they are guarded up to the time of the festival should give place to that complete indifference which allows them to be thrown to the children as playthings and finally lost in river or swamp."

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 152, 484

"We were by this time ourselves the object of many a greedy pair of eyes. Those battle-heated savages were in a nasty temper. They were becoming bolder every minute, approaching in groups of five or six in an attempt to borrow our rifles and not always remembering to leave their spears behind them even then. One who was too persistent in his desire to disarm Jack received the butt-end of his Winchester full in his chest, an incident that did not tend to smooth matters over. We were rapidly losing our self-control, much as we wanted to avoid another massacre. There was a lull in the trouble however, when Tuhuimpui came up to pow-wow, still insisting that he 'thought it would be as well if each of us captained a Jívaro dugout, at intervals throughout the long column, to inspire his men with confidence. Our prestige was very great, our power greater. We could save them [286] from disaster, should the Huambizas give chase. We should be a tower of strength to them in the gathering darkness.' All this was highly complimentary, but of course merely served to conceal the crafty designs of that smooth-tongued old scoundrel who coveted our heads and our outfit.

If we were to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations we must walk carefully. With infinite patience, then, through a conversation lasting, perhaps, a quarter of an hour, I persuaded Tuhuimpui that the most we could do would be for four of us to go two and two, while the fifth took a third canoe. Scarcely veiling his disappointment but forced to give way before our determination not to be massacred singly, he went off at last, and gave the necessary orders. Had we been all separated, doubtless at a given signal, the crew

of each of our canoes would have capsized their craft, themselves diving with their spears, and precipitating us and our Winchesters into the water, where the Jívaros are as much at home as on land, but where our arms would be at a great disadvantage. In a moment we should have been stuck like common paichi."

4: Up de Graff--287-288 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 727

"The grinning skulls of the victims of our raid stared a hideous last look at us from the strand, their naked eyeballs bulging, their dry tongues lolling in a mute farewell. Theirs would never be the good fortune to be buried; disgraced before their fellows they would lie gaping at the sun until the kites and buzzards picked the bones and the dry skulls were swept away by the rising waters to their last resting-place.

In an hour we had made a sand-bar where it was decided to stop for the night. Indeed, by the time my canoe arrived the fires were already blazing, the vanguard having had a few minutes start of us. With the same care as ever, we pitched our camp at a safe distance from that of our 'allies.' Restrained by our show of determination not to be fooled into taking a false step they left us in peace that night. We on our part held another council. Were we to turn back or not?... The boldness of the Jívaros since their successful raid convinced us that but one thing was wanting to convert a great 'victory' into an overwhelming triumph. A single watch would have been none too safe. All night long the savages sat around their fires, putting the finishing touches to the heads, chattering and gesticulating in the light of the flames.

Next morning we were away as usual with the sun. Once more Tuhuimpui tried to make me see the wisdom of adopting the formation he suggested. Once more [288] I staved him off. So the long line swung down river in the same order, an interval of perhaps a mile between the van and the main body, and the same between the main body and the rear-guard."

4: Up de Graff--288-289 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 609

"For an hour we floated along, nothing but the wash of the paddles to break the silence except the occasional squawk of a parrot. In the stem of my canoe sat Tuhuimpui steering. The three paddlers in the bow swayed to and fro with the ceaseless rhythm that knows no fatigue. Game and I amidships, seated back to back with our rifles across our knees, smoked in silence, never losing sight of the Indians for a moment. Tuhuimpui had received his orders--our dugout was on no account to move up from its place in the rear. We were taking no risks that morning.

Two shots from around the long curve down-stream in quick succession roused us from our reverie. In a flash I had swung my rifle to the right and fired full into Tuhuimpui's stomach. The chief wilted and slid into the bilge-water in a heap. I turned to see Game grappling with the nearest of the canoemen, his Winchester gripped at the muzzle by the savage. Before I had time to jump to his assistance, he too had fired and put an end to the scuffle. In a trice the remaining two slipped into the muddy torrent and disappeared. Meanwhile the canoes stretched out ahead, seeing what had happened, shot forward in a suddent [sic] effort to escape our fire. A few shots sent after them convinced them of their folly, and they took to the water, swimming and diving like a school of porpoises at sea. Once in the water they presented a very difficult target. Swimming below water, they would feel for the surface with one hand, bob up for an instant to take a breath, and disappear once more. And so they made their way ashore, abandoning everything in panic-stricken flight. [289]

Jack and Ed. were safe, we knew, for from down-stream came the sound of their firing, the heavy discharge of Jack's .450 followed by the sharper report of Morse's lighter weapon. Anxious to join forces with them, we left the now vacated flotilla of lighter canoes to drift along, and paddled ahead as hard as we could. The alarm had been given, and it was our first duty to see what had befallen our companions after making sure of our rear.

Foreseeing trouble, we had arranged on the night before that in case of a hostile move on the part of the savages, the signal should be two shots fired in rapid succession. It was agreed that they should not be fired without due cause, but that once the alarm was given, each of us would exterminate the Indians in his vicinity. There was to be no hesitation, for, much as we wished to avoid trouble, if trouble came we must meet it instantly. So when the signal shots were fired, we turned on the Jívaros like a flash, knowing that our friends were in great peril, if not already dead."

4: Up de Graff--291 (1897) ?923 Alvaro
116, 136, 262

"Turtles were plentiful, and we found large quantities of eggs in all stages of incubation; those which contained fully formed live turtles proved even better eating than those not so far advanced."

4: Up de Graff--292 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136

"Barely three feet long, as thick as a man's thumb, its disproportionately large diamond-shaped head poised on its slender neck (the trade-mark of the venomous snakes) it attacked and chased with surprising temerity so large an antagonist as a man, evidently confident of its power to kill.

Examination showed it to be jet-black, except for the usual light underside. Its head was armed with the customary pair of fangs, about three-quarters of an inch long, and embedded in the membrane of the roof of the mouth were three other pairs, each one a little less developed than the last. Should they lose their fangs, these snakes have the necessary equipment to replace them. Perhaps they cast them periodically, as they do their skins. This specimen was the largest poisonous snake I ever saw in the Amazon basin."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

5: Reyes and Teran--45-47 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133

"The surface elevation of this immense region [JKM: Ecuadorian province of Oriente] varies from about 4,000 meters--average height of the eastern cordillera of the Andes--down to about 120 or 100 meters in the region of the Amazon. The general slope indicates the direction followed by the tributaries of the great river, which is commonly from northwest to southeast.

According to almost all the geographers who have analyzed it [GCB: the Cordillera Real], the numerous outliers or branches which spread out from it, [46] act as dividing lines for the rivers which form our [GCB: Ecuadorian] principal river systems of the Oriente. Thus, the cordillera of Pisambilla divides the basins of the Coca and the Aguarico, tributaries of the Napo; just as the cordilleras of Galeras and Guacamayos divide the basins of the Coca and Napo. [GCB: In the same way] the Llanganati extend between the Napo and the Pastaza; the cordillera of Sangay between the Palora and the Upano; that of Logrono between the Upano and the Paute or Namangosa; that of Yahuarsongo between the Paute and the Zamora, and that of the Condor between the Santiago and the Chinchipe.

Between these outliers, which range in elevation from 2,000 to 3000 meters, are enclosed valleys and plains which constitute the most advantageous part of the Amazon basin. In this zone are located almost all the settlements and ranches of our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Oriente. Below these outliers, [47] begins the uniform plain which loses

5: Reyes and Teran--45-47 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-2
116, 133

itself in the Amazon, where neither the climate nor the composition of the soil permits men to settle."

5: Reyes and Teran--59-61 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133

"Basin of the Pastaza

This river forms another hydrographic basin which, with that of the Tigre, composes our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Central Oriente. The Pastaza, which collects the waters of two interandean basins--the Patate and the Chambo--opens to the east of Ambato the deepest breach in the Cordillera Oriental. This breach undoubtedly constitutes the best route to gain access to the heart of the forest and the best field of study for the geologist who desires to become acquainted with our remarkable volcanic phenomena. To the north of the Tungurahua river, the Pastaza runs between walls of modern lavas, forming narrow channels and cataracts, like the bed of the Agoyan, so that this Cyclopean sweep well deserves the name of an heroic current up to the point [60] where it reaches the plain and directs itself toward the southeast.

On its left side, the Pastaza receives the waters from the Topo river (which descends from the Llanganati), and the waters of the Puyo, Bobonaza and Pinda rivers, which have their sources in the eastern sierras of Mera. And on the right side, in return, the Pastaza receives the Lusin and Palora rivers, which descend directly from the Andes, and the Huasaga, which arises in the same forest. While the current of the Pastaza is rather fast, the river is navigable for about 430 kilometers, up to [GCB: the town of] Andaos; but steamboats can ascend only as far as Huasaga (190 kilometers). The mouth of the river is about 402 kilometers to the west of Iquitos.

5: Reyes and Teran--59-61 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-2
116, 133

The Tigre, which is also included in the Central Oriente, has its sources at some distance from the Andes, so that it may be regarded as solely a river of the plains. From its left side it receives the Pucacuro river, and from its right the Corrientes. The Tigre is at some distance from our [GCB: Ecuadorian] centers of settlement, for which reason we do not know [61] much about its geographical characteristics. Few rivers like the Tigre have a better bed for navigation; steamboats can ascend it without danger as far as Piedra, 593 kilometers from its mouth."

"The Basins of the Morona and Santiago

These two complex hydrographic basins form what we might call the Eastern Oriente, or more properly, the Oriente Azuayo, because further to the south we still have to deal with the basin of the Chinchipe, which despite its easterly position, cannot be included in this group because of special characteristics which necessitate a separate study. The Morona, navigable for about 300 kilometers, has its source at the Macuma on the heights called Cutucú which divide the waters of the Upper Pastaza and the Santiago, a few hours to the northeast of Macas. [62]

Like the Tigre, the Morona is detached from the Andes, and its character is clearly that of a plains river. From the same cordilleras of Cutucú arises the Morona's main tributary, the Mangosisa, which, united with the Miazal, forms the Unda-Mangosisa; from the confluence of this river with the Macuma, (on which is located Puerto Proano, 555 kilometers from the Amazon), is formed the real Morona, which offers easy navigation, since its course is not marked by sharp drops.

The Santiago embraces a complex hydrographic network whose remote sources are quite distant from the true Santiago, the name by which it is known only well within the forest. It is formed by the [GCB: confluence] of the Paute and Zamora rivers, which collect the waters from the interandean basins of Cuenca and Loja, which in return receive immense tributaries. The Paute, once free of the cordillera, where it is preferably known as the Namangosa, unites with the Upano, a much larger stream which

rises in the Laguna Negra, [63] on the Macas-Riobamba pass. Located at the junction of these two rivers is the flourishing settlement of Mendez.

The valley of the Upano is astonishingly fertile and holds the most important eastern settlements. The Zamora, in forming its great northern convexity as it seeks the Paute (or Namangosa) follows a general direction contrary to that of the great eastern rivers. On its left margin it receives the Yacuambi, the Bomboiza and the Gualaquiza, which carry down a good quantity of gold from the high, cold regions of Matanga or of Shingata. On these streams are the rich placer mining locations which have attracted so many miners to the Oriente Azuayo.

The navigation and importance of the Santiago as a route of descending to the Marañón river are the subject of much controversy, for between the mouth and the navigable channel of this great river are two major obstacles--the pongo [GCB: narrow and dangerous rapids] of Chico and that of Mansericho; moreover, both tributaries--the Paute and the Zamora--run exceedingly swift gorge-like channels for most [64] of their length."

5; Reyes and Teran--66-68 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133, 502

"Navigation [GCB: of the eastern Amazon] really begins at the end of the pongo of Manseriche, east of the mouth of the Santiago river, where once was located the old Spanish settlement of Borja, capital of the famous province of Mainas.... Becoming as narrow as 30 meters in these gorges, the river is proportionately widened on the plain as each voluminous tributary pours into it from one or the other of its banks. [67] La Condamine estimated that its width at the village of Omaguas, between the Tigre and the Nanay rivers, was 765 meters, and he did not find its depth to be more than 100 fathoms. At the mouth of the Napo its width was calculated by the same authority as 1,840 meters, while the width of the mouth of this tributary was fixed at 1,250 meters. But these dimensions vary considerably with the crecidas [freshets]; it is then that an immense zone along its muddy sides, reaching about 5 kilometers in width, is covered by its waters. As the river subsides, the water still remains in the concavities of the terrain, and sometimes forms brazos [arms] which contain islands, or sometimes forms numerous lagoons, which in periods of dryness remain isolated from the running waters.

The possibilities of navigation along the [GCB: eastern] Amazon increase or diminish according to whether one is concerned with the dry period or the period of the freshets. In the former, steamers can ascend only as far as the mouths of the Morona, and in the latter, [68] somewhat farther east, as far as old Borja. The two settlements

of major importance along the northern banks of the great river are Iquitos, at the mouth of the Nanay, and Nauta, between the mouth of the Nanay and that of the Tigre. By law and by geographic necessity, Ecuador can never renounce access to this section of the Amazon."

"The Amazon basin's situation in the center of the torrid zone, together with its low altitude and the orientation of the continental ranges, permitting the direct influx of the Atlantic trade winds, gives it a clearly equatorial climate of the continental type. According to the classification of Emmanuel de Martonne, equatorial climates should have, in general, a mean temperature of 25° [GCB: Centigrade], a relative humidity of 80 excepting in the dry period, uninterrupted heat, frequent storms, and an annual precipitation of more than 1,500 millimeters, but in continental [GCB: regions], naturally [70] some of these characteristics vary a little. Thus, the humidity is less, while the temperature, on the other hand, is higher and the rain does not fall as regularly.

However, the Ecuadorian Oriente cannot be regarded as having a complete [GCB: climatic] uniformity, since the slopes of the Andes and the plains proper differ, on the one hand, in relief, and on the other, in the greater nearness of the former to the cordillera, where the trade winds release a great part of the moisture which they have collected [GCB: in their course] from East-Southeast to West-Northwest. These factors have resulted in the establishing of two zones with well marked climatic differences: that of the Andean slopes and that of the plain near the Amazon.

(a) The Andean Slopes: In this sector, the altitude, which often exceeds 400 meters, causes a decrease in temperature, as we have seen, thanks to the data, even though meager, furnished by the bulletin of the Astronomical Observatory [71] of Quito. But

on the other hand, because of the fact that this region adjoins the wall of the Andes, against which are condensed immense masses of water vapor gathered up by the trade winds from the Atlantic, the humidity is considerably increased, in comparison with the amount released over the plains proper. Not very far from the Andean cordillera is the belt of maximum rainfall. In this belt are points where the rain gauge might measure more than 5,000 millimeters annually, according to J. Colony and Joseph Sinclair. For this reason, the area might well be classed among those of the super-humid type.

Here [GCB: climatic] conditions are defined, then, only by the scale of the rain gauge. There is a summer and a winter--less rain in the first case and a maximum in the second. These conditions, which are directly inverse to those on the Pacific coast, coincide with the astronomic conditions of the Southern Hemisphere. The [72] winter season lasts from March to October, becoming intense in June and July; the rest of the year is summer. The rains are true deluges which leave great areas flooded, and swell even the smallest streams to fantastic heights. The following numerical data confirm this assertion:

'In all sections on the slopes of the Cordillera Oriental, precipitation is very considerable. We do not know at what average altitude on the slope of the Cordillera the precipitation is greatest. In Mera during the first five years [GCB: of the record] the

precipitation had a total mean of 4,555 millimeters. During the year 1932-33 an average of 5,530 millimeters of rain fell; in 1932 the precipitation was 6,010 millimeters, and in 1933 5,051 millimeters. Assuming that these observations are correct, the annual quantity of rainfall varies in no small proportion. The monthly averages are also quite variable; a dry period hardly can be distinguished; the data from travel works and similar [GCB: publications] are not confirmed by measurements although [73] as a general rule the greatest precipitation is expected between the months of March and August. In 1932 the maximum precipitation [GCB: for any one month] 700 millimeters --fell in May. Almost the same quantity--690 millimeters--fell in January [GCB: of the same year]. The minimum--319 millimeters--fell in September. In 1933 the maximum--609 millimeters--fell in July; the minimum --242 millimeters --in October. "(1)

In the same settlement of Mera, in 1927, 4,869 millimeters of rain fell within 292 days. In Tena [GCB: another settlement] the totals for eight years were 4,869 in 1928; 4,885 millimeters in 1929; 4,475 in 1930; 3,466 in 1931; 3,233 in 1932; 3,142 in 1933;

"1. 'Contribuciones al conocimiento de la Vegetacion y de la Flora del Ecuador' by Ludwig Diels. Translated [GCB: into Spanish] by Dr. Reinaldo Espinosa. Anales de la Universidad Central, No. 304 Quito-Ecuador."

3,327 in 1934; and 3,828 in 1935. These totals average 3,902 millimeters for the eight years. In [GCB: the settlement of] el Puyo, an average of 3,945 millimeters fell during the period from 1915 to 1928, according to data taken by [74] Nicolas Martinez. In La Victoria, on the slopes of el Abitagua, near the Topo river, at an elevation of 1,240 meters, the [GCB: average] rainfall was 2,863 millimeters. From other points in the Oriente we do not have complete annual figures; but to give a rough idea of the amount of difference between some months and others, we have compiled the charts, however incomplete, which are presented below.

The winds which control and cause these rains are the trade winds. The wall of the Cordillera Oriental impedes their passage, except in small sectors of the mountain basins whose valleys face toward the Oriente. For this reason the trade winds are not found either in the mountains or along the coast. Sometimes these winds are changed into hurricanes, leaving swaths through the midst of the forest which mark the direction they have followed.

With this respect to temperatures on these slopes or outliers, they [75] generally do not exceed 25 degrees [GCB: Centigrade], nor do the variations, whether daily or monthly, undergo too sudden changes. Summing up his observations at the Hacienda Río Negro at an elevation of 1,250 meters above sea level on a terrace of the Pastaza river, Ludwig Diels writes in the above mentioned work:

5: Reyes and Teran--69-92 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-5
116, 132

'During my stay, I noticed that [GCB: the temperatures] each day followed a similar course. Toward 7 [GCB: a. m.] the temperature reached 16-17 degrees [Centigrade]; after mid-day, between 13 and 15 o'clock [GCB: 1 and 3 p. m.] it reaches 23 to 27 degrees; at night, at 19 o'clock [GCB: 7 p. m.] 20-23 degrees. During the morning there was generally heavy evaporation [GCB: mist?] which was dissipated about 10 a. m.; it then cleared up, and the sun would appear toward noon; in the afternoon it would regularly become cloudy; toward 5 to 6 p. m. it ordinarily began raining, sometimes in the form of a storm which increased in intensity up to 7 and 8 p. m., diminishing slowly and generally lasting until sunrise.'

According to the information of travelers, this course of [GCB: the day's time] is characteristic of the eastern slopes. More precise measurements are available only from Tena, situated 8 kilometers to the east of Topo, at an elevation of 1,100 meters. They pertain to several years (1922-26 and 1932-33).

The temperatures found on the Upper Pastaza are about equal [GCB: to those of Tena] in their distribution. The difference between the highest and the lowest monthly temperature is, in Baños, 1.8 to 2.6 or degrees; in Mera, 1.5 to 2.1 degrees; perhaps in el Topo it may be even somewhat less. The general characteristics of the course of the temperatures are illustrated by the values for Mera, at an elevation of 1,100 meters,

in 1933.

In Tena, at an elevation of 512 meters, the hot month of the year has a mean average temperature of from 24.1 to 25.8 degrees [GCB: Centigrade.] The coolest month has temperatures which average 2.1 to 3.7 degrees lower. The coolest time of the year falls between June and July. [87] [Intervening pages are charts.]

Complete data are lacking even for one year, and with greater reason, for cycles of greater magnitude, so that it is risky to formulate general conclusions. However, by means of the above figures it may be seen that the months of high temperature coincide with those of the eastern summer, culminating in December. In the same way, the months of least temperature coincide with those of the winter in the same hemisphere, reaching major emphasis in June and July. The rains, on the other hand, become increasingly heavy following the March equinox, and attain their maximum in May and June, although their cycle is less regular than the thermal one.

(b) Amazon Plain If the climatic data of the zone we have called that of the Andean slopes are thus so meager, we may well understand the situation in this other region, whose domination by man has not yet even begun. Suffice it to say that [88] Rocafuerte, at the confluence of the Aguarico river with the Napo, still lacks a small meteorological station. Located at an elevation of 180 meters, Rocafuerte is today the most remote military base of Ecuador in its campaign to dominate the inhospitable forest.

The data referring to Iquitos, on the left bank of the Amazon, at an elevation of 80 meters above sea level, were collected by Wilhelm Sievers and may serve as a means of estimating the climatic conditions of the Amazon plain proper. At 3.44 degrees, South latitude, Iquitos has an average annual temperature of 26 degrees [GCB: Centigrade], with a variation of only 1.7 degrees; in fact, November, the hottest month, does not go above an average of 26.9 degrees, and June, the coldest, does not go below 25.2 degrees. The averages of the extremes also fall within a very narrow range--32.4 and 18.4 degrees--but the winds from the South bring with them in June and July, nevertheless, a considerable cold spell which [89] constitutes what is called el inviernito [GCB: little winter] of Saint John.

According to Hann, the total annual precipitation [GCB: at Iquitos] is 2,840 meters; according to Votz, it totals 2,623, but what chiefly characterizes the rainfall is that no month passes without abundant precipitation. Even the driest months, August and July, receive more than 100 millimeters--117 and 167 respectively. As for the most humid months, March and December, the totals are 291 and 300, [GCB: respectively.] Thus there is no well defined season of rainfall, but the year has four periods of maximum precipitation: one in March, a second in December, a third, of 254 millimeters, in May, and a fourth, of 221, in September. It may be said, nevertheless, that the type of the annual rainfall is that of the eastern hemisphere, since in the months from

December to March fall 1,112 millimeters of rain, or about 42 per cent of the year's total. The winds are generally cool and from the southwest from June to [90] November, and warm and from the northwest during the rest of the year.(1)

If by means of the above data this [GCB: Amazon plain] region is compared with the former [Andean slopes] zone, the following differences are immediately apparent: in temperature, the figures for the second [GCB: or plain] region are higher than those of the first, commonly exceeding 26 degrees [Centigrade], while in rainfall just the opposite occurs. Here [GCB: in the plain] the precipitation rarely exceeds 3,000 millimeters.

To sum up several aspects of the climate of the great Amazon Basin, we cannot resist quoting the following paragraph which through its excellent metaphor brings home a profound geographic truth. 'The mist in the Llanganati is omnipresent. This is easily explained. A muddy tropical caldero [GCB: caldron or basin] with an area of about three million (?) square kilometers, like that of the Amazon, [91] which lies at the foot of the Llanganati, we can easily understand, must be incessantly evaporating millions of tons of water, resulting in the formation over itself of an enormous continent of clouds. But this 'continent' moves, advances and attacks without repose, like

"1. 'Geografía de Bolivia y Perú' por Wilhelm Sievers. Colección Labor, Número 288."

a cosmic nebula which comes to battle and destroy itself against the Andes to give birth to the immense Amazon. But above all, the cold and elevated granite masses of the Llanganati, advancing as they do toward the east, are the ultimate condensing agents which force all these dynamic masses of clouds, progressing enslaved from East-Southeast to West-Northwest in the arms of the tradewinds, to precipitate themselves in the form of torrents of water, as they erode the high Andes and level their peaks.(1)"

"1. 'Viaje a las misteriosas montañas de Llanganati' por L. Andrade Marin, Quito, 1936."

"In regard to the flora, it would be difficult to find in any part of the earth a more dense and abundant vegetation. However, not all of the area which the Ecuadorians call the Oriente has identical vegetation. If one descends from the páramos [high cold regions] of the eastern cordillera toward the Amazon region, between the elevations of 3,200 and 1,600 meters, approximately, one finds an intermediate or mixed zone of wooden slopes [Vertientes boscosas] very similar to [94] the western coastal plain. This zone has the identical subtropical flora and fauna, although naturally, the wooded slopes have a thicker growth, a more rugged character, and an extent vastly greater than those of the Pacific zone.

The most distinctive feature of the flora of the eastern Andean slopes probably is the ishpingo or cinnamon tree (Nectandra cinnamomoides), in search of which the first white man, Gonzalo Pizarro, went into the interior from Quito,(1541). Thus he opened the route which was to lead one of his companions to discover the Amazon. From this tree, part of our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Oriente takes the name of Canelos or country of the Canela.

According to Gonzales Suarez, 'these trees are as tall as olive trees; their blossoms open like buds [capullos] in which is the substance which in fragrance and taste is very similar to cinnamon. The best and most fragrant [95] fruit is generally that of the trees which are cultivated in orchards such as the Indians of Quijos had before the

Conquest. They used it as a kind of money in the transactions they used to have with the other towns of the province of Quito in the time of the Incas. Atahualpa, in Cajamarca, sent Pizarro several bunches of these fragrant flowers.

In this same zone, particularly toward the South, are found the best chinchonas [GCB: Peruvian bark trees] of the few which still remain in Ecuador, including among them the most valuable ones in the world. This famous tree, more commonly known by the name of cascarilla or quina, constituted a great source of wealth our country [GCB: Ecuador] prior to the time when the English and Dutch established their celebrated plantations in India and in some of the Sunda Islands, respectively, taking the first specimens from the [GCB: Ecuadorian] Lojanos woods. [96]

In the region of Mendez is found the alcanfor [GCB: camphor tree] whose resin frightens away the most terrible enemy of wooden constructions--the comején [wood-borer].

The Caucho [GCB: rubber tree] (ficus elastica) is found growing wild. Its exploitation attracted in particular an enormous number of adventurous Colombians and Peruvians. These people, besides devastating this valuable tree, were the cause of the most serious conflicts between the nations disputing the dominion of the forest. When the product of this tree was quoted at high prices [GCB: in the world rubber market] the customhouse at Iquitos took in as much revenue as that of Guayaquil.

The Tagua [GCB: ivory nut tree] (phitelepa macrocarpa) which is so successfully grown on the coast, is not made use of here [GCB: in the interior] in spite of its abundance. From Julapas to the Arapicos river, in the Macas region, there is a huge stand estimated to total almost one hundred million hectares. [97]

The zarzaparilla [GCB: sarsaparilla] (Smilase obliguata ruisiana) is a climbing vine which grows wild. Its exploitation [GCB: in the Ecuadorian Oriente] has started an active trade with Brazil, the United States and Europe in medicinal products.

The Copal [GCB: tree yielding a transparent resin] (Himenea courbail verrucona) is a tree whose resin is used for illumination.

The Cacao [GCB: chocolate tree] (Teobroma cacao) is found abundantly in the wild state. Its presence suggests that the cultivation of domestic varieties would be both easy and profitable.

The Vainilla [GCB: vanilla plant] is an aromatic plant which grows best in the basin of the Upano river. Its exploitation, like that of the caucho [GCB: rubber tree], has been so foolishly and irrationally conducted that the search for it is becoming daily more difficult.

The barbasco (Jacquinia armillaris tac) is a shrub whose poisonous root [98] is made use of to fish by poisoning the waters. The immoderate use of this practice is likely to have disastrous consequences for the breeding of fish in the rivers of the Oriente.

The natema, climbing vine of the passifloraceous family, is a powerful narcotic. An infusion from its stem frequently is used by the Jívaro to treat sickness or to obtain prophetic dreams.

Precious woods, valued for their texture as well as for their beautiful coloration and agreeable odor, are innumerable. But those most exploited are cedar, ebony, mahogany, oak, lignum-vitae [guayacan] etc. (1)

The plants briefly cited above are only those which have been the object of primitive exploitation. In few regions [GCB: of the world] can the botanist and the naturalist [99] find a more vast and extensive field for his studies, as the varieties of vegetation are infinite.

Below the altitude of 500 meters, is the domain of the humid tropical forest, although it would be an error to suppose that it occupied all the land under this height. For while the forest predominates, it nevertheless is frequently interrupted, and alternates with thickets of perennial and stiff foliaceous plants, and with clumps of trees and brambles.

This humid tropical forest is poor in low-growing ligneous plants. For here the

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"1. Data from 'Album-guia de la Region Oriental Ecuatoriana' por Alfonso Rumazo González."

light reaches the ground with difficulty; the earth is covered with dead leaves, mossy sod, and shady plants such as ferns, whose perpetual growth and decomposition through heat and humidity constitute the best fertilizers for arboreal species. Above this zone, which we may call the lower plane of the forest rise the palms of middle height, and above these, the tall giants of the forest, with [100] high crowns, whose branches have no leaves except at great heights.

Lianas and epiphytes [GCB: varieties of vines] are also an essential part of the tropical forest. Of these, there are two classes: the low, which is nourished by the dampness, and the high, which entwines itself around the treetops."

"The fauna is purely tropical. The richness of its species is surprising, not only in their great variety, but in the number of individuals within each class. All the zoological orders are richly represented, above all, the insects, birds and fishes. Only with respect to the great mammals is this area surpassed by the Asiatic or African forests.

Among the best known animals, the monkeys--not the great four-handed ones--animate the woods in numerous hordes. The tapir or danta, because of his corpulence may be considered the king of the forest. Among the feline animals the jaguar, tigrillo and puma are outstanding. The common bear and the ant-eater [oso hormiguero] are much [101] pursued for their meat. The guatuza, a well developed species of rabbit, armadillos, squirrels, sahinos or wild pigs and many other quadrupeds populate the forest.

The birds are perhaps the representatives of the Oriente's zoology which attract most attention, because of their showy plumage and sonorous calls. They are granivorous or fructivorous, and for this reason all migrate, from the Marañon river to the first slopes of the cordilleras, following the maturation of the fruits, from the warmest lands to the coolest. It might be said that each tree has its parasite bird, which prefers its particular fruits; and the Jivaro Indians, very skilled in hunting with the blowgun

[cervatana] know well what is the season of the parrots, when is that of the turkey hens, and above all, when is the season for an infinity of small birds, which fly in hundreds from tree to tree eating flowers or fruits. '[102]

Migration is therefore a characteristic phenomenon of the birds of the Amazon woods.

Among the reptiles--the animals which perhaps constitute the greatest danger of the forest--are found enormous snakes such as the boa and anaconda, whose size has been much exaggerated. Turtles, which lay their eggs on the islets or beaches of the minor channels along the rivers; frogs, salamanders, poisonous serpents, although to a lesser degree than along the coast, are frequently encountered in these woods. And finally, there are the insects, which inject a note of varying color into the infinite green of the forest. The most beautiful and rare species of butterflies appear from 10 o'clock in the morning to three o'clock in the afternoon, although they commonly fly among the crowns of the giant trees and are therefore quite difficult to chase. Because of this fact the collecting of these insects is an expensive proposition."

S: Reyes and Teran--103-104 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 241

"Among the cultivated plants the following are outstanding: sugar cane, the plátano [GCB: plantain, or banana, tree and fruit], the yuca [GCB: yuca or cassava plant?] which are easily the basic item in the diet of the natives; the pelma, whose bulb has some similarity to the potato; the camote [GCB: sweet potato], the café [GCB: coffee tree]; the achiote [GCB: arnotto tree]; the tobacco plant, the algodón [GCB: cotton plant]; the arroz [rice] plant; the maís plant [GCB: maize or Indian corn]; the papaya, the piña [GCB: pineapple]; the guaba [guava]; the chontaruro; the guayaba [GCB: fruit of the guava tree]; the orange; and many other fruit trees which yield rapid and abundant crops. Water, light and warmth, the decisive factors [104] in the development of plants, are the patrimony of the Oriente lands. To these factors is due the vigor with which they increase and multiply. Unfortunately, the isolation of these vast regions prevent these cultivated plants from being useful for any more than local consumption."

Sy Reyes and Teran--104-105 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 231

"The only animals raised by the natives are the chancho [GCB: agouti] and the dog, both of which are given little care. The chanchos are of an almost wild species. As a general rule, the women have charge of their care, abandoning them completely to the woods [105] during the day, and calling them with shouts at about sunset. On hearing the voices of the women, they return to get something good to eat, but many times when they find good feed in the woods, they do not return for several days, and thus become easy prey for jaguars and pumas."

5: Reyes and Teran--105 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 262, 757

"The Jivaro Indians are very fond of the flesh of the pig, which they eat roasted and also boiled. They also extract the lard, but they use it only as a remedy for dysentery. (1)"

"1. 'Album-guía de la Region Oriental Ecuatoriana,' por Alfonso Rumazo González."

Ij Reyes and Teran--107 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135, 487, 177

"The scarcity and rudimentary state of communication routes has obliged people living in the Ecuadorian Oriente to seek their economic well-being largely through mining rather than through agriculture, in spite of the fertility of these lands. And among the minerals, it is the exploitation of gold which today mainly concerns those [GCB: white men] who venture into these regions. Gold also is the concern of a large number of natives whose labor is exploited by the whites."

5: Reyes and Teran--108-109 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161, 177

"Unemployment in the centers of population has brought into the forest a large number of placer miners, many of whom, after a brief period of struggle with the wilderness, have returned with respectable fortunes. These men are the remarkable gold miners who impart an atmosphere of activity and progress to many settlements of the Oriente, even though they frequently bespatter them with blood. The following data may give some idea of the intensity with which this work is being carried on:[109]

Number of men washing gold in the Napo and its tributaries.....	3,500
Number of men washing gold in the Pastaza and its tributaries.....	1,000
Number of men washing gold in the Upano and its tributaries.....	300
Number of men washing gold in the Paute and its tributaries.....	2,500
Number of men washing gold in the Zamora and its tributaries.....	5,200
Number of men washing gold in the San Francisco and other tributaries of the Chinchipe.....	2,000
Number of men washing gold in the placers of the Nabon, Chordeleg, Zaruma, Gualaquiza and the cordillera del Condor.....	3,500
Total.....	18,000 "

5: Reyes and Teran--113 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135

"Another great potential source of wealth possessed by the Oriente is petroleum."

5: Reyes and Teran--117-118 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161

"This new geographical aspect of the Ecuadorian Oriente, like those previously studied, lacks concrete and precise data, both with respect to the ethnology and the statistics of the subject. According to the most careful study made up to the present time--that is, to December 31, 1937, the population of the Oriente is calculated as 36,265 inhabitants distributed over an area of 313,836 square kilometers. This gives an average population density of 0.045 per square kilometer; and by provinces the data may be presented thus: [118]

Province	Population	Area	Density
Napo-Pastaza	211,595	229,101 [GCB: square] kilometers	0.05 per hectar
Santiago Zamora	3,670	84,735 " " "	0.04 per hectar (1)

Most, if not all, of the population is found on the outliers of the Andean cordillera, above the elevation of 400 meters by reason of climatic factors."

"1. 'La distribución geografica de la población del Ecuador'--Estudio del General Paz y Mino.--....Floating population not included."

5: Reyes and Teran--118-119 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 101, 361

"The native tribes are grouped more by language divisions than by ethnic differences, and the Pastaza river is the dividing line. Those who speak Quechua live to the north of this line, while those speaking Jivaro live to the south. Neither group lives in settlements, [191] as it is their custom to live in isolation in the depths of the forest, even though they do not keep entirely away from the settlements of the whites, with whom they maintain commercial relations through trading gold or some other native product for trinkets, in which they manifest particular interest."

S: Reyes and Teran--120 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 105

"The Jivaros, are characterized by the boldness with which they defend their liberty and independence. They live in the forest areas drained by the Pastaza, Morona and Santiago rivers as far up as Guadalquina, and no one has succeeded in conquering or subduing them. Their constant occupation is war, which little by little is decimating their numbers. Their customs are distinctive and constitute the most curious folklore, exploited by writers and travelers alike. Sorcery, superstitions, fiestas, dreams, all are woven into the warp of life in the Jivaro country."

Sq Reyes and Teran--120-121 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 101

"In addition to the above mentioned groupings, those of the Záparos on the Tigre, the Aucas on the Curaray, and the Muratas on the lower Pastaza also are worth noting. In neither their numbers nor their personalities, however, do these groups stand out like the Quechuas and Jivaros. [121] Of all the aboriginal groups of the Oriente, the Jivaros are the most industrious and intelligent, although they resist civilization because of their repugnance to enter into social relations with the whites, whom they consider as objects of pity, subject to multiple needs, and above all, lacking in the sagacity and endurance required for the life of the forest."

S: Reyes and Teran--122 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 563

"The whites in the Oriente are almost entirely from the [GCB: Ecuadorian] altiplano and have come into the forest still searching, like their remote ancestors, the chimerical El Dorado. From Archidona to Macas, according to Sinclair and Wasson, there are not more than 600 whites, and these are largely concentrated in the latter settlement. Of the original Spanish colonists, there is clearly not a single descendent left."

9; Reyes and Teran--123-125 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-I
116, 167, 361

"Macas is the largest settlement in the forest. It is about as well or perhaps better established as was Sevilla del Oro, destroyed by the Jivaros in the Sixteenth century. Located 1091 meters above sea level on the banks of the Upano, it has about 1,000 inhabitants, and in the midst of such isolation, boasts such remarkable advancements as electric light service, a hospital, etc. It is more or less at the latitude of Alausí, and may be reached most easily from Cuenca, in the south.

Méndez, founded by Eudóltilo Alvarez in 1913, has been converted into a major gold market. Located on the banks of the Paute, at an elevation of 700 meters, in a gorge which does not permit much [124] agricultural development, it is, on the other hand, the headquarters for an immense floating population which searches avidly for the precious metal in the sands of the river. There are about 600 permanent inhabitants.

Mera, at the gateway to the forest, where the canyon of the Pastaza widens and loses itself on the great plain, is attracting a large stream of immigrants because of its climate and fertility. These newcomers will soon transform the place into an agricultural center of much importance. The town has in the neighborhood of 200 inhabitants. Very near to it is the settlement of Puyo, which has excellent possibilities for future development.

Tena and Archidona are the oldest and most firmly established towns of the Napo region. While the former has made notable progress thanks to its Josefina missions,

the latter, on the other hand, has declined greatly, in spite of having been, in former times, the key to the Oriente.

Rocafuerte, at the confluence of the Aguarico with the Napo, is the most [125] remote settlement of our effective domain in the Oriente. It is the center of the main military garrison of the Oriente; its scant 180 meters of elevation gives it an essentially tropical climate which is quite exhausting. Also on the left bank of the Napo, and separated from Rocafuerte only by a slight depression of the terrain, is the Peruvian garrison of Cabo Pantoja. The isolation of Rocafuerte from the other population centers of Ecuador makes it necessary for its inhabitants to be subjected to the economic despotism of the Peruvian markets.

Zamora, Gualaquiza, Indanza, Sucúa, Puerto Napo, Arapicos, Canelos, and Baeza are settlements of less importance, but all are in the midst of fertile zones which only await better means of communication to attract intensive colonization."

5: Reyes and Teran--127-130 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 487

"All the routes of penetration into the Oriente are projects which are very far from realization. The lack of roads has been the underlying reason why the dominion of these vast regions by Ecuador has so far been only an ardent and unfulfilled desire. As yet neither the railroad nor the auto road has penetrated the forest. Only at intervals are there more or less improvable horse trails [caminos de herradura] and the rest are only difficult and arduous footpaths, which search for the liberating river--the sole route which permits the crossing of these infinite distances.

The routes of penetration used with some frequency in the Oriente are the following:

[128] 1. Leaving from Tulcán, the route of the Pun river, on the Ecuador-Colombia frontier, which, passing along the banks of the Chingual river, leads to La Fama, Sebundoy, El Cesáreo and ends at Valbuena. Some day it will perhaps reach as far as Santa Rosa de Sucumbíos and from there to the Putumayo.

2. Leaving from Quito, the route of the Papallacta, which leads to Baeza and then, surmounting the Cordillera of Guacamayos, takes the traveler to Archidona, Tena and Puerto Napo.

3. Leaving from Ambato, the route of the Banos river, which leads to Mera, Puyo and Canelos. From Mera, following the current of the Anzu toward the north, one can, by this route, penetrate as far as Puerto Napo. In the same way, one can advance to the south from the Puyo river as far as Macas, going by way of Arapicos. [129]

4. Leaving from Riobamba, the route of Chanala and Zuna, which leads to Puerto Proano, Macas, Sucúa and Mendez. The crossing of the Andean cordillera in this region is painful and arduous.

5. Leaving from Cuenca, the route of the Paute and Pan rivers, which leads to Mendez. This is the best horse trail of all those mentioned, although they have not been able to improve the way through the gorge of the Paute.

6. From the same town of Cuenca, one can leave by two other routes, that of the Gualaceo to Indanza, and that of the Sígsig which leads to Gualaquiza, across the páramos [GCB: high, cold regions] of Matanga.

7. Leaving from Loja, the route of the Zamora river, which leads to the settlement of this name as well as to those of Chito and Zumba, the most distant Ecuadorian outposts in the southern Oriente. [130] In addition to the above enumerated routes, there are other projects of penetration, especially in the direction of the Napo, such as those which would lead to Cayambe and Latacunga. Each of these settlements believes it has the best route into these various regions. On the Azuay river, as well, they speak of a route along the Paute which will lead the traveler more rapidly to the distant lands of the Oriente!

The railroad projects, including that of the Curaray, have been left abandoned. Even Ambato no longer dreams of it. Today this town is satisfied with the auto road which is

steadily advancing toward Mera and Puyo.

The trans-Amazon highway leaving from Puerto Bolivar on the Pacific and passing by way of Loja and Zamora to the Maranon river has gone up in smoke like an unrealizable desire."

5: Reyes and Teran--131-134 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 635

"The present borders of the Oriente have resulted from the work of one of its most enthusiastic and intelligent leaders, Pío Jaramillo Alvarado. He demonstrated the absurdity of maintaining the ancient title 'Provincia de Oriente', whose governor exercised a control which was even less than abstract. The present political organization, even though it too may have faults and deficiencies, is slowly giving recognition to these forgotten regions and, above all, is making effective national sovereignty in the face of the pretentions of the southern neighbor [GCB: Peru].

The territory is divided into two provinces [provincias] and these, in turn, are divided into cantons [cantones] and parishes, [parroquias] as follows: [132]

I. NAPO PASTAZA. --Capital: Tena. 4 cantons and 20 parishes.
The cantons are:

1. Napo, including the towns of Tena, Papallacta-Baeza, Archidona and Loreto.
2. Sucumbíos, including the towns of Santa Rosa de Sucumbios, Farfán, Sigue, Putumayo and Cuyabeno. [133]

II. SANTIAGO--ZAMORA. --Capital Macas. 5 cantons and 20 parishes.
The cantons are:

1. Macas, including the towns of Arapicos, Zuna, General Proano, Chiguaza and Guamboya.
2. Morona, including the towns of Miazel, Morona and Yaupi.

3. Santiago, including the towns of Gualaquiza, Mendez, Rosario, Indanza and Santiago.

4. Zamora, including the towns of Zamora, Yacuambi and Sabanilla.

5. Chinchipe, including the towns of Zumba, Chito and Palanda. [134]

This demarcation has resulted after many years in giving our Amazonian territory new rights to self-administration, as it had in Colonial days, when it was divided into the governments of Yahuarzongo and Bracamores to the south, those of Llacas and Quijos in the central region, and those of Mocoa and Sucumbíos to the north. Today in the Napo provinces--Pastaza and Santiago--Zamora--the political and administrative personality characteristic of their sister states of the Andes already are being defined. Soon this development will permit them to take part consciously and worthily in the orderly progress of the national life."

6: Flornoy--333 (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 124, 197

'Contribution to the study of the Jívaro or Šuor Language' by Bertrand Flornoy

This abstract was made between August 1 and October 30, 1936 in the eastern region of Ecuador inhabited by the Jivero Indians of the Achual group. These Indians live on the banks of the lagoons and rivers which flow into the river Pastaza, on its right bank. Later during my trip into the territories of the Aguaruna and Huambiza peoples, noting simply some differences in pronunciation, especially as regards the letter r. It seems to me that these groups, separated by several days of march overland or by water and belonging to the Jivero tribe, have no difficulty in understanding each other during their rare encounters.

Lacking an interpreter at the beginning of my investigation, I communicated by signs. Later an adult Jivaro from the river Huasaga who knew several words of kičua, served as interpreter with Mr. Ramon Olalla, the taxidermist of the Mission as intermediary.

6: Flornoy--333 [2] (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 198, 202

The Jivaro language is named Šuor by those who use it and Aoka by the neighboring peoples. It is spoken by both men and women, the latter use no other dialect among themselves.

I found neither a secret nor a religious language; their use appears unlikely to me. There will be found farther on, several invocations utilized by the medicine-men, who are at the same time sorcerers, no word of which seems to me to be reserved for this purpose alone.

Finally if there exists a drum language, it is yet to be discovered and identified.

6: Flornoy--333-334 (1936) 1937 Jivaro-1
116, 192, 601

The system of notation is that recommended by the Institute of Ethnology. (1) [334]

French-Jívaro or Šuor Vocabulary

...[all except kinship terms omitted]

father	apāro
mother	nokūro
son	kuciri
daughter	nawandri
brother	yaţura
uncle	iči
aunt	nūkua
father-in-law	liči or iči
mother-in-law	nūkua
brother-in-law	sa'i
sister-in-law	ue iri
son-in-law	aue (uncertain)
daughter-in-law	ndati (")

1. As regards the letter k, it should be read k' as in 'car' and k as in 'cour.'

6: Florncy-333-334 (1936) 1937 Jivaro-2
116. 192, 601

grandfather	pgwa
grandmother	nukuri
grandson	tirangiru
granddaughter	
nephew	aowitiru
niece	aowir

7:Farabee --115-123 (1907) 1922 Jivaro
105, 116

JIVARAN STOCK

Distribution of Tribes. -- This group of Indians, commonly known as the Jivaro, occupies a large territory on the eastern slope of the Andes Mountains in Ecuador between the Chinchipa, Altomaranan, and Pastaza Rivers. A small space between the Marona and the lower Pastaza is inhabited by the Murato. There are nine tribes speaking dialects of the Jivaran language, and having similar cultures: Huambesa, Tamora, Cuanduasi, Ashira, Andoa, Copotaza, Arapeca, Chargaime, and Upano. The first five of these tribes are friendly among themselves, and are enemies of the other four tribes. A line drawn west from Andoa would divide these two hostile factions. I was unable to visit the Jivaro in their own country to make personal observations, but was fortunate in finding at Iquitos, Peru, Sr. F. T. Muniz, who lived and traveled for some years among this people, and who gave me much information regarding them.

Early in the Seventeenth Century, the missionaries came into contact with some of the tribes, and established stations. The old Spanish town of Macas is reported to have had at one time several thousand Jivaro, but today the town has disappeared and the inhabitants are scattered among the Upano, who speak a dialect of the same language. The more remote tribes have had little contact with the Whites, and they continue to practise their old customs and to live their old tribal life. Their number has been reduced, until at the present time there are not more than eight or ten thousand remaining.

7: Farabee--115-123 (1907) 1922 Jivaro-2
105, 116

Home Life. -- There is no chief over the whole group, but each tribe has its own headman. In time of war, a war-chief is selected who has absolute authority. They have no villages, but live in large oval-shaped communal houses, which may be seventy-five feet long and forty feet wide, containing several families. A family living in the large house may have a small house at a clearing some distance away where they live while cultivating their fields. The houses are built of poles and have thatched roofs, the walls continuing to the ground, without windows or other openings except two [116] doors, one at either end of the house, one of which is for the use of women and the other for men. Each woman has her own little section of the women's end of the house, with her fireplace made of three short logs with ends together. At the other end of the house the men are grouped, each having his own stool and couch. The men in the house spend their time manufacturing blowguns, poisoned darts, quivers, lances, and round shields of wood or tapir skin. Here they make and keep the great signal drum. The men sit on stools, but the women must sit on the floor. They have no hammocks, but sleep on couches built on raised platforms around the walls. The women take care of the dogs, and keep them tied day and night to the foot of their couches. They make coarse pottery by the common coiling method, and also make baskets, nets, mats, and ropes as needed.
Food Supply. -- They are an agricultural people, depending less upon hunting and fishing than many of the neighboring tribes. They grow corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, and

plantains. They depend to some extent upon hunting and fishing. They use no bow and arrows, but depend upon other devices. They are more expert a: using the blowgun than any of the surrounding tribes.

The blowgun is made of two pieces of chonta palm, carved, polished, wrapped with strips of bark, and covered with pitch. The guns are about seven feet long, one and a half inches in diameter at the mouthpiece, and taper to three-quarters of an inch at the muzzle. The mouthpiece is made of bone which is inserted in the end of the gun. The Yagua blowgun mouthpiece is spool-shaped with a depression for the lips, while the Jivaro mouthpiece has a bone which is put into the mouth when blown.

The poisoned arrows are made of strips of chonta palm with a wisp of silk-cotton on one end to fill the bore and catch the breath. They are carried in a quiver which is fastened to a small joint of bamboo filled with curari poison, into which the points are dipped before being used. Blowguns are used here as bows and arrows are used among the other tribes, for killing birds and monkeys. The flight of the arrow is noiseless, and when it strikes the animal the shock is so slight that no attention is paid to it. The poison acts so quickly that the animal soon becomes dizzy and falls to the ground. The blowgun is the most effective weapon for all small game. [117]

They use traps, snares, and pitfalls for catching the larger animals. For catching fish they use large nets with nut sinkers and balsa floats. They also poison the pools

with the roots of babasco (Jacquinia armillaris). When the poison is used in large quantities the water is turned a whitish color, killing all the fish, which float on the surface where they are picked up from canoes.

Certain animals are taboo. The deer and sloth are supposed to be the dwelling places of the evil spirits, and are not eaten. The tapir is not considered good for women to eat. The men grow tobacco, and use it to smoke and drink.

Fire Making. -- They make fire by the common method of twirling a stick between the palms. They have an interesting tradition of how they first obtained fire. In the beginning they cooked their eggs in the sun, and warmed their food under their arms. A Jivaro man, Takia, first learned to make fire by rubbing two sticks together, but he kept the fire to himself, and would not allow his people to use it or to know how to make it, so they attempted to steal it from him. At that time the Jivaro resembled men but could fly like birds. Several men went to Takia's house to try to get the fire, but Takia kept his door ajar, and when one put his head in, he closed the door, and killed him. The snake said that he would try another method, so he wet his wings, and went to the path where Takia's wife would find him in the early morning. She took pity on him, carried him into the house, and placed him near the fire. When he was warm and dry, he took a fire brand with his tail, and flew away to the top of a dead tree where he obtained some dry bark in which he wrapped the fire, and carried it to his own house. There he built

a fire, and gave it to his people, so they were no longer compelled to ripen their food under their arms. Takia scolded his wife, but the Jivaro have had fire ever since, and know how to make it by rubbing together two pieces of silk-cotton wood.

Dress and Ornamentation. --Men wear either a kilt-like cotton garment reaching the knees, or a loose sleeveless bark shirt. These garments are sometimes painted in geometric designs, or decorated by sewing on strings of monkey teeth, beads, or feathers. The leaders of the dance wear a beautiful ceremonial hat or crown made of feathers. The men also wear a back ornament made of bird bones, which is suspended from a band over the forehead. The [118] mummified head or war trophy is worn suspended over this ornament of bird bones. The women wear a skirt of cotton or bark which reaches a little below the knees, and a cotton cloak thrown over one shoulder and fastened under the arm. The children run about naked until the approach of puberty.

Both men and women wear necklaces of the teeth of various animals, and seeds of various kinds and colors. In their ears the men wear sticks of chonta palm about six inches long and one inch thick, from which are suspended feathers and wings of beetles. The nose and lips are not perforated. They paint their faces, hands, and feet black with 'wito' (Genipa Americana), for protection against the flies and the sun. The hair is worn long behind, and cut square across the front. The men wear a loop of hair in front of their ears, wrapped and decorated with feathers.

Marriage. -- Polygamy is common among the Jivaro. A man has the first right to marry his cousin, and may also take her younger sister when she reaches the age of puberty. He is not compelled to marry his cousin, as he may prefer to steal a wife from an enemy tribe. The consent of the girl's father is necessary, before the marriage can take place, and if he is willing, he gives a great feast inviting all the members of the large household. The feast and marriage ceremony are in charge of the medicine man. When all are ready, the medicine man takes food and serves it to the bride, saying, 'This is the way you must serve your husband.' He offers her corn, cassava bread, sweet potatoes, and plantains, and each time repeats the same injunction. Then he brings a servant whom the bridegroom has secured, and says, 'You must always be ready to serve your husband without his asking.' This concludes the ceremony proper, and the rest of the night is spent in feasting and dancing.

The Jivaro often make raids upon their enemies for the purpose of carrying off young women for wives or servants. It has been reported that the Jivaro practise the couvade, but my informant was positive that they do not now, and probably never did.

When a man goes to visit a friend at his house, he steps inside the door, and stands at one side. A woman brings him a seat, and announces him. His host washes, combs his hair, paints his face, and dresses; when ready, he advances, greets the visitor, and sits down in front of him. The visitor talks in a high voice for fifteen [119] or twenty minutes without interruption, giving an account of what he has seen, and what he

has done since their last meeting. The host occasionally gives assent by saying, 'And this is the way you have done it.' When the visitor has concluded, the host takes his turn for about the same period, then they stop and begin talking about other things in a quiet tone. When a woman enters a house she is taken at once to the women's apartment without any ceremony.

The Dead. -- When a man dies he is left in his bed, all of his possessions are placed about him, together with food and drink. The house and fields are deserted, and no one ever goes back to the house or takes anything from the fields.

Religion. -- The Jivaro do not have a well developed religious belief. Iguanchi, their chief spirit, takes account of all the important acts of life, but he is not worshipped in any sense, although he is considered a good and friendly spirit. It is unfortunate that the early missionaries applied the name of this good spirit to the Devil and manufactured a new name for God. The Jivaro have never willingly accepted religious teaching, and many times have driven the missionaries out of the country. They despise the Zaparo, because they have accepted Christian teaching, and are more under the influence of the Whites. The Zaparo, on the other hand, call the Jivaro 'ancas,' or savages, and are greatly afraid of them.

Medicine Men. -- No one dies a natural death. Disease and death are caused by the influence of an enemy medicine man, and hence the disease must be overcome by a friendly medicine man. The medicine man uses both herbs and magic combined. He

selects his herbs, performs his incantations over them, moving his head from side to side, and then gives them to the patient. He then soaks tobacco in water, takes the fluid in the hollow of his hands, and sniffs it into his nostrils. He continues his incantations, and calls upon the evil spirit to come out of the man, saying 'If you, the evil one, have caused this sickness, come and take it away.' He asks the patient if he feels better; if he does not, then he calls upon the animals in the same language. If the patient is not better by this time he gathers other herbs and repeats the process, then he sucks from the seat of the pain and exhibits a piece of bone, chonta, or a small spider which he has sucked out. If the patient gets well, he makes lavish presents to the medicine [120] man, but if he dies, his friends may kill the medicine man or some member of his family, and a vendetta may be started in this way. When a medicine man is sent for, he first makes inquiry, and if he thinks a person may not recover he finds some excuse for not administering unto him.

Mummified Heads. -- The Jivaro are considered war-like people, and as stated above, they are divided into two hostile groups, which have been traditional enemies for generations and live in a chronic state of warfare. There are continual raids made from one tribe to another, killing the men, and carrying off the women. They are sometimes called head hunters and cannibals, because they cut off the heads of the enemy, and carry them home to be preserved as trophies (plate 20). They are not cannibals, as they never eat any portion of the body.

The tsantsa, or mummified head, is their greatest trophy. When one makes a raid to secure a head the chances are even that he will lose his own, hence it is considered a great honor to take the head of one of the traditional enemy. If the head is that of a chief, some noted warrior, or other important individual, the honor is greater, and a great feast must be given to which all the friendly tribes are invited. To give such a feast it is necessary to clear a field and grow cassava, corn, and plantains, for food and drink for the great throng that will attend. This requires several months or possibly two or three years, hence it is necessary to preserve the head in order to have it present at the feast, as evidence of the hero's prowess.

The hero must plant his fields, but near the time of the feast his friends may assist him in hunting and fishing, and preserving meat, while the women of the house assist his wife in making great quantities of drink to be stored in large earthen jars.

The man must also undergo a fast, or rather submit to taboos. He paints his body with black lines, lives alone, and shows his bravery by going without weapons. He must not kill game with a spear, or eat the flesh of certain animals. He confines himself almost entirely to fruits, vegetables, and fish caught in the net. When the time for the feast arrives, the head-man takes charge. When the dance is ready to begin, the hero, carrying the tsantsa on the top of a staff, comes through the house, and presents it to the Master of Ceremonies, who dips the head first into a decoction of [121] tobacco, then in chicha, and again in clear water. He afterwards pours a little of each of these

beverages into the mouth of the hero, who is seated on a low stool. This ceremony ends the fast for the hero, and frees him from further obligations. The tobacco juice he has taken serves as a violent emetic, but he soon recovers, goes to the river for a bath, and returns to take part in the dance. The Master of Ceremonies carries the head towards the dancers, falls on his knees many times, and ends by making an address complimentary to the courage of the hero, in which he says, 'Brave Jivaro, you have avenged an injury.' He then sets up the staff, with the head on it, in the dance ground; and the men, with the hero's wife, clasp hands and dance around the head, hurling ridicule and derisive epithets at it, as they advance and retreat. At the same time the other women dance in a great circle on the outside of the men.

The dance at the feast of the head is the only opportunity that a woman ever has to dance with the men. It is her greatest honor. After this dance is over, the hero takes the head and hangs it on the principal pillar of the house, where it remains indefinitely. It may eventually be thrown into the river of disposed of at will. In some tribes it is kept and worn on anniversary occasions over the bird-bone back ornament. This ends the ceremonies connected with the head, but the dance continues day and night until the supplies are exhausted.

At midnight on the last day of the dance, a large number of young peccaries, which have been kept fat for the occasion, are brought out, killed by the Master of Ceremonies, and divided among the guests to furnish food for their journey home. This signifies the end of the dance, and is the farewell salutation. Preparations are now made for the

departure, and then all join in a final dance which ends at daybreak. They have been eating, drinking, and dancing for days, and all are so tired that they soon camp and take a long sleep.

When the enemy is killed, his head is cut off with a bamboo knife, and carried home where it is hung up for three or four days until decomposition begins. An incision is made at the edge of the hair and carried over the top of the head to the back of the neck, and the skull is removed. The skin is cleaned of flesh, and boiled in an infusion of herbs containing astringents and preserva- [122] tives. The skin is then sewn up, and shrunken by putting hot sand and hot stones inside. As the skin shrinks it is manipulated to keep it in the desired form. Finally the head is greased and smoked for a long time over a fire made of roots of a certain palm tree. To keep the lips in position while the skin is drying, three small chonta palm sticks are thrust through them below, and cotton strings woven in and out over the lips. These sticks are replaced with cotton cord when the head is completely cured; a transverse cord is attached to the three suspended cords, and hanging from it there are usually several single cords about fifteen inches long, decorated with feathers or beetle wings. These cords are not records, or quipus, but are used for ornamental purposes only. The ears are perforated, and have various decorations of feathers, beads, and beetle wings suspended.

When the skin is sewn up, a short stick is placed inside, attached to a string through a hole in the top of the head. This is used for suspension of the head over the ornament

of bird bones, when it is worn. The head is reduced to about one-eighth its normal size as is shown in the photograph (plate 20), and is very dark brown in color on account of the smoke. It has been said that these heads resemble the originals to such an extent that they may be recognized. A woman is said to have recognized the head of her son, but in all such cases of recognition the fact is known that the head has been taken, and that it is kept in a certain house, so it would be very easy to identify it. There is so little resemblance to the original head that anyone seeing a head for the first time is likely to doubt the story of its origin.

Some tribes preserve the heads of their friends as well as those of their enemies, but women's heads are never preserved.

Every boy is trained to be a warrior. He learns the manufacture and use of weapons, and the taking of the head. He kills a sloth, reduces and preserves its head in the same way that the warriors preserve the heads of their slain enemies.

For protection against the raids of their enemies they make sharp points of chonta palm and set them in the ground about the fields, so as to impale the enemy as he approaches. They also dig pitfalls in the trails, plant lances below, and cover the pit with leaves and bark. These pits are usually dug near the place where a log crosses the trail.

Dances. -- In ordinary dances, the men and women dance around a circle, not together but at the same time, all singing with a flute accompaniment. There is a

special dance which the men dance in pairs. Each is armed with a lance, each in turn makes a short address in which he glorifies himself, then dances in front of the others with his lance ready to strike, and ends by making a feint at his opponent; the others then go through the same performance. In the love dance, a man dances in a circle, blowing a flute, while a woman follows him about.

The drum is never used to furnish music for the dance, but only for purposes of communication. It is made of a log, five feet long and one foot in diameter, with a hole burned out in the middle leaving a lip which gives only a single tone (figure 15)."

8: Dickey--201 (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 101

"On various tributaries of the Morona, Pastaza, Santiago, and Tigre rivers of Ecuador, live tribes generically known as Jivaros, Jiveros, Jiberos, or Jeberos. The Indians themselves are unacquainted with the appellation. They call themselves variously Huambisis, Aguarunas, Paloras, etc. , these being the names of small rivers in the territory they inhabit. Perhaps the rivers are named for the tribes, maybe the tribes are named for the rivers. In any event the name, Jivaro, or its cognates, which possibly had its origin in the local name for rubber (jebe) is, according to the interested persons themselves, a misnomer."

8: Dickey--201 [2] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 152, 114

"The tribes...are referred to, in the writings of certain intrepid explorers, as Head Hunters. The usual picture is that of a sinister, bloodthirsty tribe, who as an outdoor sport dash off into the woods, grabbing innocent Indians whose heads they remove and shrink, with all the manifestations of ghoulish glee. And all this without rhyme or reason.

The Jivaros--and I must use this name with which they've been baptized--are neither sinister nor bloodthirsty. I base this conclusion on a relationship with them of nearly nineteen years' duration. On the contrary, they are hospitable and humble."

8: Dickey--201[3] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 123, 609

"Five of us, including one white woman, lived with a Jivaro tribe numbering nearly two hundred for six weeks. The only contretemps suffered by our party came when we had exhausted all our excuses for not partaking of the vin du pays, the far from delectable chicha mascada, which was offered to us constantly, and is a drink evolved from yuca root mixed with the saliva of toothless, elderly Indian ladies. Apart from that, our treatment left nothing to be desired."

8: Dickey--201 [4] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 727, 775

"Why do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

Believers in metempsychosis, they are of the opinion that a warrior--and all the intrepid explorers to the contrary notwithstanding, none but the heads of warriors captured in battle ever are shrunken--if allowed to go to the spirit world with his head, comes back to earth with the head of a jaguar. If he goes without a head, the puzzled spirits, who of course have to send him back in some form, give him a head of a rodent or some other harmless animal. As a jaguar he is a menace; as a rat he's harmless. All beautifully logical."

"How do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

The answer to this--one of the great mysteries, according to my intrepid friends, and really so great a mystery that there isn't a child of over ten years of age in Ecuador who doesn't know all about it--is based on personal observation.

First, of course, you have to catch your victim and kill him. He has stolen one of your wives--and this is the most frequent cause of internecine wars among the Jivaros --so, you start a war against the reprobate's tribe, with the results described supra.

Now a semicircular incision is made in the cadaver, extending from one shoulder to the other across the chest, and another is made across the back. Now you must be very careful--and you need two assistants in the chore--in dissecting skin, fascia, and flesh, front and back, up past the neck and over the skull, which remains attached to the vertebrae. You now have a sac, consisting of part of the chest, part of the back, all the flesh and skin and hair of the head. And this is wrong-side out. You, with your assistants, have pulled the whole mass over the top of the skull, just as you might pull a glove, wrong-side out, off your hand. When, during your dissection, you reached the occipital protuberance, at the back of the skull, you encountered hard going. The ligaments there held fast. This compelled you to make an incision at this spot on the scalp and carefully to dissect it off the protuberance. In all legitimate shrunken heads--and judging by the tourist trade in the article this means about twenty percent of those which reach the United States--you will notice that the back of the head frequently has been su-

tured. The artist who made those had trouble at the occipital protuberance. He had to cut into the back of the head and then, in order to make a clean job, sew it up.

You have removed the head, and portions of the chest and back, from the body. You now clip the excess--the parts of chest and back which were needed for leverage in pulling the mass over the top of the skull--leaving about three inches of neck attached to the head. The head, still wrong-side out, is now placed in a strong solution of bark of the tamajagua tree--a bark which contains much tannin--and left in the solution all night.

The next morning you turn your specimen right-side to, that is, to the position it enjoyed in life, and pour hot sand into the orifice at the neck, filling the hollow head com[203]pletely. This process is repeated hour after hour during ten days. The hot sand cools, more hot sand is placed in the head. During the first applications of hot sand, moisture exudes from the face of the specimen as though it were perspiring most profusely. The quantity of moisture diminishes, of course, after a while, and finally, when the normal 85 percent of the fluid which human flesh contains is exhausted, you have a miniature head about the size of a base-ball. And the features have been wom-

derfully preserved, for an assistant, during all the ten days, has been molding the ears and cheeks and mouth so that each may retain its relative shape.

You sew up the lips of your specimen with native twine, that the evil spirits contained in it may not emerge--why you think they can't get out at the neck I do not know --and you decorate it with earrings of plumes or beads, or, if you are a member of the Maynas tribe on the remote river Corientes, you place a crown on the head and decorate the long tresses with the iridescent wings of beetles. Maybe you'll stuff wild cotton in the nostrils, and tree bark inside the head--and maybe not.

Of course you have a feast in celebration of your accomplishment. You dance and drink gallons of chicha macada. And so to bed."

9: Bennett--660 (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 411

"Most interesting specimens in this collection [KS: donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum] are two ten-foot blow-guns and two dart quivers. The blow-guns are in a state of disrepair, which allows one to make close observations on their compositions and the technique of their manufacture.

Blow-guns are made from the chonta palm, which is both hard and straight-grained. The guns are made in two pieces cut to a semi-circular shape and grooved on their flat sides. The grooves are also semi-circular in shape, and the straight grain of the palm allows them to be very evenly cut so that when the two pieces are placed together a remarkably clean one-quarter-inch bore results, which is later polished smooth with string, cloth, and sand. The two pieces are now bound tightly together with long thin strips of bark wound spirally around them. Then the whole binding is covered with black beeswax. Several layers of this kind may be applied. The two blow-guns in this collections have carved bone mouthpieces, and taper from about an inch and a quarter in diameter to three quarters of an inch. One has a raised lug near the mouthpiece end which probably served as a sight."

9: Bennett--660 [2] (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 411

"The quivers are made of a one-foot section of bamboo fitted with a woven cloth strip for carrying. The bamboo darts are about a foot in length and pointed at one end. They are scraped down to a delicate thinness. A large gourd is attached to each quiver. This contains cotton which is twisted around the dart before it is placed in the blow-gun. A small container of poison is also attached to the quiver. Finally each quiver has a lower jaw of a piranha (the biting fish) with sharp teeth as part of its equipment. Before shooting a dart, it is grooved with this sharp-toothed jaw about an inch from the point. The cotton wadding is twisted around it and the point is dipped into the poison. It is then placed in the blow-gun and expelled with a sharp puff at its target some hundred feet away. If the animal struck starts to run, the dart will probably break off where it has been grooved, thus leaving the poisoned point to work its effect on the victim."

9: Bennett--660 [3] (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 301

"Aside from the offensive weapons, the collection [KS: donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum] contains some ornaments. There are two sets of ear plugs in the shape of six-inch cylinders of bamboo, decorated by incision at one end. These are pushed through a slit in the lobe of the ears and project forward along the cheeks. Another type of ear ornament is represented by the beetle wing ear pendants. There is also a paint gourd with a two-pronged applicator with which the Jivaro Indian man improves his beauty with parallel stripes of red ochre."

9: Bennett--661 (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 534

"The Jivaros like music to cheer their long hikes, and the pan-pipes of bamboo are favorite instruments. The one in this collection [KS: donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum] consists of twenty tubes arranged in a series of graded sizes which provide the variation in notes on their pentatonic scale."

9: Bennett--661 [2] (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 482

"...there is a head-band bundle carrier of bark [KS: in the collection donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum]. It consists of a single long piece of bark, left flat in the strip that goes across the forehead and braided on the ends that binds the bundle to be carried."

10: Anthony--147 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 131

"In southern Ecuador the Andes form a broad strip, running north and south, made up of numerous short ranges which extend in all directions and make it exceedingly difficult for the traveler to discern any definite system of main mountain ranges. When the easternmost edge of this strip is reached, however, a lofty barrier of high, wind-swept peaks marks the beginning of Amazonian drainage, and the region eastward from their Atlantic-facing slopes is known as the 'Oriente.' It is in the 'Oriente' that the tribe of the Jivaros make their home."

10: Anthony--147 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 123

"Accompanied by Mr. George K. Cherrie, the veteran of many a South American expedition, I spent about a month in the 'Oriente' and during that time saw a little of these Indians and was told a great deal concerning their customs by the few scattered families of whites who live on the edges of the Jivaro territory."

10: Anthony--147 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 592, 621

"The Jivaros are a tribe of warriors and hunters, and devote but little attention to the cultivation of the soil. They live in small, scattered communities located on the rivers, and raise a little cotton and such things as yuca or cassava. Although they recognize a captain or chief, his authority appears to be largely nominal. He exerts but little influence upon the members of the tribe. As a result the communities are controlled by the heads of the families and the system may, perhaps, be best described as patriarchal. The father of a family is a responsible member of the community and his relatives aid him in offensive compaigns or rally to his defense."

10: Anthony--147 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 595

"The Jivaro looks down upon the white man, who has only one wife, because among the Indians the measure of a man's valor is the number of his wives. Polygamy is regularly practised and a man may have four or five wives or even as many as eight. This custom is the cause of the greater part of the fighting and killing that takes place in the Jivaro territory."

10: Anthony--147 [5] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 583

"When a daughter reaches the marriageable age, twelve to fourteen years, she is given to a man who is friendly to the father. There is no price set on the girl and the transaction involves merely the good will of the two men. The girl herself is not consulted. This method of gaining a wife is, however, rather a slow process for the ambitious Jivaro who is striving to acquire a large household in a region where women are at a premium and every girl of marriageable age is much sought for. A more efficacious method, provided all goes well, is to wage war upon some neighbor or against a family of an adjacent tribe and to confiscate, as the spoils of victory, the widows of such a man. By a carefully planned stroke of this kind the Jivaro may gain several wives at once."

10: Anthony--147-148 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 776, 787, 276

"The Jivaros do not believe in a benign deity, but in a power which is spoken of by the Spaniards as el diablo, the devil. This being is not necessarily malicious in his attributes, but rather is considered to be a 'Super-Jivaro,' one powerful in all matters, omnipotent for good or evil but not loving evil for its own sake. When an important project is under consideration--a foray for wives or a long hunting trip into the territory of a hostile neighbor--the Jivaro deems it of the utmost importance that the 'devil' be consulted. For this purpose he retires to some secluded spot, let us say a small hill off in the jungle, and there drinks a quantity of a certain vegetable extract. This extract, made from the bark of a root, is a dark fluid [148] resembling coffee. It produces a narcotic effect upon the human system and the Jivaro passes into a stupor of several hours' duration, during which he experiences various weird hallucinations. One of these hallucinations is that the devil comes to him and gives advice regarding the proposed plan. If favorable views upon the matter are entertained by the devil, the project will be attempted. Consultation with the devil may be had by any man, for it is not the special province of any priestly class. I have spoken with white men who have sampled this narcotic drink and from the reports of its effects I judge the active principle of it must be some powerful alkaloid."

10: Anthony--148-149 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 721

"Perhaps some neighbor in the same tribe has been selected as a victim and the Jivaro plans to kill him with as little personal risk as possible. These Indians are adept in the use of the long blowgun, employing poisoned arrows, but prefer [149] to do the man-hunting with guns which they obtain from traders. The approved method, when the raiding party consists of two or more individuals, is to surround the hut of the designated victim, and wait for the man to come out through the doorway. As he steps forth, he receives the contents of several muzzle-loading muskets at close range. Then the place is raided and all the women and children are taken prisoners. The women enter the household of the victor as wives, while the children are adopted and given the same treatment as the man's own offspring. That is to say, the captives are not considered to be slaves, but henceforth are a part of the victor's immediate personal family."

10: Anthony--149-150 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Jivaro has his own peculiar method of celebrating the successful coup against an enemy and in many respects this custom might be compared with that of the North American Indians in taking scalps. The Jivaro cuts off the head of his enemy and, when he has returned to the safety of his own hearth, [150] converts it into a lasting trophy by removing the skull and shrinking down the skin into a miniature head about the size of a man's fist. The process whereby the head is prepared is described in a separate article in this issue by Mr. Charles W. Mead. As a culmination this trophy is used in a ceremonial dance, which generally occurs within a month of the time when the head was taken. The event is in some respects the counterpart of certain scalp dances. The victorious Jivaro dances with his trophy to celebrate his bravery in overcoming an enemy. His friends attend the ceremony and drink quantities of an intoxicating liquor, making much of the occasion. Until this ceremony is consummated, the Jivaro cannot be persuaded to part with the head, but afterward he will trade it for a sufficient inducement, such as a rifle, or in the absence of such a consideration he may hang it up in the hut. The possession of several heads fixes the standing of the owner, although the acquisition of each new head makes the retention of his own more uncertain, for the relatives of the slain man will assuredly attempt vengeance."

10: Anthony--150 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"...there exists constant warfare in the land of the Jivaro, where the two powerful, primal passions prevail, struggle for woman and thirst for vengeance."

10: Anthony--150 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 562

"The lot of the Jivaro woman is not a happy one as she is destined to do the greater part of the work and is the storm center for most of the strife. On the other hand, the men impressed me as being good-natured toward the women and spoke kindly to them. I believe, therefore, that in all minor matters the women receive some consideration."

10: Anthony--150 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
-116, 684

"Sternest discipline, however, awaits any woman, who is found to be unfaithful to her husband. Even for the first offense an extremely cruel punishment is inflicted. The erring woman is thrown to the ground and held there while her husband, using the long, heavy machete or brush knife, cuts down on her head as hard as he dares to do without acutally killing her. He cuts a number of times in one direction and then again at right angles, so that when the woman is released her hair is all chopped bits and she is streaming blood.

If this treatment does not deter her from a second manifestation of infidelity, an even more rigorous punishment awaits her. She is pinned to the earth by the large lance or spear used by the men, the spear being thrust through the fleshy parts of the legs and and then deep into the ground. She is kept thus for several days or even as long as three weeks, being given food and water and sufficient attention to preserve life. The punishment for the third offense is death outright."

10: Anthony--150 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The men are hunters of the highest order, and are keen observers of all that takes place in the jungle about them. They penetrate the thickest tangle, using game trails wherever they find them; the bear makes many a highway for these hunters. They never get lost and their highly developed sense of direction enables them to point back at any time toward a given place, such as the camp they left in the morning. This ability is known to those whites who occasionally penetrate into 'Jivaría.' Sometimes a white man, wishing to test their powers, will ask them at different times to point out the direction to camp or to a certain river, thereby earning the supreme contempt of the Jivaro, who thinks that any fool should know such simple matters."

10: Anthony--150-152 (1920-21) 1921 . Jivaro
116, 153, 825

"The Jivaros have a specific name for practically every bird and mammal to be seen about them and, when our skinning table was piled up with specimens for the day's work, one of them would unhesitatingly name each animal. If a test was made on a later date with a bird or mammal of the same species, the designation previously used was invariably applied, proving that these names were not made up on the spot. [152]

On one occasion, Mr. Cherrie had shot an olive-backed thrush, a sober-colored species that nests in North America and migrates southward in the winter, and consequently not one of the birds strictly belonging to the region. A Jivaro who was going over the birds and naming them promptly singled out the thrush and said in substance: 'This bird is a foreigner. He visits us only in the winter and does not nest here.' An instance of this sort implies the keenest sort of observation, because the Jivaro must meet with from two to three hundred distinct varieties of birds, most of the smaller species of which have at best little value to him as food and consequently are of but minor importance. The birds of brighter color are often killed so that they may be attached as ornaments to the ceremonial necklaces, headbands, etc. that are worn in the dances."

"A great part of their game the Jivaros kill with the blowpipe or blowgun. The blowpipe is a long, slender rod of wood, made from two strips which are carefully hollowed out down the midline, in such fashion that when bound together by a long strip of bark there is a straight, smooth, cylindrical bore the full length of the rod. The blowpipe is generally made of black palm, which has a very tough, interlacing fiber, so that the rod, though slender, has great strength and will not warp or twist. The ammunition for this weapon may be either little balls of clay or arrows. Clay is shaped into small balls, of a diameter just big enough to fit the bore. These balls, after having been baked in the sun, are placed in the mouth and blown through the tube as a small boy blows a bean in a toy blowpipe, but the length of the Indian blowpipe, often eight to ten or more feet, gives the clay ball a great velocity. As a result the projectile will kill small birds or mammals such as squirrels or rabbits. The arrows are long, slender strips of cane, straight and with a sharpened point; a tuft of cotton is twisted about the rear end of the arrow to make it fit the bore in an airtight manner. These arrows fly exceedingly true and game may be struck with them at long distances. For larger game poison is used; for small birds the arrow is plain.

For this purpose the Jivaros use a black gumlike substance brought up from the lower Amazonand undoubtedly a form of curare. The arrows are prepared by dipping into the

poison about half an inch of the tip which then looks very much as if it had been coated with tar. This poison is narcotic in its action and very deadly and an animal that has been wounded with an envenomed arrow will drop in a very few minutes. If the Indian is hunting monkeys, his favorite game, the arrow is scored with a knife about an inch back of the point so that it may break readily at this place. The monkey shows considerable cleverness when hunted and, if wounded, invariably plucks out or breaks off the arrow. He is outwitted, however, by this precaution, because the [153] arrow breaks and leaves the poisoned tip in the wound. I was told that salt is an antidote for the poison, and if the Jivaro wishes to take a monkey alive, he may do so by hurrying at once to a stricken animal and placing salt in its mouth."

10: Anthony--153 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116. ЗП

"Another weapon frequently seen among these people is the lance or spear. The point of the lance is of iron, very sharp and flat; the shaft is of some tough wood. With this they may kill bear, peccary, or any of the larger terrestrial mammals."

10: Anthony--153 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 226

"The Jivaro lives along the water courses and does considerable fishing in a very ingenious fashion. A variety of creeper or vine called barbasco, is gathered at some point along a stream, and then the plants are pounded into a pulp upon the rocks. When sufficient barbasco has been prepared--the quantity may total from two to three hundred pounds--and the Indians have stationed themselves down stream, the mass is thrown into the river. The juice of the bruised vine is a poison and, if the river is not flowing a great volume of water, it kills any fish in its path for a distance as great as three miles down stream. The Jivaros catch the fish as they come floating along belly up and in this way secure great hauls. The use of barbasco does not spoil the fish for human consumption, as we can attest through personal experience. One disadvantage in its use is the heavy drain upon the fish life of that particular region, and a stream cannot be fished in this manner indefinitely. Even a large river may be poisoned by this comparatively small amount of barbasco."

10: Anthony--153-158 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 262

"The Jivaro will eat most of the animals of the forest, but there are one or two surprising exceptions. For some [158] unknown reason he will not touch the flesh of the deer although he has no scruples against killing it for a white man to eat.

A very peculiar custom we observed is the diet chosen by one who has recently killed an enemy. Such a man avoids meat, confining himself to a vegetable diet. The reason given us was that if he consumed meat, he would be easily surprised and killed by the friends of the man he had slain, whereas if he ate vegetables he would be hard to surprise."

10: Anthony--158 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 825, 752

"These people have a very wholesome respect for the snakes of their jungles and with good reason, for there are several venomous varieties among them. It is said they have an antidote for snake bite, using some plant which counteracts the venom. Because they go about barefooted, they are often bitten but, thanks to this plant, seldom killed by a snake. Among the material collected during a day's work I had a small coral snake (genus Micrurus) which was alive although somewhat incapacitated through rough handling in capture. At the time I judged it to be a non-venomous species, but nevertheless retained enough caution to handle it by the back of the neck so it could not strike me. A Jivaro who was standing over our table, very much interested in everything that was transpiring, displayed some apprehension when I showed him the snake coiled up in a small can, and beat a very hasty retreat when I took it out in my hand, acting in much the same manner as might a timid girl in the presence of a mouse."

10: Anthony--158 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Jivaros have the reputation of being rather cowardly. As far as open warfare is concerned, the experience of the whites who have lived among them has been that the Indian will not dare to attack the white man under any conditions that approximate equal combat. As an instance, I was told of a Spaniard who lived among the Jivaros for a number of years in a rather remote locality where he was far separated from any other whites. He early incurred the enmity of the Indians and, as he was harsh in his dealings with them, it was not long before he was a marked man. On several occasions parties of the Jivaros attempted a raid against him, having first consulted their 'devil' as to the propitiousness of the opportunity, but it would seem that the Spaniard as well must have been on intimate terms with the devil for he learned each time of the projected attack and killed so many of the Jivaros that the parties fled. By means of this bold front he was able to more than hold his own with them for a great many years, but eventually he so far relaxed as to hand over his gun to one of his Jivaros to carry while he went on ahead, and the Jivaro promptly made the most of the unexpected opportunity."

10: Anthony--158 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 609, 193

"In general their behavior toward the whites who treat them properly leads to rather amicable relations. With us they were very friendly and very goodnatured, answering any questions as well as their poor Spanish allowed. Only a few of them speak Spanish, but they are intelligent and quick to grasp an idea so that a few words in Spanish aided by signs, may convey much. No one of those we met knew much Spanish, and a peculiarity I noted was the fact that almost always the verbs were used in the participial form. This gave to their conversation a sound very like that produced by riming verse. As an example, I heard this sentence:

'En camino pasando, animales encontrando, un mono matando, cuero sacando, billetes ganando,' which would be translated as: 'He goes along the trail, meets animals, kills a monkey, skins it, and gets some money.'"

10: Anthony--158-159 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 437

"The Jivaros were very much interested in our work, which appealed to them because it dealt with the most vital feature of their daily lives, the animals of their own jungles.

They are a rather difficult people with whom to deal, for the reason that money has scarcely any value in 'Jivaría' and [159] their material wants are few. It is possible to gain their friendliness by gifts of such a nature as mirrors, needles, fishhooks, or powder and shot; but if one desires to secure the labor of a Jivaro, as a canoe man for example, it may be necessary to do a great deal of patient and tactful trading before you succeed in engaging him."

10: Anthony--159 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 342

"The Jivaro hut is a simple affair, made of a long, rectangular frame of poles stuck into the ground and thatched over with the leaves of palms or plantains. The fire is built inside on the ground and the smoke finds its way out through the most convenient openings."

10: Anthony--159 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"As evidence of their handiwork, I saw very creditable cotton cloth, which had been made by them from their own cotton. Strangely enough, the men, when questioned, said that they personally had woven this, the household weaving of fabrics being peculiarly a feminine province everywhere else in Ecuador."

11: Mead--161 (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 175

"The diminutive shrunken heads made by the Jivaro Indians, suggesting save for their long straight hair, the heads of Negro pygmies, have been familiar objects in museums for many years and many have been the queries as to how and why they are made. Just how they are made is a problem that has only recently been solved, though many, and oftentimes absurd, have been the speculations as to the way the Indians managed to shrink them to so small a size. One that for some time obtained widespread credence was, that in an early stage of the work the skin of the head was boiled. Of course, boiling would have caused it to fall to pieces. The heads are always black in color, and this was accounted for by the supposition that they had been smoked over a fire.

The details of the process did not come to us all at one time, but by driblets from travelers who had visited some part of the Jivaro country in eastern Ecuador. Indians guard such tribal secrets very jealously, and it is extremely difficult, and in most cases impossible, for one who remains but a short time in their country to obtain exact information about them."

11: Mead--161 [2] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The head, with a small part of the neck, is severed from the body. A cut is made from the base of the skull down through the skin of the neck. Through the opening thus made the bones of the head are carefully removed, and the skin and remaining soft parts are dipped into the juice of the huito fruit, which stains them black.

The skin is now ready for the shrinking process, which varies somewhat in different localities. In some divisions of the Jivaro tribe a number of hot stones are put into the cavity, and the whole is constantly turned in order to bring them in contact with all parts of the inner surface. When one Indian tires, the head is passed to another. It is said that the process sometimes continues for a week or more before the head is reduced to the desired size.

In other localities a single stone, nearly the size of the head, is first used, then a smaller one, and so on until the work is completed. In still other localities hot sand takes the place of stones. Long, pendent cords usually fasten the lips together, and one is run through the top of the head to suspend it. The cut in the back of the neck is then sewed up, and the trophy is finished."

11: Mead--161[3] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 437, 441

"The first heads that found their way out of the Jivaro country did so by being passed from hand to hand until they came into the possession of some trader who brought them down the Amazon to Para, where they were disposed of. Unfortunately the Jivaro soon learned that these heads were much in demand by white men and began to prepare them for the traders, being by no means particular as to whose head was used, and it is said that advance orders were frequently taken and filled. Certain it is that now and then short-haired heads bearing mustaches find their way into the market."

11: Mead--161 [4] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 434

'In early times the Spaniards, and after them several South American countries, passed laws with severe penalties for any one known to have prepared one of the heads; but it was difficult for the law to reach the transgressors and not much seems to have been accomplished toward stopping the practice."

The old writers called them Xivaros or Xibaros. This orthography was employed in 1651 by Padre Laureano de la Cruz in his account, Nuevo descubrimiento del Amazonas (1), by Padre Manuel Rodriques (2) in 1684, by Padre Samuel Frita (3) in his map published in 1707, by Padre Francisco [334] Javier Weigel in his map drawn in 1769, during his detention at Lisbon after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish possessions [335] (4)

1. This account is found in Vol. I, p. 147, of Varones Ilustres de la Orden Seráfica en el Ecuador, by P. Fr. Francisco Maria Compte, 2nd edition, 2 vol., Quito, 1895.

2. Padre Manuel Rodriques. El Marañon y Amazonas, Madrid, 1684, Book III, ch. XIII, p. 205.

3. A copy of the original of this map was brought back by La Condamine and is in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. A smaller engraved copy was published in Quito in 1707. It is found also in Vol. VIII of Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères, Missions d'Amérique, new edition, Toulouse, 1810.

4. The map of Padre Weigel is reproduced in the beginning of the book Historia de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en el Maradon español by Padre Jose Chantre y Herrera, Madrid, 1901.

La Condamine (5), Maldonado (6), Coleti (7), Requena y Herrera (8) in the map that he made in 1779 concerning the regions of the upper Amazon, Lapie (9), and Mollien (10)

5. La Condamine. Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale, Paris, 1745, in 8°, page 38.

6. Carta de la Provincia de Quito y de sus adyacentes, obra póstuma de Don Pedro Maldonado, sacada a luz por orden y a expensas de Su Majestad, 1750.

7. G. D. Coleti. Dizionario storico-geografico dell' América meridionale. Venezia, 1771, 2 vol. in-4°.

8. This map accompanies a Descripción del Gobierno de Maynas y misiones en el establecidas por el Coronel Don Francisco Requena y Herrera, Gobernador de Maynas, Comandante general de su provincia y de la de Quijos y Macas, 1785, (Archives of Quito). It was published in Quito in 1903 by order of Dr. Luis Cordero, then president of the Republic of Ecuador.

9. Annales des Voyages, Vol. XVI, 1811, in-8°. See Lapie's map at the end of the volume.

10. G. Mollien. Voyage dans la République de Colombie en 1823, Paris, 1824, 2 vol. See his map in vol. II.

also adopted it. The Italians, Rev. Father Louis Pozzi (11) and Colini (12), wrote Givari. Some explorers of the same nationality have proposed Xivari (13) or Chivari (14). One also finds in other accounts Givaros (15), Zibaros (16), Jivaros (17), Jiviras (18).

11. R. P. Louis Pozzi. "Excursion militaire chez les sauvages du Marogons, mission de Gualaquiza, details ethnographiques sur la tribu des Givari." (Annales de la propagation de la foi, Sept. 1871, n° 258, page 353.)

12. G. A. Colini. "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari." Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma (anno CCLXXX, 1882-1883).

13. Gaetano Osculati. Esplorazione delle Regioni Equatoriali lungo il Napo el il fiume delle Amazzoni, 1st ed., Milan, 1850. Note on page 29.

14. Colini, op. cit., note 2, page 4.

15. Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza. Viaje practicado desde el Callao hasta las misiones de las dos tribus de infieles Záparos y Givaros, Lima, 1849.

16. G. A. Colini. "Collezione Etnografica degli indigeni dell'alto Amazzoni acquistata dal Museo preistorico-etnografico di Roma." (Bolletino della Società Geografica italiana. Rome, April-May, 1883) Note 2 on page 17.

17. & 18. For footnotes 17 and 18 see next page. (Jivaro-4)

Mibaros (19), Xebaros (20), [116] Jevaros (21), and Xebros (22).

17. Clements R. Markham. "A list of the Tribes in the Valley of the Amazon, including those on the banks of the main Stream, and of all its tributaries." (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. Vol. III, New Series, 1865, p. 140.)

18. William Bollaert. "On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador" (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, vol. II. 1863, p. 112.

19. Daniel G. Brinton. "Studies in South American Languages," in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1892, vol. XXX, Philadelphia, p. 59. ---The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America. New York, 1891, p. 282-284.

20. Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa. Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional, 4 vol. Madrid, 1748. 1 part, Vol. II, p. 530.

21. Antonio Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto, in Northern Peru" (The anthropological Review, v. 1, 1863, p. 33). (translated from Spanish by W. Bollaert).

22. John Lubbock, "Note on the Macas Indians" (The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. III, 1874, no 1 page 29).

12: Rivet--336 (no date) 1907 Jíbaro -1
116, 101

Marcoy (1), Markham (2) then Bollaert (3) identified the Jíbaros and the Jeveros (Jeberos or Xeberos) as the same group, and many authors after them, Brinton (4) in particular, have admitted this synonymy, which to my mind is not legitimate. (This confusion seems to arise from the finding of Xiberos instead of Xeberos in a "Description abrégée du fleuve Maragnon et des missions établies aux environs de ce fleuve, tirée d'un memoire espagnol du Père Samuel Fritz," published in vol. VIII of the Lettres Edifiantes, op. cit. p. 232. But this translation abounds in errors in the orthography of geographic names: For example, in it one finds Sogrona written instead of Logroño.) In fact, Father Fritz, Father Weigel and Father Requena separate very clearly on their maps the territories inhabited by these two tribes; Hervás (5) distinguishes the languages

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1. P. Marcoy. "Voyage de l'océan Atlantique à travers l'Amérique du Sud (1848-1860)" (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, page 169).
2. Markham, op. cit., p. 166.
3. Bollaert, op. cit., p. 115.
4. Brinton, op. cit.
5. Don Lorenzo Hervas. Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas. Vol. I. Lenguas y naciones americanas, p. 263-264, Madrid, 1800.

spoken by each of them; Velasco (6) in his list of the Indian tribes of the Ecuadorian Oriente classes the *Jíbaros* and the *Jeberos* separately; Maldonado, Villavicencio (7) in their maps place the first tribe well to the North of the village which bears the name of the second tribe. Closer to our day, Raimondi (8), Orton (9) and Ordinaire (10) describe successively the one and then the other tribe.

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6. Don Juan de Velasco. Historia del Reino de Quito (written in 1789). 3 vol., Quito, 1844, vol. III, Historia Moderna, p. 251-252.

7. Carta Corográfica de la República del Ecuador by Manuel Villavicencio, 1858. Printed by F. Mayer and Co., New York.

8. Antonio Raimondi. "Apuntes sobre la provincia litoral de Loreto" in Geografía del Perú by Mateo Paz Soldan. Paris, 1862, vol. I, p. 664 and p. 666.

9. James Orton. The Andes and the Amazons or across the continent of South America p. 471. New York, 1875, 3 ed.

10. Olivier Ordinaire. "Les Sauvages du Pérou" (Revue d'Ethnographie, vol. VI, 1887, p. 265.)

12: Rivet--338 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 177

A characteristic common to all these tribes is their love of independence; the result being that these Indians, armed with simple lances of wood, located at the very gates of the civilized and Christian world, have kept all their purity of race and all their originality until the beginning of the twentieth century. Protected by impenetrable forests, where tropical nature seems to take pleasure in accumulating obstacles against the entrance of the invader, these passionate lovers of liberty have resisted with equal success the numerous assaults made on them by the Spaniards and missionaries, all the attempts of conquests and all the attempts at conversion, as we shall now see in studying their past.

12: Rivet--338-339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Jíbaros made an appearance late in history. Their name was pronounced for the first [339] time when, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, the Inca Tupac-Yupanqui undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. The Peruvian conqueror came up against the Cañaris, who lived in the inter-Andean valley, the region which now forms the province of Azuay, and, the chroniclers say, the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for an ally the chief of Macas (1). This alliance was undoubtedly only temporary, for it seems that the two tribes were habitually in a state of hostility if one can judge by the ruins which still remain beyond the village of Sigsig in the Eastern Cordillera. Tradition says that these struggles of the Cañaris against the Jíbaros of Gualaquiza and Zamora had as an objective the possession of salt mines, the location of which it is difficult to determine today(2).

1. Federico Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio histórico sobre los Cañaris, Quito 1878, page 8. Fernandez Montesinos. Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú. (Edited by Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada), Madrid, 1882, in-8, ch. xxiii and xxvi.

2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Los aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi." Investigaciones arqueológicas, Quito 1904, note on page 12.
---Gonzalez Suarez. Prehistoria americana, op. cit., note on page 16.
---Descripciones Geográficas de Indias, Perú, vol. III; Descripción de la provincia de Cuenca hecha el año de 1582, Madrid, 1897.

12: Rivet--339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Cañaris having been conquered, one hears no more about the Jíbaros until the day when the son of Túpac-Yupanqui, Huayna-Cápac, continuing his fathers' plans, tried to subdue them, but the Inca king had to withdraw in haste from the territory of the Bracamoros (basin of the Chinchipe River) where his troops were as much decimated by the insalubrity of the climate as the incessant attacks of the savages; he avenged himself for this humiliating repulse by declaring them unworthy to be his subjects, hiding the frustration of his ambition under this contemptuous formula. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia General de la República del Ecuador, Quito, 1890-1903; 7 vol. and one archeological atlas, vol. I, p. 54.

Then came the Spanish domination.

The unfortunate expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro (1541) and the adventurous navigation of Francisco de Orellana on the Napo and the Amazon did not touch the Jíbaro country; but at the same time, Captain Pedro de Vergara, by order of Francisco Pizarro, tried in his turn to subject the Bracamoros, and went through all the eastern region which now corresponds to the provinces of Loja and Azuay, without obtaining the slightest practical result.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were crushed, President Don Pedro [140] de La Gasca, in order to make use of his unoccupied soldiers henceforth, divided eastern Ecuador into four regions whose conquest was entrusted to these head captains.

From north to south, they were:

1. The province of Quijos, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela (20 leagues from north to south, 200 leagues from west to east), bounded on the north by the province of Macas and Sucumbíos;

2. The province of Macas, which extended from the forests of Gualaquiza, to the east of Cuenca, up to the banks of the Pastaza, then called the Tungurahua River;

3. The province of Yaguarzongo, which corresponds to the Zamora Valley;

4. The province of Bracamoros, entirely to the south, corresponding to the basin of the Chinchipe.

12: Rivet--339-340 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175

Of these provinces, the last three, save for the extreme southern parts of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the Jíbaro territory. The conquest of Bracamoros went to Captain Diego Palomino, that of Yaguarsongos to Captain Alonso de Mercadillo, that of Macas to Captain Hernando de Benavente.

Benavente entered his domain by way of Zuña, and descended as far as Gualaquiza, but this audacious raid remained without results.

Mercadillo succeeded better in his enterprise and in 1549 established the city of Zamora; as for Palomino, his efforts carried him to the Chinchipe Valley, outside the Jíbaro country; the city of Jaen was built at this time (1549).

12: Rivet--336-337 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

I believe that there is reason for reserving the name of Jeberos for a tribe characterized by a special language, which lives between the Apena river and the Cahuapanas river, on the right bank of the Amazon. As for the Indians with whom we are dealing, we must give them the name of [337] Jibaros. The "j" should be pronounced like the Spanish j. Since South Americans make very little difference between the pronunciation of "b" and "v" they often write Jívaro. As the Spanish dictionary gives the spelling Jíbaro, a word which means "country fellow, peasant, savage", it is this last spelling which should be adopted.

This point settled, it is useful to call attention to the fact that, in the time following the first attempts at conquest of the eastern regions by the Spanish, the word "Jíbaro" was very comprehensive; a synonym of the word "Yumbo", it was applied to all Indian peoples still unsubdued and not converted (1).

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1. Federico Gonzalez Suarez. Prehistoria Americana. Ligeras reflexiones sobre las razas indígenas que poblaban antiguamente el territorio actual de la República del Ecuador. Quito, 1904, p. 37.

12: Rivet--337 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 131

The Jîbaro country should be considered exclusively as the more or less triangular-shaped region bounded on the west by the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes, on the north-east and east by the great Pastaza River from the point where it crosses the Cordillera to its confluence with the Marañon, on the south by the Marañon itself, from the mouth of the Pastaza to that of the Santiago, and then by the chain of mountains which runs west to east between the valleys of the Santiago and the Chinchipe, called the Cordillera of the Condor (see the map).

This vast territory corresponds, in going from the north to the south, to the following provinces of Ecuador in the inter-Andean valley: the province of Tunguragua, capital: Ambato; the province of Cañar, capital: Azogues; the province of Azuay, capital: Cuenca; the province of Loja, capital: Loja.

Needless to say, the boundaries that I have indicated are not absolute. The Pastaza river to the north-east is naturally not an insurmountable barrier for the tribes who wander on its right bank, likewise to the south, the Amazon and the Cordillera of the Condor can not keep out the incursions of the savages living on the right bank of the Marañon River or in the basin of the Chinchipe River. Certain tribes have even established themselves in a definite manner to the south of the Amazon.

12: Rivet--337-338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133

The Jîbaro country is crossed by three great watercourses which run nearly parallel in a general N.N.W.-S.S.E. direction and enter the Amazon on the left bank. In going from West to East, these are: the Santiago, formed by the joining of the [338] Upano River (1), which originates on the southern slopes of the Sangay volcano, renowned for its constant activity, and the Paute River, or Namangasa River, coming from the plains of Cuenca, and with the Zamora River, which drains the waters of the Loja Valley; the Morona, whose origins are found to the north and northeast of the village of Macas; and finally the Pastaza, formed by the Chambo River descending from the region of Riobamba and by the Rio Patate coming from the region of Ambato, which, meeting at the northern foot of the Tunguragua Volcano, cross the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes through an enormous gap.

1. I accept here the opinion of the Dominican Father Vacas Galindo, who has lived in Macas for a number of years as a missionary and who has just published on behalf of the Ecuadorian government a very interesting map of the republic of Ecuador on a scale of 1: 1,500,000: Mapa Geografico-historico de la Republica del Ecuador, by Rev. Father Fray Enrique Vacas Galindo. Quito, 1906, ches Henry Barrère, 21, rue du Bac, Paris. Wolf, on the contrary, admits that the Upano forms the Morona: Carta geografica del Ecuador by Dr. Teodoro Wolf, 1:445,000: Geographic Institute of H. Wagner and E. Debes. Leipzig, 1892.

12: Rivet--338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 162, 171

The savages who live in this immense territory present an absolute ethnic unity: their customs and habits are totally distinct from the customs and habits of their neighbors to the northeast, the Záparos, as well as from their neighbors to the south, in the Peruvian province of Loreto (1). Moreover, they speak a single language which differs from the languages spoken in the neighboring regions. (2) These two proved facts empower the ethnologist to unite them under the name of Jíbaros.

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1. Raimondi, op. cit.
2. I have a large vocabulary of the Jivaro language, which I will make the subject of a further linguistic study.

12: Rivet--340 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

In 1557, Juan de Salinas, Governor of Yaguarzongo and Macas, organized a memorable expedition in order to explore eastern Ecuador. Leaving Loja on July 8, 1557, he crossed the Cordillera and founded successively Valladolid, Loyola in the valley of Cumbinamá, Santiago de las Montañas at the juncture of the river of the same name with that of the Manañon, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva; then he embarked on the Santiago, arrived at the Amazon, passed through the famous Pongo de Manseriche, reconnoitred the mouth of the Morona and the Pastaza, visited the great lake of Rimachuma, entered the Ucayali and by this means penetrated as far as the parallel of the province of Cuzco; then they retraced their steps and the hardy explorer returned to Loja on August 28, 1559, having visited all the section south of the Jíbaro country in the course of this magnificent voyage. (1)

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1. Relaciones Geograficas de Indias, publicadas por el Ministerio de Fomento. Madrid, 1881, 4 vol. Perú, vol. IV.--Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, ch. II.

Almost at the same time, by the order of Salinas, his nephew, Captain Bernardo de Loyola y Guinea founded Logroño in the province of Gualaquiza, and Captain José Villanueva Maldonado established Sevilla de Oro on the right bank of the Upano. Mendoza was also founded about the same time on the left bank of the Palora.

Thanks to the energetic efforts of Salinas, there existed therefore in the territory which had been entrusted to him, 9 cities: Jaen, Valladolid, Loyola, Santa-Maria de Nieva, Zamora, Santiago, Logroño, Sevilla de Oro, and Mendoza, the last five being in Jíbaro country. But this prosperity was more apparent than real. Usually built without discernment in places where the insalubrity obliged the inhabitants to change the location often, isolated from the center of colonization, surrounded by hostile tribes, these cities by their appearance alone revealed the haste with which they had been constructed. The streets were drawn with measuring lines but the houses were miserable huts with walls of bamboo covered with clay, and with thatched roofs. (1) Moreover, the bad system of colonization employed by the Spaniards, their cupidity, and their cruelty soon caused the conquered Indians to disappear. Many died working in the mines; the others fled to the deepest parts of the forest. So it was that at the time of the founding of Zamora, there were 16,000 Indians in the district and in 1622, no more than 140 remained, and the city itself only had 3 inhabitants. In 1598, Valladolid was reduced to 15 inhabitants and one could only make a little village of the miserable remains of the two great cities of Valladolid and Loyola.

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 46.

12: Rivet--341-342 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 669

Incessant uprisings were also the result of this disastrous colonial policy. The most famous was that of 1599. On the occasion of the death of Philipp II, and the crowning of Philipp III, the governor of Macas wished to levy in his province a supplementary tribute under the name of "donativo para fiestas reales". Exasperated, the Jíbaros prepared a great revolt, under the leadership of a chief called Quiruba, and on the appointed day, 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño in the night. All the inhabitants were killed, the young women alone were spared and became [342] the wives of the wild victors (1). The governor died in the worst tortures; Quiruba made him drink melted gold to see, he said, if thus his thirst for riches could be appeased. The city was pillaged and burned, there were about 12,000 deaths. From Logroño, Quiruba went to Sevilla de Oro, where a great many of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The unfortunate city put up a desperate resistance and the aggressors had to withdraw, not without having killed three quarters of the population, about 18,000 individuals (2).

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 70. The wise Ecuadorian historian has pointed out that the Jíbaros could not have captured nuns since there did not exist at this time a convent of women in any city of the eastern region.

2. Coleti, op. cit. word Xivaros, vol. II, p. 182.--Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 152 and following.--Pedro Fermín Cevallos. Resumen de la historia del Ecuador. Guayaquil 1886, 6 vol. vol. II, pages 141 and following.

Three expeditions organized to avenge these deaths failed miserably.

The end of the sixteenth century, therefore, saw the disappearance of these cities founded at random by these captains who were more bold than experienced, and the Jíbaros could greet the dawn of the 17th century in the rapture of a recovered independance.

But the descendants of the "Conquistadores" always cherished the dream of colonizing the Amazonian regions, and in September, 1619, the Corregidor de Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, at the head of a troup of 68 well-armed men and a number of Indian slaves, embarked on the Santiago in 22 canoes of huge size, and he descended this river until it joined the Marañon, passed through the Pongo de Manseriche, and founded the city of San Francisco de Borja on the left bank of the Amazon on December 9. He continued his exploration as far as Lake Rimachuma (1). On his return he had a private interview with the viceroy of Peru, who named him governor of the province of Mainas, to pacify the Jíbaros, but he did not keep his promise. It was in May, 1645, that his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who had succeeded him ordered two Franciscan monks, Fathers Laureano de la Cruz and Andrés Fernandez, to go into the Jíbaro country by way of Cuenca with the aid of Colonel Antonio Carreño (2). In spite of their absolute defeat, this attempt opened a new epoch. One can [343] consider, in fact,

1. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 113.
2. Compte, op. cit., vol. I, p. 178.

12: Rivet--342-343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175

the epoch of purely military expeditions as finished: the attempts at penetration now are arrayed in a religious character, even when they had another purpose than the evangelical.

12: Rivet--343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

For a century, a veritable assault was made against the Jíbaros tribes, from the west as well as from the east. From the east, it was led vigorously by the Jesuits who, after 1638, had established flourishing missions in the eastern region, the monks either accomplishing it alone, or cooperating in the half military, half religious expeditions that the civil authorities liked to organize.

The first attempt of this kind was in 1656. At this time, the governor of Cajamarca, Don Martín de la Riva Agüero, organized a company of 100 soldiers, to which were added 100 Indians brought in from the Mainas missions by the Jesuit Father Raimundo Santa Cruz (1). This important group traversed the whole left bank of the Marañon, and near the point where the Pastaza empties into this river, on July 25, 1656, was founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, moreover, disappeared almost immediately (2). As for the Jíbaros, at first attracted by the prudent behavior of Father Raimundo, they quickly guessed the real goal of the expedition and fled, not without having killed a good many Spaniards in skillful ambushes.

1. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 176
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 203.

About 1690, Father Lorenzo Lucero, with the aid of a small flotilla, organized a number of peaceful expeditions into the Jíbaro country, but the reputation of cupidity left by the expedition of Martín de la Riva prevented his success (1).

Two years later, a great effort was again made. By the order of the "Real Audiencia", the Captain-General of Mainas, Don Jerónimo Vaca undertook in his turn the conquest of the Jíbaros; the Superior of the Jesuit Missions, Father Viva, accompanied him and brought with him canoes and already converted Indians, in a word, all the necessary auxiliaries and resources. (2) Never had such preparations been made: a real fleet was assembled at Borja, consisting of a troup of 100 Spanish soldiers and 900 Indians. Each tribe was armed according to its local custom and [344] commanded by its own missionary. The expedition ascended the Santiago by canoe and fortified itself on the bank of this river. Then they began a series of veritable man hunts, based on this point, with the purpose of capturing by force these savages who were so stubborn as not to come voluntarily to the Europeans. These detachments combed the country in every direction and some went as far as Zamora, having thus traversed from east to west all the Jíbaro country. Useless trouble ! the Indians fled before the troops or they hid themselves, thanks to their profound knowledge of the forest, in order to return at the propitious

1. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 283.
2. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 303 and following

moment to harass and surprise the Spaniards, who fell without even knowing where the death blows came from. In five months, they captured 372 individuals; but these unhappy souls, instead of letting themselves be touched by evangelical grace, escaped at the first opportunity, and if flight appeared impossible to them, they committed suicide rather than renounce their liberty, and mothers were seen to kill their young children by their own hands, by suffocating them with mud or stones, in order to save them from the life which awaited them. At the end of five months, the discouraged and fatigued expedition disbanded, and the viceroy of Peru, realizing the uselessness and the danger of these "correrías", forbade them for the future (1).

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 204.

It was not until 1767 that Father Andrès Camacho made a new attempt; it appears that he was on the way to success, when the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies (Pragmatic Sanction against the Society of Jésus: April 2, 1767) (1). The missions were then successively handed over to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. Far from being marked by new conquests, this period was all decadence and disorganization.

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1. Cuantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 574.

While the society of Jesus attacked the savages from the southeast, other missionaries tried to take them in the rear from the west: I am speaking of the Dominicans. In 1581, four Fathers of this order, belonging to the convent of Quito, had penetrated into the basin of the Pastaza: Father Valentin de Amaya had explored the right bank of this river, Father Baltasar Quintana the left bank and its tributaries, Father Diego de Ochoa had ventured into the mountains of the Penday, and Sebastian Rosero into those of Puya (1). [345] A first village by the name of Canelos had been founded the same year with the baptized Indians at the mouth of the Pindo. But harassed by the attacks of the Jíbaros, the Fathers had to change the location twice and finally established it on the spot where it now is, on a little hill which dominates the left bank of the Bobonaza (2). This mission of Canelos, officially entrusted to the Dominicans in 1683, by Charles II. did not progress, and in 1778, there were only 22 male individuals in a single village (3), the object of incessant assaults by neighboring tribes, and it would even have disappeared but for the

1. Probably Puyo, the mountain massif in which the Pindo River has its source.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur. Paris, 1889, p. 134.
3. "Informe del misionero Fr. Manuel Bermeo", 1778, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 278.

arrival of Father Santiago Riofrío who brought it some prosperity. In 1798, thanks to him, it included the three annexed small villages of Nuestra Señora del Rosario or la Palma (173 inhabitants), San Jacinto (37 inhabitants) and San Carlos de los Achuales (36 inhabitants) (4). This mission remained in the hands of the Dominicans until 1803, at which time it was given over to the bishop of Mainas.

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4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

As for Macas, the effort was still less important. In 1736, Father Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, by the command of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, penetrated to the home of the savages of this region, but at the end of two years, he had to withdraw without having been able to found a single village, the new converts having been decimated by small-pox (1).

Finally, further to the south, in August, 1785, the Corrogidor of Loja, Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, organized on the order of the President of Quito, an expedition into the region of Zamora. His report contains some interesting details concerning the Indians that he encountered and one map of the location of Zamora is appended. (2)

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1. "Informe del P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno dirigido al Presidents de Quito", 1739, in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, p. 55.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 221.

12: Rivet--345 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 177

With the 18th century and the expulsion of the Jesuits came the end of the attempts at religious conquest of the Jíbaros. With equal good luck, indomitable Indians had resisted the monks as they had resisted the Spanish soldiers in the course of the 16th century.

12: Rivet--345-346 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 797

In 1803, the immense diocese of Mainas was set up. It was bounded [346] on the east by the Portugese settlements on the banks of the Amazon, on the west by the base of the Cordillera of the Andes, on the north by the Putumayo, to the south by the Pongo de Manseriche of the Marañon (Papal Bull VII of May 28, 1803). All the Jíbaro territory came under this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which all the existing missions were put. But this attempt at centralization did not last very long, since in 1814 the Dominicans had taken possession of their old establishment of Canelos which then had only 145 inhabitants (1). At this time, the evangelical zeal had cooled singularly. The flame of the apostolate shone only with a feeble light, and if there was still interest in the mysterious eastern regions, it was more out of curiosity or cupidity than because of piety. So it was that more expeditions were organized into the regions of Cuenca and Loja in order to look for the former site of Logroño, in particular in 1788 and 1789, at the instigation of the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. The explorers discovered the ruins of good-sized buildings on the other side of the Cordillera, which ruins they took for the remains of the unhappy city and which were in reality, vestiges of aboriginal construction, perhaps some of those works of defense constructed by the Cañaris in order to protect themselves against the Jíbaros, of whom I have already spoken.

1. "Extracto de un informe del Ilmo Sr. Rangel," 1818, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 339.---Fr. Enrique Vacas Galindo, Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, 3 vol., Quito, 1902-1903, vol. I, p. 370.

12: Rivet--346-347 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 175

In 1816, a Franciscan monk, Father Antonio José Prieto, by command of the temporary governor of Cuenca, Don José Lopez Tormaleo, received the mission from the viceroy Abascal to make a new reconnaissance. He was very well received by the Jíbaros, who spontaneously showed him a spot planted with orange trees, at the union of the Bomboisa and Jambibiza, telling him: "Here are buried the whites, your ancestors!" (1) The tradition of the massacre of 1599 had been transmitted faithfully from generation to generation. Ruins were found at the juncture of the Bomboiza and Sangurima (or Rosario); they are pre-Columbian; Father Prieto made a map of them, and here is the description of them given by Gonzalez Suarez, who has had the original documents in his hands: "The ruins are formed of three parts: a very prolonged wall, destined to enclose and defend the entire edifice, parallel to the current of the two rivers; nine parallel stone walls [347] forming eight passageways; three houses almost joined to each other, a walled square, and finally two parallel ramparts constructed in order to defend and protect the site of the houses. The buildings were of stone and their ruins occupy a considerable expanse of land. When Father Prieto visited these places the trees had already formed a dense forest"(2). In remembrance of his trip the missionary founded,

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol, VI, note on page 205.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi," op. cit., note on page 12.--Segundo Alvarez Arteta. La cuestión de Límites entre las Repúblicas del Ecuador y el Perú. Sevilla, 1901, p. 396.

about a league away from the juncture of the Bomboiza and the Santiago or Paute, the little village which still exists under the name of Gualaquiza (3).

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3. "Descripción de la Provincia de los Jívaros, su religión, costumbres y producciones," by Franciscan Father Fray Antonio Jose Prieto in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, p. 63.

The wars of emancipation and the period of political troubles which followed were hardly favorable to the attempts at penetration into the homes of the savages of the East. Too many urgent preoccupations kept the attention of the Spanish in the center of their rebellious country. This trouble was a source of peace for the Jíbaros and it was not until the middle of the 19th century that some explorers or new missionaries tried to enter into contact with them again. In 1848 (May and June) Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza without great evangelical success (1); in 1852, the bishop of Cuenca, Mgr. Manuel Plaza wished to reopen the abandoned missions and to this end made a trip to Gualaquiza (2). In 1859, the bishop of Chachapoyas, Don Pedro Ruiz, led toward the south of the Jíbaro country a Peruvian expedition, organized under the auspices of the Sociedad de Patriotas del Amazonas (3); in 1861, the Ecuadorian colonel Victor Proaño left Macas and descended the course of the Morona to its confluence with the Marañon, giving a very curious account of his trip (4). Finally, in 1867 and

1. Castrucci de Vernazza, op. cit.
2. Informe del Ilmo Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza" in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 293.
3. Antonio Raimondi. El Perú, 3 vol., Lima, 1874-80, in-8°, vol. III, p. 274.
4. This itinerary has been published by Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 402.

1874, two Peruvian hydrographic commissions went up by steam boat and studied a large part of the courses of the Morona and Pastaza (5). As for the work of evangelization, that was [348] begun only after the return of the Jesuits. It was in 1869 that the famous Company signed a contract with the second Ecuadorian provincial council which was approved in 1871 by the pope, for the establishment of missions at Canelos and Macas, which had been taken from the Dominicans, on the Napo, at Gualaquiza, and at Zamora. The monks, full of enthusiasm, attempted immediately to perform the work that their predecessors of the 17th century had not been able to accomplish. Early in 1869, Fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán went to install themselves at Canelos; in 1870 Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Only Zamora was momentarily abandoned. Vain efforts! Three years later Gualaquiza had to be abandoned because of the armed

5. "Parte del Capitán de corbeta graduado D. Mariano Adrian Vargas en el viaje de exploración hecho a los rios Alto Marañon y Morona" (El Peruano of December 21, 1867). --Raimondi. El Perú, op. cit., vol. III, p. 281, 369, 474 and 518. --Von H. Habenicht. "Die peruanischen Expeditionen zur Erforschung des oberen Amazonstroms und seiner Nebenflusse" (with a map) (Dr. A. Petermann's Mittheilungen, 25th vol. 1879, p. 89).

uprisings of the Jíbaros (6), and in 1885 it was Macas' turn. Then the ecclesiastical authority intervened again, October 4, 1886, in order to give the missions of Macas and Canelos to the Dominicans, leaving to the Jesuits only the establishments on the Napo. Since 1893, the Franciscans on their side have taken charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group.

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6. Pozzi, op. cit. --R. Caceres S. J. La Provincia oriental de la República del Ecuador. Apuntes de viaje. Quito, 1892, p. 39.
--Padre L. L. S. S. J. La Misión del Napo. Quito, 1894, p. 11.

Such is the present state of things: need I add that all these efforts hardly produced any serious results and that the conversion of the Jibaro is not begun ? However, thanks to these missions we know a great many interesting details [349] about these savages so stubbornly resistant to all civilized influences. On the other hand, the numerous explorers who have penetrated these unknown regions in the second half of the 19th century have brought back ample harvests of ethnological and geographical documents. These accounts of missionaries and explorers have attracted the attention of ethnologists to the Jibaros and these ethnologists have devoted some more or less important articles to them. Here I will only mention Hamy's memoir. To this author goes the honor of having first coordinated the scattered accounts relative to these curious Indians, given a complete study of mummified heads, and discussed the important problem of the origin of this great tribe (1).

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1. E.-T.-Hamy. Decades Americanae. Memoires d'archéologie et d'ethnographie américaines, 3rd and 4th Decades, p. 43. "Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jivaros" (article published in the Revue d'Anthropologie, vol. II, July 1873, p. 385.)

The list of Jibaro tribes is very long and varies considerable with different authors; this abundance and this confusion are due to the fact that each Jibaro group, no matter how small, takes a special name from the name of the river which passes near his habitual abode. The result is that there are as many tribes as small streams of water in the three basins of the Santiago, Morona and Pastaza. Moreover, certain explorers have extended the domain of the Jíbaro race too far. For instance, Paul Marcoy reports that the Panos, who live on the banks of the small Sarayacu River, a left-hand tributary of the Ucayali, are probably native to the regions washed by the Morona and must have come to settle first at the mouth [350] of the Huallaga River, before occupying the region where the lucky explorer arrived just in time to see that last Pano of pure race and preserve his features for us. The hybrid descendants of these Panos are probably the Remos, the Amahuacas and the Sensis on the right bank of the Ucayali, the Cacibos, the Conibos, the Sepibos and the Schetibos on the left bank. Doubtless, he is attempting to derive the word "Pano" from the word "Upano", but it seems to be only a coincidence, and I have not been able to recognize in the customs of the Panos, as described by Marcoy the special customs of their supposed ancestors, the Jibaros (1). I

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1. Marcoy, op. cit., (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, pages 59, 161, 185 and 186).

have already enumerated the arguments which have made me eliminate the Jeberos from the Jíbaro family; for the same reasons, I think that the Aguanos, encountered by Herndon on the banks of the Huallaga River, should not be included in it (2).

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2. Lieut. W. M. Lewis Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon (with a map). Washington, 1854, in-8°. Velasco makes the Aguanos a separate nation with a special language. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 252.

I have tried, by making use of all the documents that I have been able to procure, to determine approximately the geographic location of a certain number of tribes. I do not think that this determination is complete or definitive. In fact, such work will be possible only when all those vast territories have been explored; at the present, except for the rivers which can easily be navigated in canoes and the course of which is known well enough, the Jibaro country is still very little known. To get an idea of the uncertainty of our information, it suffices to compare the two most recent and most complete maps of these regions: those of Wolf and of Vacas Galindo (see note 1, page 338 - page 7, note 1, of my typewritten copy). Into the areas found between the navigable streams the white man struck out against almost unsurmountable obstacles: the absolute absence of roads, the difficulty of transporting supplies, which must be done on human backs, the rarity of inhabited places and the difficulty of revictualling, the hostility of the savages, the continual rains, the insalubrity of a warm and humid climate, the frequency of torrents which must be forded or swum, the bites of mosquitoes, all contribute to discourage the explorer. Hardy rubber-hunters venture alone into the virgin forest, spurred by the certainty of considerable profit, or perhaps rare missionaries still animated by a sincere need for apostleship. [351]

The few villages where the Whites have tried to settle are: Canelos, Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora. Each of these communicates with the inter-Andean region. The Canelos road crosses the Eastern Cordillera by the gap that the Pastaza River opens

there at the north foot of the Tunguragua volcano. From Baños to Canelos, one must count on eight days of travel, six of which have to be made on foot(1).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 161.

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Macas is reached by a road which runs from Riobamba to Hatillo (2 days on horseback), to Suña (1 day on horseback), to Chanala, Paira and Guilca (about 5 days on foot) (1).

From Cuenca to Gualaquiza, by the village of Sigsig, la Portada and Chiguinda, four days are enough for the journey when the season permits making the stages by horseback (2).

Finally, from Loja to Zamora, only two days on foot are necessary.

Direct communication between these diverse villages is very difficult. From Canelos to Macas by the montaña, that is to say the virgin forest, ten days are necessary, and from Gualaquiza to Zamora one ought to count on about five or six days of travelling.

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1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas del Oriente, 2nd edition, Quito, 1890. First map.
2. Luis Cordero. Una excursión a Gualaquiza. Cuenca. August 4, 1875.

12: Rivet--351 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
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Canelos is a little village, which in 1890 had a population of about 800 people. It is situated on the left bank of the Bobonaza, a left-hand tributary of the Pastaza, 145 kilometers as the crow flies from this confluence. Downstream from Canelos, a day's trip by river, one encounters the small inhabited center of Pacayacu (85 inhabitants); two days from Pacayacu, Sarayacu (1) (460 inhabitants), and finally two days by canoe from Sarayacu, the village of Juanjiri, almost uninhabited, as is Andoas, a former settlement found at the juncture of the Pastaza and Bobonaza (2). I have not been able to procure either the mean temperature nor the altitude of Canelos, but the German explorers, Reiss and Stübel, found at the juncture of the Pintuc river and of the Pastaza, 20 or 25 kilometers SW. of Canelos, a mean temperature of 20°4 and an altitude of 981 meters(3).

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1. This Sarayacu should not be confused with another village of the same name situated on the Ucayali. See Castelnau. Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, vol. IV. Histoire du Voyage, Paris 1851, in-8°, page 371.
2. Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas, op. cit. Maps 4 and 7.
3. Teodoro Wolf. Geografía y Geología del Ecuador. Leipzig, 1892, page 651.

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116, 133, 161

Macas in 1890 had a population of 350 "macabéos" (1), a name given generally to the white settled in these eastern regions. It is situated a little ways from the right bank of the Upano, at an altitude of 1,051 meters, according to Reiss and Stubel (2).

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1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Map 4, page 31.
2. Wolf, op. cit., p. 592.

Gualaquiza is hardly more important; in 1875, there were only 100 whites in this village and 80 Jíbaros (1); in July, 1906, the Salesians counted more than 500 individuals of all races (2). It is built on the left bank of Gualaquiza River, which, ten kilometers lower, runs into the Bomboiza. The mean temperature is 22°5 and the altitude 730 meters (3).

As for Zamora, it is located on the right bank of the river of the same name, near its juncture with the Bambuscara. Although I have been unable to procure any exact information, one can surely state that this village is even smaller than Gualaquiza.

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1. Cordero, op. cit., page 28-29.
2. Bulletin Salesien, no. 5, May, 1907.
3. "Carta del misionero Salesiano D. Jacinto Pancheri", published in the newspaper El Republicano of Quito, Nos. 94, 98, 106 and 117, 1893-94.

12: Rivet--352-353 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 101

We already know that the very general names of Pastazas (V_1) (1), Moronas (V), and

1. A- "Informe de P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno de Alacáno," op. cit.

B- José Felix Barriero. Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, 1863, vol. II, page 112.

C- Castrucci, op. cit.

Co- Cordero, op. cit.

D- Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas, op. cit.

M- Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit.

Ma- Maldonado, map cited.

MM. - Marcel Monnier. Des Andes au Para-Equateur, Pérou, Amazone. Paris, 1890 (with a map).

P- Proaño, op. cit.

Pr- Prieto, op. cit.

R - Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto," etc., op. cit.

S - Bulletin Salésien.

V- Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 175 and 251.

V_1- Manuel Villavicencio. Geografia de la República del Ecuador. New York, 1858, page 169, and map cited.

Santiagos (VI) are applied to the tribes living along the three principal fluvial arteries.

The Upanos (V_1), the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (V_1), the Gualaquizas (V_1), and the Zamoras (V_1) inhabit the banks of the four principal affluents of the Santiago, and the Yaguarzongos (V) are mingled with the Zamoras (V_1). [353]

The name of Logroños (V_1) was formerly applied to the tribes who lived in the vicinity of the unhappy town which they destroyed, just as that of Canelos (V), the Macas(V) include all the Jibaros in the regions which have for centers the small villages of the same name.

Let us now take successively each of the great basins.

Basin of the Pastaza. The Cubillines (V) lived formerly in the cordillera of Cubillin, the origin of the Upano, the Palora and the Llusino; the Huamboyas (V) or Huambogas (B) inhabited the chain of mountains located more to the east, between the sources of the Palora and the Llusino, north of the Sangay volcano; the Paloras (V) along the Palora river. The Achuales (V_1), Uchuales (M), Achmiles (B), or Achuelos (M.M) constitute a great tribe, which occupies the whole right bank of the Pastaza from the Achual River to the confluence with the Bobonaza. It was these people who annihilated Andoas. The Maxumbaras (C), found a little above this confluence, must be a part of the Achuales.

The Pindos (V_1) have been visited and studied by Reiss and Stübel, later by Simson, on the banks of the stream of Pintuc or Pindo. Downstream from this tribe, the Copatasas (V_1) wander between the Copataza River and the Pastaza, and the Capahuaris (V) in all the territory between the Bobonaza to the N.E. and the Copataza to the S.W; the Jíbaros of the Pingullu (D), on the banks of the watercourse with the same name, seem to belong to this last group.

Finally, the Muratos (V) and Machines (C) occupy all the region sprinkled with lakes, which extends between the Pastaza on the east, the Morona on the west, and the Marañon on the south; to the north, they go up to the southern limits of the Achuales (1). They are found for ten days' journey up the Pastaza River. Thanks to the information furnished

1. Markham wrongly included the Muratos with the Záparos. Markham, op. cit., p.176.

by Father Castrucci, Colonel Proaño, Raimondi, Luccioli (2) and Marcel Monnier, we are thus able to localize this important tribe which extends as far as the left bank of the Pastaza. The Guazagas (V) [354] are a section of this tribe, living on the banks of the Huasaga River, a right-hand tributary of the Pastaza.

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2. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

Basin of the Morona. The Chirapas (V1), or Chiriapos (P) live between the Palora and the Miazal and extend along the upper course of this last river, while the Miazales (P) occupy all the lower course.

The Chihuandos (D), to the south of the Chirapas, occupy the mountainous region where the tributaries of the right bank of the Aincicaimi and Maembaimi Rivers have their sources and the banks of these rivers themselves; the Cherembos (P), still more to the south, live between the Upano and the Mutiacahi and on the sources of the latter, 17 kilometers east of Macas. The Cangaimes (Co) wander along the banks of the Cusulima or Kangaimi, and on the banks of the Mangosisa, are the Mangosisas (P), of which one tribe, the Patucas(R) (doubtless the Batucos of von Hassel (1)), inhabits the extreme lower part of the course, almost at its confluence with the Cusulima. Farther down, one finds successively the Kanduaschis or Kandoashis (D) at the sources of a small left-hand tributary of the Morona, the Cetuchi, doubtless the Siduchi of Wolf, then the Ayulis (P) on the upper Morona, the Ayuli River and the lower course of the Cusulima, and finally the Tigüirmas (P) a little below these last. It is probable that these three peoples

1. Jorge M. von Hassel. "Las Tribus salvajes de la región amazónica del Perú" (Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, vol. XVII, 3rd part, 1905, pages 27-73).

are parts of the Muratos and Machines.

On the right bank of the Morona, the great tribe of the Huambizas (R) or Guambizas (B) occupies all the space between this river to the east, the Marañon to the south and the Santiago to the west; their northern limit is probably a line passing to the south of the Zhuizha River, for according to a Dominican missionary, in the region of this stream, between the Santiago and the Morona, the country is completely uninhabited (2). The Mayas (D) are without doubt a tribe of the Huambizas, established on the banks of the Amaya.

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2. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas, levantado en 1890," by Rev. Father Delgado, in: Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, page 416.

Basin of the Santiago. This basin is one of the most complex.

The Zuñas (V) and the Pairas (V) formerly lived in the regions [355] where today the small settlements of Zuña and Paira are found on the way from Riobamba to Macas, and the Copuenos (V) and Aguayos (V) a little downstream, on the Upano (1).

On the left bank of the same river, we find the Yuquipas (V) on the tributary of the same name to the east of Macas; the Nazangoras (P) along the Upano opposite the mouth of the Tutanagoza, and to the south of this tribe, the Chiguasas (A) on the little river of the same name. As for the Turumbisas (V), perhaps they ought to be considered as the residents of the neighboring river, the Tundumbisa.

On the right bank of the Upano, the Jurumbaini (B) lived about three hours distance from Macas, the length of the small stream of Jurumbay or Jurumbaino; the Arapicos (D), Agapicos (V_1) or Alapicos (V_1) on the little river of the same name; the Guambinimas (B) in the area delimited by the Zhungaimi River, Tutanagoza River and Arapicos River; the Tutamagosas (B) or Tutanangoras (P) on the Tutanagoza.

On the Paute River I have already mentioned the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (V_1); then come the Chupiansas (S) along the Chupiansa, and the Mendes (B) in the territory bathed by the little rivers of Tayuzha and Zazhapasa.

1. "Informe sobre las provincias de Quijos, Avila, Canelos y Macas, por el Gobernador de Macas Don Josseph de Basabe y Urquieta" (May 1, 1754), in Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. I, page 61.

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In the basin of the Zamora are the Bombasicaros (V) on the Bambuscara, a tributary on the right bank; on the left bank, south of Gualaquiza, the Pachicosas (S) or Paricosas (Co), above the Chuchumbleza River; on the right bank of the latter, the Chuchumblezas (S); on the right bank of the Bomboiza, the Naranzas (S); between the Cuchipamba and Cuyes Rivers, the Jíbaros of Tuledu (S), then the Indanzas (S) and the Yunganzas (S) on the two little rivers of the same name.

12: Rivet--355-356 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

On the Santiago proper we find, on the left bank, the Jíbaros of Mayalico (Pr) on the banks of the Zhuizha river, and the Benerizas (V), on the Beneriza river; on the right bank, the Iranbisas (V) and the Iranasas (V) on the little rivers of the same names; then, near the Marañon, on the extreme lower course of the Santiago and between that and the Morona, live the Patocumas (S) [Patocumos (S), Patucumas (Co), Pafocamas (Pr)]. The name of Patucumayas (D) is evidently applied to the two united tribes of Patocumas and Mayas, the location of which I have described before. I think that both should be included with the Huambizas. [356]

To the east of the mouth of the Santiago lives the great tribe of the Antipas (R)[Nantipas (Pr)], who extend up into the Cordillera of Condor. Like the Huambizas, they spread southward on the right bank of the Marañon, where the traveller Luccioli has reported out their presence between the Nieva River and the mouth of the Santiago (1).

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1. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

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116, 101

Then, there is one last important tribe, the Aguarunas (R) [Ahuarunes (Ma)] whose habitat is exclusively on the right bank of the Marañon. According to Raimondi and Luccioli, they should be located to the south of the Pongo de Manseriche, in the vast territory between the Nieva River and the Potro River. Wertheman reports that previously they lived at the mouth of the Chuchunga (1); they must therefore have emigrated from the west to the east.

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1. Arthur Wertheman. "Aufnahme der Flüsse Paranapura und Cahuapanas im Departamento de Amazonas der Republik Peru" (with a map) (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, 15th vol. 1880, page 211).

12: Rivet--356 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

These are the principal Jíbaro peoples whose location may be determined at present without too many chances of error. It suffices to compare it with the list given by Velasco in order to understand how incomplete is the work that I have attempted. It was impossible to locate on the map in a precise manner many of the tribes reported by modern travellers or missionaries. Such are the Oyocamas (A), the Achuras (D), the Zhomos (D), the Mexipuras (A), and the Jambas mentioned by M. Fabre (1), who all belong to the Macas group, the Jíbaros of Chiceni (Co) who live on the Zamora (2), the Tambos or Tumbas (B), the Chiguavidas (B), and the Jíbaros of Suinde (Pr).

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1. Hamy, op. cit., note 2, page 46.
2. "Informe del Ilm. Sr. D. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 293.

All these tribes are far from having an equal numerical importance, many are composed of only 100 to 200 individuals. In 1890, the Jurumbaini numbered 68 representatives, the Arapicos 82, the Tutumagosas 140, the Guambinimas 132, the Chopiannas 165, the Mendes 144, the Pautes 180, the Yunganas 90, the [357] Yuquipas 453, the Chihuasas 162, the Huasagas 280, the Huamboyas 500, the Copatasas 83, the Capahuaris 172, the Kangaimes 64, the Mangosieas 56, the Miasales 68. At the same time, there were 3,051 Jíbaros in the basin of the Upano and the upper Morona (1), of which 600 men were old enough to carry arms, that is to say older than 15 years. Ten years before the same tribes were able to send 2,000 men to war.

In 1890, there were 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries (2). If one deducts from this last figure the population of Canelos, Sarayacu and Pacayacu, one finds that the number of converts among the nomadic tribes was 26!

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1. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas," in Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 413.
2. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Map 4, page 31.

The Salesians think that there are 9,790 infidels (1) in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza, a figure which appears a little exaggerated. In fact, some experienced missionaries estimate that in all the Jíbaro country there are not more than 10 to 12,000 souls. For my part, on having counted up the figures given by von Hassel (2) for the Aguarunas (2,000 to 2,500), the Muratos (5,000), the Antipas (2,000), the Huambizas (800 to 1,000), I think that one can admit a maximum of about 20,000 inhabitants, of which, according to the proportion of Padre Vacas Galindo, there would be about 4,000 adults able to carry arms (3). But in 1599, according to ancient historians, there was an army of 20,000 rebels who assailed Logroño (4), and Osculati (5) estimates the Jíbaro population at a half million. To be sure it is necessary to take into account the exaggerations of the chroniclers, and the error in estimation of the Italian explorer is so manifest that there is no need for pointing it out, nevertheless it is none the less true

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1. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May 1907.
2. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 34, 40 and 46.
3. Padre Enrique Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. Religión, usos y costumbres de los Salvajes del Oriente del Ecuador. Ambato, 1897, page 183.
4. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 154.
5. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 29.

that the number of savages has diminished in an unheard-of manner since the first times of the Spanish conquest. This diminution continues in our time. I have already cited the example of the tribes in the basin of the Upano. Pointing out another: in 1888, the Jíbaros of Capahuari numbered 172 individuals, and those of Copataza 83, being in all 255 Jíbaros. The following year, at the end of an [358] internal war, there remained at most 100 (6). The constant hostilities between tribes, the contagious diseases, smallpox in particular, brought by the Spanish, and alcoholism explained this strange disappearance to a great extent; but as these conditions are found together in many sections of the world, where the natives of the country continue to multiply nevertheless, it is necessary to admit that the fatal law, which brings death to the Indian everywhere that one finds him in contact with the Whites, must have other deeper causes that we do not know. As for the Jíbaro, it is very difficult to invoke the law of selection, for, as we shall see, he is, from all points of view, endowed with qualities which would seem to reserve for him a better fate and a brighter future among the indigenous American peoples.

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6. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 184.

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116, 141, 152

Physically, the Jíbaro represents the most handsome and most robust Indian type that I have seen in the Republic of Ecuador. Their fiery manner, even arrogance, makes them appear bigger than their brothers of the Sierra. In reality, this is simply an illusion, for those that I have met were of small stature and the two individuals that I studied were respectively $1^m 63$ and $1^m 59$ (1) (fig. 3). Their body is in general very well developed; the muscles of the limbs give an impression of suppleness and of strength. Their skin is light brown (2) (no. 22 according to my two subjects by the chromatic scale of Broca). The cephalic index according to my measurements was 82.0 for one and 84.1 for the other. Their craniums would therefore be classified among the subbrachycephalic.

1. These two Jíbaros came to Riobamba from the region of Macas. The complete measurements that I took on them will be studied later.

2. A great many authors have pointed out the clear tint of the Jíbaros and the presence of the beard among a certain number of them, characteristics that they have attributed to the mixtures resulting from the abductions of the white women from Logroño and Sevilla de Oro. The same remark has been made about the Ayulis (Vargas, op. cit.). I have not ascertained the fact from any of the individuals that I have examined.

12: Rivet--358-359 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 142

The face is wide, as is the forehead which is straight and fairly high, the brow ridges are not pronounced, the eyes are large and horizontal, the iris dark brown (no. 1 by Broca's chromatic scale in my two subjects), the cheek bones laterally widened. [357] The nose is straight, wide, and flat. I have found as the nasal index: 85.7 and 74.3. One of my Indians was therefore platyrrhine and the other mesorrhine. The mouth is not large and the lips are not thick; there is no prognathism. The neck is short. Their hair, a beautiful black, is coarse, rough to the touch, stiff, straight, and hanging. They do not have beards or moustaches.

12: Rivet--359-360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 304

The mutilations are as follows: the men and women [360] have the lobes of their ears pierced in a manner so as to be able to insert bamboo tubes. In addition to this, the women have a perforation in the middle of the lower lip, where they insert a little piece of wood similar to a tooth pick and sometimes a little pompon of brilliant feathers. This perforation also serves to take care of their needles (1).

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1. W. Reiss. "Ein Besuch bei den Jívaros Indianern" (Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, vol. VII, 1880, page 332.)

12: Rivet--360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302, 386

The Jíbaros like to paint the uncovered parts of their body (face, breast, arms and legs), perhaps in red with the seeds of the manduru (Bixa orellana), or in bluish black with the fruit of a tree called zula or piú-piú (Genipa oblongifolia) (1). Most often, the face paintings assume the form of transverse rays frequently augmented with indentations, and they are red and black indifferently. Those on the breast and stomach are generally black and are made up of squares or simple designs; but sometimes on the breast one find a transverse line from which are detached some ornaments, the arrangement of which, difficult to visualize, is obtained in the following manner: the design is deeply engraved upon a wooden cylinder, about 6 centimeters long and 1 centimeter to 1-1/2 thick. The crevices are filled in with color given consistency by the addition of bird fat. Thus prepared, the cylinder is rolled on the body, pressing it down very hard with the hand, and it imprints the ornaments on the body. The designs made with the zula juice become black little by little on contact with the air, without doubt by slow oxidation; they last 8 to 10 days and even resist energetic cleanings. The designs made with munduru, on the contrary, are effaced quickly and have to be constantly renewed (2). The savage attaches a great importance to this style. He also paints his teeth with zula.

1. By crushing the pulp of this fruit in warm water, one obtains a thick liquid, which, it appears, dyes white hair perfectly black. Cordero, op. cit. page 32.

2. Reiss, op. cit., page 332.

12: Rivet--360-361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302

The hair is worn long. According to Reiss, this custom was for the purpose of permitting the victor to grasp the head of his victim easily in order to separate it from its trunk; in that case, this hair-dress should be characteristic of the free man, and the women, children and the few prisoners spared should have the head shaved (1). This seems rational [361] among a tribe of warriors, but in Canelos, Macas, Gualaquiza, and Zamora, the women and children wear their hair long. The custom observed by Reiss therefore should not be made the basis for a generalization. The coiffure, always very well cared-for, is made up of three very, very tight plaits: one posterior plait or huango (a Quichua word), and two side plaits the thickness of a finger, which, beginning at the temples, descend the length of the cheeks, framing the face and falling on the breast. The hair on the forehead is cut straight a finger's breadth above the eyebrows. Sometimes one part of hair is twisted around the head in the form of a crown.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

12: Rivet--361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291, 826

To conclude the physical description of the Jîbaro, I should mention the curious habit observed among the natives of Macas and perhaps general to all the tribes, of raising up the penis, by attaching it to a cotton thread which is fastened around the waist, for the purpose, they say, of keeping it out of the way in walking. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez points out this same fact among the old Indians of the province of Quijos. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 56. This strange custom exists still among certain savage tribes of the Napo basin.

12: Rivet--361[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 181

The Jíbaro does not have a submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, like the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is lively, the look bold, the face mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animated, their speech easy and assured. Unhappily this is not the appearance of the savage when he comes to spend a few days in the cities of the inter-Andean valley. Dulled by alcohol, tired out from the trip, painfully affected by the cold climate of the Sierra, usually clothed with indescribable faded finery, he takes on a grotesque appearance and loses his original character and his proud carriage, but as I have described him, so one finds him in the forests, in the midst of virgin nature, whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage.

12: Rivet--361-362 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291

The clothing of the Jíbaroa is extremely simple (fig. 4): the man wears a rectangular piece of cotton, the itipi, which he has woven and dyed of [362] coffee color with darker vertical stripes. 1m 40 wide and 84 cent., long. it is wound around the waist, one of the ends always being on the anterior median line, and it descends about half way down the calf. In order to dye the cotton the Indians soak it for some time in a tepid maceration of leaves from a plant called yamacali. The itipi is held at the waist by a cord or any sort of band. Around his head, the Jíbaro often wears a band of the same material, 7 cent. wide and 50 cent. long, called (i)teimata, terminated at each end by a fringe of 58 cent., which is rolled tightly around the back plait (fig. 7-1).

12: Rivet--362-363 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 293

The savage encircles his wrist with a bracelet formed by a coil of green snakeskin, the symbol of good luck, the cundo (fig. 7-19). He always has slung over his shoulder a small, almost rectangular bag called shigra (a Quichua word), made of cabuya (Agave americanum) fiber or palma chambira (Astrocaryum tucuma) fiber, in which he keeps his accessories [363] for hunting and for his toilet, his mirror, his paints, his comb, etc...The shigra is made of string. The one pictured (fig. 8-7) measures 20 cent. long and 23 cent. wide; it is of deep straw color upon which are 7 transverse brown-red stripes. The spear is the inseparable companion of the Indian.

12: Rivet--363 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

As an ornament, in ordinary times, he only wears tubes of bamboo or jarusa, which are stuck into the lobes of the ears. I possess one of them which measures as much as 25 cent. in length and 16 millim. in diameter and at their extremities, they have some coarse black designs (fig. 5) made with a bad knife. Sometimes the Jíbaros make these designs by burning the wood.

It is into the ends of these bamboos that the men generally stick their needles.

12: Rivet -363 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 291, 302

The clothing of the women is not very different. It is composed of one approximately square piece of cotton, $1^{m}60$ on the side, analogous to the itipi and called tarachi. The middle of one of the sides passes under the left arm and the two extremities are fastened on the right shoulder with the aid of a big pin called tupo (a Quichua word). The ends of this square overlap along the right side of the body, thanks to a band wound around the waist. The garment descends half way down the calf. The two arms and the left shoulder are bare, while the right shoulder and the breasts are covered. Nursing infants are carried either at the breast or on the back, under the tarachi. The coiffure does not differ from that of the men, except that sometimes, instead of forming a back plait, the women let their hair fall on their shoulders.

12: Rivet--363-365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

The festive clothing of the Jíbaro is as complicated as the daily costume is simple. I have been able to procure for myself the complete ceremonial ornaments of a chief called Yumala, the names and exact descriptions of which follow.

The crows are three in number.

Tauas or taguaza (fig. 7-11) a flat circlet, somewhat like [365] the brim of a hat without a crown. The circlet is formed by a series of concentric circles made of vegetable fibers joined together by cotton threads. A band of feathers adorns the circumference, the upper side is covered with the plumage of birds (callistes [JP: humming-birds] of various kinds), and from the lower side hang small ornaments made of feathers, of various seeds and of the eletra of coleoptera (Euchroma gigantea, Linnaeus).

Tendema (fig. 8-6). Crown of cylindrical form, 6 cent. high, formed of a fabric of hard and resistant fibres covered on the outside with breasts and stomachs of Rhamphastides [JP: toucans] in red, white and yellow feathers. Diameter: 19 cent.

There is also a third kind of crown made of a fine, furry monkey-skin.

12: Rivet--365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

Scoanga (fig. 7-9). A small band of cotton, 1 1/2 cent. wide and 46 cent. long, having at its extremities a cluster of brilliant feathers and four very long tassels of hair; it is twisted around the back plait in such a manner that the feathers form a kind of pompon at the base of the plait.

Tayucunchi (tayo: kind of bird, cunchi: bone) (fig. 7-10). A magnificent ornament 1m 15 long and 18 cent. wide, composed essentially of a fabric made from the femurs of a bird called tayo (Nyctidromus?) juxtaposed in transverse rows. On the specimen that I possess I have counted 240 femurs aligned in 7 bands placed one above the other; 140 [JP: sic] birds have therefore been employed in the making. The bones are strung on cotton threads. Each row is separated from the neighboring one by a narrower row of small brownish seeds. On this unusual woof of ivory whiteness callistes [translatien: humming-birds] in iridescent colors are placed, while from the lower extremity hang eleven superb toucan feathers and some eletra of Euchroma. This elegant ornament is worn on the back, suspended from the head by a little band of cotton which encircles it and which is itself covered laterally with skins of Rhamphastides and bears in front, at the place corresponding to the forehead, a beautiful bird crest with bluish black reflections.

12: Rivet--365-367 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

The EAR PENDANTS are of various types, but all are worn suspended from the tubes of bamboo which pass through the lobes. These tubes have a small orifice in their anterior third, into which they put a slender piece of wood to which is affixed in T shape the thread which sustains the ornament. Once inserted, this piece [367] of wood is placed transversely against the orifice and it cannot come out again.

Kuishi (fig. 7-5-6). Ear pendants made from electra of Euchroma gigantea and Mallaspis antennatus, pierced at their bases and attached at different levels on a cotton thread. It measures about 36 cent. long and terminates on the bottom with a little pompon of brilliant plumes and sometimes with a tassel of human hair.

Another kind of ear pendant is ornamented with the taguaza. This is a stem 28 cent. long, around which, with the aid of a type of pitch, feathers are placed with adroit imbrication, black, red, yellow, etc., in succession (fig. 7-12-13). Like the kuishi, this ornament is terminated by a little tuft of hair. It is carefully kept in a tube of bamboo (fig. 7-14-15).

The NECKLACES are extremely varied.

Sué (fig. 7-2-3). Neck orament formed of mammal teeth, particularly of monkeys, the roots of which have been perforated in order to permit the passage of the thread.

Tumbumbe (fig. 7-7). Big string of beads 2 meters long, formed of white seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacryma, Gramineae) alternating with the latter alone (fig. 8-2). This necklace has the form of a figure 8, the same as almost all the necklaces of the Jíbaros. Fig. 9 explains the reason for this and shows the manner in which the Indians place these ornaments on the breast and the back.

Mulupishi (fig. 8-5). Similar to the preceding but even more complicated, since, instead of being composed of a single row of seeds, it is formed of a very great number of strings in juxtaposition, joined at the same place by many transverse cotton threads. On one of my specimens I have counted 114 strings, each of shich [368] measures 1^{m} 25 long, and the little blackish seeds which make them up are hardly as big as grains of millet. This ornament is worn like the tumbumbe and once in place, covers the front of the breast and the shoulders somewhat in the manner of a vest.

There are still other kinds of necklaces: one is formed of rattling Menispermaceae seeds attached like little bells to a cord (fig. 8-3), another has pieces of mother-of-pearl shells cut as the figure indicates (fig. 7-4), a third is made up of the seeds of Crysophyllum caimito (Sapotaceae), of Menispermaceae, and of Ormosia (?), and small pendants made of black seeds analagous to those of the mulupishi and terminated by

12: Rivet--367-368 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 301

Unionidae shells (fig. 8-4). A last necklace presents successive rows of monkey teeth, regularly separated by seeds of Phasioleae (Leguminosae) and Ormosia (?), little cocoanuts (Cocoineae), and some pieces of fern rachides (fig. 8-1).

12: Rivet--368 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292

Unduchi (fig. 7-20). Band of coffee-colored cotton like the itipi, measuring 60 cent. long, which is worn about the waist and which has a series of pendants 20 cent. long, of Coix lacryma seeds, terminated by big fragments of gastropod shells, cut in curvilinear triangles, which on striking together give a crystalline sound of little bells.

Acachula (fig. 7-8). Girdle formed of small plaits of human hair, juxtaposed and joined only in the middle and at their extremities by a cotton thread. One of the two specimens that I possess contains 75 and each one of them measures 1^{m} 50 long.

Maco (fig. 7-17). Ornament made of seeds of a forest tree that has not been determined, similar in form to a peach stone, and suspended from a common cord. When they are moved, they make a dry sound like castanets. They are worn either around the loins or at the knee for the dance.

Such are their many objects of ornamentation in which elegance equals originality. For the most part, they are common to both sexes, but used more by men than women. In Jíbaro country, the woman, considered as a slave without wishes or desires, knows nothing of elegance; the brave and strong male has preserved all his primitive privileges, and his omnipotence is more exaggerated by the isolation in which the various divisions of each tribe live.

12: Rivet--583 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361

The Jíbaros never live united in villages. Their homes are found scattered in the middle of the forest. These settlements are never permanent; in fact, the savages change their residence frequently, every six years on the average (1). The dwelling is always located near a stream, in the middle of a little cultivated land; no defined road leads to it, and only the Indians are able to recognize the trace of a pathway invisible to strangers in the labryinth of trees and thick underbrush.

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1. "Informe del Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 395.

Generally, there are many families living in a single house, usually about 15 people united by close family ties. The building has the form of an elongated ellipse (1) (fig. 10), the long axis of which measures 15 to 25 meters. The framework is made in the following manner: two posts about 4 meters high, placed in the foci of the ellipse, support a longitudinal ridge-pole, four other posts measuring about 3 meters in height, located on the periphery at the angles of the [584] rectangle inscribed in this ellipse, support two transverse longitudinal timbers which outline this rectangle. All this framework is of chonta wood (Bactris Iriartea) and the joints are secured with the aid of lianas. The walls (2) are made of cane-stalks (Guadua angustifolia) placed close together; in addition

1. It would be more exact to say that it represents a rectangle, the short sides of which are replaced by semi-cirles. Simson, among the Pindos, and Reiss, at Macas, saw a slightly different construction, in which only one of the short sides of the rectangle, the one corresponding to the rear part of the house, was semi-circular; the doors, as in the ordinary type, were made facing the ends of the long axis. One of the houses visited by Reiss was 26 m. long, 18 m. wide and $7^{m}50$ high. --Alfred Simson. "Notes on the Jívaros and Canelos Indians" (Journal of the anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1880, vol. IX, no. 4, page 385). --Reiss, op. cit., page 330.

2. In the regions of the Jíbaro country that can be called civilized, where the fear of attacks has disappeared, this wall has been done away with and the house is only a vast shed.

to this they are reinforced on the inside to a height of $1^{m}50$ from the ground by planks of chonta or caña about 5 cm. wide, arranged in such a manner that their joints never coincide with the interstices of the exterior wall. This precaution is for the purpose of preventing an enemy thrusting his lance through the fissures and striking the Jíbaro in his bed, which, as we shall see, is backed up against the partition. The battens are made of caña stalks spaced $0^{m}50$ apart and placed in diverging rays from the longitudinal beam to the peripheral beams; cross-beams placed at the same distance from each other complete the lattice work upon which the roof rests; the roof is formed of little bundles of straw called cambana or of leaves of a kind of Pandanus (cambaalga), skillfully imbricated from the edges toward the center.

There are also two doors placed at the extremities of the long axis of the ellipse, measuring about 2 meters high and 50 cm. wide. Sometimes, as an aid to defense, they are still more narrow. One of these doors is reserved for the women, the other for the men and this rule is never violated save for some very serious reason. We see there the first manifestation of the separation of the sexes, so accentuated in Jíbaro country.

12: Rivet--585 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 342, 356

The house proper is composed of a single room (1), sometimes divided by a transverse partition in the center; the floor is composed of the beaten earth, perfectly levelled and kept in a state of great neatness.

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1. At Macas, Reiss saw houses divided into three rooms by transverse partitions: the outer room served as a reception room, the central room as the kitchen, the rear room as the bedroom. Reiss, op. cit., page 330-331.

12: Rivet--585[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 372

Around the post located at the focus of the ellipse near the women's door are found all the household utensils; the space between it and the door represents the kitchen. Here a sort of bamboo screen hangs from the roof, in which are placed the various culinary vessels. There are as many fires as families in the house. Each fire is made up of three big sticks of wood, 30 to 45 cm. in diameter and 3 to $3^{m}50$ long, placed at 120° angles from each other and converging at the same point. It is there that the pot is placed: as fast as the sticks of wood are consumed, they are pushed little by little toward the center (1).

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 386.

12: Rivet--585-586 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 534

The opposing post is a sort of clothes-rack for the men: it is there that they put their lances, hang up their snares and all their utensils and accessories of the hunt. There are also some smaller stakes driven into the ground here and there, on which the Jîbaro man hangs his various possessions. Baskets which he has woven himself (changuina) hang from the roof, to which they are attached by lianas; his ceremonial clothes, the trinkets which constitute real wealth for him are carefully stored there. Near the men's door is likewise found the tunduli (fig. 11); this is a trunk of a tree similar to palo de balsa(Ochromia piscatoria) about 1^{m} 50 long [586] and 40 cm. in diameter, hollowed out from one end by the aid of hot stones. The end is then hermetically sealed with the aid of a big round piece of wood. The instrument, along one side of the cylinder, has a single opening of square form, or three or four circular openings, or perhaps two openings facing each other and resembling in form and position the sound-holes of a violin. The apparatus is placed horizontally between two posts, with the aid of tightly-stretched lianas attached to its extremities, where two ear-like projections serve for this purpose. Sometimes they put it in a vertical position, suspending it from a tree and fastening it below to a stake driven firmly into the ground (1). The sound is produced by hitting the cylinder hard near the openings with a stick of wood, one end of which is wrapped with cloth.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--586-587 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 513

The beds are placed along the wall, the head backed up against it and the feet turned toward the center of the dwelling. The women's beds are found near their own door, the men's on each side of the opposite door, but a little nearer the short axis of the ellipse, always because of the fear of an attack. Each bed is made of a wooden frame, lifted 30 or 40 cm. from the ground by four legs, across which bamboo stalks split lengthwise are laid close together (fig. 12). This frame measures about 1^{m} 60 wide and 1^{m} 20 long. The result is that when the Indian lies down on it, his legs are completely off the bed. Therefore, about 25 or 30 cm. from the foot of the little bed, there is a horizontal bar, or patachi, placed on two little forked sticks, upon which they place their feet. Immediately in front of this bar, a fire is kept continually burning in order to warm the legs of the sleeper, and also, according to Reiss, to [587] keep away the mosquitoes with its smoke (1). Doubtless both reasons are good, for the mosquitoes are plentiful and the savage sleeps without cloth or covering.

The beds of the women are a little different. They are longer and do not have the patachi. In addition they have two lateral partitions of bamboo and at the foot a little curtain of some kind of material which protects them from being seen. In some houses, the individual curtains are replaced by a wall of bamboo about 2 meters high which runs in front of all the women's beds so that one can pass from one to the other without being seen from the interior of the room.

1. Reiss, op. cit., page 331.

12: Rivet--587-588 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352

The utensils and furniture of this modest interior are few in number. They consist of flat, oval, wooden vessels (batea), pots of all sizes for chicha, hollow bowls (piningas), and very light fired clay jars (ichingans),[588] painted bright red on the inside (fig. 15). Sometimes these objects have pretty designs in red, black and straw color (fig. 13). The piningas destined to hold guayusa, a beverage of which I shall speak presently, have a small prolongation on the bottom to hold the leaves of the plant for making the infusion (fig. 14).

I have still to mention the low wooden stools called kutanga and finally the various weapons and implements of work: gun, ax, machete, and fish-hooks bought from the whites; lances, blowguns, shields, quivers which I will describe later, the loom for weaving, the spindles formed by a chonta fiber with a round piece of corozo (Phytelephas macrocarpa) serving as a spindle whorl (fig. 8-10), flutes, drums, trumpets of deer horn, fans made of large feathers for kindling the fire, wicker baskets which the women use to carry home the fruits and vegetables on their backs, and finally, the toilet accessories, pieces of mirror, combs, paint flasks; the combs or indashi are very elegant (fig. 7-16), the teeth are made from wild cane fibers, held in place by two pairs of small wooden sticks placed crosswise; the whole is fastened by a cotton thread wrapped around the various parts, forming a regular and pleasing design. The paint flask (fig. 7-18) is an oval calabash, big as an orange, pierced at one end. A stick, closely fitted to the hole, functions as a stopper and a brush.

12: Rivet--588 (no date) 1907 Jíbaro
116, 354

The Jíbaro use seeds that they call sapatra for illumination. They come from a kind of Fevillea (Curcurbitaceæ), doubtless the Fevillea cordifolia. These seeds, flat and circular, 4 to 5 centimeters in diameter, are strung on a wooden rod so as to form a candle about 40 centimeters long. Since they are very oily, they give a slightly smoky but fairly bright flame: two of these candles suffice to light the house adequately. For night marches, they use copal torches.

12: Rivet--588-589 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 372

The savage procures fire by the method of boring or [589] whirling (fig. 16). Small holes are made in a board of soft and perfectly dry wood, in which the Indian whirls the pointed end of a stick of very hard wood. The friction causes the formation of a very fine wood powder which, as a result of the heat developed, finally bursts into flames. The operation is long and tiring and many individuals take turns before arriving at success.

12: Rivet--589-590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 556

The inventory of personal property of the Jíbaro shows us that he [590] is generally very poor: if an individual possesses three changes of clothing, he is considered rich in his tribe.

12: Rivet--590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 241

In the cultivated land which surrounds the house, there are a great many chontaruru plants (Guilielma speciosa), the fruits of which, with its yellow, nutritive, and tasty pulp, weighs 4,500 to 7,000 gr., an abundance of banana plants and manioc (Manihot aipi), sweet potatoes (Convolvulus batatas), and often maize and cotton.

12: Rivet--590 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 231

Near the house some small enclosures are reserved for the hens and hogs, the only domestic animals that the Jíbaro raises, outside of the dog, a few parrots and a few monkeys. There is not a house where there are not veritable packs of hounds. The animals are tied day and night to the foot of the women's beds, there being two, three and even more per bed. As they reproduce with difficulty in these regions, for what reason I do not know, the Jíbaros acquire them either from whites living in the vicinity or during the course of visits to the Ecuadorian sierra. The first concern of the savage, every time that he acquires a new boarder, is to force him to swallow a tobacco infusion, for the purpose of provoking abundant vomiting and to wash out the stomach completely. He has in fact noticed that in the mountains the dog subsists solely on filth, of which the vomiting purifies him to some extent. Then the training for hunting begins. I will point out to French hunters the method employed by the Jíbaro to punish lazy animals. He ties up his legs and leaves him several minutes, thus disarmed and incapable of moving, on an anthill. It seems that this cruel punishment gets remarkable results. The number of dogs that an Indian possesses enters into the estimation of his fortune in the same way as the number of his clothes, his pigs---and his wives.

12: Rivet--590-591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 262, 252

The diet of the Jíbaros consists of manioc, maize, bananas, and game, which they keep in certain leaves which preserve them from decay, and of fish which they are able to smoke. Only the wild hog is esteemed. The domestic hog is most often raised for commercial purposes; the majority of Indians do not [591] eat its flesh because they consider it a dirty animal.

12: Rivet--591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 263, 261

For cooking, they do not ordinarily use salt, not by preference, but because of the rarity of this product in the upper Amazon. Geophagy, which is very widespread, is without doubt related to this lack of salt. The natives ordinarily eat small balls of saltpetrous earth, but they occasionally make use of pieces of pottery (1). This custom is common to a great many tribes of the eastern regions, living under the same conditions. The little Indians of the Napo carefully hide little balls of clay between their toes, to regale themselves unknown to the missionary.

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1. This detail is noted in the report of the expedition made in 1785 by Vallano and Cuesta into the Jibaro country of Zamora, of which I will speak later. The Corregidor, having broken a piece of pottery in the house of a Jíbaro, was surprised to see the Indians present divide up the pieces and crunch them with manifest pleasure. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 22).

The common drink is chicha, a fermented beverage, usually made with manioc, but also with bananas, the fruits of the chontaruru, etc. It is indispensable to the Jíbaro, who can withstand the privation of going without food for entire days, but does not know how to get along without his favorite beverage. In the course of his long war or hunting expeditions, if necessity demands, he gets along without anything but masato, that is to say fermented manioc paste carefully wrapped in a banana leaf, a small quantity of which mixed into water permits him to make an impromptu, pleasant, and strengthening beverage. Normally it is prepared by the women: it is called cooked or raw, depending on whether or not it has been cooked after fermentation. The first variety is stronger and has a better taste. The manufacture is as follows: the women take boiled pieces of manioc, crush them with their hands, then pound them on a batea with the aid of a piece of wood, and finally carefully chew the paste which, well mixed with saliva, is spit into a big clay pot containing cold water and a little fermented manioc. The mixture is stirred up with the hand and left to itself; in a few days it is ready. All the chichas, with various fruits from which they are made, are prepared in the same manner; they say that of chontaruru has a special taste. Daily the Jíbaro drinks enormous quantities of this beverage; [592] it is with that he gets himself intoxicated in the course of feasts and celebrations. Needless to say, after alcohol appeared in the eastern forests, it

made terrible ravages. The savage, like the civilized Indian, has an invincible leaning toward intemperance (1). Need I add that the Whites have no scruples against encouraging them in this vice by putting at their disposal at exorbitant prices the ignoble cane brandy.

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1. However, Father Prieto wrote in 1815: "The Jíbaros are not drunkards and look upon the drunk man with scorn, a trait unusual among all the American Indians". Prieto. "Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 65.

Besides chicha, the Jíbaro frequently use three vegetable infusions: those of guayusa and natema and the decoction of tobacco.

Guayusa is a plant of the Aquifoliaceae family and of the genus Ilex (1). In steeping the leaves give a tonic and stomachic beverage which replaces coffee and tea. But the Jíbaro also takes it every morning on an empty stomach upon getting up, and produces by a simple contraction of the diaphragm or even by putting his fingers in his throat, a veritable washing out of the stomach. Even the youngest children are accustomed to this strange habit and their mothers make them vomit by tickling their throats with a feather. It is therefore wrong to say, as certain explorers have claimed, that the infusion of guayusa has vomitive properties. It has no more than mate. The purpose of this daily operation is to get rid of the material remaining in the stomach on awakening, the Jíbaro being convinced that it is injurious to the organism.

Natema (Banisteria caapi) is a vine which, on boiling in water for 24 hours, yields an infusion which when introduced into the stomach, deprives one of all feeling for three days, and provokes during this lethargy a profusion of dreams. The phase of insensibility is preceded by a period of excitation. We shall see later under what circumstances the savages have recourse to natema. The young man and children employ for the same

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1. Obras de Fray Vicente Solano, Barcelona, 1892, vol. I, page 429.

purpose the infusion of maicuma (2) (kind of Datura?) which is less active.

The tobacco decoction is frequently used as a [593] remedy or in certain manifestations of religious nature of which I will speak later.

The Indian also has a passion for smoking as often as he can, but this is another vice that he acquired from the whites. In fact, he uses only the tobacco that they sell him, making his cigarettes with the aid of dry maize or banana leaves. He never makes use of a pipe.

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2. Doubtless, the same narcotic that the Salesians call maiguá. I Jíbaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza. Equatore. Tipografia Salesiana. Turin, 1926, note 2 on page 6.

12: Rivet--593 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 462, 439

Generally-speaking, the Jíbaro depends very little on foreign industry. It is the women who mold the various household pots with the aid of a simple wooden palette, glaze them with the juice of certain plants, and bake them in an open fire, it is they who spin and weave the clothes, while the husband makes his magnificent ornaments himself. We shall see that he does not show less skill and patience in the manufacture of his weapons and hunting implements.

12: Rivet--593-594 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 411

The national weapon is the lance. It is shaped entirely from a single piece of chonta, a very hard wood of black color. It has a variable length: the five examples that I possess (fig. 17) measure 2^m 15, 2^m 36, 3^m 5, 2^m 15, and 2^m 38. Each one of them is composed of two parts: a cylindrical handle 2 cm. in diameter and a point which always has the shape of a triangular pyramid, the cut of which is sometimes an equilateral triangle 2 cm. per side, or a more or less elliptical triangle with a base sometimes 5 cm. 5 long. In the first case, the passage from the handle to the point is made without notable widening (fig. 17 -1-3), in the second case, there is a sudden widening at this point (fig. 17 -4-6-7). The length of the point varies considerably; on my five specimens it is respectively 49, 56, 42, 64 and 89 cm. In normal times, when he has nothing to fear, the Jíbaro carries a lance with a point no longer than 20 cm. The lances with long points are primarily designed for war. Along the lateral sides, the point sometimes has barbs that are quite deep with the opening toward the handle. On my specimens 3 and 6, there are two pairs: upon the first at 40 and 48 cm., and upon the second at 13 and 17 cm. from the end. Some of these lances (nos. 3, 6 and 7) have ornaments made of cotton thread and bird feathers, forming a veritable collar at the place where the handle terminates. It is probably at this point that the Jíbaro holds the weapon in order to strike. Lance no. 7 is ornamented with three narrow rings made of cotton thread along its point.

12: Rivet--593-594 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 411

This primitive weapon is tending to disappear, for now the Jíbaro can easily obtain iron spear-points. He attaches them with pitch to the end of a piece of very light white wood, which he paints red for more or less of its length with the aid of a vegetable substance called yucalipe.

The lance is a thrusting weapon but sometimes, although very rarely, it is employed as a missile.

The blowgun is more complicated in manufacture so that certain individuals have made a specialty of it. A tree trunk 4 to 5 meters long set at a certain distance from the ground, with the top smoothed off, serves as a work table for these artists. Upon this work-bench they place two carefully chosen, firm stalks of chonta side by side, of compact, black fiber, very dry and the proper length for the blowgun. The upper surface of these stalks is first leveled with a knife, then one of them is fixed solidly with little pegs or nails of chonta, and the Indian, using the second as a plane, rubs the two roughly-flattened surfaces together, putting set sand between them. This polishing operation lasts many days. This done, the movable piece is pinned down beside the first; then the artisan, stretching a cotton thread wet with manduru (Bixa orellana) [595] dye along the axis of one of them, raises it, and then loosens it so that a perfectly straight red line is traced by elastic ty on each surface. These lines serve as a guide on each piece for hollowing out a semi-cylindrical groove. This work is done with the aid of a hog tooth (Dicotyles labiatus) sharpened on stone in the form of a burin and tied to the end of a handle (fig. 18). This operation finished, the two pieces are joined together, face to face, so that the half-canal with which each of them is grooved forms by superposition the bore of the blowgun.

The outer surface of the instrument is carefully rounded with a knife, then, with the aid of fine, supple and resistant strips of tree bark 3 cm. wide, the two halves are joined together very strongly by a series of spiral turns; in addition the whole thing is

coated with a kind of tar that the Indian has melted in a pininga; then with admirable patience, he softens this coating by heating it bit by bit, and polishes it and smooths it with the soft inner surface of manioc rind. Finally, the artist needs only to finish the central groove, left very rough and uneven by the work of the burin. At the end of a narrow rod of chonta as long as the tube, he places a piece of the skin of a fish called raya and uses it to polish the interior. For the fish-skin, he presently substitutes some leaves of maize and finally a plug of cotton. This is the last operation in the laborious process.

Footnote to Fig. 18. Burin (1)

1. The drawing of the burin is extracted from: Luigi Pigorini. "Di alguni oggetti etnologici dell' Ecuador posseduli dal Museo preistorico ed etnografico di Roma" (Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Sér. 3. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Vol. VI. Meeting of April 24, 1881). Pl. I, fig. 4. This object comes from the Muratos.

12: Rivet--595-596 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The two blowguns in my collection measure 2^{m} 26, and 2^{m} 80 [596] (fig. 17 -2-5). The mouth of the first is made of a bone tube, that of the second is wooden. At one end the instrument has a projection on the outside which, at first glance, seems for the purpose of serving as a sight; that is not true: in fact, it is found on the same end as the mouth. Its purpose is to permit the Indian always to place his weapon in the same position at the time of shooting and thus always make the same correction in his arm.

With his blowgun, the Indian shoots little arrows, the ends of which are poisoned for a length of only 2 cm. They are little round rods 245 mm. long, $2^{mm.}5$ wide, terminating in a very sharp point. These arrows are kept in a quiver or tunda (fig. 8-9), a bamboo tube 28 cm. long and 65 mm. in diameter, the bottom of which is blocked with pitch; they are kept in place by a kind of straw mat which holds the tunda. Attached to this apparatus by vegetable fibers is a calabash containing huambulushi, a kind of cotton produced by Bombax ceiba [JP: kapate], and suspended by a string is the jawbone of a fish with very fine teeth (Serrosalmo Piraja) (1). At the time the arrow is shot, its posterior end is encircled with a round cotton pad of the same caliber as the bore of the blowgun, then he makes a circular saw cut 3 cm. from the point with the jawbone: the stricken animal, in struggling, breaks the arrow at this point of least resistance and only the poisoned part stays in the wound.

1. Colini. "Collezione ethnografica degli indigeni dell'alto Amazzoni," op. cit., page 39.

The poison looks like an almost liquid black paste. It is not made by the Jíbaros, who acquire it by exchange from the Ticunas, Yaguas or Orejones Indians of the Amazon (1). Depending on its origin, the poison is called ticuna, yagua or orejon. The first costs too much, so generally the last two are used. The savage prepares it specially in order to increase its potency. To this end, he searches for a nest of very venomous ants which he calls izula and places nearby his little pot of poison, being careful to connect its edge and the ground with little sticks. The ants go up along the latter and the Indian makes them fall into the pot with a long rod from a distance. When the collection is sufficient, he adds a little water to the poison, closes the vessel and over [597] a slow fire, cooks and reduces the mixture until the insects are in some measure dissolved.

These poisons do not generally have an action as rapid as certain people say, and in any case their effects vary greatly according to the kind of animal. The dog and the gallinazo (Cathartes sp.) [JP: turkey buzzard] are immune to it; the toucan and the hen resist more than a quarter of an hour; the pava (Penelope cristata), the pheasant and other birds survive ten minutes. Other animals succumb more rapidly. The roe buck in spite of his size is very sensitive to it: one Ecuadorian explorer told me of having

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1. See the subject of Amazonian poisons: Olivier Ordinaire. Du Pacifique à l'Atlantique par les Andes péruviennes et l'Amazone. Paris, 1892, page 267.

12: Rivet--596-597 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 278

seen a buck wounded in the nose to fall dead two hundred meters farther. The effect on man is almost nil. The wounded Jíbaros heal themselves by sucking a piece of sugar cane.

The shield is round and measures about 1 m. in diameter. It is either made of the skin of a big tapir (Tapirus americanus) or of a manatee (Manatus americanus), or of a very hard wood, usually cedar (Cedrela odorata) which lances can not pierce. Gonzalez Suarez says that the palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria), excessively light and elastic as cork, upon which the lance rebounds without penetrating, is also used (1). Reiss likewise points out the use of soft and light woods (2). Here is the description given by Uhle of a specimen brought back by the German explorer (3) (fig. 19).

"The shield is made of wood, light in weight and color,[598] and in the form of a round flat disc, the exterior surface of which is divided into three concentric circles, each of which projects slightly beyond the next, going from the center to the periphery. The semi-circular handle, which serves to hold it, is formed of three small curved sticks, fixed like pegs by their ends into the disk itself, and strongly attached together with the aid of a strip of cipó [JP: a liana] (?) or of bark which is wrapped around them."

1. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 212.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 334.
3. Kultur und Industrie Sudamerikanischer Volker nach den im Besitze des Museums fur Volkerkunde zu Leipzig befindlichen Sammlungen von A. Stubel, W. Reiss und B. Koppel. Text und Beschreibung der Tafeln von Max Uhle. 2 vol. Berlin, 1889-1890, 2nd vol., pl. XXIV, fig. 5. It is the reproduction of this figure that we give here (fig. 19).

12: Rivet--598 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The javelin used by the Jíbaros is one of the most unusual; it can be thrown with the aid of a propelling device (fig. 18) analagous to certain instruments described by A. de Mortillet (1). The javelin proper he says is comprised of a long handle of 76 cm. made of a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia) which is perfectly smooth on the outside but full of an excessively light pith. One of the extremities is closed by a stopper made of a resistant wood, for that is what receives all the shock. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta dart in the form of a very sharp triangular pyramid, about 22 cm. long: it is this part which is poisoned.

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1. Adrien de Mortillet. "Les Propulseurs à crochet modernes et préhistoriques" (Revue mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris, 1st year, VIII, August 15, 1891, page 241.

12: Rivet--598 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 411

The spear-thrower is made of a piece of wood about 69 cm. long, with a groove hollowed on its upper side to receive the handle of the javelin; the rear end of the latter butts against the edge of the spear-thrower. The spear-thrower has a hole on its lower surface at the junction of its posterior and middle thirds, where the Indian puts his index finger in order to throw the javelin, as the illustration shows. The complete apparatus measures about 1 meter long.

12: Rivet--598-599 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 501, 396

The canoe is indispensable to the Jíbaro. Its construction is a long and laborious operation. For this purpose, the savage looks along the banks of a stream for the biggest tree, preferably a cedar (Cedrela ordorata), and fells it with his ax; this operation alone takes two or three days of work. Then he separates the part that he wishes to use from the trunk; then he levels off one of its sides with the ax and draws on it with carbon the form of the prow and of the [599] stern. The vessel is hollowed out little by little with the aid of fire, then finished with an adze. The keel is made by the same patient, slow procedure. The length varies from 6 to 20 m., the width from 40 to 60 cm., and sometimes attains 1 meter.

The oar is made from a plank 1^{m} 20 to 1^{m} 60 long, terminating in an oval-shaped palette, the whole cut from a single piece of wood.

12: Rivet--599 (no date) 1907 Jívaro -1
116, 534

The musical instruments in use among the Jíbaros are the tunduli which I have already described, the drum, the cuerno, the caracol, the flauta and the pingullu. The Aguarunas also have a violin with 3 strings (1).

The drum (fig. 8-8) is not the work of the Jíbaros; they acquire it by exchange from the Indians of the Napo who make a specialty of this manufacture. The barrel of the drum is hollowed out from a small log of cedro (Cedrela odorata) 175 mm. in diameter and 19 cm. long. The thickness of the walls does not exceed 1/2 cm. The skin used is that of the howling monkey, doubtless because the Indian imagines that the skin of this noisy animal ought to have a special sonority (2). The tension of the hide over the barrel is obtained almost as in European drums, by two narrow bands of wood joined together by strings. The apparatus is carried suspended from the neck by a cord and only a single drumstick is used.

The cuerno is a simple trumpet made with a deer horn; the caracol is made with a big shell; the flauta is a flûte traversiére [trans: a German flute], the pingullu a kind of flageolet or long wooden whistle, supplied with many holes, to permit the modulation of sounds.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 73.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire, etc., op. cit., page 58.

12: Rivet--599 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 534

We are now acquainted with the Jíbaro from the physical point of view, his manner of dressing, his home, his food, his weapons and implements, his musical instruments; it is now necessary for us to take a look at his life.

12: Rivet--599-600 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 512, 521, 201

The Indian is an early riser: at 3 o'clock in the morning he wakes up, and if he is [600] head of a family, his first concern is to repeat in a loud and spiritual voice the history of the tribe, the wars that it has carried on with the neighboring peoples, and the names of the relatives killed in these fights. He mixes into his account praise for his friends and himself and insults for his enemies, advice to the children so that they may some day become worthy of their father, that is to say that they be adroit hunters, that they raise good dogs, that they be hardy in expeditions and unrelenting in vengeance. (1) During this discourse, the Jíbaro keeps the closed left fist placed level with the lower lip against the chin (fig. 20). This discourse finished, the women give everyone the morning infusion of guayusa.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 75.

12: Rivet--600 -601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 515, 302, 264

The hygenic operation finished [KS: morning infusion of guayusa], everyone washes, for the Jíbaro is clean, contrary to his brother of the sierra. As soon as he returns from the neighboring river, he makes his toilette in the house itself; he has the custom of putting water in his mouth, from which he spits it into his hands in order to wash his face and wet his hair; then he combs it carefully, for he likes to have his hair well-arranged and shiny. Then, while the women are preparing breakfast, he sets to work, either at the weaving of a garment, or the manufacture of his ornaments or his arms. At the end of about an hour the repast is ready: there are abundant piningas of chicha, some manioc and boiled bananas, and a piece of wild pig or of fish. After having [601] refreshed himself sufficiently, the Jíbaro paints his body and his teeth, puts on his customary ornaments, takes his lance, his blowgun or his gun, his little net, unties his dogs and for 4 1/2 or 5 hours in the morning hunts or goes to visit his friends in the neighborhood, during which time the women take their wicker back-baskets and armed with a little machete or a knife cultivate the surrounding land.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the Indian has always returned; one never meets him at night, normally. As soon as he gets back, his wives come in turn to present him with a bowl of chicha, which they stir with their hands before offering, and while the master drinks, they turn their heads, either because of respect, or out of habit.

12: Rivet--601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 868, 555

The Jíbaro hardly works at home two hours per day at the most. A skilled hunter and fisher, he passes his life outside. All his pride consists of being renowned for his dexterity and agility. All his efforts tend to maintain these precious qualities. From the age of seven on, the child practices handling the blowgun; to teach him the use of the throwing instrument, his parents make him little javelins from the stalk of the paja toquilla (Carludovica palmata). The little boys are lined up in two rows, a hoop of tree bark is thrown between them and each one tries to put his weapon through the center of the hoop. Thanks to this education, the Jíbaros can accomplish astonishing feats. A missionary saw them hit a target the size of a 5-franc piece with a lance at a distance of 20 meters (1)

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1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain, etc..., op. cit., page 143.

12: Rivet--601-602 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 753, 276

A superstitious practice observed at Macas, and perhaps generally, shows the importance the savage attaches to remaining always in a perfect state of training. Believing that when he has sold his blowgun to a white man he has lost the strength of his lungs, he submits to the follow operation in order to regain it: he takes a bamboo tube 20 to 25 cm. long and 2 1/2 cm. in diameter, stuffs it with tobacco, and lights it. A friend places the lighted end in his mouth and blows hard into the tube. The smoke which comes out in abundance from the other end is swallowed by the patient who, with his mouth wide open, is seated opposite the apparatus (fig. 21). [602] Soon the sufferer falls narcotized, with abundant vomiting and in a real state of prostration, but a few hours later, he feels well and thinks he has recovered the power of his breath.

12: Rivet--602 -603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151

Other qualities make the Jíbaros marvelous men in the woods. All the travelers have pointed out the development of their sense of direction (1), so remarkable that they have been tempted to see in it a true instinct. In reality, this astonishing faculty rests on the observation of many details that escape the stranger, perhaps on the observation of the heavens; but above all it is the direction of the dominant winds, the location of mosses and lichens on bark, the curvature of trees, and the direction of stream currents which furnish the Indian the necessary elements for guiding himself through the vast forests with all certainty. Sight and hearing are developed in a remarkable manner. The ear of the savage permits him to interpret the least noise, his eye notices apparently insignificant details. The sense of smell is equally acute. However, it appears that the Zaparos excel the Jíbaros on this point; in fact they are capable of finding an [603] animal without constantly following his trail; and the missionaries often had occasion to make use of this unusual gift in order to find again those of their neophytes who, loving liberty more than theology, fled from the Mission settlement (2).

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1. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 345.
2. Simson, op. cit., page 390.

12: Rivet--603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151, 224

Perfect knowledge of the forest and its inhabitants, great power of observation, an inexhaustible patience, an unheard of endurance, make the Jíbaro a hunter without peer. Hunting the tayo (Nyctidromus), the femurs of which serve to make the ornament which I described under the name tayucunchi, is one of the biggest occupations. This very mistrustful bird lives in numerous bands and sleeps in caves in rock cliffs. When the Indian discovered one of these refuges, he goes late at night and closes the opening and smokes out the poor creatures or captures them all simply by hand.

12: Rivet--603-604 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 226

For fishing the Jíbaros use the barbasco (Jacquinia armillaris). They make two or three holes in the ground where they put a great quantity of branches and roots of this plant, then armed with big pointed sticks, they crush them in order to form a sort of paste of the earth and the juice of the plant. During this time, other Jíbaros 150 or 200 m. downstream construct the atarraya: a barrage formed of interwoven sticks, securely set in the bed of the stream and extending the whole width of the latter, is instructed at a point where the gradient of the stream is steeper than elsewhere; it is destined to support the weirs. The latter are large parallelopiped rectangles made with sticks of cana guadua (Guadua angustifolia) and measure 3 m. long, 60 cm. wide. The apparatus is oriented against the current, the open forward end resting on the sream bed itself and the rear end on the dam. The barbasco paste is then thrown into the water, which becomes milky and soapy at its contact. The fish are stupefied in a few minutes, and rise to the surface, bellies upward. Swept along by the current, they are stopped by the traps. When the stream of water is too large to install an atarraya, the Indians catch the fish themselves, it is marvellous to see them swim with an indescribable dexterity, seize [604] the fish with their hands, teeth, even the feet and bring them to the canoe. Their skill is such that a missionary has seen them trap fish swimming without using barbasco. He also saw them beat the stream, divid- into two groups, so as to drive the fish toward one bank and harpoon them with lances

in the cavities of the rocks where they take refuge (1). Hunting of the manatee (Manatus americanus) and big fish (particularly the Vestres gigas) is also done with the lance.

1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionaire dominicain, etc..., op. cit., p. 172-173.

12: Rivet--604 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 502

The Jíbaro is a skilled navigator. With his little canoe, braves the rapids of the most raging torrents, maneuvers the frail craft through rocks and whirlpools with a surety, a precision, and a calmness which all voyagers and missionaries agree in praising. The number of the oarsmen varies, according to the dimensions of the boat, from two to six. Each has a single oar in a seated or kneeling position. One Indian placed in the stern steers and keeps the canoe in the current with the aid of an oar.

12: Rivet--604 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 517

Outside of hunting and fishing, which constitute his principal occupation, the Jíbaro uses his time to visit his neighbors, relatives and allies; I will come back to these visits in connection with the social life.

12: Rivet--604 [3] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 551

The Jíbaros take their names either from the animal kingdom, (1) the vegetable kingdom, or sometimes mountains and rivers (2). We shall make as detailed a study of those we have been able to collect at the same time as the study of the language in a later memoir.

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 161.

12: Rivet--604-605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 595, 721

The Indians can marry as many women as they want to, but practice, although some do possess as many as eight (certain chiefs particularly), most of them are content with two or three, generally one old one, the wife by the first marriage, and one or two younger ones, not so much because of the [605] difficulty of providing for the needs of many companions, but because of their rarity. In fact we shall see later that many wars have no other end than to procure women.

12: Rivet--605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562

The status of these latter [KS: women who are captured in war] is entirely inferior. Despised by the husband, they are only slaves destined to serve him, to prepare the chicha and the food, to spin and to weave the cotton, to cultivate the chacra which surrounds the house. They also take care of the domestic animals, collect the firewood, gather in the harvest and make the household pottery. On the trail, during the day the woman walks behind her husband. At night, she goes ahead of him to frighten off snakes and show him the road. (1) In every case it is she who carries the burden. Vacas Galindo reports that a young Indian whom he had asked to carry a small package for him laid it down before entering the house of his relatives because, he explained, only women did that kind of thing. (2) Perhaps we should see in this custom not the manifestation of the sense of superiority of the male, much as the necessity he finds himself under of being always ready to defend himself and his own.

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 392.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. op. cit., page 125.

12: Rivet--605 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 562, 152

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know any Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparos. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--605-606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 867

From a very early age the young Jíbaro boy is conscious of the superiority attached to his sex and, barely grown, he treats her [606] who gave him life with the same scorn that his father does; besides, at the death of his father, he inherits all of his father's authority regarding his mother. He never marries before he is 17 or 18 years old; all during his childhood and adolescence he has an absolutelyindependent existence and receives a purely physical education; he learns from his father the hate for enemies, the taste for vengeance, and the desire for special glory that pleases his people. Missionaries relate that when a warrior has captured children during an expedition, he brings them back alive to have them killed by his own sons, thus to take away their fear of spilled blood and pain. (1)

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1. Collecion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., 5th map, page 48.

12: Rivet--606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 883, 152, 583

A young man can stay under the paternal roof as long as he wishes, his mother serving him in the same way as she does his father. This period is for him a time of unrestraint and sometimes of crime. He dares all, making love without scruple to all the women that he meets, and his lack of conscience goes so far, according to certain travellers, as to kill his sister's husband so as to be able to give the young widow to a friend of his own choice. In other words, in certain tribes, particularly at Gualaquiza, it is not the father but the brother who gives his sister in marriage and with no other formality than his acquiesence, the fiance takes away the one he has chosen.

12: Rivet--606-607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 585

At Macas, the prospective husband makes his demand to the father and the father imposes on him the condition of going into the forest to hunt for five or six days. At the end of this time, the fiance returns loaded down with smoked meat which he presents to the young girl. If the father considers that he passed the test well, he accepts him for a son-in-law and even, if he is young, [607] robust and especially clever, he does not hesitate to give him two or three daughters. He immediately ties on to the arms of the newly-wed couple a band of coffee-colored cotton as wide as a finger, woven by the wife herself. The fiance pierces a little hole between his wife's lip and chin, through which she puts as an ornament a pompom of brilliant feathers, and then offers her a tarachi and some other feminine ornaments. The couple paint themselves and dress themselves up as well as they can. An old man of the tribe "who undertakes the office of priest" (?) (1) gives them a decoction of tobacco to drink, and the celebration continues as a dance, with singing and drinking during two or three days. It is, at least for this tribe, the only occasion where one sees the Jíbaro dancing in couples. According to certain Indian informants the fiance opens the vagina of his wife with the aid of bones prepared for this use, in order to make her more capable of intercourse.

Before marrying, the young man must always clear a piece of land, plant manioc and bananas, and construct and furnish a house; after that his only obligation is to get clothes for his wife and to furnish the necessary game.

Ordinarily, it is only at the end of several years that he chooses other companions.

1. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, op. cit. page 122.

12: Rivet--607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 584

The young girl is never consulted in her choice of a husband. Besides, very often, they marry her off at an age when she would be incapable of having an opinion. Actually, she is sometimes promised to her future husband at the age of six years, sometimes even younger. In this case, she is brought up in his house and to his taste by his other wives, until she is old enough to be their companion in misery. On the subject of the age of marriage, there exists, at least among the tribes around Macas, a curious custom; when a daughter is born, the parents plant three or four chontaruru plants around the house, which they care for with great interest; when these palms begin to bear fruit, i.e., at the end of seven years, the child is ready to marry.

12: Rivet--607-608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 582

In spite of the precocity of the unions, it is rare for a Jíbaro woman to become a mother before the age of thirteen or fourteen years.

Marriage may occur with any degree of kinship except the degrees in the direct line or the first collateral degree.

The Indians seem little concerned with harmonizing the age of the [608] spouses, and one often sees men of thirty to forty marrying little girls of six to twelve.

12: Rivet--608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 586

The husband has the right not only to repudiate his wife, but even to kill her, sometimes without the slightest motive; sometimes when she has grown too old and cannot work any longer, he turns her out of his house, with no thought of the long time she has served him (1). This omnipotence becomes particularly odious when the unfortunate woman, instead of belonging to a friendly or related family, has been captured from an enemy tribe in the course of a war expedition.

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. 6th map, page 57.

12: Rivet--608 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562, 833

Even in the interior arrangement of the house, there is a real separation of the sexes among the Jíbaros, not as clear as among certain peoples, but nonetheless evident. In consequence, the Indians never have intercourse in the dwelling, but always outside, in the cultivated field which surrounds the house.

12: Rivet--608 [3] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 844

Certain authors have noted the couvade among the Jívaro (1). Gonzalez Suarez describes this strange custom as follows: "When the moment of birth arrives, the Indian woman goes into the woods to a place where the husband has prepared in advance a sort of portico of three sticks. The cross bar is placed at a height calculated so that the woman hanging from it by her hands finds herself on tiptoe, and in this position she bears her child. As soon as she is delivered she goes to the nearby river, washes the newborn child, bathes herself, and goes back to take care of her domestic duties.

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1. H. W. Bates. Central America, the West Indies and South America. 2nd edition, London, 1882, page 331 - 342.
Elisee Reclus. Nouvelle Geographie Universal, 18.
Amerique du Sud, Les Region andines, Paris, 1893, page 443 - 444.

12: Rivet--608-609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

At the house her [KS: post parturient mother] husband is in bed, groaning and simulating real illness (1)." Simson (2), who made a very short stay in the Jívaro village of Pintuc, also reports that the mother has to go through all the agonies of childbirth exposed to the open air, while the father [609] rests in the house, is careful of his diet and takes care of himself for several days. Colini also gave these details. (3) It is astonishing that neither Velasco, Villavicencio, Cevallos, Raimondi, Cordero, Wolfe, Reiss, nor the Dominican missionaries, nor the Jesuits, Franciscans or Salesians, speak of such a remarkable custom which would surely have attracted their attention. From my own personal information obtained from diverse sources, I feel able to affirm that among the tribes in the vicinity of Canelos, Macas Gualaquiza and Zamora, this custom has disappeared, if it ever were really practiced. It is probable that a custom existing among neighboring peoples, the Piojes in particular, has been wrongly attributed to the Jívaros.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio historico sobre los Canaris. op. cit., page 32. The learned Ecuadorien historian does not say where he got these curious details, which, however, he did not repeat in his Historia del Ecuador.
2. Simson. op. cit., page 338.
3. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 18.

12: Rivet--609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

The Jivaro woman takes no care of herself after the birth, and does not interrupt her daily work. An Ecuadorian traveller told me of having seen an Indian woman working in her house the day after having given birth. A little more pale than ordinary, she seemed weak and tired in her movements. But her husband, on being questioned on the subject of her getting up so prematurely, answered that his wife was all right, adding "and who would do the cooking if she stayed in bed?" All the egotistical authority of the male appears in this typical response. It sums up perfectly the feelings of the savage about women; it is the brutal formula which regulates the contacts of the sexes in the forests of the eastern Ecuador.

12: Rivet--609 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 765, 428

Property is transmitted from male to male (1), generally from father to son. When the husband dies, the wives of the deceased take off all their ornaments, cut their hair, and stop painting their faces and body, as a sign of mourning. In a word, they renounce all elegance. (2) It is not true, nowadays at least, that the favorite wife follows the head of the family to the grave.

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1. Lubbock. op. cit., page 31.
2. Collecion de cartas etc. op. cit., page 61.

12: Rivet--609-610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 768

Usually, widows go to live in the house of the brothers of the deceased, where they increase the harem, or else they return to their family; even in that case they quickly remarry; an Ecuadorian who has lived for a long time in this region [610] only once saw a woman living alone and independent in the company of her two sons. She had already had two husbands and refused to make a third experiment.

12: Rivet--610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 764

There is no uniformity in the mode of burial. Ordinarily, the savages dislike inhumation (1), and the missionaries have had to fight very hard to bring the baptized Indians to dispose of their dead in the little cemetery which surrounds the church of the Mission; only children are buried with no ceremony. (2) Often it is the dying person who, before he takes his last breath, indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in chicha or food, etc. (3) Sometimes the body is seated against a big tree, sometimes in the trunk of a big cedar (4) and shut up in its own house, which the relatives immediately abandon. A traveller has assured me that sometimes it is simply thrown into the water.

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1. Villavicencio. op. cit., page 357.
2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 154.
4. Collecion de cartas, etc., page 61.

At present, the custom that tends to prevail is to put the dead person on a little platform under a shelter constructed either in the middle of the forest or in the corner of the field around the house. Padre Pancheri, a missionary to the Gualaquiza, who has had the chance to observe this practice closely, on going out to look for the body of a baptized Jívaro chief in order to bury him religiously, has given an excellent and minute description of it. (1)

The shelter consists of a nice little house, 2 m. long and 1 1/2 m. wide. Seen from the outside, the whole thing looks like an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade covered with living plants; the inside is like a little room , containing a chair with a back, where they seat the corpse, hand and feet crossed, after having dressed it in its best clothes and all its personal ornaments. A second circular palisade surrounds the body so closely that it cannot possibly fall from the chair. This palisade is even more solidly built than the other, and covered inside and out with huge leaves that will even keep the mice out; it rises and ends almost in the [611] form of a tube, the main opening of which is closed by a very thick disk of wood making a cover, on which is placed a big rock. In the little circular corridor which is found between the first and second barriers a great quantity of fruit is placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc; many earthenware pots full of chicha and other liquids are attached to the walls. The description

1. Bulletin Salesien, August, 1896, page 178.

of the Salesian priest is very definite. "We had to," he said, "break the first palisade with a big knife. Here many vases of chicha were hanging, and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambashu were found."

In the old days, they left the body in its own house, which was immediately abandoned. Vacas Galindo describes this ceremony as follows: (2) "They seat the dead person on a kutanga well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from the other souls, human or animal, who might come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many pinangas of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of manioc and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away."

It is probable that the necessity of constructing a new house after each death has brought the Jívaro little by little to renounce this custom.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 155. Bishop Manuel Plaza gives an analogous description in Compte. I. II, op. cit., page 295.

12: Rivet--611-612 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 555

Among the Jívaro there are no real social groups nor the least embryo of government. Each Indian is absolute master of his own affairs, acts individually and depends on no one. He associates with his neighbors only for feasts, big hunts, big fishing parties, and war; these temporary associations leave him his complete personal liberty of action.

In other words, the tribe is only a group of allied and [612] often related families ready when necessary to give each other aid and assistance. The chief of this group is the one who by his endurance, his skill, his intelligence, his courage and also by luck imposes himself on the individuals of the neighborhood. His authority rests only on a tacit assent, carries no exterior emblem or sign, and in no case is transmitted by heredity to his descendants. His role is limited to the coordination of individual efforts in special circumstances. In times of peace he has no longer any special attributes. Occasionally, a peril or a common hate make allies of neighboring tribes, but these alliances are only temporary.

12: Rivet--612 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574

The relations between the members of the tribe are constant and even daily. One of the principal occupations of the Jívaro is to visit his neighbors. These visits have a very special character and one might say are regulated according to an almost invariable protocol. Before he arrives, the visitor stops at the edge of a river, bathes, combs his hair, paints his face and chest, puts on a fresh itipi, puts the tendem on his head, and announces his arrival by blowing into a horn or shell which makes a loud noise (1), so that the friend may be aware of the intentions of the new arrival and have time to get dressed himself.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 79.

12: Rivet--612-613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 521

The Jívaro enters the house saying, "Uinahe" ("I have come"), to which the host answers simply, "Uiñita" ("Come"). Then he sits down on a bench near the door without adding a word. This coldness on the part of the visitor and indifference on the part of the host are the rule. It is not until the latter, properly dressed, is seated opposite the new arrival and has asked him why he has come and where he is going and where he has come from, that the conversation commences; a strange colloquy of extraordinary animation, vivacity and volubility; each one in his turn taking the floor and hurriedly pouring out what he has to say in a loud and sonorous voice. "All the body goes into action, hands and feet moving, the chest heaving, eyes flashing fire, forehead burning, and the hair violently thrown back from the head falling on naked shoulders." (1) One would think that a violent dispute had broken out between the two friends, but they are simply talking; while one speaks, the other approves, confirms, gets excited, and shows by his various comments [613] the interest he takes in the speaker's recital. At the end of half an hour of this tiring conversation that foreigners, even those most used to the Jívaro language, cannot follow or understand, the tone becomes more natural and more calm, and the Indian does not disdain the joking that refreshes and brings a smile to the lips of these wild savages. This is the moment when each woman offers to the visitor a pininga of chicha. If the host has only one wife, she must offer three bowls of drink.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 8.

It has been noted that the Jívaro always talks thus in groups of two, and that the chief of the tribe, for example, does not communicate his instructions in a collective way but speaks individually to each member of the tribe (2), when he wants to assemble them in case of war or for any expedition, hunting or fishing, or for a feast. In short, the Jívaro captains use nothing but dialogue and never harangue their soldiers.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 84.

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 387. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--613-614 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 157, 164

In spite of their apparent isolation the Jívaro live socially; but up to the present time they have put up great resistance against grouping themselves in villages. It must be said that this repugnance can be explained not only by the desire for independence which is so well developed in them, but also by the fear of the diseases brought in by [614] the whites, especially smallpox which breaks out in fatal epidemics in Indian groups.

The commercial relations are very restricted. The natives fatten hogs and raise chickens to sell to the whites, where they are in contact with them. The exchange of salt is certainly the most important because of the rarity of this product in the region. The few sources of salt in the forest are jealously exploited by the neighboring tribes. One of them, called Huénunga, is situated on the borders of the river Maembaimi, another exists not far from the river Zhuizha and bears the name of Mayahiko (1). The Jívaros often go there from considerable distances. The water is collected and evaporated in clay pots; at the end of two or three days it is only necessary to break the container to obtain a big ball of very hard salt.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano Peruano, op. cit. I III, notes on pages 416 and 417. The commerce in salt is very old among the Jívaro. We have actually seen the origin of the struggle between them and the Canaris was over the possession of salt sources.

12: Rivet--614 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437

In certain regions where they are in contact with the whites, the natives occupy themselves with gathering rubber, which they exchange at the trader's for iron tools and weapons, bad guns, cheap rubbish, and especially alcohol. They also skin the beautiful birds from their forests and one sees them occasionally coming into the villages with parrots, monkeys and vanilla.

12: Rivet--614 [3] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 434

The commerce in mummified and shrunken heads at one time developed in a disquieting fashion and the government, fearing that the appeal of easy gain would incite the natives to continual wars in order to procure the heads, or even to attacking the whites themselves, forbade the sale of these hideous trophies, a rule which was, however, without force.

12: Rivet--614 [4] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437

To the neighboring Indian peoples, the Jívaro sells the magnificent blowgun that he makes with such skill and care and receives arrow poison in exchange from the people of the lower Amazon, and drums from the Indians of Napo.

All these transactions are performed by barter, since money exists only in the places inhabited by the whites.

12: Rivet--615 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437, 721

To sum up, properly speaking, commerce does not exist and the Jívaro until this day has no use for his energy, activity, and intelligence except in the bloody battles that his tribe wages ceaselessly against the neighboring tribes.

12: Rivet--615 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 181, 721

One could say without exaggeration that the state of war is the normal state of the Jívaro. The resulting constant strain obliges the native to live always on guard, always ready to attack or defend. He never knows the restful, beneficent calm of peace. In these forests of the Amazon, there is nothing but assaults, surprises, bloody scenes, and never-satisfied hates which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

The causes of these hostilities are very numerous: often it is the necessity of getting women or even the appeal of profitable pillage. More often it is a matter of vengeance to be satisfied, vengeance founded on griefs that are sometimes real but usually imaginary as we shall see when later we study the role of the sorcerer. The law of the talon is actually the only law that rules these savage tribes. But even if these diverse motives did not exist, the Indians would still make war simply for the pleasure of it, by an instinctive need of their nature. They are also driven by the desire to acquire that very special glory that the possession of many shrunken heads gives in a Jívaro country. These trophies are no less an object of pride to the savage than commemorative medals are to the European soldier. In addition to this, these human mummies are the center of many beliefs and of many ceremonies, so obviously superstitious in character that the study of them belongs with the subject of religious life. In this chapter I will describe only their method of preparation and their principal characteristics.

12: Rivet--615-616 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

It would seem that among the people where the state of war is, so to speak, permanent, bravery should be the dominant virtue. In reality, there is none of it, because the Jívaro rarely attacks openly. If he is acting alone, with the patience of a deer in hiding, he waits for his enemy hidden behind the trunk of a tree and pierces him from behind with a blow of his lance. But more often the Indians work in bands of fifty individuals at least and sometimes of a hundred or more, and in this case the whole plan consists of falling unexpectedly on [616] the adversary or surprising him in the middle of his sleep, or even better in the middle of a drunken feast; it does not cost the Indian anything to gain his end while exposing himself as little as possible. He shows an extraordinary endurance during these expeditions, sometimes very long and far away. For instance, the tribes from around Macas sometimes make incursions on the Kanduashis which necessitate an absence of three months, although the greatest part of the trip is made in canoes by the Kangaimi, Morona and Cetuchi Rivers. The missionaries speak even of expeditions of the same people against the Patucamayas of the lower Santiago, or the Huambisas of the lower Morona. (1) Almost all the journey is made by night marches through dense forests, with their food reduced to minimum. Often, in order not to leave traces, they follow the bed of a stream, down which they swim for whole leagues. They never advance in any case without being preceded by scouts. (2)

1. Coleccion de las cartas, etc. op. cit. carta sexta, note on page 63-64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op.cit., page 166.

12: Rivet--616-617 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

So courage is replaced here by the cleverness of a cat which glides and bounds upon its defenceless prey. On each expedition, only two or four houses are attacked because the aggressors know that they must have twenty to twenty-five people in order to surround a house and not let anyone escape. If the band arrives in the proximity of the place where it expects to operate without having been discovered, it waits until the second half of the night and when everyone is asleep, the assault is made: sticks with one sharpened end and the other wrapped in dry leaves carefully tied and lighted make huge flaming arrows, which set the straw roofs on fire. (1) When the surprise is well carried out, the besieged people, before they have time even to defend themselves, stifled by the smoke, fall before the lances of the assailants. Only the young women are spared. Taken into captivity, they become the wives of the conquerors. Children are also sometimes spared: they are kept as I have already said, for a more cruel death, under the unskilled blows of the children of the victorious tribe. Fire completes the work of pillage; the plunder-laden group, pushing before them the [617] unhappy captives, sisters, daughters and wives of the warriors whose bloody heads swing sinisterly on the shoulders of the conquerors, flees in all haste before the sun rises; the same precautions are taken as when they came in order to avoid an attack by the relatives or allies of the victors.

1. Bulletin Salesiane, August 1896, page 197.

Such are the customary methods of war among the Jívaros. Formerly, the tribes of Gualaquiza and Zamora practiced special tactics; these consisted of closing the roads and preparing enormous pieces of rock on the hilltops which overlooked them. These were rolled down on the invader.(1)

These details make the failure of the Incas', as well as the Spaniards', attempts at conquest understandable.

The existence of the savage is dominated by the perpetual state of alarm in which he lives. He never goes out at night in normal times; he rarely goes far from his house without taking with him his wives and his family; he is never separated from his lance, and during his sleep he always has it within reach of his hand. If two Jívaros do not recognize each other when they meet in the forest, the conversation begins at a great distance and each one keeps his weapons in the position of attack; if the tension relaxes, the point is little by little brought back toward the body and rested against the waist, the handle of the lance being pointed up; if confidence is completely established, the lance slides toward the ground, the handle resting freely against one of the shoulders.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador. vol. 6, page 214.

12: Rivet--617 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361, 202

We have seen with what care the Indian hides his house in the deepest woods with no regular path to it, this placing having no other point except to multiply the difficulties for anyone coming to attack. The walls leave no opening by which anyone could introduce a lance. In every house big pots of water are always ready on boards resting on the roof beams, in order to put out fire quickly. The tunduli plays an essential role in these nocturnal attacks. It is the tocsin which, with incredible rapidity, calls the members of the tribe to the aid of the besieged.

12: Rivet--617-618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 712

When the Jívaro expects an attack he arranges a series of traps around his habitation: these are carefully hidden ditches where the enemy impales himself on sharp wooden sticks or perhaps they are automatic shooting arrangements made with the aid of vines. The aggressor, on touching one of them, sets off apparatus [618] and the skillfully arranged lances pierce him from all sides. (1)

When the menaced Jívaro is the chief of the tribe or a person of prestige, he constructs a very remarkable kind of a fort on the top of a hill where he can see a long way. Four enormous strong posts, 25 m. high, chosen from among the strongest in the forest, support a little room 3 m. square with a floor of strong wood, a roof like those in the houses, surrounded by a wall of chonta and caña one meter high. A big ladder is the only way of getting in. In this fort are placed an enormous tunduli, rocks to be thrown against the assailants, lances, machetes, implements of every sort, and occasionally a good Winchester rifle completes the armament. It is unnecessary to add that all the approaches are protected by numerous traps. (2)

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 66.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 68-69.

12: Rivet--618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 152, 721

One can easily see what unusual characteristics this constant state of hostility gives the life of the Jívaro, and what an unusual mentality it has created in him. One understands equally well what importance the disappearance of these bloody fights has for the future of the race.

The savage thinks only of killing; but in spite of these habits, he is not cannibalistic. However, Barriero says that as soon as his enemy falls dead, the conqueror tears out his heart and eats his brain (1); but Villavicencio and Lubbock affirm that cannibalism does not exist among our Indians (2) and no traveller, to my knowledge, has confirmed the account of Barriero (3).

Osculati reports that, "The savages make a kind of bowl with the skull of their victim, in which they drink a great quantity of chicha, thinking to show their profound scorn for the dead in this manner" (4). This detail has not been noted by any other author and it is well to remember that the Italian traveller did not visit the Jíbaros, but was simply lucky in seeing some representatives (belonging undoubtedly to the tribe of Canelos) in the Ecuadorian city of Ambato. Because of this fact, his account may be suspected of inaccuracy.

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1. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 114.
2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 360. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Cf. Theodor Koch. Die Anthropophagie der sudamerikanischen Indianer (Archives internationales d'Ethnographie, Leyde. Vol. XII, 1899, pages 78-110).
4. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 30.

13: Rivet--69-70 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

The custom of the Jíbaro is quite different; as soon as he has killed an enemy, he cuts off his head in order to make a mummy. [70] The name of these human trophies has been noted differently by travellers, who have transcribed it according to the phonetics of their native language; so one finds various authors writing: Shanza, Shanja, Zhanzha, Chancha, Zanaza, Zanza. After having heard this word pronounced by different people, and living for a long time in Jíbaro country, the true phonetic orthography seems to me to be tsantsa.

Here is the method of preparation: first the savage separates the head from the trunk by a cut which, as nearly as possible, begins very low in back at the level of the shoulders, and descends in front almost down to the chest. Then he cuts away the scalp and the skin of the face from the underlying bones, through a median and posterior incision which begins at the forehead and usually descends to the base of the neck. Exceptionally, he uses a double lateral incision rising toward the mastoid region. Thus the whole cranial and facial skeleton is quite easily removed.

This skin is immediately put to boil in water in order to asepticize the tissues and the hair. To this water, doubtless to increase the disinfecting power of the solution, the Indian adds certain herbs from the forest (1). This operation finished, the skin is placed over a mould consisting of a round, very hot stone, this is replaced by a smaller one, and so forth, the last used being the size of an orange, while with the aid of another equally hot stone, the Indian smooths over the skin on the exterior as with an iron (2); the lips have been pierced with three openings meeting each other and are carefully fastened together so as to prevent the mouth from opening while the dessication is going on; it appears that upon certain tsantsas, the same precaution has been taken for the

1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 29.

2. Juan Ansola Martinez. Del pais de los Jîbaros (Blânco y Negro. Madrid, June 1, 1906, no. 839).

eyelids. Little by little, under the action of the heat, the skin shrinks, hardens and takes on a very characteristic deep brown color. The posterior incision is then carefully sewed up, after the stone on the inside has been taken out, and a hole is pierced in the top of the head, for the purpose of attaching a suspension cord.

The preparation does not require more than one day (3). [71] Some of the hair, which is too thick for the reduced surface of the scalp, is shaved off and used to make the girdles of which I have spoken, then the head is combed and decorated with some ornaments. In order to make the tsantsa more durable, they fill it from time to time with very hot sand, and expose it to the heat of the fire (4).

Such is the current procedure employed by the Indians of Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora. The missionaries say that a warrior never leaves on an expedition without carrying with him in his shigra the necessary stone for making the mummies: This is probably the last stone used, the size of which determines the final reduction of the mummy, or perhaps in case of a distant expedition, the Jíbaro contents himself with a single stone instead of the complete set which he usually uses.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 63-64. Reiss is wrong when he tells that the procedure lasts eight days; according to the German traveller, during this time, the one performing the operation should not use his hands for any other work, and he should be fed like a child: Reiss, op. cit., p. 335.

4. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 159.

I have every reason to believe that among the other tribes the procedure does not differ to a great extent. However, a tsantsa described by Colini seems, as we shall see, to have been made by a more complicated procedure. In any case, one cannot repeat too often that the Jíbaros do not use any secret. In Quito itself, a medical student from the city of Loja made some imitations with subjects from the ampitheater, as small as the original pieces, according to the method I have just described. Dr. Wilhelm Hein has made similar attempts successfully in the pathological-anatomical Institute of the general hospital of Vienna (1). In the report that he made on this subject he shows four mummies made with the heads of one woman and three men, and for purposes of comparison three authentic tsantsas belonging to the Imperial and Royal Museum of Natural History of Vienna. The shrinking was done with the aid of warm stones; on the other hand, an attempt to desiccate the skin from a woman's head by use of the sun failed completely. It has therefore been shown that mummies can be made by the process indicated, with fairly great ease.

1. Wilhelm Hein. Die Kopftrophaen der Jíbaros (Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vol. XXIII, 1893. Sitzungberichte, page 28).

13: Rivet--71-72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 435

The first tsantsas coming to Europe had their hour [72] of renown and attained extraordinary prices. In 1865, one of them was sold for 1500 francs (1). Ten years ago another was sold at auction for 500 francs at the Hotél Drouot (2). Actually, these objects are much less rare and have lost a part of their commercial value. At Macas, at Gualaquiza and at Zamora, the whites buy them directly from the Indians for ten sucres, that is 25 francs, and take them to Cuenca, Riobamba and Loja, where they resell them for 30 to 50 sucres, that is 75 to 125 francs. In Europe, the best examples are worth 200 and 300 francs and there is not an important museum that does not possess at least one. In Paris, the Museum of Natural History has five of them, the Anthropological Society one, the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadero three, the Army Museum one, and also there are a good number in private collections.

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1. Pozzi, op. cit. page 359.
2. D. Les Tetes Momifiees des Incas (La Nature, 20 Octobre 1900, No. 1430, p. 336.

These trophies have always given rise to the most fantastic theories. A tsantsa sent in 1862 to the Internation Exposition in London by the Chilean Consul, Don. R. de Silva Ferro, was exhibited there as an Inca head (!) (1) In 1882, Barbosa Rodrigues attributes the specimen that he describes to the Mundurucus (2). The anonymous author who published one of the specimens shown by Ecuador at the World Exposition in 1900, reports that the Inca warriors had the custom of suspending the heads of their enemies from their saddles (?) (3); and only recently the tsantsas were presented by the Berlin papers as heads of pygmies from the Congo. (4) These errors are all the less explicable since for a long time serious ethnographers have known that at present they are the work of the Jívaros.

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1. Bollaert, op. cit., page 114, note 1.
2. J. Barbosa Rodrigues. Tribu dos Mundurucus. Cabeca mumificada (Revista da exposicao anthropologica, Brazileira. Rio de Janero, 1882, page 39).
3. D. Les Têtes Momifiées des Incas, op. cit.
4. Je sais tout, 15 Février, 1907.

It seems, however, that before the conquest and in the years that followed, other Indians also made these objects. In fact, here is what Zarate says of the natives who inhabit the region between the Cordillera and the Pacific on the present territory of the republic of Ecuador: "In some temples, especially in the towns that they call de Pasao, on all the pillars of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so [73] well cured that they did not smell badly, and there were nailed up many heads of Indians that had been shrunk with a certain decoction until they were the size of a fist"(1).

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1. Augustin de Zarate, Historia del Descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Pérou, Séville, 1577. Liv. I, chap. 4, page 3. I can only find on the actual map of Ecuador, Cape Pasado, of which the name recalls the locality mentioned by Zarate. This cape is on the coast of the province of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques.

More recently, Saffray reports similar details from the Indians of Choco, who live in Colombia along the Atrato. Two of these tribes, the Cunas and the Caimanes, still spoke in 1869 the Cueba language, "the most widespread language from Veragua to Guayaquil at the time of the discovery." "In olden times," Saffray says, "when a chief died, they put his body on a wicker framework above a slow fire until it was completely desiccated...For commoners, they kept only the head, de-boned and dried in such a manner that, the flesh being molded in a uniform fashion, there remained a perfect reproduction of the original reduced to almost one-sixth of the original size." (1) The drawing that accompanies Saffray's account permits no doubt that the mummies made by the Indians of Choco and the tsantsas of the Jívaros are identical. At the end of the 18th century, the same costumes were still in use among the natives of the Pompa del Sacramento near the river Huallaga (2).

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1. Dr. Saffray, Voyage à la Nouvelle Grenade, 1869. (Le Tour du Monde, T. XXVI, 1873, 2 sem., pp. 102, 103, 111.)

2. PP. Manuel Sobreviela et Narciseo y Barcelo. Voyages au Perou faits dans les années 1791 to 1794. French translation by P. F. Henry. Paris, 1809, in-8°, page 175.

13: Rivet--73 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

Some other tribes emply methods of preserving bodies of their enemies that are similar but not identical. For instance, an ancient Spanish writer tells us of the Indians of Popayan (Southern Colombia): "The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, filled with coarse ashes, they have set up against the walls of their houses like people." (Luis Torres de Mendoza. Colección de documentos ineditos del Archivo de Indias. Madrid, tomo V. 1866, page 489.

Lorente, speaking of the Huancas, a Pre-Columbian tribe that lived in the Jauja valley (Peru), reports that they skinned their prisoners and with these skins, filled with ashes, made victory trophies that they exhibited in their temples. (Sebastian Lorente. Historia antigua del Perú. Lima, 1869, page 82).

At present, the Jívaros alone have kept the monopoly on the making of mummified heads.

It was the Fathers Manuel Sobreviela and Narcisso y Barcelo, who, in the work that I have just cited, were the first to indicate the method of preparation of these war trophies and to mention the celebration which took place over them. In 1815, Father Prieto also gives a short but excellent description (1). These details [74] that one finds in Villavicencio (2) are still unknown to European ethnographers. W. Bollaert was the first to possess an example of the Jíbaro art of taxidermy which he had received in June, 1861, from M. Cassola, but the publication he made on this subject did not appear until 1863, and the year before Moreno Maiz presented to the Anthropological Society of Paris and described a specimen which had been sent him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. Since then, quite a number of publications have been made on tsantsas and I give here as complete a list as possible in chronological order.* [75]...A general type stands out, of which I will try to describe the characteristics.

Most of the Jívaro tribes are represented in collections: Pastazas, Tambos or Tumbas, Jambas, Gualaquizas, Achuales, Antipas, Macas, Muratos, Aguarunas, Zamoras.

1. Prieto. Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros, etc. op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., Tome II, page 63.

2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 361.

* See original source for this bibliography.

So obviously this is a very general custom in all the Jívaro country.

As a general rule, mens heads were used; however, one of the tsantsas published by Lubbock was feminine. It is possible that this was a question of an exceptional case, explicable perhaps by the status of the victim, who was the wife of the chief of the Achuales (1).

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--75-76 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 142

It is impossible to determine exactly the age of the victims. It seems, however, that most of the tsantsas are skins of men in the prime of life. White hair has only been found on two of the mummies described by Colini and on my specimens (e) and (f); but it is important to note that the Jívaros, like all the Indians of Ecuador, [76] rarely have white hair. (1) A tsantsa described by Virchow, which came from an individual about 50 years old, showed no trace of it. (2)

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1. In Ecuador, I have often heard the following saying. "An Indian with white hair is more than a hundred years old".

2. Virchow. Eine präparirte Kopf- und Gesichtshaut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

The first characteristic that strikes one on examining these mummies is their smallness. The following table, in which the average measurements of tsantsas are contrasted with the measurements taken of two Jívaros, gives an exact idea of this reduction:

Measurements	Tsantsas Max.	Tsantsas Min.	Tsantsas Av.	Living (av. of two measurements)	*[see below]
Horizontal circumference	275.0	200.0	238.0	560.0	42.5
Super-circular transverse curve	170.0	125.0	144.0	———	———
Maximum anterio-posterior diameter	95.0	72.0	84.3	181. 0	46.6
Maximum transverse diameter	70.0	45.0	55.1	150. 0	36.7
Total height of the face	82.5	67.0	75.9	191. 0	35.0
Maximum bizygomatic diameter	64.0	39.0	49.9	142. 0	35.1

* ratio of the dimensions of tsantsas to those of the living=100

Thus it appears clearly from this comparison that the cranuim is obviously more shrunken transversely than anterio-posteriorly; the face is reduced more symmetrically and to a greater degree than the cranium; there is a disharmony between the two parts of the head; the various parts of the face have not kept their relative proportions; the nose and the lips appear enormous; besides, at the level of the cheeks there appears a

transversal flattening as definite as that of the cranium, which is even more striking because at the level of the zygomatic arches, the natural proportions are almost preserved.

The hair in general is very pretty; its length varies from 32 to 65 cm. The hair usually hangs loose but sometimes is braided. It is smooth, coarse and strong, but also [77] supple. It always shows a tendency to a certain waviness without ever being curly. Usually it is jet black, shiny. Sometimes it is very dark chestnut, rarely light auburn. Sometimes it shows red lights, but I am not sure whether this coloring, which is always found near the roots and parts next to the face should be attributed to an impregnation of the red coloring which they use in tatooing. Virchow has made a very careful study of the hair of a tsantsa. I quote from his memoir (1) the following details, "Although to the naked eye the hair was ebony black, the microscope revealed quite a number of light hairs with little color. Certain hairs were large and yellow, and showed, beneath a thin, colorless layer, a light yellow substance in which were found very small yellow-brown grains of pigment in short rows, usually fuseform, and in the center an abundant medullary substance of rather angular shape, slightly more granular, and usually of brown-yellow color. Most of the hair, on the other hand, had a completely colorless cortex. Small black isolated grains were scattered through it uniformly in the center, more com-

1. Virchow, Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit. p. 79-80

pactly on the periphery; the cuticle was a little thicker, and instead of a medullary substance there was often only a series of clear spaces. It was only in isolated examples of especially thick hair that a dark brown medullary substance occurred. In general, this was small and in no case really black. Only a few rare examples appeared completely black or brownish black; but even with these the pigment was more compact at the periphery. On the darkest examples, there was only a narrow transparent circle around a very small and black medullary substance.

"The hair varied a great deal in diameter. The finest examples were circular in cross-section; the coarsest examples were oval, flattened, [78] lenticular or reniform in cross section; and quite a number had triangular cross-sections with rounded angles: these were almost always coarse specimens with a brownish black marginal zone, a lighter center, and a smaller dark medullary substance. The medullary substance of the oval or flattened hairs was either quite small or quite light.

13: Rivet--78 (no date) 1938 Jivaro
116, 142, 727

The skin is usually like oiled black leather, but sometimes it is deep brown or even light brown; in cross-section it has a light brown pigment. Extremely tough and resistant, it is not brittle. Frequently one sees reddish areas or lines of tattooing. Moreno Maiz, on his cross-sections made transparent by turpentine treatment, observed that it had preserved all the anatomical elements(sudoriparous ducts and glands, pilous roots, sebaceous glands, dermis, and epidermic layer) (1). Generally, there is neither beard nor moustache. Sometimes however, there are some stiff, rough hairs on the upper lip and cheek, and Example B even shows a little moustache and a short beard.

The eyebrows are quite often long and thick. On Example E, some hairs measure 2 cm. They are almost always black, but sometimes they are chestnut.

The eyelids are inverted and closed. Quite often the traces of a seam sewing them together are visible. One can sometimes perceive a few black eyelashes.

The nasal-buccal region is always projected very far in front like a snout. The nose, the end of which is turned up and often flattened, is widened, and there is a break at its root, as if it had been jerked forward and upward. The nostrils have wide openings, pointing almost directly forward, allowing the fairly numerous hairs within the cavity to be seen; sometimes they are completely obliterated by a kind of pitch. Rarely, there is a perforation in the septum and immediately below this a median orifice.

1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 187.

The large and strongly projecting lips are always pierced with three holes directed downwards. Strands of unbleached cotton pass through these holes and fasten the lips by three loops joined together with a transverse thread. To these strings are attached some little cords of the same kind which hang in a fringe 45 to 50 cm. long. Certain authors have said that the strings indicate the number of warriors killed at the time the head was shrunken (1) [79, 80]: in this case they would really be quipu, a result, perhaps, of Peruvian influence, an influence that certain ethnographers believe probable (2). The number of strings varies from 24 to 36, neither are they uniform in size, and the point of attachment of the strings is not always the same. Some are fastened to the vertical loops, others on the horizontal connecting bands; it seems, according to my observations, that the median vertical loop always has two. It is remarkable that perfect symmetry is never observed. (One may also note, on the diagrams on the opposite side (fig. 23), the various arrangements that I have observed on my specimens.) I would not dare at this time to commit myself as to whether this fringe is a simple ornament or has the significance of a quipu.

1. Exposition Universelle de 1867. Republique de L'Equateur. Notice et catalogue par Th. Mannequin. Paris, 1867, pp. 58 and 61.
2. Ratzel. Volkerkunde, tome III, p. 713.

13: Rivet--78-80 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

Giglioli mentions a tsantsa made by the Aguarunas, in which the lips had been pierced by three pieces of chonta instead of the customary string (1).

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1. Giglioli, op. cit., page 202.

In general the ears are very well shrunk and delicately bordered. The lobe is always perforated and sometimes in this perforation is placed a little peg of wood or even, as the example published by Lubbock, a tube of bamboo similar to those that I have described as ear ornaments. The chin appears retreating because of the projection of the nasal-buccal region.

The forehead is laterally compressed and at the level of the temples there are always two depressions, usually very well marked, into which the fleshy part of the thumb fits very easily.

Sometimes the cervical cut passes very near the chin, sometimes a centimeter or two of the skin of the neck is spared. Sometimes the cut is stitched to a hoop of wood in order to preserve the circular form (I), but most often the opening is laterally flattened. On most of the mummies, there is a medial posterior cut from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed: this is the trace of the incision necessary for the preparation; an exception is my Example K, which shows two lateral cuts up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and on my Example E, the posterior incision does not meet the cervical cut and is in form, of an occipital buttonhole. (1)

1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

The vertex is pierced with either one or two circular holes visibly placed [81] one before the other on the median line. In the last case, the anterior opening is useless; but the posterior opening or the single opening always is used for a strong double string, held inside the head by a little stick which is placed across the orifice when the tsantsa is suspended. On my Example B, three skins of calistes [trans. humming birds ?] are attached to this string; sometimes its lower end extends through the opening of the neck and is decorated with a small tuft of feathers. Example E has, suspended from the labial strings, two garlands of the wings of Mallaspis antennatus [trans. a beetle]. Sometimes similar ornaments are put in the ears (examples G and I). Hamy has described a tsantsa wearing a small tayucunchi (2).

2. Hamy. Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jívaros, op. cit., note 1, p. 58.

There are, I believe, the principal characteristics of the shrunken heads of the Jívaros. Certain tsantsas published by other authors differ a little from the type which I have just described.

These differences may depend on their origin: these objects have always been acquired directly from the Indians, and been passed on to Europe. Only the tsantsa described by Moreno Maiz came from an old grave (huaca) located in the Jívaro territory (1), and it had suffered from its stay in the ground. It is probable that this head had been put at the side of a dead Jívaro chief, since, as a consequence of decomposition and time, it was little by little buried under the detritus from the hut or grave itself, which makes one believe it had been buried. In any case, it is an isolated occurrence.

More interesting are the morphological differences.

At the time of Lubbock's article, Franks mentioned a mummy which was part of the national collection of London, presented by the Prince Consort in 1853. This example, which unfortunately has not been described in detail, was only a thumb high and was placed on a stick and dressed like a doll. It was discovered in a tomb in Pisco (Peru) (2); to my mind, because of its origin and characteristics, this object should not be identified with the tsantsas.

1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 185.
2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.

The authenticity of one of the mummies published by Colini can not be doubted, even though it differs appreciably [82] from the current examples (Plate I, fig. 3). Here is the detailed description that I quote from the learned memoir of the Italian ethnographer (1): "This head came from the Muratos; the horizontal circumference at the level of the forehead is 26 cm., at the level of the mouth 31 cm.; the height of the face is from 12 cm. on a median line, to 8 cm. 5 on the sides; the width from one ear to the other is 11 cm. The dark chestnut hair is 25 cm. long. The head is much flattened laterally and the face projects forward, especially its lower half, in the region of the nose and the mouth. The lateral frontal-temporal depressions are deep. The eyebrows are thick, long and very black; at the inner angle of one eye, one can see the trace of stitches made apparently with black thread. The eyelids are completely hidden. There is no beard; inside and at the entrance of the nostrila there are numerous hairs. In the ears one sees traces of large holes which served to hold ornaments. The chin is contracted; although the skin is black and glossy, one can nevertheless distinguish large reddish stains everywhere.

1. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., p. 28-29. This tsantsa was given to the Prehistoric-Ethnographic Museum in Rome by M. Lucioli; it is numbered 26800.

The principal characteristic, which distinguishes this head from all the known examples, is the presence of a long chonta point, with a maximum diameter of 1 cm., penetrating under the nasal septum and coming out by the vertex, at the place where the suspension cord is usually placed: this point sticks out 3 cm. in front and 4 cm. 5 behind. Two cotton cords are fastened around the front end of the stick, passing parallel to each other across the nose and forehead, and wound around the back end; 55 cm. of the length remains free and hanging.

Another peculiarity of this head is the existence of three little chonta points, 6 cm. long, stuck vertically through the lips, at the spots where, on the other examples, were found the three holes for the cords that bound them together. Cotton threads are rolled around these sticks, passing alternately above and below the mouth, so that the lips are kept tightly closed. Then another sharp stick is fixed in one of the ears, at the entrance of the auditory canal, at the [83] place where a small hole occurs on some specimens. This head has preserved a part of the skin of the neck about 2 cm. long, covered with black hairs. The neck section is affixed to a circle of wood by a strong stitching of black thread."

On the subject of this truly very curious tsantsa, Colini advances the very rational and seductive hypothesis that here we have a mummy in the process of preparation. The nasal-sagittal stick and the cord fastened to it are probably for the purpose of compressing the portion of the face which, because of the presence of thicker fleshy parts,

is the least sensitive to the action of hot stones and would remain too prominent. Moreover, while resting on the nose, the cord keeps it well opened, but also deforms it by compressing the extremity. The labial sticks probably serve to keep in place the threads which assure the closing of the mouth. As for the little stick in the ear, it was probably for the purpose of keeping the auricle close to the head (2). I would not hesitate in agreeing completely with Colini's opinion, which also explains the very characteristic fracture that all the tsantsas have at the foot of the nose because of the action of the anterior cord, if one constantly found the sub-nasal hole on the shrunken heads; doubtless it is far from being rare: it existed on the two tsantsas described by Hamy (Specimens A and B) and it appears clearly on the print that Lubbock published; the second head described by Colini also shows it; but among all the other authors who, before or after the memoir of Colini, have described similar trophies, none mention the presence of this hole; since this might be an omission on their part, I have systematically searched for this characteristic on my unpublished specimens and I have not found it on any of them; in Example E a doubt exists, for the nostrils are filled with a black resin which, in running over the upper lip, might cover the hole. Also I have never observed the perforation located at the entrance of the auditory canal which Colini believes to have found again on his second example. It is therefore impossible to consider this method of preparation as general;

2. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 29.

it is not even peculiar to one tribe, since one can find the sub-nasal hole on tsantsas coming from the Jambas, the Achuales, the Gualaquizas, the Macas and the Muratos. However, I think it is now an exceptional procedure [£4] which perhaps used to be general, but is tending to disappear in order to give place to a quicker and simpler procedure.

After having described the general type of the tsantsas, and the authentic pieces distinguished by certain characteristics, I must speak of the false tsantsas, were it only to put collectors on guard, for they are frequently found in Europe, and just recently a Parisian naturalist displayed three in the window of his store.

Philippi (1) is the first who called attention to the strange business which certain whites living in the Jívaro country were carrying on, having learned the method of manufacture from the Indians. The example he published was the work of one of these unscrupulous individuals, by acknowledgment of the seller. According to the description given by Philippi and the pictures accompanying the article, the skill of the counterfeiter was not inferior to that of the Jívaro himself. The procedure employed was evidently identical and I think that it would have been difficult, without knowing, to discover the non-authenticity of the piece. It is the head of a woman, but we have seen that Lubbock has described an authentic feminine tsantsa. The lips, perforated in three places, do not have the cotton thread fringe, and in the holes are found small pieces of wood, but we have seen that one tsantsa of Giglioli possessed the same peculiarity, as well as one of the samples described by Colini. On the other hand, one can note on this shrunken head the exaggeration of a characteristic found on authentic pieces: it seems

1. Philippi. Menschenköpfe als Trophäen, etc., op. cit., page 343.

that the amateur maker did not know as well as the Indians how to make the heat act on the fleshy parts of the face, particularly the lips and the nose; but this characteristic would not have been sufficient (2), I believe, to discredit the authenticity of the object.

2. According to the print accompanying Philippi's article, it appears that the suspension cord is missing. The text does not mention this matter.

The same difficulty does not occur with another false example, published as such by Ambrosetti (1). The mummy was made not with a Jívaro head, but with the head of a half-breed; the hair is short, coarse, rough, stiff, and forms a peak on the forehead; the beard is slight on the sides of the [85] face, but the almost blond moustache is large and drooping, and the chin is covered with coarse, stiff hairs. The cheek-bones are very prominent, the nose a little flattened, the eyebrows very marked; the lobes of the ears are not perforated. The shape of the face is better preserved than on the real tsantsas, the forward projection of the whole nasal-buccal region with the fracture at the base of the nose, so characteristic of the real tsantsas does not exist. Along each side of the neck there is a lateral incision, ending at a place behind the ear; the suspension cord, the fringe and the lip perforations are absent. Moreover the neck was closed with a mass of fresh wax and the inside of the head filled with narrow bandages, cut alternately along the edges, of a shiny black cotton material of European origin. All these characteristics easily prove that this object is not the work of Jíbaros having killed a half-breed, but of a counterfeiter less aware of the original procedure than the one who made the tsantsa of Philippi. This head strangely resembles the false mummies that I have lately seen exhibited, as I have said, in the window of a Paris naturalist.

I have procured for myself in Quito a tsantsa made by a student in Loja, which I will speak of later (Platel, fig. 1).

1. Ambrosetti, op. cit.

The head seems to have belonged to a male or female Indian from the mountains. It has been shrunk even more than a real mummy; its anterio-posterior diameter measures 59 mm., its transverse diameter 50 mm., the horizontal circumference 185 mm., the super-auricular curve 105 mm., the total height of the face 57 mm., the bizygomatic diameter 45 mm. The harmony of the proportions of the face and the cranium is perfect. There is no lateral flattening. The chestnut hair is 12 cm. long., it is finer, more supple and more curly than Jívaro hair. The skin is dull black; it is thin, fragile, brittle, and yields to slight pressure: as the result of a fall, the whole right side of the face is broken. The sample is much lighter than the real Indian trophies.

It has neither beard or moustache, but on the forehead, the cheeks, the chin and the upper lip, there is a fine down. The dark chestnut eyebrows are well developed, the eyelashes are perfectly visible.

The traits of the physiognomy are much better preserved than on real tsantsas. The nose does not have the fracture at its base, the [86] lobe is not widened but quite flattened at its end. The nostrils are narrow; their openings not gaping and forward-facing. Only the width of the interorbital space is clearly exaggerated clearly. The forward projection of the nasal-buccal region is very slight. The lips are fairly thin and well outlined. The form of the chin is exact; the shape of the cheeks and of the throat is very well preserved. The neck is 1 cm. high; the cut is circular; at this level the skin is coated with pitch.

The ears are very well reduced, the lobes are not perforated. The lips do not have the three customary holes, and no hole exists at the vertex. The temporal-frontal depressions are also absent.

The incision, instead of being in back, is double and lateral, going up as far as the mastoidal region. The seams are hidden under a thin coating of resin.

A ball of resin which originally blocked the cervical opening rolls around like a rattle inside the head.

To sum up, this mummy is distinguished from the tsantsas by a great many characteristics, and even the perfection of the reduction, which makes it a real miniature human head, distinguishes it at first sight from the ordinary examples of Jívaro taxidermy.

In order to complete this monograph on the tsantsas, I must mention one curious specimen that I procured. It is a sloth head (probably Choloepus didactylus, Lin.), shrunk and treated in the manner of a human head, which a Jívaro wore suspended by its hair (Plate I, fig. 2). The only author who, to my knowledge, has pointed out that the Indians sometimes practice mummification on the remains of animals is Barriero (1). "If the Jíbaro is pressed by the enemy, says he, so that he does not have time to cut off the head of his slain adversary, the traditional celebration takes place nevertheless and the tsantsa is replaced by a head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy". It is possible that the object that I am about to describe was made for the same purpose.

The head of the animal is appreciably shrunk, if one compares it with the stuffed examples in the mammology hall of the Natural History Museum. The neck was cut by a slanting stroke, [87] high in back and low in front: the distance between the lips and the neck cut is 63 mm. on the ventral surface and 121 mm. on the dorsal surface. Two little sticks penetrate the interior of the head through the cervical opening and seem to have been for the purpose of giving rigidity to the strip of dorsal skin. The long, perfectly preserved hair of the animal completely hides this opening. A hole made at the top of the cranium allows the passage of a double suspension cord. The huge lips, projecting in front, are pierced with the three openings characteristic of tsantsas. From

1. Letter published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

the snout to the end of the hair, the object measures 22 cm.

Lubbock (2) reports that women made prisoners are generally killed at the end of a certain time, in order to make tsantsas with their heads. Might not these feminine mummies have a representative value like the sow head of which Barriero spoke, and doubtless like this sloth head that I have just described?

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2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--235 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 773, 177

Missionaries have a curious tendency either to deny that the Jívaro have a religious life or to limit it to some incidental practices. In reality, among these Indians, as among many other primitive people, there are many acts connected with superstitious beliefs, and it is probably that a careful study would considerably augment the number.

The same comment is applicable to the traditions, our knowledge of which is very small and very incomplete. Unfortunately, the Christian myths introduced in the 18th century by the Jesuits have deeply altered the original myths and it is often impossible to discriminate between what is actually Jívaro and what has a Catholic origin.

The Indians have a confused legend of the deluge: in very ancient times a large cloud fell from the sky which changed into rain and caused the death of all the inhabitants of the earth: only an old man and his two sons succeeded in escaping, and they are the ones who repopulated the world. One of these sons was cursed by the father for making fun of him, and the Jívaros are descended from him (1). However, I think the influence of the Biblical legend is too evident. The tradition of the cursed son is found again in the [236] account of Father Prieto (2), but according to him, the survivors must have been a man and a woman who found themselves stranded on a high mountain in a cave together with all the animals. Gonzalez Suarez reports another legend, more interesting, for it is evidently a totemic myth. When the deluge occurred, two brothers escaped death by taking refuge on a high mountain, which rose higher as the flood increased. When the water retreated, they went out in search of food, and on their return, were greatly astonished to find viands in the shelter that they had constructed. In order to clear up the mystery, one of them hid himself and saw two parrots(guacamayos)enter the hut in the form of women, who prepared the meal. Leaving his hiding place quickly, he was able to seize one of these birds, married her, and from this marriage three boys

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., Volume VI, page 224.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 64.

and three girls were born, which was the beginning of the Jíbaro race (3). Molina (4), the source from which the Ecuadorian author took this tradition, attributes it to the Cañaris, and in his first studies, Gonzalez Suarez (5) does the same, but later researches led him he says, to attribute it to the Jíbaros. It is regrettable that he does not indicate the reasons which decided him in this correction.

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3. Gonzalez Suarez. Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi, op. cit., page 28.--Prehistoria americana, op. cit., page 17. According to the same author, the tribes of Mainas and other peoples in the eastern region probably had the same legend on the subject of their origin.

4. Christoval de Molina. An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas; translation by Cl. R. Markham of a manuscript in the Bibliotheque nationale de Madrid (written between 1573 and 1583) in: Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas. Hakluty Society, no. 48. Londres, 1873, in octavo, pp. 8-9.

5. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 10.

Of all the tribes, the Muratos have the traditions which have been studied the most; they have been collected by Von Hassel. (1)

Here is one concerning the creation of the world: the great Spirit amused himself by making objects of clay, he constructed a big, blue vase and placed it at the height of the sky. On the subject of the deluge, the legend is more detailed: a Murato had been fishing in a lake of the Pastaza, a little crocodile swallowed his hook and the fisher killed him; the mother of the crocodiles was very much upset and beat the water with her tail in such a manner that she inundated all the territory surrounding the lake. All died except one man who [237] climbed up a pivai palm tree, where he stayed for many days of constant night; from time to time he let fall one of the fruits of the pivai, but he always heard it fall in the water. Finally one day the result was a dry noise; he then descended the tree, constructed a house, set up a field for cultivation, and, with a piece of the flesh of his own body put in the earth, made a woman whom he married.

Finally, here is the origin of the races: at the beginning of the world, all men lived in a big subterranean cave, the entrance to which was guarded by a tiger. An intelligent and courageous man, in order to give freedom to his fellow creatures, attacked the animal and killed it; the prisoners prepared to leave, but as they were very dirty, they heated water in a big jug to wash themselves: the first to come out of this operation

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., pages 68, 69 and 70.

13: Rivet--236-237 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 173

became the whites, those who followed were the Indians, because the water was already dirty; the last one remained black.

Although these myths seem to vary from one tribe to the other, all Jíbaro believe in the existence of a superior powerful spirit called iguanchi (1). The missionaries have taken this word for describing the devil. As for the Christian God, the spirit of goodness, that is Yusa, a word derived from Jesus or from Dios, which proves that the Jíbaros do not have the equivalent of it. In reality, the iguanchi does not correspond to the Christian devil. He is neither good nor bad, he is powerful; he is, one might say, a great Jíbaro captain, more powerful than the most renowned chiefs. The savage fears him but does not worship him, and when the missionaries speak to him concerning one who is charitable and merciful, he responds logically that he has no need of honoring a good God who by definition would not know how to wish him anything bad, while there is an advantage in drawing to himself the benevolence of the irritable and vindictive iguanchi(2). The latter frequently appears to the savage on the remote paths in the forest, usually at nightfall, most often in the guise of a monkey spitting fire from his

1. Father Prieto is the only one to call it Cumbanama or Neche. The first of these names recalls the name of the valley of Cumbinama, where Loyola was founded. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., Book II. p.64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 111.

mouth or [238]of a horned animal which the missionaries compare to a goat (3). The Aguarunas believe that the iguanchi lives in the whirlpools of the Amazon and in a mountain which is found on the left bank of this river at the Pongo de Manseriche (4). He is invulnerable, and the most courageous tremble at the sight of him and flee.

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., fifth letter, p. 45. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 114.

4. Manuel Antonio Mesones Muro. Vias al Oriente del Peru. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. 13th year, V . XIII, first quarter 1903, pp. 54-89), p. 81.

It is this omnipotent spirit who directs all the important acts of the Jíbaro's life. His advice is asked when a war is undertaken, it is to him that the wounded address themselves in order to recover their health, it is he who reveals to those who please him the most important secrets for the tribe. In order to enter communication with him it is necessary to drink the infusion of natema(1), the preparation of which I have already described. For this operation, the Indians choose a high and isolated hill. At Macas, the customary place is a hill, from the top of which one can see Sangay (2), a ceaselessly active volcano which seems to play a big part in the religious ideas of the Jíbaros of this region and which they call Tungura (3), a word that the missionaries have adopted to designate hell.

From the bottom of the hill up to the summit, a road is made either in a straight line, or in a spiral, and lined with flowers; at the top, a little shelter (iyámtei) is built, before which a space in the form of an elongated quadrilateral is laid out and levelled. He who is to undergo the test climbs up accompanied by all those who have some interest

1. Colonel Proaño speaks of a narcotic called naje employed for the same purpose by the Ayulis Indians and which ought to be analagous to natema: Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., tome III, page 407.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 146.

in the consulation of the iguanchi; having arrived at the top, his companions begin to dance to the sound of drums and flutes, during which the hero of the feast drinks the natema. As soon as he falls overcome by the narcotic, the crowd withdraws, leaving him alone in the shelter, after having lit near him a big pile of wood in order to keep beasts away (4). The drink immediately provokes an erethism of all the senses, with hallucinations, as well as a great muscular excitation; the hair bristles, the eyes water, the nostrils dilate, there is a [239] trembling of the lips; gritting of teeth, convulsions, and a loud rattling in the throat. Then follows a lethargic period which lasts about three days, during which the subject remains completely insensible (5). Villavicencio, who tried out the natema on himself, which he called by the Quechua name of ayahuasca, said he had a feeling of dizziness, then the sensation of rising into the air, with dreams of beautiful countries, large cities, high towers, etc., and finally impressions of horrible fear in desperate struggles against ferocious beasts. The effect of the drink is terminated by a strong need of sleep and, on waking, by a heaviness and aching of the head, accompanied sometimes by a general sickness(6).

4. I Jívaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza, op. cit., page 4.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
6. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 373.

It is during the period of excitation that the iguanchi gives the Jíbaro his advice, his miraculous cures, if the motive of the consulation was a recovery of health, or confides to him the name of the individual responsible for the death by witchcraft of a member of the family. Upon awakening, the Indian descends the hill and communicates to his relatives or associates the answer of the Spirit, and depending on whether it is favorable or not, the proposed war or the proposed expedition is immediately decided or postponed until later (7). One can understand how these superstitions contribute to maintain the state of permanent hostility between tribes.

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7. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 112.

One other important cause acts in the same way. For the Jívaro there is no natural death (1). All sickness, all death are considered as the result of an evil spell laid by an enemy using a sorcerer as an intermediary. Each tribe possesses its sorcerer or huishinu, and, since the one who is able to cause illness ought to be equally capable of curing it, this individual is also the doctor: in Jíbaro, the same word describes the two functions. These huishinu have considerable influence and power over the life of the savages. They are feared and surrounded by the attentions of all, they are loaded with presents, but their situation is not free from dangers; [240] of all the individuals in a tribe, the sorcerer is the most exposed to a tragic death, either by neighboring people who accuse him of having caused the death of one of their number by witchcraft, or by his own tribe, if he is suspected because the children have a sickness which he does not know or cannot cure even if it is in his own family. The renown of certain huishinu sometimes extends beyond the limits of the group to which they belong, and there is no hesitation in bringing them to the death bed of a person of distinction, eight to ten days' journey away (2). It seems that this function is not the privilege of certain families:

1. Suicide is exceptional. A single traveller points out its frequence among the Aguaruna women. In two months, two committed suicide in the tribe where he was staying. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 82.

2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 147.

rather, the most intelligent individuals are attracted by the advantage of the profession, and gradually acquire prestige by their skillfullness and astuteness, in the little circle of people among whom they live.

Besides exorcism is always accompanied by the administration of infusions of medicinal plants or secret remedies, and clever sorcerers risk undertaking a case only when it seems curable.

This is how the huishinu generally operates: in the obscurity of the night, he pretends to take a narcotic infusion (doubtless natema) which gives him a special power; he pretends to be possessed by a spirit (probably the iguanchi), he sings, repeats certain special phrases, makes certain gestures, speaks to an invisible being, and at the same time massages, kneads, bites or sucks, the affected part of the body. These manœuvers last a long time, then suddenly, as if astonished himself with the result obtained, he cries out: "Here it is!" has the lights lit and shows the astonished family a spider, a frog, an ant, a chonta spike, or some other analogous object, saying: "Here is the cause of the illness your relative was suffering; he will get better now unless it is necessary to take out some other things from him in the following days"; then he names the author of the witchcraft (1). And there is war in prospect, for the sick Jíbaro or his children, if he succumbs, will not rest peacefully until the culprit has fallen under their blows.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 143.

13: Rivet--240-241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 775

The savages believe in another life. The veneration [241] accorded to their dead, is the evident proof of it; this second existence differs in no way from the one they lead on earth; they have the same physical needs, the same material necessities and the same pleasures. That is why the relatives bury the body of the dead with food, various liquids, and his weapons. It is probable that the hermetic sealing of the doors of the house where the dead is left is as much for the purpose of guaranteeing the relatives against a possible return of the deceased as assuring rest to the departed. Certain tribes at least believe in transmigration: if the deceased was a brave warrior, he returns in the form of an animal which personifies bravery; but if he was a coward, he assumes the appearance of a snake, a spider, a toad, or some other repugnant animal (1).

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1. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 63.

13: Rivet--241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 614, 773

Information on the existence of totems in the Jíbaro country is rare. The story regarding the flood, which I related before, is evidently of a totemic nature, but a doubt exists as to the legitimacy of its attribution to our Indians. The Aguarunas do not eat the meat of the Hydrochoerus capybara, the Tapirus americanus or the venado (1). Knowing that the other tribes use these animals for food, one may certainly conclude that the Aguarunas are governed by a prohibition of totemic nature specialized by clans, and that a more attentive study would reveal similar facts among the other tribes.

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1. Enrique Brunning. De Chiclayo a Puerto Melendez en el Marañon. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. Volume XIII, 1903, pp. 12-159; 249-295; 385-418; V. XV, 1904, pp. 1-57) pp. 388 and 403.

13: Rivet--241-242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 793, 796

The Jíbaro all have a series of ceremonies which are as yet little known, but the character of which is almost always clearly religious. They are all regulated by personages incorrectly called priests by the missionaries. To my knowledge there is no individual in Jíbaro society who corresponds to the role of priest in ours. I have already said that the savage communicates directly with the iguanchi. The so-called priest is an old man who, because of his great [242] experience, is very well acquainted with the traditions and customs of his ancestors, and whose role is limited to giving the concoction of tobacco to be drunk, to direct the singing, dancing and details of the ceremonies, and to distribute the food among the participants. This function is by no means the privilege of certain families, and does not give a special rank to those who exercise it. In exchange for his good services, the old man simply receives from the one who pays the expenses of the feast a triple ration of food, a dog, an itipi, a blowgun, and sometimes even an ax. An old woman called Ujaja plays an analogous role with regard to the women(1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 25.

13: Rivet--242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

The principal ceremonies are the marriage feast, which I have already described, and those of the women, of tobacco, and of the tsantsas.

13: Rivet--242[2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 585, 796

The women's feast takes place when the manioc or bananas planted by the newly-married couple are ripe. It is to make the new wife industrious and zealous. The old man opens the ceremony by preparing the chicha according to the accustomed manner before the young wife, while giving her many bits of advice: "It is thus that you should serve your husband; never permit him to be thirsty; you will give it to him to drink even if he does not ask you for it, etc." Then begins the drinking and the dance which lasts three days.

13: Rivet--242-243 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 796, 276

The tobacco feast, so called because of the great quantity of the tobacco concoction which is consumed, is to ensure the fertility of the fields, the fattening and fecundity of the hogs. It is more solemn than the preceding ceremony, is attended by more guests, and requires a greater quantity of food and drink. It usually lasts three days, but the guests may stay as long as the food and drink hold out. Under the pretext of helping in the preparations of the feast, certain less scrupulous friends even come to stay with the one who is paying the expenses ten days before the celebration.

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)" (1).

Simson, according to Father Pozzi, reports that in Gualaquiza a ceremony takes place when a child of three or four years of age is initiated into the art of smoking. All the family being gathered together, the oldest member present makes a long discourse in

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 52-53.

which he praises the courage of his ancestors and some members of the tribe, enumerates the number of enemies killed and expresses the hope that the representative of the new generation will imitate these noble examples. Finally, he puts a pipe into the hands of the young novice and after he has drawn on it a few times, all the assistants smoke gravely around him and begin to drink in order to celebrate the great event (2). This account is in complete opposition to my findings, according to which the Jíbaros are not aware of the use of the pipe, and even Simson himself reports that an Indian from Canelos wished to try his pipe and was made as uncomfortable as a high-school boy at his first attempts.

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2. Simson, op. cit., pages 388 and 393.

13: Rivet--242-243 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
195, 521

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)"

13: Rivet--243-244 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 247, 535

There is also in Gualaquiza a flower feast, in which the Indians dance around one of the house-posts (on the men's side) ornamented with foliage; and Father Pozzi mentioned a feast, also with dancing, on the day when an Indian puts on for the first time the girdle made of the hair of enemies killed by his own hand (1).

These celebrations are extraordinarily noisy; the assistants shout and sing at the top of their voices, the frightened dogs bark, the tunduli resounds continuously, the sound of the drums, the flutes and the trumpets mingle in a cacophony unbearable to the ear of a European. The dance does not stop an instant; fatigued dancers are immediately replaced by others. The dance, according to an Ecuadorian who has been present at the feast of the flowers in Gualaquiza, consists of the following: sometimes men and women holding hands form around the decorated post a big circle which increases or decreases according to the rhythm of the music; sometimes a couple detaches itself and dances, but without interweaving: the man takes three steps forward and three back, while the woman facing him jumps up and down [244] with her feet together, jingling? rattling the maco which she wears on the shin. These chorographic motions are completely devoid of grace. This description proves that among the tribes of Gualaquiza, contrary to the rule, the two sexes take part in dancing. At Macas, I have already said that this happens only in the marriage ceremony.

1. Luigi Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell'Equatore. Bolletino della Societa geografica italiana. Rome, 15 vol., 1878, p. 97-102.

All the feasts that I have just described are of very little importance compared to the one of which I am now going to speak: the feast of the tsantsas or tsantsa-tucui (1). After a warrior has killed one of his enemies, he knows that he ought to prepare to celebrate the killing: if he does not, a thousand misfortunes will come upon him, his seeds will not sprout, his animals will not prosper, his family and he himself will die, and the annoyed soul of the dead person will not allow him any rest until he has performed the traditional ceremonies. As soon as he returns from the war expedition, the Jíbaro celebrates first with neighbors and friends the feast called de entrada, in which the old man presiding at these performances gives him the concoction of tobacco to drink. This ceremony is naturally the occasion for a drinking feast of several days. After this, the possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (2), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the

1. Ordinaire. Les sauvages du Perou, op. cit., page 318.
2. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus.--De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.

upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (3). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (4).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seeing him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (5) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaros observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (6).

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 56.
4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, p. 215.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., p. 116.
6. ibid, p. 119.

13: Rivet--245-246 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

These preparations [KS: for the tsantsa feast] consist in planting two or more fields of manioc and bananas; the clearing, the preparation of the land, and the sowing demand at least a year; then it is necessary to wait for the harvesting, to make an enormous quantity of chicha (about 300 jars), to organize big hunting parties and big fishing trips in order to obtain [246] plenty of food for the numerous guests (1). I have already said that game is preserved wrapped up in certain leaves which keep it from spoiling, and that the fish is smoked. The expense of this feast is so great that often a number of Jíbaros arrange to celebrate it together.

The day of the ceremony finally having arrived, the relatives and friends invited in advance arrive from all sections, sometimes from places ten days distant. All bring their best costumes and ornaments.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 116.

At Gualaquiza, the ritual is as follows(1): The old man directing the ceremonies seats himself in the middle of the house, and the Jíbaro enters armed with his lance, carrying the tsantsa in his left hand. The old man stands up, takes the head and plunges it successively into a decoction of tobacco, into a jar of chicha, and then into pure water; then he makes the hero of the day sit down and in turn presents him with these different liquids (fig. 24). This ceremony is for the purpose of "breaking the fast" and thanks to it, the man believes himself free of all obligation. He gets up, takes his trophy and suspends it from the principal house post, which is decorated with flowers, stuffed birds and numerous other trinkets. The old man then begins to talk, improvising a violent panegyric of the victor, whom he calls "a brave Jíbaro, skillful in avenging an injury", heaping the victim's tribe with invective, insulting him and ridiculing him: "Why, "he says, "did you not watch? Why were you surprised? Why did you not rub your eyes with pimento in order to have keen sight?"(2) This harangue over, the men take each other by the hand and form a long chain in the interior of the house, and they dance, jumping and walking (fig. 25). In Macas, the women make a similar concentric

1. Bulletin salesien, August 1896, page 175.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 216.

chain to that of the men; only the wife of the hero of the feast is admitted into the men's chain. Each time the latter dances, the old man detaches the tsantsa from the post and suspends it around his neck (3). Sometimes the dance takes place half [247] inside and half outside the house, the chain of dancers entering by one door and leaving by the other, always singing and shouting, and each individual making a kind of genuflection in passing before the trophy. (4).

Finally the old man distributes the bananas and the food among the merrymakers. The piningas of chicha are passed around. The dancing and drinking continue for six days in the midst of an infernal uproar. In fact, the Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing. During all the time that the feast lasts, the invited guests live at the expense of their host. Every morning, about 3 or four o'clock, each family receives a jar full of boiled chicha and a plate of fish.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 54.
4. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misioned dominicanas, op. cit., Fifth letter, page 49.

In the middle of the night on the sixth day, ten very fat hogs (sometimes more) are killed; an excellent bouillon is prepared, of which each one takes his share at daybreak, then each guest [248] receives a big piece of uncooked meat from the old man, the last gift, which is the signal for departure. Everyone leaves that morning. (5).

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5. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 55.

Certain details of this feast seem to vary according to the tribes: in Macas, the old man does not wash the tsantsa but paints it black, and "breaks the fast" by putting into the mouth of the owner a piece of hog and making him drink the decoction of tobacco (1).

Barriero (2) and Lubbock (3) report that, in the same tribe, the possessor of the trophy, after having suspended it from a post above the tsantsas brought by the merrymakers, insults it vehemently; the old man answers in the name of the victim. At a given moment, the victor carried away by anger hits the mummy with his lance, then sews up its lips in order to condemn it to silence. I have not been able to obtain confirmation of this account from my informants; all have told me that the sewing up of the lips has no other purpose than to prevent the mouth from opening during the desiccation.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 54 and 56.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.
3. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--248 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796

According to Barriero, the conqueror suspends the head from a stick in the open air; his favorite wife, holding him by the belt, accompanies him in this procedure. This is the greatest honor which can be conferred on a Jíbaro woman. Behind her, all the men, holding onto each other in the same manner, form a long chain.

According to Reiss (1), the house in which the ceremony has been celebrated, especially built for this purpose, is immediately abandoned, as after a death.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

13: Rivet--249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727

Formerly the Jíbaros, after the celebration of the feast, suspend the trophies on posts along the roads, after having cut the hair, so that time will destroy them (1), or else preserve them in jars in order to decorate themselves in certain victory anniversary feasts (2), sometimes at the end of many years, they throw them into the rivers (3). They part with them with great reluctance, and Barriero tells how he had to use a ruse in order to obtain a specimen (4). At present, the tsantsas have become a real object of commerce for the tribes in contact with the whites.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre los misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 48.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 33.
4. Lettre published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 112.

The meaning of these trophies is thus rather complex. Among the Aguarunas, the possession of a tsantsa is indispensable to admission into the warrior class and the possession of wives (1). This requirement of initiation seems peculiar to this tribe. No where else does one find classes among the Jíbaros. However, according to Father Prieto, the Indians of Gualaquiza designate under the name Cocarama those among them who have distinguished themselves by the number of enemies killed (2). Perhaps there was then a true warrior class, as among the Aguarunas.

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1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 63.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.

13: Rivet--249-250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 293, 301

The girdles made with the human hair from the tsantsas seem to play a role very similar to the tsantsas themselves. They serve as ornaments only in feasts and on war expeditions. A Jíbaro man will never consent to lend this object, which is the visible proof of the number of his exploits, and upon his death, his relatives encircle [250] his body with it. (1) In case the deceased does not have a tsantsa to leave to his sons, the girdle is preserved by them as a souvenir of his valor (2).

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1. Colini. Osservazion etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 30; Collezione etnografica degli indigeni dell' alto Amazzoni, op. cit., page 35.--Simson, op. cit., page 387. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 37.

2. Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell' Equatore, op. cit., page 102.

13: Rivet--250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 825

The study of all these religious manifestations shows us to what extent the Jíbaro is the slave of his beliefs. Like all simple beings, he also believes in omens. Dreams have for him a significance; if he dreams that he has been able to catch a wild hog, as soon as he gets up, he takes his lance, sets forth into the forest and does not return until he has killed one of these animals; if in his dreams he is bitten by a serpent, he does not leave his house on the following day for any reason.

13: Rivet--250 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

When the wind blows violently, the women and children leave the huts uttering loud shouts, trying to put the wind to flight in this manner, while the men also shout at the top of their voices, encircling the posts of the house so that the gale does not upset them (1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 64-65.

13: Rivet--250 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 821, 787

When a violent storm comes, the Jîbaros leave their dwellings with lances and shields, shouting. In the direction of the bright lightning and reverberating thunder, they threaten an invisible enemy whom they thus intend to frighten. In fact, they are sure that the tribes living in that direction are uniting in order to come and make war against them.

13: Rivet--250 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

Father Pancheri says that a Jîbaro who passed the night at Gualaquiza in his room went out into the corridor before lying down and began to blow hard and to murmur incomprehensible words. Interrogated, he answered that he thus kept away death and the iguanchi (1).

If one throws chicha into a river, big clouds will arise on the horizon (2).

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1. Pancheri, op. cit., El Republicano, Quito paper. No. 106, February 7, 1894.
2. Bulletin salesien, February 1902, page 50.

13: Rivet--250-251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 757

I have already spoken of the method for recovering the breath after the sale of a blow-gun. Most of the supposed medical secrets [251] of the Jíbaros are merely similar superstitious practices. However, there is no doubt that their pharmocopoeia is still poorly known, and in addition to their exorcisms the huishinu use certain remedies (plant infusions, etc.). The decoction of tobacco appears to be a veritable panacea for the savages. In addition the Jíbaro are acquainted with bleeding, which they practice 10 cm. above the bend of the elbow in inflammatory infections. (1)

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1. Colini. Osservazioni etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 19.

13: Rivet--251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 164, 753

Illnesses are rare, because of the robustness of the individuals and the healthy life that they lead, and, as the savages say, thanks to the daily washing of the stomach. Against smallpox, which so often burst out in deadly epidemics in Christians' settlements, the Indians know only one remedy, dispersion and abandonment of the sick. The Aguarunas, however, take care of their sick in little houses separated from the communal habitation.(1)

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1. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 81.

On the other hand, wounds received in war or in hunting are frequent. I have described the procedure of asking the iguanchi for a cure in these serious cases. It is very probable that the Jíbaros do not have any efficient remedy for snakebite. Rimbach (1) described the treatment given one of his oarsmen who was bitten by a venomous snake, as follows: he took a little round wooden bowl, filled it with tobacco and, having put it up to his mouth, he began to sing night and day into the interior of the bowl some unintelligible phrases following a certain melody; he evidently believed that by these songs he would make the poison pass from his body into the tobacco, for from time to time, he burned it and immediately resumed him monotonous chant; he did not undergo any other medical treatment.

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1. A. Rimbach. Reise im Gebiet des oberen Amazonas (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, V. XXXII, 1897, p. 360-409) (with one map), p. 381.

13: Rivet--251 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116. 771

In short, it appears that, without having any need for temples or altars, beliefs of a religious nature dominate the life of the savage, and that superstitious practices are mingled with all the acts of his life.

13: Rivet--252 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 802

The Jíbaros do not have extensive learning. Father Plaza (1) says that they can count only up to 4, Raimondi up to 5 (2). Reiss (3) reports that in Macas the savages make use of their fingers to indicate numbers. The Aguarunas only have special numbers up to five and for the higher figures use their fingers and toes (4). The dialects of Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora possess words for the first ten numbers; above 20, the Indians use the word irúnima which means "numerous". In places where they have come in contact with the Whites, they use the Quechua number systems above 10.

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1. Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 295.
2. Raimondi. On the Indian Tribes of the great District of Loreto, op. cit., page 39.
3. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
4. G. M. von Hassel. Vocabulario aguaruna (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima, 12 year, V. XII, 1902, first quarter, page 83.)

13: Rivet--252 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 805, 823

Time is counted by moons. The year is called chonta from the name of a plant which gives fruit regularly every year. The astronomical knowledge of the savages seems most rudimentary; however, the surety with which they find their way in their forests appears to demonstrate that they use the position of certain stars to orient themselves. They have no idea that the earth is round, and think that if they arrived at the horizon they would fall into a big abyss (1). The only civilized country that they know or that they have visited is Ecuador, which the Macas call Tunguini(2); the Zamoras call the city of Loja by the name of Tunguina.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 393.
2. Ansola Martinez, op. cit.

13: Rivet--252 [3] (no date) 1908 Álvaro
Id., 202

They have no system of writing.

13: Rivet--252 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 323

The arts are little developed among the Jíbaros. However, their pottery has pleasing shapes and sometimes pretty designs, and the ornaments, which they like to wear, are as remarkable for their elegance as for their strangeness.

Dancing, music and singing are high in honor. I have already said that the Jíbaros lack grace. According to the missionaries, their music and their singing would be unbearable to the ear of a White, but it is necessary to take into account the performers' drunkenness during the course of the feasts. The proof of that is that one of my friends who lived in Gualaquiza for a long time, where he was known and loved by the savages, and who had occasion to pass an evening with one of them without drinking, gave an entirely different opinion: "In the middle of the entertainment", he wrote me, "I asked that the two wives of Santiago (so the Indian was called) let us hear some songs. Santiago agreed and even joined his voice with theirs. I hear even now the harmony of this song; it was so gentle and so melodious that I had them repeat it two or three times. I profited by this in order to put the words in my notebook; finally, I asked the Jíbaro the meaning of what I had written, and I acquired the conviction that they sang whatever came to their minds, without any order, in other words, that they improvised words to a familiar air."

Unfortunately, up to now no traveller has taken phonograph recordings among the Indians.

13: Rivet--253 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 534

The drum plays an important role in the Jîbaro orchestras, and adds in giving the music a character of great monotony; in fact, the drumming, consisting of one long beat and two short ones, does not cease while the feast lasts (1).

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

13: Rivet--253-254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 577

The moral ideas of the Jîbaro are clearly evident from what we have said of his life, his customs, and his beliefs. His morality, primarily utilitarian, resembles Christian morals as little as possible. The Jívaro is neither good nor bad. One cannot speak of right, of honesty, with regard to these Indians, who recognize only the law of the strongest. Stealing by main force is a popular practice among them, (1), they consider assassination as a glorious act and treachery as a proof of skill and intelligence, in their eyes success justifies all crimes, and among them renown and respect are acquired, not by [254] the most honest, not even by the bravest, but by the most skillful and the most powerful.

To live freely, and allow no injury without vengeance: such is the double moral rule that directs all actions in the life of the savages.

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1. However, stealing outside of war would be frowned upon. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jîbaros, etc...op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 63.

13: Rivet--254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153

The Jîbaro is one of the most intelligent Indians of South America, when alcohol and natema have not exerted their disastrous influence upon him. Simson reports in detail the conversation that he had with a member of the Canelos tribe to whom he spoke in detail concerning the roundness of the earth, and the civilization of western peoples. He insists upon the interest that his listener took in this account (1). The missionaries praise the vivacity, roguishness, and open minds of the children. To this intelligence, the Jîbaro adds an irresistable passion for liberty. Absolute master in his family, without strict obligation toward his tribe, he intends to stay independent in the territory that he considers his own domain. Exile is powerless to change the state of the savage's soul: young Jîbaros, taken in infancy from the influence of their environment, raised in Ecuadorian cities, upon arriving at adult age dream only of returning to their forests, and soon lose all impressions from their stay in civilized country.

The history of this fierce tribe, like the customs of its members, is dominated by this spirit of independence, developed to an instinctive state.

1. Simson, op. cit., pp. 392-393.

13: Rivet--254-255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153, 609

Horror of all subjection gives the Jíbaro a great distrust of the White. Experience has shown him that he has as much to fear from the White as from his worst enemies, and his first thought is to suspect all individuals of bad intentions toward him. Simson relates the difficulty that his companion, M. Sarkady, had in photographing two Indians because they were sure the operator carried away their souls with the plate which retained their features (1). But this mistrust, wholly natural and legitimate, quickly changes into excessive and often importune trust. Once his fears are calmed, the Jíbaro allows his curiosity free reign, and attracted by all the new objects that he sees, he asks about their use, which he immediately verifies himself, touching everything, trying [255] everything, even putting on your clothes; the smallest object attracts him and charms him, exciting his covetousness. It is easy to see how, by using these easily-aroused childish desires, white traders are able to procure at low prices the precious products of the forest. An Ecuadorian told me he had persuaded an Indian to prepare for him an entire human skin in the same manner as the tsantsas, in exchange for a bad gun.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

13: Rivet--255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Besides these traits of character which make the Jîbaro rather agreeable, he has others which make him a really dangerous being. Crafty and changeable, incapable of attachment, he never hesitates at treachery. Assassinations are not rare in Jîbaro country. The descendants of the fierce assailants of Logroño and Sevilla de Oro are worthy of their ancestors. The traveller whom they welcome with joy perhaps will fall under their lances some hours later. The missionaries have many times experienced their duplicity. One of them tells how on his return from Canelos he was abandoned one evening on the bank of the river, without shelter, without food, without defense in the middle of the virgin forest, by the very Indians who the same morning had spontaneously and enthusiastically offered to accompany him to Baños (1).

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1. Voyage d'exploration chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit., page 257.

13: Rivet--255 [2] (no date) 1908 Jíbaro
116, 157, 183

Very vindictive, the savage never forgets an injury, no matter how trifling, and he is only satisfied when he has achieved a brilliant revenge. We have seen that this feeling brings about a permanent state of these bloody wars between tribes which endanger the future of the race.

According to the standards of the Whites, the Jíbaro is lazy, but perhaps the judgment is too severe; it is true the men leave the hardest work to the women, but custom demands it. He cannot tie himself down to a regular job, but in the first place his independent nature refuses to accept the least subjection, and on the other hand, the savage does not see the need of increasing a well-being which satisfies him; he works only when he wishes to acquire some desirable object (gun, ax, brandy); otherwise, surrounded by a prodigal nature, in a climate of unequalled mildness, he has nothing to fear from hunger or cold, and he does not have to worry about a future which is assured in advance. Therefore, from his point of view, the Jíbaro has reason for not working. In addition, we have seen that when the occasion arises he knows how to prove himself enduring and resistant and to put to work all his moral energy and physical vigor.

13: Rivet--256 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 177, 797

The moral picture which I have just quickly outlined, after having studied the customs of the race in detail, shows what a thankless task the missionaries have undertaken and explains to a certain extent the failure of their attempts up to this time. He who understands only Christian doctrines runs head-on into the most deeply-rooted customs of the people. To advise the Jíbaro to forgive injuries, when all his life is dominated by the desire for vengeance, to point out to him the goodness of the Catholic God, when the only thing he respects is strength, to explain to him the idea of being good to one's neighbor, when he only thinks of lucrative pillage from his neighbor, to limit him to a single wife and to make her his equal when for years he has practiced authoritarian polygamy, to oblige this lover of liberty to accept the many subjections of communal life, the constraint of certain rules, to try to make his mind, accustomed only to concrete realities, understand the abstraction of the Christian mysteries and dogmas, that is to ask too much of the savage, too many sacrifices, that is to upset his entire life without giving him sufficient compensation, in a word, it is to undertake a hopeless work, destined to certain failure.

And in fact, the missionaries succeed in nothing or almost nothing. In order to make their neophytes understand them, they are obliged to use their own language, and they have tried to adapt to the Christian conception the words which are used to designate the native divinities. They have made the iguanchi the devil, and tungura hell; but these

words have taken on a new meaning only in the minds of the priests; for the baptized Jíbaro, they have kept their primitive significance. The teachers of the catechism and those being taught do not understand each other, and seem to understand only thanks to ambiguity. So it is that a missionary may rejoice over having heard an old Indian say on seeing a child baptized: "It is a good thing to wash the head in this manner, because it frightens the iguanchi" (1). In reality, Christian baptism is to the savage only an operation of beneficent magic which has been added to the things they already practiced, the priest is only a huichiru who has brought into the Amazonian forest the secret of new formulae for conciliating the divinities and spirits.

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1. Bulletin salesien, February 1898, page 50.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jíbaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jíbaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

13: Rivet--257-258 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 177

Does this mean the savages of the upper Amazon will never recognize the benefits of civilization? I fear so. Except for the priests, the Whites who live in these remote regions have other concerns than desiring to lead the savage to a higher conception of social life. One may say that the Jîbaros have only received from civilization two sad presents by this agency, smallpox and epidemic maladies which are sufficient reasons for their refusal to group together in villages, and alcohol which weakens and kills a naturally vigorous and beautiful race.

The future of the Indians, which I have just been discussing, is only too clearly apparent. Like their brothers of North America, they are doomed to disappearance, the rapidity of which will depend on the [258] rapidity with which the upper Amazonian provinces are populated. They will be annihilated as the Whites take possession of their vast forests where nature still guards so many unexploited riches, which will soon attract foreigners weary of the struggle in their own countries, on impoverished and miserly soil.

14: Meyers--85-86 (No date) 1937 Jivaro-1
116, 141

"The following measurements were taken from Jibaros occupying the land between the Rio Marañon and the Rio Aipona. The Aipona is really a loop of the Maranon, dropping to the south, then rejoining the parent stream further down its course.

The party started from Trujillo, Peru, taking the train to Cajamorca. From there a railroad blaze was followed to Limoń. From Limoń to our objective, dugout canoes were used.

The major purpose of the expedition was to obtain 'tsantsas', or dried heads. Four weeks were spent among the Jibaro who, though warriors by profession, are not as savage as generally believed. Although they were a little afraid of my instruments at first, presents and bribes made them see the light. [86]

maximum length male	190.0mm.	maximum length female	182.8 mm.
minimum " "	169.8mm.	minimum " "	168.0mm.
maximum breadth male	152.6mm.	maximum breadth female	152.0mm.
minimum " "	137.2mm.	minimum " "	137.2mm.
maximum aricular height male	148.0mm.	maximum aricular height female	143.3mm.

14: Meyers--85-86 (No dates) 1937 Jivaro-2
116, 141

minimum aricular height male	132.1mm.	minimum aricular height female	112.5mm.
maximum cephalic index male	84.25	maximum cephalic index female	86.72
minimum cephalic index male	73.60	minimum cephalic index female	70.79
average cephalic index male	78.65	average cephalic index female	83.48
maximum length height index male	81.91	maximum length height index female	82.80
minimum length height index male	73.80	minimum length height index female	75.90
average length height index male	77.11	average length height index female	80.05
maximum nasal index male	69.5	maximum nasal index female	64.7
minimum nasal index male	48.0	minimum nasal index female	50.1

14: Meyers -- 25-26 (No date) 1937 Jivaro-3
116, 141

average nasal index male	60.6	average nasal index female	51.4
maximum stature males	1920mm.	maximum stature females	1727mm.
minimum stature males	1490mm.	minimum stature females	1450mm.
average stature males	1772mm.	average stature females	1673mm.

mean average for both groups 1722mm."

"Perhaps the most striking specimens recently received by the Museum consist of the paraphernalia used in one of the tribal ceremonies of the Jivaro Indians, who inhabit the forest region of the rivers Pastaza, Morona, and Upano-Santiago and their tributaries, from the interior of Ecuador into Peru. The warlike character of the Jivaro has retarded the exploration of much of their country, hence a great deal is still to be learned concerning the tribal customs, and especially the ceremonies. For this reason little is yet known in regard to the dance regalia shown in the accompanying illustrations (figs. 92-94) or of the rites in which such are used. The objects consist of a breast ornament, a short apron or kilt, arm-bands, leg-bands, necklaces, head and hair ornaments, a spear, blowgun and darts, and a small bow. The breast ornament, which hangs from the neck almost to the knees, is made of beaten palm-bark having a soft cloth-like tex- [215] ture, and is so ornamented with brilliant feathers outlined and bordered with 'Job's tears' and with bean and other highly-colored seeds, interspersed with short tubular beads made of birdbone, as to form a grotesque human head, probably that of a warrior. The exposed parts of the bark cloth are painted with designs in bright red to represent the facial decoration of the personage, and the whole is further ornamented with a fringe of strung seeds having a parrot-feather attached to the end of each string. [217]

The kilt, or apron, is made in the same manner and of like materials, with the addition of a painted and incised gourd shell arranged as the central piece of the ornamenta-

tion. Like the breast ornament, the arm-bands are made of beaten bark adorned with seeds. The leg-bands consist of braided cord, attached to which are large seed shells which served also the purpose of rattles. One necklace is made of closely braided strands of human hair, another is of toucan-beaks.

The head-dress is a crown of upright black feathers banded with white breast plumage edged with crimson, supported on a frame of basketry. Another ornament consists of a woven cotton band, worn as a fillet beneath the crown of feathers. Attached to this fillet at the rear and falling below the waist is an ornament composed of a number of long tubular beads made of bird-bones arranged in rows, with a line of black seeds between each row. The lower extremity is decorated with bronze-green wing-sheaths of a species of tropical beetle, and with seeds and feathers.

A photograph of a Jivaro wearing the regalia not being available, the various articles are displayed on a model for the purpose of affording a slight impression of their appearance; but the gorgeous array of colors must of course be left to [218] the imagination. The crimson of some of the feathers and seeds predominates, but other feathers are yellow, green, and blue, with all the intermediate shades, imposed on the soft tan background of beaten bark, or suspended therefrom. Worn by an Indian against his warm-brown skin, the effect of this savage array must be striking indeed.

These objects, with others illustrating the Jivago culture, will be dis- [219] played among the collections of the Museum pertaining to the tribes of northwestern South America.

16· Skinner--71 (no date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Museum has recently obtained from Mr. Lewis B. Ager, formerly of the Panama Canal Zone, one of the most remarkable, if indeed, not the most remarkable, shrunken head ever collected among the Jivaro Indians of the Province of Oriente on the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains in Ecuador.

This grizzly war trophy, shown in figures 39 and 40, is the venerable head of an elderly white man who possessed a thick crop of curly, snow white hair. Who he may have been, and the history of his death at the hands of the Jivaro warrior who took his head, we will probably never know. In all probability he was some hardy member of an adventurous party of rubber hunters. At any rate, whatever his business in the tangled tropical forests of Oriente, his last venture came to a sudden end, probably by a poisoned blowgun dart or by a spear thrust."

17: Anonymous --2 (no date) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727

"Four human heads, slashed from the bodies of victims by head hunters among the aborigines of Peru and Ecuador, and shrunk to the size of oranges for preservation as trophies, are on exhibition in Case No. 5 in the Hall of South American Archaeology and Ethnology (Hall 9).

A field for speculation is opened by the possibility that one of these heads is that of a white or partly white woman--at least, the features are marked by a European cast. Who she was, and how she got into the hands of the savages to meet this tragic fate will, no doubt, always remain a mystery. Another of the heads appears to be that of a man who also may have had European blood in his veins; the remaining two are typically Indian."

18: Hermessen--435 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 133, 642

"Rising in the western foothills of the Cordillera Oriental the Rio Zamora flows through Loja, where it is joined by the Rio Malacatos. (5) Ten miles farther north, in confluence with the Rio de las Juntas, it breaks through the Andes and enters the province of Oriente, the Amazon region of Ecuador, comprising a northwestern part of the basin of the great river. Vast in extent and largely unknown, unexplored and unmapped, this territory has always been a bone of contention among the republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. But although the particular portion of it which I visited, on a reconnaissance of the Rio Zamora, was supposedly under the sovereignty of Ecuador, no evidence of administrative authority was to be found there, nor did the savages of the Jíbaro tribe who live there acknowledge allegiance to the government at Quito."

"5. Not to be confused with another river of the same name, rising at Cajanuma on the Pacific side of the Cordillera Occidental and discharging into the Rio Catamayo, which latter, under the name of the Rio de la Chira, reaches the sea near Payta, Peru."

18: Hermessen--440 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 427

"Shortly after our arrival a number of Jîbaros of both sexes issued in single file from a cane-field bordering the river and approached the house. They had been employed in various agricultural tasks about the place and were coming for their daily pay, which they took in goods, money being unknown to them."

18: Hermessen--440 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 142

"The men were rather under middle height, thick-set, and with broad, well-developed chest and large hands and feet. They had mahogany-tinted skins and tolerable regular features. Several of them had their teeth stained black."

18: Hermessen--440 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 301

"The men wore their hair, which was long, black, and straight, in a fantastic mode, with two locks, twisted like pigtails and bound with cotton or fiber, depending from the forehead just in front of the ears; while about the tops of their heads were stuck tufts of bright-colored birds' feathers and small wooden combs. In another matter of decoration they follow a custom common to several tribes of the Upper Amazon basin: (14) the lobes of their ears were pierced, and in them were inserted sticks of bamboo, about half an inch thick and about eight inches long, the anterior ends of which, in some cases, had feathers fixed in them. Their faces were hideously smeared all over with anatto, a brick-red pigment obtained from the seeds of the plant Bixa orellana. (15) They had no beards, but only a few hairs on the upper lip. As I afterward learned, depilation is generally practiced by the Jîbaros. (16)"

"14. Cf. A. Hamilton Rice, op. cit., p. 409; Thomas Whiffen: The North-west Amazons, London, 1915, p. 85; and W. E. Hardenburg: The Putumayo, The Devil's Paradise, London, 1912.

15. H. A. Alford Nicholls: Tropical Agriculture, London, 1906, p. 244. This plant is figured in Plate 42 of Captain Whiffen's book quoted above.

16. Whiffen, op. cit., pp. 273, 282."

18: Hermessen--440 [4] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 291

"The clothing of the men consisted of a piece of a coarse cotton fabric, of a uniform striped pattern dyed a dull reddish-brown, about three feet wide, worn like a kilt and tied about the waist with a girdle of fiber. The dress of the women was the same, but with the addition of another piece of similar material thrown over one shoulder and there fastened in such a manner as to hide the breasts."

18: Hermessen--440-442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 302

"Their faces [KS: the women's] were not painted as the men's, but some of them had an ornament consisting of a bit of stick, of the size of a match, projecting horizontally from a hole made in the underlip. (17) The women were very [442] small in stature and physically not prepossessing. Their hair was dirty, dishevelled, and neglected, and, but for a circlet of tape, unadorned. They wore rude necklaces, armlets, and bracelets of berries, nuts seeds and shells, and the skulls and beaks of small birds, strung on fiber thread."

"17. A. Hamilton Rice: The River Uaupés, Geogr. Journ., Vol 35, 1910, pp. 682-700; reference on p. 695; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 86."

18: Hermessen--442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 342, 462, 361

"Within a radius of several miles from Jamboé there were several Jîbaro houses, each standing alone in a separate clearing a little way back from the river, with a belt of forest interposed, so that they were effectually concealed from view from the water. All were exactly alike--rectangular in plan, with rounded ends, about 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, and constructed of bamboo on a framework of big poles lashed together with lianas. At either end was a door of solid wood, usually kept securely bolted on the inside. The roof was high-pitched and made of palm thatch. Several families of blood relations lived together in one house. There was no partition between the quarters of the men and those of the women, as Orton and others have noted as a detail of the dwellings of the Indians (Záparos) on the Napo and other rivers of the Oriente province of Ecuador, (18) but the rear portion was always allotted to the females."

"18. James Orton: The Andes and the Amazon, New York, 1876, p. 171."

18: Hermessen--442 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

"The only noticeable difference between the two ends of the house consisted in the sleeping arrangements, which, in the case of the men, were simply low tables or platforms of split bamboo, (19) with a superimposed skeleton frame; while the women had covered booths or cubicles. When the regular accommodation of this kind was inadequate to the occasion, men, women, and children reposed in groups, sexes apart, on mats of cane or rush laid on the earth floor. Immediately before each one of these sleeping places a fire was kept burning all the time, day and night. In front of each platform, and at the same height, there was a heavy pole, fixed horizontally in two forked sticks, serving as a rest for the protruding feet of the sleepers, who seemed to delight in toasting them over the glowing embers, indifferent to the flames and sparks that leapt from a fresh blaze."

"19. Whiffen, op. cit., p. 47, reports that the Apaporis Indians make shelves or platforms on which they sleep."

18: Hermessen--442 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 352

"About the middle of the building, suspended from the roof-poles by cords of liana or strips of flexible bark, were trays for holding earthenware pots, bowls, and other household utensils; and fastened to the posts supporting the ridge-pole were woven cane baskets, containing the men's finery--necklaces of berries and seeds of various kinds, and of the bored canine teeth of monkeys (Cebus), and decorative tassels of the feathers of Cuvier's toucan (Ramphastus Cuvieri) and the iridescent wing-cases of certain beetles (Chrysophoxa chrysochlora and Euchroma gigantea). Hunting paraphernalia--quivers, poison-pots, etc., --were hung on the frames of the sleeping platforms, and blow-pipes were kept, for safety, tied against the main posts of the building."

18: Hermessen--442-443 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 411

"The bodoquera, or blow-pipe, whose manufacture has been described by Simson, (20) was from eight to ten feet in length. The darts [443] used in it were about ten inches long, a little over one-sixteenth of an inch thick in the middle, tapered to a fine point at either end and made out of the rib of the leaf of the chonta palm (Bactris ciliata). These were held in a quiver fashioned out of a length of bamboo, to which was fixed a spherical gourd, filled with the very light floss of the silk-cotton tree (Eriodendron anfractuosum) for tipping the darts to fit the bore of the blow-pipe. (21) The poison-pot was made of half of a small gourd and had a cover or lid attached to it. The poison was a thick, black, viscous compound, its principal ingredient being the juice of the plant Strychnos toxifera. Captain Whiffen speaks of the use of the same poison by the Huitoto tribe of the Issa (Putumayo) and Yapurá Rivers. (22)"

"20. Op. cit., p. 155.

21. Cf. H. W. Bates: The Naturalist on the River Amazons, Everyman's Library edition, London, 1914, p. 302.

22. Op. cit., pp. 144-145."

18: Hermessen--443 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 241

"Yuca of the bitter variety (Manihot utilissima), maize (Zea mais), plantains (Musa paradisica), and ground-nuts (Arachis hypogaea) were cultivated for food, each house having its own garden plot in the same clearing, as well as a larger plantation some way off."

18: Hermessen--443 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 252

"Yuca and plantains were mostly eaten boiled."

18: Hermessen--443-444 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 273, 574

"From the former [KS: the yucca] the intoxicating liquor chicha was made. The method of its elaboration is not nice. The peeled or scraped tuber, after being boiled, is masticated by the women and set aside to ferment. For drinking, some of the unsavory mess is put into a shallow [444] receptacle full of water and worked and stirred with the fingers until the whole is well assimilated. The coarser fiber, as it comes to the surface is picked out, and the 'cup,' generally a calabash about a foot in diameter, is then ready to be passed round. To avoid giving offence, I had to take, or feign to take, a sip upon many occasions.

Great quantities of chicha are imbibed at Jíbaro feasts, a unique feature of which is that the host entertains vicariously, some other member of the house being appointed to represent him, while he wanders in Elysian fields under the influence of a narcotic made from a vine called ayahuasca (Inca, 'dead man's vine'; Banisteria caapi, Spruce). (23)"

"23. Op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 423-425."

18: Hermessen--444 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 264

"Meals seemed to be going on at odd hours throughout the day. The only regular refection was the morning one, which was served at daybreak. The food, done up as an 'olla podrida,' or 'hot-pot,' and contained in a large earthenware caldron, was brought on by the women, who would then retire to eat with the children in their own part of the house. (24) Jíbaro table manners were of the kind made memorable by the feat of the ingenuous Little Jack Horner--but the Jíbaro pot might hold greater surprises than plums."

"24. Cf. Whiffen, op. cit., p. 135."

18: Hermessen--444 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 462

"The women were kept much to themselves and never ate with the men. Their particular concerns were the preparation of the food for the household and the care of the young children. They also performed all agricultural labors after the ground had been cleared. Added to their lot, again, was the making of earthenware vessels; and the results of their handiwork in this way were remarkably good, considering that they were ignorant of the use of the potter's wheel. (25) Most houses also had rude apparatus for spinning and weaving cotton, work which, however, came within the province of the men."

"25. Cf. Whiffen, op. cit., pp. 95-96."

18: Hermessen--444-445 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 137, 276

"Although wild cacao trees (Theobroma cacao) were abundant on the Zamora, the Jíbaros did not appear to have any practical knowledge of the alimentary value of the fruit, for there were many trees to be seen along the river with pods rotted on them. Rubber trees (probably Sapium verum, Hemsl.) were also common enough, and the latex, obtained in the [445] usual way by making incisions in the trunk, was utilized in various native articles."

18: Hermessen--445 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

"In this part of Oriente there were no cattle, horses, mules, or burros. The Jibaros kept pigs and fowls, but sustained themselves chiefly by the products of the chase."

18: Hermessen--445 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 484, 502

"After putting in some days at Jamboé, making friends with the natives and exploring the surrounding country, we made ready to proceed farther down the Zamora, our objective being a place called Chicaña, a day's journey on the river. As all Jíbaro canoes are communal property, some parleying had to be done with the different chiefs before consent could be obtained to our use of one. The dug-out which we eventually got was navigated by two Jíbaros, hired for the trip, one standing at the bow and the other at the stern, and having long poles for steering. No effort was required to move the canoe, as the current alone was strong enough to take it along at a good rate.

There were frequent rapids, some shallow and smoothly graded, others deep and strewn with great boulders and projecting rocks, making formidable obstructions among which the craft was maneuvered by the Indians with consummate skill and grace. On both sides of the river the forest came down to the water's edge, save where the low banks sloped away to wide sandy playas, marking the flood-plain."

18: Hermessen--445 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 484, 609

"At an estimated distance of between 25 and 30 miles from Jamboé we passed the mouth of the Yacuhambi (or Yanazambi, as Wolf calls it), a river of respectable size flowing into the Zamora from the northwest. Two or three miles farther on we came to the Rio Nanguipa, which discharged into the Zamora on the right. We landed on the opposite bank, at the solicitation of the canoe-men, for a rest at a nearby house to which they conducted us. In it were several Jíbaros, none of whom evinced the least concern at our appearance, even giving me, a white stranger, only a casual glance."

18: Hermessen--446 (No date) 1917 Jivaro-1
116, 521, 157, 198, 574

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O. P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import. . . .

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

18: Hermessen--448 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 135, 325

"The Zamora, like all the other rivers coming from the Cordillera Oriental, is auriferous, (32) and the Jíbaros have some idea of gold washing. A few grams of the metal which I got from one of them had been amalgamated, but how I could not discover. Mercury for the purpose may have been obtained from Loja or Gualaquiza, (33) or it may have been found in the alluvial deposits of the region, as it sometimes occurs, in a disseminated state, in such formations. (34)"

"32. Wolf, op. cit., pp. 310 and 597.
33. A town of Oriente inhabited by whites. See inset on map, Fig. 1.
34. Ibid., pp. 253 and 314."

18: Hermessen--448 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 132

"The mean temperature at Jamboé was approximately 22° C. (71.6° F.). The diurnal variation was small but sufficient to render the nights agreeably cool. The atmospheric humidity was probably high. The annual rainfall I judged, by the aspect of the vegetation and other indications, to be between 80 and 90 inches; and this was evenly distributed, there being no well-defined wet and dry seasons."

18: Hermessen--448 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 153, 266

"Despite the low level of their development, the Jíbaros of the Zamora, like those of other parts of the province of Oriente, are by no means an unintelligent people, and in the conditions of their simple life they are valorous, faithful, and industrious. The Jíbaros are not, and never have been, cannibals. Their barbaric art of shrinking and conserving the heads of enemy chiefs slain in war has no connection with anthropophagy."

"The tribe have no outwardly manifested religious beliefs, other than such as may be involved in the cult of the medicine man. Occasionally individuals would be met who had been baptized, as adults, at Gualaquiza, but they were not professing proselytes. The missions founded in various Amazon regions, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, have made little or no real impression upon the Jíbaro, where he has been reached at all by them; (38) but this is scarcely a matter for wonder, in view of the interruptions which they have constantly suffered through the stormy vicissitudes of South American history. 'The first blow to the missions,' says Mozans, (39) 'came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reasons ocultas y reservadas. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent and the crippled financial condition of

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"38. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 87.
39. H. J. Mozans, work cited in footnote 6, p. 451."

most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest.' Thus, some twenty years ago the Franciscans established a mission, with schools and a medical dispensary, at Zamora, but after a brief existence its withdrawal was forced under the anti-clerical President Alfaro, during whose régime also the Jesuits were deprived of all authority in Oriente."

19: Métraux--617-627 (No date) 1948 Jivaro-1
116, 105

"The Jívaro, (Chiwaro, Siwaro, Jibaro, Givari, Xivari, Chivari, Givaro, Zibaro, Jivara, Hibaro, Jivira etc.) --not to be confused with the Cahuapanan-speaking Chebero of the lower Huallaga River or the Hibitoan-speaking Hibito--comprise a linguistically isolated group in the Montaña of Ecuador north of the Marañón River (map 1, No. 1; map 5). There were fromerly three, possibly four, main divisions: the Jívaro proper, the Malacata, the Palta and perhaps the now extinct Bracamoro. The Palta, aboriginally a Highland type tribe, has been assimilated into the Quechua-speaking population of Highland Ecuador, and is described by Murra in the Handbook, Volume 2, page 801.

The Jívaro proper are typical of the Montaña except in emphasis. They have little that is directly traceable to the Highland. They practice the rain forest type of farming, hunting, and fishing, but once kept a few llamas and guinea pigs. The principal weapons were formerly the bow and arrow, which were later superceded by the blowgun, spear and atlatl. Men's dress is typical of the Montaña; womens' robes pinned over the shoulder may be of Andean origin. Canoes, baskets, and ceramics are of Tropical Forest types but men's weaving on a vertical loom is unique in the region. The extended, patrilineal family occupying a single large house is a Montaña feature, especially of the late post-Contact period. [618]But Jívaro preoccupation with warfare is an extreme development of a pattern common to neighboring tribes, and the shrunken head complex, though not unique, is outstanding in its importance and persistence. Crisis rites are distinctive

only in the boys' and girls' feast or tobacco ceremony, and in disposal of the dead in hollow logs placed inside houses. The shamanistic complex includes the concept of spirit helpers and magic 'darts' as the cause of disease.

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The Jívaro proper probably now occupy the same territory that they held in aboriginal times (lat. 2° -5° S., long. 77° -79° W., map 5). There are four principal divisions, each split into innumerable communities or jivarías, named after rivers: (1) the Antipa, on the right bank of the Santiago River from the Zamora to the Alto Marañón River; (2) the Aguaruna, on the right bank of the Marañón between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers (lat. 5° S., long. 78° W.); (3) Huambiza, on the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers and the left bank of the Santiago River from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañón; and (4) the Achuale (Achuare), between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers, from Lake Puralina to Andoas (Stirling, 1938; pp. 2-4).

The Palta and Malacata were probably Jívaro living in the Highland near Loja (lat. 4° S., long. 79° W.) and speaking closely related languages Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 3:213). For their Jivaro affiliations, Verneau and Rivet (1912-22, p. 37) cite Benavente's expedition (Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 4: 30). Benavente crossed the Paute and Minas de Santa Barbola Rivers, the latter probably a tributary of the former, and entered what

was presumed to be Jívaro territory, where the Indians spoke the same language as the Malacata.

The Bracamoro (Pacamuru, 'tailed Indians') were the Jívaro of the Zamoro River, but the name was also applied to Indians of unknown speech in the region of Jaén de los Bracamoros.

Many attempts have been made to conquer the Jívaro because of the placer gold in their territory but none succeeded. Two Inca Emperors, Topa Inca and his son, Huayna Capac, both failed to subdue either the Jívaro or the Bracamoro. The latter, who were nearest Spanish posts in the Highland were, however, conquered in 1542 and the city of Jaén founded in 1549. The same year, the Benavente expedition visited the Jívaro proper. Trips by Juan de Salinas, beginning in 1557, led to the founding of several colonies, but the Jívaro destroyed them in 1599. The Bracamoro subsequently disappeared from the literature, probably having been assimilated, but the Jívaro proper retained their independence. During the next century, military and missionary conquests failed. It was not until 1767 that the Jesuits gained a foothold among the Jívaro, but they were expelled the same year, and the Franciscans carried on the work from 1790 to 1803. Missionizing subsequently became mainly a subterfuge for treasure seeking until 1850, when it was resumed with greater sincerity. The Jesuits returned in 1869 but there was an uprising in 1873 and the Jesuits were again expelled in 1886. The remainder of the

century brought [619] more travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions, but none had a lasting influence. During the present century, Protestant missionaries have entered the field. But the Jívaro remain unsubdued and only partially acculturated, though many speak Quechua. They showed aggression against the Whites as late as 1915, 1925, and 1928 (Stirling, 1938, pp. 3-28).

POPULATION

On the basis of a partial census of 1580, Stirling (1938; pp. 36-37) placed the aboriginal population at about 30,000. Modern estimates range from Rivet's 20,000 and Karsten's 15,000 to 20,000 to Tessmann's 10,000 to 12,000.

SOURCES

The Jívaro have probably received more attention than any other South American tribe; the scientific literature on them is enormous. Nevertheless, many aspects of Jívaro culture are imperfectly known.

Old missionary and explorers' accounts contain only fragments of information. (See p. 511 and Stirling, 1938, for a bibliography of these.) Ethnological studies tend to treat only limited aspects of the culture or to reflect strong theoretical views of the authors. Karsten's many publications, which are summarized in his comprehensive work (1935), were based on 3 years of field work, though he only twice spent more than 8 days in a single village. His theoretical interest in religion is very manifest, and it is

frequently impossible to distinguish his own or his informant's views from his first-hand observations. Nonetheless, it is the main source on social and religious culture. Rivet's studies are compilations of older sources; he never visited the Jívaro. Up de Graf's (1923) work is designed for popular appeal. Tessmann (1930) adds only a few fragments of information from an Aguaruna informant. Stirling (1938) is the first to recognize the importance of change in the historic period; he also adds new detailed data on blowguns, perparation of shrunken heads, shamanism, weaving, and warfare.

Present needs include adequate studies of technology (which are now only partially available), clarification of social structure and function and of marriage practice through a genealocical approach, verification of the patterns of religion and shamanism, analysis of property rights, and study of agricultural methods. There is also abundant opportunity for investigation of local variations in this large and widely distributed tribe.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

Jívaro crops of the 16th century were 'seeds' maize, and a root, doubtless manioc. Fish, deer, tapir, wild fruits, cacao, nuts, and curassow supplemented the diet. Recently, however, the Jívaro have eaten neither deer nor tapir, fearing the spirits in them. [620]

FARMING. --Present-century crops appear in table 1 (p. 516). They are cultivated with much ritual (Karsten, 1935) in fields located around the communities. Nonfood crops include cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, bixa, and barbasco (Stirling, 1938).

AGRICULTURAL RITES. --Karsten (1920 a, 1935) reports certain agricultural rites of the Jívaro. When planting manioc to be consumed during a tobacco feast in her honor, a woman and her companions squat near the cuttings and chant an incantation. Then they address Nungui, the Earth Goddess, who is symbolized by a stone of curious shape. The first manioc cutting is painted red, and the woman to be honored places it against her groin. Each woman who plants the cuttings sits on a manioc tuber. After the field has been planted, a ceremonial digging stick is stuck into the ground and the people pray to Nungui.

The female owner of a field may not paint herself with genipa, or wear a bracelet around the forearm.

When planting banana trees, men observe various tabooes and pray to Shakaema, the husband of the Earth Goddess.

For 5 successive nights after planting their fields, Jívaro women dance and chant, asking the Earth Goddess to make their manioc grow. They also practice a magic ceremony to expel rodents which attack the crops. Tubers gnawed by these rodents are covered

with ashes and thrown into the forest. The people chant an incantation, requesting the rats not to harm the young plants.

HUNTING AND FISHING. --Aboriginal hunting weapons were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the atlatl. The blowgun has replaced the bow for hunting small game; and spears, thrown without the aid of the atlatl, are used for large game. Firearms are becoming more general (Stirling, 1938). Other devices include deadfalls, spring noose traps, and pitfalls with stakes in their bottoms (Tessmann, 1930). Stirling describes a communal peccary hunt carried on with the aid of dogs; the game is speared from trees or is driven into the water and pursued in canoes. Karsten (1935) gives no data on hunting methods but describes magic: Pepper is put in the eyes of hunters and their dogs to improve their vision; men take tobacco and paint their bodies red for strength; they do the same to their dogs; they keep animal trophies to insure future success; dogs are prevented from eating the bones of game; many charms are used; and hunting dogs are subjected to an elaborate ceremony involving manioc planting, fasting, drinking guayusa, and feasting.

Fish are caught by hand, drugged with barbasco and Clibadium, speared, harpooned, and taken with hooks, with traps placed under rapids, and with both hand nets and large casting nets. The antiquity of the hook is uncertain; bone hooks preceded iron. The Aguaruna catch fish ascending creeks in weirs (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13:79). [621]

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS. --The aboriginal Jívaro were unusual among Montaña

tribes in keeping a few llama and guinea pigs. It is doubtful whether the dog was native. Chickens and pigs were introduced by the Spaniards and, according to Karsten, were sacrificed in many ceremonies.

FOOD PREPARATION. --Food is ground on a flat wooden slab and in a mortar. It is seasoned with capsicum pepper and with both a natural and a prepared salt.

HOUSES AND COMMUNITIES

The Jívaro community is and always has consisted of a single large house (jivaría), usually located for defense on a steep hill at the head of some stream. It is moved at least every 6 years as new farm land is needed.

The house is elliptical, about 40 feet (13 m.) by 80 feet (26 m.) and has a thatched, gabled roof supported by interior posts and a side wall 8 to 10 feet (2.4 to 3 m.) high, made of strong, closely-spaced staves so as to be impervious to attack (pl. 60, bottom). One end of the house is occupied by men, the other by women. Furniture comprises sleeping platforms (fig. 91), storage platforms, hooks, and footstools. The Aguaruna were ascribed palm-fiber hammocks (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13: 81).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Prior to missionary influence, nakedness was common although two garments seem to have been native: a wrap-around skirt for men (pl. 62, top, right) and a full-length robe

for women. The latter is pinned over the right shoulder, the left shoulder remaining bare (pl. 62, bottom, right). These clothes are generally of brown cotton, but poor people may dress in bark cloth (Stirling, 1938). Some individuals also use ponchos (Tessmann, 1930). [622]

A variety of fashions of coiffure are shown by Stirling (1938, pls. 3-10). Ornaments include fur and feather headdresses, ear pins, women's lower lip labrets, tatto, red bixa and black (genipa) paint applied with a roller stamp, blackened teeth, wrist and leg bands, and elaborate bead collars and chest bands. Status and other special badges include hunters' ornaments made of tayo bird femora, warriors' girdles with human hair attached, face paint, head rings, and women's upper arm bands.

TRANSPORTATION

Goods are transported in hexagonally-woven baskets held by tumplines. Babies are carried in bands (pl. 60, top, left).

Dugout canoes of some size and excellence seem to be aboriginal, but they have never been adequately described.

MANUFACTURES

BASKETRY. --Hexagonally-woven carrying baskets and mats are mentioned, but basketry techniques have not been analyzed.

SPINNING AND WEAVING. --Men do all spinning, weaving, and knitting. Astrocaryum

fibers are used to knit bags with an eyed needle and to make fish nets. Cultivated cotton is spun with a kind of drop spindle, the cotton being fed from an elevated container. Belts and clothing are woven on a nearly vertical loom set in a frame. The warp is wrapped continuously around the upper and lower bars, producing a cylindrical piece of cloth. Women color textiles with brown vegetable dyes (Stirling, 1938).

POTTERY. --Women are potters. They use a coil technique (pl. 62) and make cooking vessels, bowls, and large chicha jars. Some vessels have incised zigzag decorations. Others are fired, then colored red with copal (Stirling, 1938) or urucú (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) (pl. 52, h). Some bowl interiors are decorated with white geometric designs representing mythical figures. Aguaruna bowl interiors are painted red-and-black-on-white and are varnished with carafia. Some bowls have rattling pebbles inside a double bottom.

SKIN WORK. --Several fur products are made, including head bands and bags. Preparation of shrunken heads (p. 625) also involves techniques of skin and hair preservation.

METALLURGY. --The Jívaro have remained very indifferent to the considerable placer gold in their territory. Of Highland metal objects, they acquired only a few copper axes.

FIRE MAKING. --Fire is made with the drill and activated with a feather fan.

WEAPONS. --Weapons of warfare reported in 1540 were lances and round shields; in

1571, spears, spear throwers, round shields of tapir hide and wood, and copper axes; and, in 1582, throwing spears, thrusting [623] lances, and stones (for slings?). The bow and arrow and spear were used in 1582 for hunting.

During the late 17th century, the bow and spear thrower were abandoned, and the blowgun and hand-thrown spear became the principal hunting weapons. In the present century, blowguns, spears (pl. 62), and firearms are used for hunting. Spears are often tipped with iron, but heads of human bone or chonta palm wood are preferred, the latter for their magical potency. The shield is now made of hide or of a single piece of wood to resemble three concentric, superimposed circular slabs.

SOCIOPOLITICAL GROUPS

The sociopolitical unit from pre-Columbian times to the present day has been the household, which formerly consisted of 80 to 300 persons and occupied a single dwelling (jivaría), but today has only 30 to 40 persons. Each house stands in a more or less isolated, defendable site, one-half to several leagues from its neighbor.

The group occupying the jivaría is described as patrilineal, but no analysis of its composition or structure is available. Karsten's assertion (1935) that, after a period of matrilocal residence, a newly married couple established its own house scarcely fits the picture of a patrilineal household which would require ultimate residence in the groom's father's house.

Each community is independent, having its own headman, but a half a dozen friendly

jivarías may unite temporarily for warfare. After the 16th-century rebellions against the encomenderos, large numbers of jivarías formed alliances against the Spaniards.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILDBIRTH. --Jívaro women know vegetable abortives. During child birth, a mother is isolated lest she contaminate other people. Afterward, both parents are subjected to food taboos and to various restrictions on their activities in order to protect the infant, but the father does not remain in bed. Unlike many neighboring tribes, the Jívaro do not kill one of twins. They practice infanticide only on deformed babies (Karsten, 1920 a).

PUBERTY. --Tessmann (1930) denies that the Jívaro have menstrual observances, but Karsten (1920 a, pp. 13-28) describes measures to protect menstruating women from spirits which seek to make her pregnant and a tobacco ceremony designed to give a girl strength after her first menses and to reinvigorate an older woman. The ceremony begins with a crop fertility ceremony and the slaughter of specially raised pigs and chickens, after which the girl takes tobacco juice to cause vomiting and to produce visions. He also describes a feast to initiate boys into manhood (Karsten, 1935, pp. 237-242), but there appears to be no secret cult. [624]

MARRIAGE. --A man may marry his cross-cousin and his sister's daughter (Karsten,

1935, p. 186). Polygyny is common, especially because of high male mortality in warfare. Stirling describes marriage by purchase, often of pre-pubescent girls (1938), but Karsten states that bride service to the girl's father is given during several years of matrilocal residence in lieu of a price. The levirate is required.

DEATH. --Archeology indicates some former urn burial in Jívaro territory (Stirling, 1938), though recently only the Aguaruna have practiced this method (Tessmann, 1930). In the historic period, an ordinary person was placed in a hollow-log coffin in a special hut; a chief's coffin was left in his dwelling, which was abandoned. The deceased was supplied with food and drink for 2 years, at the end of which he was supposed to become an animal or bird (Stirling, 1938). Some children, however, were buried in urns, and occasionally adults were given earth burial (Karsten, 1935, p. 460). Among all Jívaro, missionary influence has made earth burial more frequent.

WARFARE

The Jívaro differ from other Montaña tribes neither in the causes, methods, nor weapons of warfare but in their extreme zeal for war. Excited to rebellion during their 16th-century reduction on Spanish encomiendas, the Jívaro became formidable foes who have never been truly conquered to the present day. But their more absorbing military efforts have always been directed toward other Jívaro communities. The desire to avenge the death of members of their own household or to retaliate against imagined sorcery, to-

together with social prestige attached to military success, has, despite intervillage kinship bonds, pitted communities against one another in unending reprisals. Peace, concluded through the ceremony of burying the lance, may readily be broken by serving formal notice on the foe. The chronic danger of attack accounts for the elaborate rites by which peaceful visitors must approach and be received into a village.

Warfare is directed by a special chief of considerable though temporary authority. It begins with a dance of excitation while a shaman drinking cayapi invokes supernatural assistance. The aggressors attempt a surprise attack, using spears but never blowguns. Around their village the defenders have placed lances and firearms, both automatically released by bent poles, and barricades, pitfalls, and trenches filled with sharp stakes. If worsted, the villagers call for help with their signal drums and barricade themselves in their houses, shootipg through loop holes. The victors shrink the heads taken from their foe and go home to celebrate a victory dance. The shrunken heads are proof that the ancestors have been avenged.

SHRUNKEN HEADS. --Shrunken heads (tsantsas) are now most typical of but not peculiar to the Jívaro (pl. 63). The skin is cut and removed from the skull, the lips are everted and pinned or sewed together, and the whole head skin is boiled with a plant which somewhat shrinks it and fixes the hair. It is further reduced by placing hot stones and

sand inside it; then it is smoked, polished, and kept in a jar. When victim's heads cannot be taken, sloth or other animal tsantsas may be substituted.

Many fraudulent shrunken heads, made from unclaimed dead in city morgues, are on the market and in museums. They generally lack one or more of the following characteristics of genuine Jívaro tsantsas: Lips sewn or pinned, the forehead compressed laterally, nostrils dilated, all facial hair except eyebrows removed (mustaches frequently reveal falsified tsantsas), the skin smoked-blackened and polished, and little ornamentation except the lip threads. The Jívaro, moreover, never preserve the whole body. (See Stirling, 1938)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ART. --The principal Jívaro art products are carved spear handles, feathered head ornaments, and mythological paintings on pots and other objects.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. --Jívaro musical instruments include: Hollow-log signal drums used singly (fig. 92; pl. 62); two-headed skin drums played both by dancers and by shamans; transverse and longitudinal flutes; musical bows; snail-shell trumpets; and jangles of shell and other materials attached to belts and leg bands. The Aguaruna make primitive two-string violins in imitation of Spanish models. Panpipes are merely children's toys.

DRINKS AND NARCOTICS. --Chicha is made by fermenting manioc and other plants.

Narcotics include tobacco, cayapi, Datura, and guayusa. Tobacco, the most important, was formerly taken only for magical purposes but is now generally smoked for enjoyment. Karsten (1935) describes the use of tobacco in boys' initiation rites, in women's tobacco ceremonies, in curing, in general magic, and in vision seeking. It is smoked as cigars, or else the juice is drunk or blown up the nose. Placed in the eye, it is thought to counteract bad dreams; painted on the body, it gives protection.[626]

Cayapi is used by shamans or by people wishing to contact ghosts or to provoke divinatory visions.

Datura is drunk or taken as an enema through a straw by warriors desiring to gain power and to foretell the future.

Guayusa is a purgative and emetic and is believed to give strength.

SHAMANISM

The Jívaro shaman seems to have a greater variety of functions than his colleague among other Montaña tribes, though the incomparably richer material on the Jívaro (Stirling, 1938) may be responsible for this impression. He assists in warfare, makes rain, manufactures love potions, gives miscellaneous advice when under the influence of guayusa, causes disease, and cures illness by both herbal and supernatural means.

A neophyte shaman is instructed for 1 month, dieting for 5 days and taking five drugs,

including tobacco juice, cayapi, and three others, one of which may be Datura. He learns to control several disease-causing spirits: the spirit of the blowgun; the ray fish, most dangerous of all; snakes; a doorlike spirit causing barrenness; the woodpecker and toucan, which cause stomach trouble; the night bird, which brings various ills; and insects, which cause skin troubles.

To cause sickness, a shaman blows one of the spirits he controls into his victim by means of tobacco smoke (Stirling, 1938) or, with the aid of his spirits, he sends a magical 'thorn' or 'dart' (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) into him. A water monster may also cause illness. To cure, a shaman sings, plays his drum, takes Datura, tobacco, and cayapi, and sucks out the 'thorn.' Shamans may also reveal the identity of a sorcerer. Some shamans may turn into jaguars to attack people.

RELIGION

Jívaro religion is based on the concept of a supernatural essence (tsarutama) that gives power to both objects and spirits. This essence is in the Rain God, who inhabits mountain peaks, in various animals including the Anaconda God, who lives in rapids, in demons, in the sun, the moon, the earth mother (whose importance is repeatedly stressed by Karsten), and, among plants, especially manifest in the chonta palm. It is in many fetishes, such as shrunken heads, fur balls taken from animal stomachs, certain brown stones, seeds, and jaguar teeth (Stirling, 1938). Though feared, these various spirits

and demons are the object of no organized cults. The supereme God, Cumbanama, is remote and has no interest in human affairs.

Karsten mentions an ancestor cult, which seems to be linked with ideas of reincarnation. Recorded beliefs about life after death, however, are too varied and conflicting to reveal a clear pattern of ancestor wor-[627]ship. Souls of warriors become, according to the qualities of the deceased man, either ferocious animals, such as jaguars, or inocuous animals, and children become birds. Shamans turn into dangerous monkeys, bears and deer (Stirling, 1938). Karsten also describes a belief in transmigration of souls to plants as well as to animals. Potential danger from one's ancestors motivates vengeance of their death, but it is not clear that they are propitiated to procure their direct intervention in worldly affairs. No formal ancestor cult with secret initiation, like that of the Tucano tribes, is indicated.

There is some hint of a guardian spirit concept in Karsten's statement (1935) that animals, birds, and other spirits seen under the influence of narcotics help the dreamer in various ways. These spirits, called the 'old ones,' seem to have some connection with the concept of reincarnation.

• Karsten describes five ceremonies which employ magic. These, mentioned above, are the victory celebration and the ceremonies for the benefit of children, young men, women,

and dogs. It is curious that pigs and chickens, both post-Columbian elements, have a prominent role in these rites.

MYTHOLOGY

Despite the continued vitality of Jívaro culture, mythology is being forgotten.

The creation myth recounts that Cupara (Compadre?) and his wife were parents of the Sun. They created Sun's wife, Moon, of mud. Among the children of the Sun and Moon were Manioc and various animals, including the Sloth, which was the first Jívaro. Ensuing adventures of the parents and children account for a large portion of Jívaro culture (Stirling, 1938).

The myth of the star brothers is very similar to the Tupí tale of twins. A jaguar killed his Jívaro wife, but his mother secretly reared his two sons, who became stars. When adults, they killed the jaguar to avenge their mother then returned to the sky by means of an arrow chain (Karsten, 1935, pp. 523-526). Other tales recount the flood, the theft of fire by Hummingbird, and the acquisition of salt, potter's clay, and pumpkins (Karsten, 1935).

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"Our first Jivaro visitor called when I was away from camp exploring the jungle. Johnston did his best to entertain him, and on my return I found the pair seated out in the open, laughing and waving their arms about like a couple of lunatics.

'What is it all about?' I asked.

'Lord only knows, I don't,' replied Johnston. 'The old boy has got something on his mind, and all I have been trying to do is to hold his interest until you could get back to photograph him. He is an interesting type; look at those strings of iridescent beetle wings hanging from his ears. They show off wonderfully against that tawny hide of his.'

The stranger certainly was a fine specimen. He wore the regulation short loin-cloth secured about the waist by a fibre-like cord; a band of monkey's fur adorned with tucan's feathers, encircled his forehead, and over one shoulder a fur bag and a cow's horn were slung.

After considerable chatter, I managed to gather that the man's name was Kuashu, and he was anxious to know if we had any bananas. On learning that we had a good stock, he asked if he might call his family over to help dispose of them. His relations, he went on to tell us, were fishing down river and would be glad of a little food. [147] We promptly extended the hospitality of our house, and told Kuashu to summon his friends to the feast forthwith, which he did by blowing a long blast on his horn.

Hardly had the echoes died away over the forest, when we saw a number of figures coming across the gravel bar. To our surprise, instead of a party numbering five or

sin. Kuashu's family developed into a small army of men, women and children, who consumed bananas in a way that hardly seemed possible. We certainly didn't grudge them the food, but we did marvel at their capacity for disposing of it.

The whole pow-wow went off most successfully from every angle. We took photographs, and in return made sundry presents of beads, matches and other trifles. Strips of motion picture film were regarded with particular admiration, and several of the men adorned their heads with a loop of it. I have always wondered why this material is so popular amongst primitive people; wherever I have travelled on the globe, it proves an article of special interest and strips of it are invariably donned as ornaments for the head.

Our meeting with Kuashu had one important result. He invited us in our turn to pay him a visit, a sort of week-end affair. He lived some distance away, and before he left us, we had agreed to call when next the moon was full, providing he would send one of his tribesmen to guide our footsteps."

"Our most frequent visitors were not human beings at all, but bats, which sailed in and out of our house as they pleased when night came on. Johnston had the greatest antipathy for them, although they were quite harmless. He objected to their flying so close over his face. He disliked feeling the wind made by their bony wings as they fluttered to and fro, wheeled about in the darkness and [148] flitted past again. At first it was only a few odd ones that visited us, but as soon as news spread abroad in the bat world that ripe bananas were to be had for the asking on the 'Playa," their numbers began to swell nightly.

We had all kinds of bananas hung up in our larder, from the coarse plantains for cooking, to the more delicately flavoured fruit varieties. When morning came, we would see ample evidence of the midnight marauders. They would greedily gnaw off the skins of all ripe fruit, and then consume only a portion of the meat inside. Johnston, getting desperate at their ever-increasing numbers, swore loud and long that he would put an end to their depredations by barricading every crack through which they could enter. He went to great pains to accomplish this by hanging up nets and leaning branches covered with big leaves against the open sides of our dwelling. Of course, it was quite futile to take such precautions, for hungry bats will creep through tiny openings, if food is to be had inside. The trouble starts when they want to get out. After a good meal they feel so lazy they won't bother to go home, but just hang up comfortably wherever they happen to be and go to sleep. This is an

advantage bats have over men. We can only hang up our hats.

Johnston spent a good hour one evening in his efforts to render our abode bat-proof, but when daylight returned, the sight which greeted our eyes was unique. The inside of our house was a picture. Bats hung from the roof in shoals. They were suspended from our camp beds, they clung to every convenient rafter, row upon row like so much black drapery, still and motionless. Having been forced to remain all night, the mess they made was inconceivable, and it took us the best part of a morning to get rid of them and their litter. After that experience, Johnston voted for the policy of the open door. 'Why not sleep outside and give the house over to the bats?' he suggested."

"The topography of the surrounding country, and the geographical position we occupied in the world, are worth commenting upon, because practically every map I have seen of Ecuador shows this area incorrectly. Macas, for instance, is placed at the head waters of the Morona instead of the Santiago, the Upano being an affluent of the latter stream. In a way, such errors can be understood, because the whole grouping of hills and rivers in this part is contrary to what one might expect.

Macas lies between two ridges of thickly forested hills. To the west, there is a fairly high range which reduces its elevation as it extends south, cutting the Marañon at the Pongo de Guaracayo. To the east, another range of hills springs out of the plains north of Macas, without any connecting link between it and the main cordillera of the Andes. These hills bow slightly eastward, reach their maximum development almost due east of Macas, and then maintain their altitude fairly steadily all the way south to the Pongo de Manseriche. The Morona rises east again of this ridge to the north of Macas, away from the Andes; or more correctly at the base of a very low spur running out from Sangai in a more or less north-easterly direction. The valley of the Morona is more unhealthy than that of the Santiago. The Pastaza River lies still further east again, beyond the Morona. One of its principal affluents, the Palora, cuts in back of the low spur ridge where the Morona rises, describes a circular sweep about the northern and western slopes of Sangai and rises on the south flank of the great volcano. A compass bearing taken on Sangai from Macas placed it at 42 1/2° west of north.

20: Dyott--149-150 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 133

The magnetic declination for this locality according to Sinclair and Wasson, is 6°19' east. Mr. J. Sinclair, whose friendship I have the privilege of claiming, visited this district in 1921 with Mr. Wasson, and together they did some extraordinary survey work of great value. They [150] give the elevation of Macas as 3, 580 feet and that of Sangai as 17, 459."

20: Dyott--150 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 133, 823

"While on the question of elevations, I should point out that such spectacular wonders of the Ecuadorean scenery as Sangai and Tungurahua, can never be credited with any permanent elevation above sea-level because they are constantly changing, either building up or breaking down. With the cessation of activity, lava welling up from below starts solidifying in the crater. Ice and snow piles up on top of this again, until a more or less permanent condition results. Then comes a violent convulsion within the heart of the earth. The accumulation of years is blown sky-high and distributed over the countryside. When the dust clears away, behold 200 feet or more of the summit has gone.

The Indians we came in contact with regarded Sangai with awe and superstition. Some expressed the belief than when dead, they would go down into its fiery throat, but this we found out was one of the many absurdities implanted in the simple minds of their forefathers by those jolly missionary fellows at the time of the Spanish conquest. The Indian's real ideas of death are nothing like so prosaic as this."

"With the advent of the full moon, Kuashu sent over a couple of guides, and we went to pay him the promised visit. His house was quite a long distance away, something like eight hours on foot, over a slender trail that ran south along the west bank of the Upano. We crossed six small streams on the way there, which are known to the Indians as Jurumbai, Pausa, Timbaimi, Cachi Yacu, Metzangaimi, and Sungaimi. About fifteen minutes before reaching our destination, we veered around to the east over some swampy ground. Here every vestige of trail ceased, but our guides, without faltering, kept on as if following the main road leading to a big city.

When least expecting it, we suddenly came upon Kuashu's abode in a secluded section of the forest. It was built on rising ground, with juca and bananas growing plentifully all about it. Strategically, the place was well-chosen. A hillock surrounded with boggy land is about as immune from attack as anything could be. Marauding bands of Indians would find it difficult to approach such a place by day unless familiar with the lie of the land; at night it would be next to impossible to avoid detection.

In construction, the house was typical of many we had seen in the Jivaro country, oval in shape, with walls built up of hard wood poles driven vertically into the ground so close together that it was impossible to squeeze a hand in between them. The high roof thatched with palm leaves gave it the appearance of a big hayrick planted down in the heart of the jungle. [152]

20: Dyott--151-152 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 574

We were ushered through a narrow doorway at one end of the establishment. All was dark inside, save for what little light filtered through the cracks in the walls, and the air was laden with the pungent smell of stale smoke. The women-folk brought up low stools for us to squat on, and in the usual hospitable manner, set food before us. We, in our turn, distributed a few trinkets amongst the members of the household, which served to put us on a friendly footing with everybody."

20: Dyott-154-155 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 512, 157

"By six o'clock the whole family was astir. Kuashu and his two youngest boys, Wesuma and Humbikti, formed and animated group in the centre of the house, talking over plans for the morning. Mihanda, the eldest son, did not join in the conversation. He seemed a surly sort of fellow, for he sat on his rack staring at the floor in a peculiarly detached way as if he had no interest in what was going [155] on about him. His wife, Secouta, equally absorbed, crouched by the fire with her small son Katani alongside of her. The latter was a nice little child seven or eight years old, naked as the day he was born, with a clean brown skin and dark hair falling over his shoulders. He squatted on his haunches, like a rabbit sitting up in the grass, and made quite an attractive picture."

"So simple are the arrangements of a Jivaro dwelling that it should be easy enough to describe them, yet I find myself at a loss to know how to start. I think it was the complete lack of most things which would be considered essential for moderate comfort that struck me most, as my gaze wandered from corner to corner of Kuashu's house. For instance, there were no articles of furniture except a few low stools used by the men. The plain earthen floor was not even strewn with mats of any kind, but was perfectly bare; just beaten down hard by the constant treading of human feet. The whole premises consisted of but a single room, oval in shape, with five sleeping platforms sticking out from the walls. We sampled these racks, called 'pierca' by the Indians. They were about four and a half feet long and struck us as being the acme of discomfort. They were raised something like a foot from the ground and had a slight downward slant. Some measure of resiliency was afforded by a covering of split cane; otherwise, the surface felt like a stiff board under one's back. Kuashu's rack boasted of a deer's skin, but the remainder were all plain. The width of each varied according to the number of people it accommodated. Twelve or sixteen inches away from the base of the rack was a cross-pole (patage), which caught the sleeper under his ankles and below this, on the floor, a fire burned constantly to warm the extremities of those who made use of the bed at night. Alongside of each rack were one or two vertical poles carrying bunches of [156] wild cotton, a spindle and a ball of thread. A wicker basket was also suspended,

from the roof containing all the worldly possessions of its owner. The spear and blow-gun belonging to the same man were likewise placed handy for immediate use.

In the centre of the floor stood a large earthen pot propped up on sticks. It contained the family supply of nija-manchi, an intoxicating beverage prepared from the root of the yuca and consumed in great quantities by the Indians. A tundai, or signal drum, hung in one corner from a cross-pole."

20: Dyott--156 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 342, 712

"Kuashu's home, in all its rough simplicity, was exactly like every other Jivaro establishment. Amongst the dozens I have visited, I have never seen the slightest signs of originality exhibited in their construction. Except for size, they are all identical. The absence of an outer wall, sometimes noted, only indicates the poverty or laziness of the owner. With increase of family, it will be added and the dwelling made to conform to the universal standard. In the more unsettled areas, I have come across defence towers (kumbinta) built alongside the house, and it is not uncommon to see an extra row of short poles planted outside the wall about six inches away, with the intervening space filled with stones; but such things are merely additional safeguards against attack."

20: Dyott--156-157 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 342

"Some writers claim that the Jivaros sub-divide their houses into special quarters for men and women, but I have never come across this. I have frequently noted a sleeping rack to be roughly fenced about, affording a slight measure of privacy to the pair who occupied it; but as to bringing about a general separation of the sexes, I cannot recall ever having seen it done."

20: Dyott--157 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 555, 142

"We watched Kuashu as he sat talking to his sons. He was an unusually muscular fellow, in spite of his forty-five years of age. His hair was turning grey, and elaborate ornaments indicated that he was a personage of some importance. He had been a great warrior in his time, and was still full of physical vigour: we could see as much from the very emphatic way he had of speaking."

20: Dyott--157-158 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 627, 867, 181

"It was no longer plans for the morning that were being discussed: Kuashu was relating a rather long-winded story about a brother of his who had been foully murdered some years previously. He was telling his sons that the day would come when they would have to avenge the outrage.

It seemed that this uncle had beaten one of his wives to death because she was unfaithful to him, and the woman's family, considering the treatment unnecessarily harsh, had murdered the husband in retaliation. Custom said that Kuashu's family must also take a life in order to satisfy the Jivaro sense of justice. With this end in view, the spirit of revenge was being kept alive, and almost every day the young men of the household were reminded of the duty which they inherited, and how they would eventually have to kill some member of the family who were responsible for their uncle's murder. The boys listened to the tale, which had already been told them hundreds of times, with as much interest as if they had never heard it before, and I wondered how long it would be ere their hands were stained with blood. They saw nothing wrong in this lust for vengeance, for their creed taught them that the spirit [158] of their uncle could not rest till justice had been meted out. Furthermore, if they failed to take reprisals they and their families would be the ones to suffer."

20: Dyott--158 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 595

"Kuashu had surrounded himself with a trio of wives, Nambira, Nakaimbi and Inna. The last mentioned was a young girl of pleasing appearance, and evidently a recent acquisition to his household, for she was well decorated with beads and feathers. She had no children, but the future promised well. The four children of the house belonged to the two older women. Three of these children were boys, already referred to as Mihanda, We-suma and Himbikti, and the fourth, a young girl, and quite a jolly little thing, was called Chingasso. There was yet another woman--an old creature that nobody seemed to pay much heed to. She was the one surviving widow of Kuashu's brother who had been killed. According to Jivaro custom, the wives of a dead man are taken over by his nearest male relation. Sometimes this may be equivalent to quite a big fortune, but in this case, Kuashu had only acquired a useless package of worn-out human machinery."

20: Dyott--158-159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 551

"Indians have very strange notions when it comes to applying names to each other. I have just given those of Kuashu's family, and if I now aver that those were not their names at all, it may sound a trifle confusing. Yet, as a matter of fact, that is the truth. It must be explained that Indians only call each other by nicknames which are characteristic of, or have some association with, the individual. A man guards his real name as a profound secret, and it is never divulged to anyone. According to him, he would be completely at the mercy of his enemies should they get to know it, for they would then be able to direct the evil spirits to harm him. Assume for a moment that a man is called 'Hapa,' which is quite a common name and signifies 'deer.' You can imagine how impossible it would be for anyone to describe him to the evil spirits. [159] The latter would certainly want more precise information before working their spells, for there are many deer in the forest and many individuals bearing the same nickname. This would result in so much confusion amongst the evil spirits that any man merely known by such a nickname would be quite safe from their machinations. "

20: Dyott--159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 186

"For the whites, the Shuaros have nothing but a feeling of supreme contempt. They will pander to those settlers who live on the fringe of their country for what they can get out of them, but at heart, they are full of scorn for their lack of manly virtues and their inability to provide for themselves in the jungle. They once occupied a portion of the mountainous region of Ecuador, but were attacked and eventually subdued by the great Inca invasion from Peru. So contrary was the Inca conception of freedom to that of the Shuaros that the most warlike of the latter tribe would not subject themselves to Inca domination, but fled to the forests. To-day, the Incas are shorn of all national feeling, yet the Shuaros still maintain their racial characteristics, and their warlike propensities still cause the governments of Lima and Quito concern."

20: Dyott--159 (no date) 1926 *Jivaro*
116, 181, 551

"The whole question of names is one of tremendous interest, and the Jivaros differ from every other Indian tribe with whom I am familiar in the Amazon country in one most important respect: they group themselves with other tribes under a distinct tribal name--the name of Shuaro. Tribes outside this group frequently label their neighbours with nicknames, but it never occurs to them to band together under a distinct name of their own. The tribes known to the whites as Jivaros, Huambisas, Antipas and Aguarunas, are all Shuaros, and recognize themselves as such."

20: Dyott--159-160 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 157

"The Shuaro is an extremely proud individual. He delights in a life of the most complete freedom imaginable. Kuashu owed no allegiance to anyone, neither did anyone [160] kow-tow to him. He was head of his own establishment, but his authority extended no furthur. Each house and its inmates made up a small community to itself, living by itself and without any connection with any other household. There were no great chiefs in the neighbourhood. Every man did exactly as he pleased, and only in times of war would an individual be picked out to lead the fighting forces. With the cessation of hostilities, this man's authority would likewise cease."

20: Dyott--160 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 361

"Jivaro houses, it might be noted, are never built closely together after the manner of a village, but widely separated in the jungle, with greater resultant personal freedom and less squabbling amongst neighbours. A wise precaution which we in our country might emulate to advantage."

"At 7.30 Kuashu announced his intention of going off hunting in the jungle. Without further ceremony, he picked up his long blow-gun and casually sauntered off through the plantation of young yuca growing round about the house. He made no effort to persuade others to accompany him. Anyone who wanted to come along was welcome. If nobody wanted, well and good, it made not the slightest difference. Mihanda was the only man who did not respond. Apparently, he preferred to stay at home by himself, so we left him seated on a log whittling down a long chonta stick. Why he looked so solemn we did not know, for after all the making of a spear did not strike us as being a very serious business.

We-suma and Himbikti were in sharp contrast to their elder brother. They seized their weapons eagerly and dashed after their father full of life and energy. Chingasso was the only woman to join us. She was not under quite the same obligation to toil with the rest of her kind in the family banana patch, because she was unattached and the chief's daughter at that. For a short distance the female element trailed along in the rear of our procession, carrying big wickerwork baskets on their shoulders, but within five minutes or so, they disappeared down some side track that led to one of the many plantations where they could collect the usual supply of food for the day.

It was a superb morning. By eight o'clock the sun seemed to stab into the very heart of the forest. For once those dim recesses, usually so melancholy and depressing,

seemed to pulsate with the joy of life. Every leaf held beads of silvery dewdrops, which fell in a perfect shower of crystal fragments if we as much as looked at them. Our Indian friends slipped through the rank undergrowth without jarring a petal, whereas Johnston and myself brought down a fair deluge of moisture at every movement."

20: Dyott--161 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"Once we were well clear of the house, the pace was slackened and we moved more cautiously, stopping every once in a while to listen to some forest sound that suggested the presence of game. From the moment we left, not a word had been uttered. Indians seldom talk when on the move unless they are drunk or returning from a successful chase. I have often marvelled at their ability to keep silent and pass through the densest brush without snapping a twig. The average white man with his chatter and awkward movements, disturbs the game and advertises his approach more surely than any elephant in its passage through a bamboo forest."

20: Dyott--161-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"An Indian whose hunting propensities have been aroused is a magnificent sight. To see the same man stretched out on his rack at home, you would say he was a monument of sluggish lethargy, but in the forest--what a difference! The slightest sound made by animal or bird electrifies him into action. With muscles taut, he will creep off silently as a ghost, leap on to a fallen tree, run along its slippery trunk with the agility of a panther, and vanish. For some minutes you will watch the place where he disappeared, wondering what has happened to [162] him, anxiety taking the place of wonder, and then a grunt from behind startles you out of your senses. You swing round and there stands your companion unconcernedly holding in his hand a dead tucan or some other evidence of his skill as a hunter."

20: Dyott-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224

"Kuashu's attention would often be arrested by some trivial sound. He would stop instantaneously, and the moment he did so everyone else followed suit. A few grimaces would be exchanged between the men, all of which had some peculiar significance which they understood, and then on again we would go.

We had been wandering about the forest for over an hour when Himbikti, in the rear, gave a low whistle, imitating the call of a paujil. It was a recognized signal, for immediately everyone became rigid. Kuashu turned his head slowly to inquire what was happening. Himbikti pointed with his chin, in the direction of some tree-tops. The movement of an arm might be seen, and is seldom employed when hunting. From the branches of a big tree, not far away, came a faint chirping. The men looked at each other and grinned. At first, it was hard to distinguish the sound from the other jungle noises, but soon even my poorly trained ears recognized the call of Humboldt's woolly monkey."

"Kuashu was now a bundle of bulging muscles, a steel spring wound up ready to fly loose. He made a stealthy movement to one side, and putting a hand over his mouth, mimicked the peculiar chattering noise these animals make when disturbed. Almost immediately an answering call came from the green canopy overhead, and the rustle of leaves heralded the approach of some living creature. In a few moments a full-sized woolly monkey came swinging through the trees, peering about him and looking this way and that for the member of his family he supposed to be in difficulty. For a fraction of a second his dark body could [163] be seen clearly, leaping across an open gap in the tree-tops. This was Kuashu's chance, and he did not miss it. The blow-gun was already at his lips, and at the psychological moment a tiny dart was launched on its silent mission of death.

For a second the monkey wavered, then leapt to another branch, jumped once more, but this time lost his hold and dropped ten feet before regaining his equilibrium. He steadied himself to take yet another leap, but hesitated as if his limbs refused to obey him. Again he braced himself, but the end had come; his hold loosened, and he fell dead to the ground. The aim had been perfect; the tiny wood splinter had caught him on the shoulder, and the deadly poison which produced paralysis of the heart had done the rest.

A fairly animated conversation ensued. The monkey was passed from hand to hand,

each man admiring its thick, woolly coat and examining its strong prehensile tail, the extremity of which, on its under surface, was covered with a hard skin, like the palm of its hand. Everyone satisfied, the quarry was turned over to Chingasso to carry, and we resumed our prowl in silence."

"Not long after this episode, we came out on one of those boulder-strewn spaces near the river which, at one time or another, had been occupied by the scurrying waters of the Upper. We halted as usual to look about for signs of animal life, but the place was deserted and only a few shrubs waved their green foliage vacantly in the wind. We were about to take ourselves off when a small red deer broke cover on the opposite side. It saw us and immediately sprinted across the open. We-suma had his spear up in a jiffy, ready to hurl it through space at the rapidly-moving animal; but Kuasha was still quicker in getting into action. Quick as a flash, he seized a large rock, swung it over his head, and let fly with the power of a [164] catapult. The missile went sailing through the air and landed squarely on the animal's head, dropping him like a stone.

'Shuta-Shuta' (spear him) shouted Mimbikti, rushing forward in a frenzy of excitement, and brandishing his weapon. But there was no need for such a measure. The stone had broken the deer's neck.

Things happen so quickly at times that it is difficult to take in details, especially an incident like this, which was all over in a matter of seconds. Johnston and myself gaped in astonishment. Kuasha's brilliant exhibition of skill, the precision with which the rock was flung through the air, and the sudden termination of the fray, left us speechless with admiration. Without fire-arms, what chance would a white man have in conflict with such people as these?"

20: Dyott--164 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 825, 262, 177

"The deer is regarded by the Jivaros as the incarnation of a particularly evil demon, and therefore its meat is not eaten or even touched; but in the case of Kuashu and other families who come in contact with traders, the superstitious dread in which the animal has been held in the past has given way to more rational ideas. No time was lost, therefore, in slinging the carcass on to a pole and carrying it back to the house in triumph."

20: Dyott--164-166 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 195, 521

".... Out of the thicket appeared the figure of a strange Indian.....

The stranger halted, eyed us thoughtfully, and then shouted out 'Oi-a.' Kuashu replied, 'Ah,' receiving an equally intelligent grunt of 'Um,' in reply.

If you should suddenly come face to face with a stranger, your natural impulse would be to call out to him and then walk over to where he stood, but these are not the tactics [165] of the Indian. 'Is this man friend or foe?' he asks himself, and if the unknown suddenly veers round and hurries towards him, the obvious answer is: 'He is an enemy, coming to attack.' If, on the other hand, he turns away, he is an enemy trying to escape; but suppose he goes on about his business, or else you both stop and talk, you have time to show your colours and announce your friendly intentions.

Normal Indian conversation is slow and halting, but it can go off like machine-gun fire at times. Should a phrase not come readily, there is no pause. Both parties continue to grunt at each other, holding one hand in front of the mouth all the time and probably expectorating between the fingers with a precision that denotes much practice.

When Kuashu hailed this stranger, we all stood stock still, the boys with the deer slung on a pole, the ends of which rested on their shoulders, Johnston and myself behind them. The conversation which followed, if translated freely into English, would run somewhat as follows. Kuashu began.

'So you are here?'--'Yes, I am here.'--'What are you here for?'--'What am I here

for?'--'Yes, what are you here for?'--'I am wandering about.'--'You are, are you?' --'Yes, I am.'--'Why do you wander about?'--'I am wandering about for a little time.' --'For a little time you are wandering?'--'Yes, for a little I wander about visiting friends.'--'Then you are visiting friends?'--'Yes, for a few days I visit.'--'Only for a few days, you say?'--'Um, only a few days.'--'I am surprised.'--'You are, are you?' --'I am surprised that you wander about for a little visiting friends.'--'Um.'--'When did you come?'--'Only yesterday I came.'--'Yesterday?'--'Um.'--'For a few days only?'--'That is what I said.'--'You came yesterday to wander about for a little to visit some friends?" [166] --'Um.'--'Ah--So you understand, do you?'--'Um'--'Ah'--'Um.'

After this fragment of news had been thoroughly pulled to pieces and passed back and forth between the two until its significance had been fully grasped, another piece of intelligence was torn to shreds in the similar manner. The grunts, representing assent or approbation and other guttural noises, that were indulged in, especially when the conversation flagged, were decidedly curious."

20: Dyott--166 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 195, 521, 828

"Direct questions and answers are not understood by the Jivaros. To ask a deliberate question does not seem to conform to his idea of propriety. Every subject has to be approached by a round-about route and with infinite repetition. This is probably due to the inherent difficulty primitive man has in expressing shades of thought and his round-about course is equivalent to our guarded phraseology noticeable amongst politicians when delicate matters are being discussed. To an Indian, the most trivial incident is of as much importance as it would be to a child, so everything has to be taken seriously. It is also well not to look too intently at the person you are talking to. You may be accused of casting a spell on him if you do. A man looking in can see the world: hence the world looking in can see the man. Such is their line of reasoning, and consequent aversion from the vulgar stare of some white men."

"Our conversation with the stranger disclosed the fact that he was called Napi, and that he was on speaking terms with Kuashu's family. He lived several days to the south on the Paute river, and had taken an opportunity of travelling with two other men who were on their way to visit friends living not far off. Before all this information had been divulged, Napi had joined our group, and we were all making tracks for home.

On the way back, we climbed up a steep, muddy bank. [167] Half-way up the slippery slope, Kuashu stopped, his eyes on the ground, examining some footsteps which had been plainly impressed in the clay-like soil. They were those of Napi's travelling companions.

'Why are your friends carrying such heavy loads?' he asked. 'And the young woman with you, is she your wife?' Napi shook his head.

'No, the woman belongs to one of the other men.' And he went on to explain that his companions had brought over two loads of salt which they had promised their friends some months back.

Kuashu seemed to be a past-master at interpreting human foot-prints. To him they were like an open book. He explained in reply to our inquiries that the habit women had of carrying bundles from early childhood caused their feet to turn in, the angle generally becoming more pronounced the older the woman became. Men always turned their feet outwards and the heel is much larger in proportion. Kuashu was quick to note that the toes of the two men were dug deeply into the soft ground, indicating that they were carrying heavy loads and were obliged to get a good foothold at every step."

"Whether it was the success of our hunt, or the chance meeting with Napi, we could not say, but Kuashu was obviously pleased with the morning's work. The stranger remained with us, and on returning home, he was treated with unusual consideration. There was quite a change in the general atmosphere of the house when we got back, and we noted that Mihanda was a different mortal to what he had been earlier in the day. He acted as if a weight had been removed from his chest. His spear was finished and his friends regarded its well-shaped lines with approval.

There was a real reason for this change of manner on Mihanda's part which needs explanation. The Jivaro finds it difficult to distinguish between himself and his [168] personal belongings. Everything he uses or makes, particularly weapons, are regarded as part of himself, and in the making of them, he instils much of his own personality. So strongly ingrained is this feeling that the making of an ordinary spear (nanki) is accompanied by a certain amount of ritual. He must eat only certain foods, his thoughts must not be disturbed by conversation with others, he must not live with his wife. If he does these things, then the spear will be worthless and he himself may die. Even the chonta wood from which spears are made is regarded with superstition. They believe that this palm, with its formidable spikes, is the abode of a very potent spirit, so that a spear made from it inspires both man and beast with fear. This intimate tie between man and his material belongings is very strong, but between members of a

family the bond is infinitely stronger. If Mihanda had been sick, then his wife and brothers would abstain from eating certain foods, for if they partook of them, it would harm the patient just as much as if he himself had done so."

20: Dyott--168
116, 262, 843

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"...When it came to eating the sinewy carcass of the monkey we had brought back with us from the hunt. Inza, Kuashu's youngest wife would not touch it. Most meats are usually taboo for women, but Inza was expecting a baby, and if she had eaten of the monkey, her offspring would have been hairy like the animal. The men devoured the meat greedily, believing that in so doing they would assimilate all the agility and nimbleness characteristic of this forest animal. One of the peculiarities of the poison which had been used to kill the monkey is that it is injurious only when it enters directly into the blood, for it can be eaten with impunity."

20: Dyott--168-169 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 264, 521

"The noon-day meal went off very well. There was an abundance of food and plenty of nija-manchi to drink. [169] From start to finish there was not a lull in the conversation. It went on incessantly, everyone chattering away at once. The story of how the deer had been killed was repeated at least ten times, and on each occasion Kuashu would get up to show by action just what took place. The assembly roared with laughter, the women being just as interested in the event as anyone else, and Chingasso was regarded with envy for having been a witness to such exciting scenes."

20: Dyott--169 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 273

"Lunch over, the women gathered in a circle in the centre of the floor. A big earthen pot of steamed yuca was produced, and alongside of it was arranged the now almost empty nija-manchi jar. Inza mashed up the yuca roots with a stick, helped herself to a mouthful of the pulp, masticated it thoroughly and then spat it out into the other receptacle. Her companions did likewise and we left them engaged in this strange occupation of preparing their national drink. As soon as the big jar was full of the chewed-up mess, it was stood on one side and allowed to ferment. Fermentation is started by the action of human saliva, and the Indians have a notion that this mysterious phenomenon can only be produced by women, hence this rather unsatisfactory business falls to their lot."

20: Dyott--169-170 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224, 868

"As the weather kept fine, another excursion to the forest was planned. Kuashu, Himbikti and the small boy Katani, made up the party. Mihanda and We-suma left on some secret mission, the import of which we were to learn later, while Napi went off by himself to pay a few calls on his friends.

Our ramble through the jungle proved particularly interesting as it threw considerable light on the way children are brought up and the kind of rough education they are put through by their elders. Katani seemed quite a favourite with his grandfather, and the old man never lost an opportunity of instructing him in the use of his eyes or help develop his powers of simple deduction. [170]

We are all aware how easily some people get dizzy and lose their sense of the horizontal, but we do not realize how civilization has blurred our sense of direction. You will, however, soon find out if ever you happen to be dropped down in some virgin forest in the heart of nowhere. You will walk in circles, regardless of all nature's sign-posts which she displays for your benefit. An Indian teaches his sons to note the direction of streams, the inclination of the ground, the length of the shadows--anything, in fact, which makes him use his eyes and put two and two together so that they make four and not sixes or sevens."

20: Dyott--170-171 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 151, 224, 868

"Barely fifteen minutes after our start, some tapir's tracks excited Kuashu's curiosity. They were almost invisible to me, except when we followed them out into the open across a small sand-bar near the river. After what seemed like a cursory examination, Kuashu had an interesting story to tell. He pointed out to Katani how the tracks started wandering hither and thither till at a certain spot they took a straight line for the river's margin, at which point their character changed. From this it was deduced that the animal had been disturbed while feeding , and in all probability, frightened to such a degree that he had charged through the underbrush in a hurry. Himbikti's observant eye noticed a few bloodstains on the bushes, and where small branches had been broken off he pointed out a few hairs adhering to their jagged extremities.

The whole story in English was plain enough. The tapir had been walking quietly through the woods when a jaguar had pounced upon his back. Unable to rid himself of his assailant, the tapir had wisely bolted for the river, charging through the thicket hoping to scrape his adversary off his back by so doing. The jaguar was not going to forsake his prey so easily and held on tenaciously until the wily tapir had plunged into the river and then, of course, he had to let go, or drown, because his victim could remain [171] under water much longer than he could. Farther down the stream, we encountered the tracks of the disappointed jaguar, where he had swum ashore and taken himself off to the forest.

20: Dyott--170-171 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 151, 224, 868

All the points of the lesson having been duly expounded, we sat down on the bank of the Upano in the shade to stretch our limbs. Some years previously, Kuashu must have had an encounter with a three-toed sloth near this very spot, for he began telling Katani of the event, pointing aloft to the sprawling limbs of a tall tree, and telling how he had ascended into the topmost branches and there slain the animal with his spear. This curious denizen of the forest called U-yushi by the Indians, will hang upside-down for hours at a time from the roof of the jungle, looking like a huge parasitic plant rooted to the spot. Kuashu told Katani that many years ago this animal was a man, a very old man called U-nupi, who belonged to an enemy tribe. He was married, of course, and his wife's name was U-nuchi, and he had a brother called Yungra. U-nupi. was such a lazy fellow that he would not even take the trouble to build a house, but lived up in the trees instead. In this secure position, he slept so much and hunted so seldom that in the end his children turned into animals."

20: Dyott--171-172 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 825, 868

"The Jivaros don't consider men to be glorified animals, but rather the reverse. All the animals, in their eyes, are degenerate human beings. Years ago, they say, all the inhabitants of the world were Shuaros, and gradually certain ones developed characteristics which we now associate with birds, animals, or fish. This consciousness of their relationship to the animal world is still very strong amongst them, so much so in the case of the sloth that he is not only attacked with the same ferocity they would summon against a human enemy, but they likewise preserve his head in a [172] shrunken state, as if it were that of some hostile tribesman.

Katani listened enthralled to every word of this Indian wisdom. In a few year's time he would be considered a man, for he would have taken part in the feast of Kusupani and drunk Miqua prepared from the bark of the beautiful flowering shrub (Datura arborea) which is administered with much ceremony whenever a boy reaches man's estate. It is a narcotic drink that is supposed to make men out of them, but in reality turns them into raving lunatics for a day or two. During this time, they see visions and talk with the great spirits who will aid them in their fight against future enemies."

20: Dyott--173 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 202

"As we sat on the banks of the Upano, listening to the words of wisdom that fell from Kuashu's lips, we heard the distant beat of a drum resounding harshly over the forest. It was not the low musical note, full and vibrant, but a peculiarly hard, penetrating noise, resembling the rapid blows of an axe on some fallen tree-trunk. The signal drum or tundai of the Jivaros is just a log of hard wood, carefully hollowed out by hand and slung between a couple of poles for support. It is beaten with a club and the sound emitted has remarkable carrying qualities. If anything of moment ever occurs in the locality, the news is spread from house to house through the medium of the tundai. It also plays a prominent part on all festive occasions.

Thump, thump, thump, came the precise beats with the regularity of so many dots and dashes of a Morse Code message, being broadcasted thrpugh the wilderness. Kuashu must have understood their import, for he got up, scratched his back and loosened the cincture of human hair that held his itipi (loin cloth) in place. Having readjusted the folds of his one and only garment, he suggested that we go and call on the neighbours to see what they were up to."

20: Dyott--173-174 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 202, 595, 574

"The house from which the sounds [KS: drum message] emanated belonged to a man, Kun-gupi by name, who was one of Kuashu's fathers-in-law. Seven months previously each of these men had felt the need of adding a new wife to his establishment--a little young blood to make up for the grey hairs of the older women, so they had solved the problem by swapping daughters and it was in this manner that the young and handsome Inza had become Kuashu's bride. [174]

As we drew near the edge of Kun-gupi's clearing, we announced our arrival in true Indian style by shouting lustily. Our call was promptly taken up, and several young braves came running down the path to greet us. Each carried his spear, more out of habit than anything else, though experience has taught them that such habits are worth cultivating. We were piloted through a dense banana patch, over countless obstructions, to a rather small house, planted on the hillside. One by one we squeezed in through the narrow door-way and there, in its cool interior, found ourselves as if in a bee-hive. It was simply swarming with brown figures and a constant buzz of conversation came from all quarters. We were offered stools to sit upon, and the usual niji-manchi was forthcoming; but when a large pin-inga (bowl) of the white liquid was passed over in our direction, both Johnson and myself waved it aside, as the method of preparing it was yet too fresh in our memory."

20: Dyott--175-176 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 754, 761

"I knew some of the strange ideas Jivaros have about death, for I was living in a house once when a young warrior succumbed to a severe malady. I asked the father if many Indians died in that part of the country, and was told in a rather superior tone that Indians never die.

'But how about this poor fellow here?' I asked, pointing to the corpse. 'How do you account for his condition?'

'He didn't die,' replied the father; 'he met with an accident.' They hold the extraordinary view that people never die from natural causes, and that a man would live for ever if it were not for the baneful influence of some malignant spirit. Even when the body has 'met with an accident,' they fully believe in a continuation of existence in the spiritual state.

While yet the discussion ran high, another visitor squeezed his way in through the narrow portal and joined the excited group of men inside. He announced that a party of strangers had been seen in the district that very morning--two men carrying bundles, accompanied by a woman. Kuashu was quick to sense complications which might involve him and his family, so we hurriedly bade the neighbours good-bye and were soon streaking home to [176] advise Napi that his life might be in peril if he remained much longer with us."

20: Dyott--176 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 756, 787

"Mihanda and We-suma had already returned when we got back. We found them busily engaged cutting up the branches of a certain vine, known as natema (Banisteria caapi) which they had collected in the forest. They were scraping off the rind and placing the chopped-up stalks into a big earthen pot full of water.

It is customary for medicine-men and warriors alike to drink a concoction prepared from this plant prior to any warlike undertaking, or whenever the spirits have to be consulted on matters of importance. It produces strange hallucinations for those who drink it, and while under its influence they are supposed to be visited by the great spirits who advise them who their enemies are and if the time for attacking them is auspicious or otherwise.

The drink was simmering away in its last stages of preparation over the fire when Napi slipped in through the front door. He had already heard about the sudden death of Kun-gupi's brother, and deemed it wise not to linger in the district. There was yet another reason that made it doubly necessary for him to clear off early the next morning--he was a medicine man of considerable skill himself, and as such would certainly have been accused of practising witchcraft.

We watched him give an impromptu exhibition of his art as we sat around the pot of boiling natema."

20: Dyott--176-178 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 755

".... Mihanda had a bad swelling on his left arm which, judging from its ugly appearance, must have been extremely painful. Napi [KS: medicine man] was called in for consultation. He examined it critically, nodding his head to and fro as if to say, why that is easily cured. He did not express himself one way or the other in words but stepped out of the house for a few moments, returning with a handful of leaves which I could not identify. These he chopped up carefully, as if making mint sauce, [177] and then put on one side. Once more he examined Mihanda's arm, rubbed it, squeezed it, punched it, and generally went through the usual movements of an experienced masseur. His patient put up with the rough handling stolidly and without flinching. The medicine-man's next move was to suck the wound with his mouth. For some minutes he continued doing this, pausing to take breath and then returning to his task with renewed vigour as if he were having quite a struggle to withdraw something from his patient's arm. Suddenly he stopped and sat back as if his efforts had been successful. 'Look,' he said to Mihanda, 'no wonder your arm was sore. Just see what I have taken out of it.' With which he took out of his mouth a fair sized pebble and handed it over for the astonished Mihanda to examine.

The treatment did not end here, for next the wizard took the minced-up leaves, smeared them carefully over the sore spot, then taking a stick from the fire, one end of which was so much red-hot charcoal, he proceeded to touch the patient's arm and so

cauterize the wound. The pain must have been excruciating but Mihanda did not utter a sound; he only made a wry face.

Napi's methods might sound a trifle crude to the modern doctor, but it shows, nevertheless, that he had a wonderful fund of knowledge. First of all, note the manipulation of the arm; secondly, the removal of undesirable matter by the simple process of suction. The trick played on the patient's credulity is exceptionally interesting, because it indicates that Napi vaguely realized certain fundamental laws of suggestion. The stone had not come out of Mihanda's arm but out of Napi's wallet which he had slung over his shoulder. I have seen beetles, sticks and all kinds of things taken out of wounds before now, so I was used to this part of the procedure. The final application of the herb and the cauterizing of the wound showed that Napi [178] was not only a good conjurer, but one who understood the medicinal value of plants and the need of making the wound antiseptic. When we last saw Mihanda, thirty-six hours later, the swelling had subsided, the inflammation had gone, and the wound was healing over nicely."

"It was not till the afternoon was well advanced that we began to get the drift of a plot that was being hatched by these half-naked figures squatting around the fire. Johnston and myself regarded the scene with interest. Kuashu and his sons were talking at a terrific rate. Napi was no better; he was continually interjecting his views. It made little difference to him whether he was spoken to or not, he just went on talking. The position in a nutshell was this. One of Napi's travelling companions from the South, was a son of the man who had murdered Kuashu's brother. While we had sat lazily by the river after lunch, Mihanda and We-suma had been out spying on this fellow's movements, and they had learned that the day after to-morrow he was returning home by himself. The question to be decided by Kuashu and his family was--should they or should they not take this unusual opportunity of avenging the uncle's death? The only way to settle the issue was to drink natema or ayahuasca, as it is sometimes called, so that advice might be given by the spirits of Aru-tama (the old people).

After the natema had boiled for about an hour, the pot was taken off the fire, the liquid decanted into another jar and the residue thrown away. A certain amount of ritual attended the drinking of the brown fluid. The chief characters, Mihanda and We-suma, stood in front of the temporary shelf on which two bowls of the magic drink were placed. They held their spears in one hand and after a war chant, in which they evoked the good graces of the spirits, they swallowed off the contents at one gulp. The first

reaction of the narcotic was to produce violent nausea and [179] both men went outside to vomit up all they had drunk. Three times this was done and on each occasion Himbikti refilled the bowls to their brim. In an exhausted state the two brothers eventually staggered out of the house and went off to some shelter they had prepared in the forest, where during the long watches of the night, the spirits would appear to them in their dreams, advising them as to the best course to pursue.

Kuashu did not take part in the ceremony; both he and Napi drank copiously of nijamanchi instead. Bowl upon bowl of it was served until the pair were thoroughly intoxicated. Johnston and myself hardly knew what was the right thing for us to do under the circumstances. We could not participate in the festivities very well, so we sat on our camp beds and did nothing. My companion felt as if it was incumbent upon us to do something, even if only to talk and shout; but one makes fewer mistakes by keeping quiet. 'When in doubt do nothing,' is an important axiom when dealing with savage people. Many a man has lost his life through doing something he should have had sense enough to avoid. Safety lies in watching others closely and taking your cue from them. If you can't imitate them, then remain passive and you will be all right, but under no curcumstances is it wise to attempt civilized tactics or you may have cause to repent it!

20: Dyott--179-180 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 183

"The argument is sometimes put forward that the white man, being of superior mentality, should raise the savage up to his level by setting the example; but this is entirely wrong, for your example would be quite beyond their comprehension. If you consider yourself to be a more highly developed human being, then it is your business as such momentarily to descend from your high perch and tread the more simple path of the lower plain. This is a far from easy task, but there is no other way of reaching an inferior intellect. An analogous situation exists in our own country [180] between parent and child. What a yawning gap generally separates these two!

The actions of Indians are prompted by motives entirely different from our own, and the most trivial thing in the world, to our way of thinking, is sometimes interpreted by them into an offence or even an act of hostility. On one of my expeditions, a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare. It is all right to be original in one's own country, but don't let originality assert itself too strongly when mixing with really primitive people."

"We passed an uneventful night, and with the break of a new day, the warriors who had sought advice of the great spirits returned home satisfied with the wise counsels received. The 'aru-tama' had appeared to each of them and advised prompt action, as everything was favourable for the complete success of their plans. According to them, the enemy, on his way homewards, would have to make use of a fallen tree-trunk spanning a particular torrent. It was at this point that Mihanda and We-suma were to lie in ambush, one at either end of the improvised bridge. The plan was for We-suma to spring from his hiding-place in the rear and challenge the enemy with his spear as soon as [181] he reached the centre of the span. The luckless individual would naturally swing round to defend himself, but at that moment Mihanda would leap up in front and deal the fatal thrust while yet his opponent's attention was diverted by We-suma's shouts of defiance at his back.

Indians are frequently accused of low-down tricks and a general lack of the so-called sporting instinct; but it must be remembered that the killing of a fellow-man is not a sport with them. It is a dirty business for which they have no liking, and the sooner they get through with it the better. There is no such thing as giving a man a sporting chance. Such a measure would be tantamount to self-annihilation. If an enemy has to be done away with, the task is carried out with a minimum of risk to the party planning the killing because his object is to exterminate and not just to juggle with death.

20: Dyott--180-181 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 721

Sometimes it happens that two Indians will meet accidentally on a fair footing, and if they do, there is no flinching on either side. One of them will never fight again."

20: Dyott--180 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 183, 273

".... Let us consider the Jivaro's attitude towards drunkenness. In London, a man might feel ashamed of himself if he drank to excess. In New York, such a condition might engender feelings of envy rather than scorn. But amongst the forest Indians, nothing but virtue is ascribed to those who get drunk. Their theory is that if it makes a man happy to get drunk, then let him drink often because the spirits want their children to be happy and any means to that end is justifiable."

20: Dyott--181-182 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 132, 241

"At the first streak of dawn, Napi took his departure. There was no elaborate leave-taking. Conversation simply reached a crescendo, and after the climax, the final word, 'pumata' was spoken in subdued tones. With this brief farewell the visitor disappeared down the pathway and the jungle swallowed him up.

After breakfast, Johnston and myself joined the ladies on their daily excursion to the family banana patch, as there was not much chance of hunting when issues of life and death were at stake. Kuashu was the only man to accompany us, the others remaining at home engrossed in their warlike preparations.

It was a very dreary morning. Rain threatened any moment and the water-logged clouds dragged themselves wearily over the tree-tops. Within ten minutes after starting, we found ourselves on the edge of a substantial clearing, half of which was planted with yuca and banana, the remain- [182] ing portion being barren. It was not even ready for planting, as the trees had only recently been felled. Some of the clearing had received a preliminary burning off, but most of the wood was still green. Huge trunks lay prostrate on the ground, and as we clambered over them Johnston remarked that the word 'clearing' was very inappropriate for a place so littered with obstructions."

20: Dyott--182 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

"The felling of trees and other work connected with the making of clearings, falls on the shoulders of the men and is one of their most arduous duties. Wherever the forest growth is small and stunted, the ground is obviously of poor quality for agricultural use. On the other hand, wherever the soil is rich and deep, the trees are of great size and their removal is no easy business. The usual procedure is to cut down all the underbrush around the roots of the largest trees first, and when this has all dried out, to set fire to it. It is then easier to tackle the big fellows. The real giants are generally ringed about their base, so that they die and are more easily handled afterwards. A second burning gets rid of a lot more rubbish, but it will be some time before the ground is reasonably clear. Nothing is carted away. What won't burn is allowed to rot where it falls. So with the combined effort of time, fire and rough axes, the land eventually becomes suitable for cultivation. The circumference of many a tree is so great that it is beyond such primitive methods of handling. The trunk will therefore be cut off forty feet above the ground, or in many cases, left standing where it is, a gaunt skeleton of spreading branches."

20: Dyott--182-183 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 412

"We are very apt to regard our modern-day inventions with awe and wonderment, thinking that it is only within the last century that we have made any real progress, but just imagine what a step forward was made by savage man when he discovered how to make bronze or iron implements. There are still tribes in the upper Amazon who use stone axes. I have even seen them in the hands of the Jivaros [183] and to watch a man pounding away at a big tree with such a crude weapon, takes one's thoughts back a good many thousand years. Kuashu had an old iron axe with which he cut up a few logs while we were hunting for strange insects. It was not a heavy blade, but he handled it with skill, and before the morning was out he had reduced half a dozen trunks to firewood."

"While we were rummaging about the clearing, the women were busy cutting down a solitary bunch of bananas. They made a lot of work out of so simple a task, just as Kuashu did over chopping up a few logs. A banana tree produces but a single bunch of fruit. When that has been cut, no further bunches appear, and the stem can be cut away. It is soon replaced by several other shoots or suckers that have sprung up about its base. In this way, the plant spreads, and from a single shoot stuck in the ground at the outset a small forest of banana stems will eventually sprout. What with rotting tree-trunks lying on the ground and the constant lopping-off of banana stalks as the fruit reaches maturity, an Indian plantation does not present a very orderly appearance. To add to the confusion, many trees get blown over by the wind, especially if laden with a heavy bunch of fruit.

Bananas are never left on the tree to get ripe. They mature better if cut green and hung up in a house. The sight of ripe plantains is unusual. There are so many hungry mouths waiting to be fed that everything is consumed as soon as it is picked, and it never gets a chance even to turn yellow. My preference was always for the ripe fruit. In the green state, I found plantains stodgy and tasteless, although I believe if you eat them long enough, you will always end up by eating them green. Probably the slight sweetness of the mature fruit palls on one after a time, but I never reached that stage myself. The banana or plantain of the Indian must not be confused with the [184] sweet fruit varieties we are accustomed to see on sale in our own country. The latter, if

cooked, would be too sickly for words; but the plantain, even when ripe, is very tasteless, and the process of cooking seems to bring out the flavour much as it does that of a sweet potato."

20: Dyott--184 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 581

"Amongst the women, Nambira was the leading spirit. She seemed more or less to direct operations, and incidentally thrust most of the work on Secouta, who was Mihanda's wife. That was quite natural, because Secouta was the stranger in Kuashu's household. Had Mihanda, for any reason, gone to his wife's house and settled amongst her people, then he would have been made to do the bulk of the work amongst the men of her family.

Nambira was as strong as an ox--that was her chief charm. Good looks count for little amongst the jungle folk, whereas sturdy build and ability to work are the greatest assets a woman can have. If you went hunting for a wife amongst the Jivaros and picked a young, nice-looking girl, you would be considered decidedly lacking in judgment. It would be just as if, in England, you married a woman on the strength of having seen her photograph. The original might turn out to be very different from the portrait. So with an Indian girl--she might develop into a useless woman. The young Jivaro can't afford to take such chances when he takes his first plunge. His number-one wife must be a sure bet, and generally the son profits by the extensive knowledge which his father has amassed on the subject of matrimony. It is only when a man is well on in years and needs young blood in the family, that he can run the risk of adding a girl wife to his ménage."

20: Dyott--184-185 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 241

"It was amusing to watch these Indian women at work. They talked like magpies, continually stopping to relate some story or other. When the bunch of bananas had been collected, they moved off to the yuca patch and proceeded to pull off a number of selected plants by the roots, having [185] first of all cut off the branches. The roots did not lie very deep in the soil and it was surprising to see how many of these carrot-like vegetables could be obtained from a single bush. Some individual specimens measured two feet long and eight inches in diameter, but the majority averaged ten inches by three. The yuca is one of the chief sources of food amongst the Indians. Yucas grow very much like potatoes and have to be eaten within a day or two, otherwise they go hard and won't cook properly.

When a sufficient quantity of roots had been collected by the women, they were put into wicker baskets ready to carry home. The area from which the roots had been dug was then smoothed over and stalks from the original plant stuck back again into the ground. Eight months later, each of these would again produce roots of sufficient size to harvest."

20: Dyott--185-186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 775

"Why do women dig yuca and the men fell trees? were questions Johnston asked me. He laboured under the common misapprehension that the women were slaves, and did the hardest work; but I had to explain otherwise. The Jivaros carry their sense of the personal, not only to animals, but also to trees and inanimate objects. In their eyes all things are animated by human spirits, male or female. The yuca has a female soul, hence it is proper for the women to cultivate it. Clay is feminine, therefore women must fashion the simple pottery which they use. Women must also handle the vessels when it comes to cooking. Most trees are men, hence men must chop them down. Cotton is of the male gender, so men must spin thread and make their own 'itipis' and also the 'tarachi,' or garments worn by the women. It is the sex distinction which is all important. Man and woman's work is as distinct as night from day, and the duties of one never overlap those of the other. There is not even a question of comparison between the two. A man is a man, and a woman a woman. That is their final argument."

20: Dyott--186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 593

"The woman's influence in the home is much greater than is generally supposed. Both individually and collectively, women wield considerable power, and woe betide the man who deliberately abuses them, for he will let himself in for a world of trouble. In our homes, a single woman can make things pretty disagreeable if she wants to, but imagine what chance of peace an Indian might have with five or six women arrayed against him! In one part of the Amazon country, a wife, if neglected by her husband, sometimes resorts to rather a unique method of 'getting even.' She prepares a peculiar concoction which is served surreptitiously in her husband's food. It has the peculiar property of turning him into a drivelling imbecile. Custom permits her to marry another man if her husband becomes a lunatic, so she takes advantage of the opportunity, and her first husband trails along after the newly married pair like a dog, waiting on them hand and foot.

One seldom sees any outward sign of affection. There is neither kissing nor love-making, yet jealousy sometimes drives a woman to desperate deeds. It would be difficult to conceive anyone who was susceptible to the latter emotion entirely omitting the outward signs of love."

20: Dyott--186
116, 132

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"We were about ready to start back to the house when the rain suddenly descended upon us. Without word or warning it came tumbling down vertically out of the clouds, beating on the leaves of the trees and producing a terrible racket. Our friends immediately discarded their clothes, wrapped them up carefully so as not to get wet, and with big banana leaves over their heads, to act as umbrellas, beat a hasty retreat.

Radiantly beautiful as the jungle is when bathed in sunshine, it becomes the most dismal place conceivable when rain falls. The gloom which pervaded everything seemed to penetrate even into Kuashu's house and to be cooped up in its forlorn interior the entire afternoon was rather trying."

20: Dyott--187-188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 726

"Our warrior friends made the best use of the remaining hours of daylight to fortify themselves for the fight they had planned. They stood facing each other with spears held aloft. Backwards and forwards they moved, one step at a time, raising and lowering the spears in a series of jerky movements, at the same moment shouting out various sentences calculated to disturb the evil spirits and inspire themselves with courage. This performance, known as an-ekma or aneema, was practised many times. It is a most important part of the ceremony which precedes battle. Another part of the ritual was to smear their faces, arms and neck with the juice of a fruit called 'sua' (Genipa americana). It stains the skin a deep blue-black colour, but its effects only appear about six hours after its application. With their skins thus blackened, the warriors are supposed to make themselves less visible to the enemy.

The dressing of their long hair was yet another occupation which took up considerable time. They arranged their locks in three pigtails, one wound about the head, the others on either side of the forehead. The latter were bound up with fibre like a couple of sticks. Other ornaments of importance which must receive attention are the ear-tubes, or 'arusa' which are made of straight pieces of cane passing through the lobe of the ear. They have a saying that when wearing these, they fear no danger. Supernatural properties are ascribed to the ear-tubes in the same way that necklaces of jaguars' teeth and bands of snakes' skins are supposed to endow the wearer with the ferocity and cunning

of the respective animals. It was certainly a long business making such elaborate preparations, but obviously no chances were being taken and no stone left unturned that would help them in their task.

An Indian may go into battle fearlessly, but at heart he has a horror of 'meeting with an accident,' and it is with the object of filling himself with strength, courage and con- [188] fidence for the combat, that he drinks natema and indulges in all the fantastic preliminaries just related. Having duly taken all the precautions that custom considers necessary, he feels that he is fortified against any eventuality."

20: Dyott--188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"The Jivaro, so Kuashu told us, preserves the head of his adversary in order that he may acquire strength and prosperity as the just reward of his efforts, and the greater the tenacity of life displayed by the vanquished, the greater the virtue which the victor reaps from his conquest. It is precisely the same with ourselves--the more ferocious the beast, the more daring the deed. The Jivaro tells with pride of the conflict, entering into all its gory details, and then produces the head as indisputable proof of his prowess. We, on our part, point to the head of a tiger, relate the story of the hunt and glory in the combat; our self-satisfaction being in proportion to the difficulties of the chase and the risks run. This is likewise true of the Indian. He never preserves the head of an Aguti, neither do we consider a rabbit's furry scalp worth bragging about."

20: Dyott--188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116. 727

"For our entertainment, Kuashu displayed a basketful of trophies which he had collected at one time or another. Amongst them we noticed a couple of reduced heads, one of a sloth, the other that of a man. Our curiosity was aroused, and we asked many questions as to how he came by them and what object he had in preserving them.

I never see one of these grim tokens of war without wishing that the custom could be introduced into our own country, if only for a short time. I know so many people whose heads I should like to display in a shrivelled state in my hall. After all, we bring back tigers' heads from India, so why not human heads from Europe? There is really no difference, so far as I can see."

20: Dyott--189-190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The taking of a human head, or tzantza, as the Jivaros call it, is with them in the nature of a religious rite, and the ceremony following the victory is sometimes described as rather involved. Personally, I have never been able to get to the bottom of all these stories, for so many statements have appeared in print which do not tally with my personal observations. I am inclined to think that the various rites connected with custom differ considerably in different parts of the country, but one main feature seems to stand out, and that is an Indian's memory is of short duration, and the killing of an adversary might easily be forgotten or even doubted by others interested in the killing. The shrunken head, therefore, remains as tangible proof that the man is dead and out of harm's way, while a certain amount of kudos and spiritual benefit comes to the doer of the deed. I believe I am right in saying that it is only the heads of enemy tribesmen that are taken and shrunken into diminutive form.

My observations lead me to the conclusion that women's heads are never preserved. There would be no virtue in slaying a woman. The women never fight unless absolutely driven to it in defence of their home. Even then, the impulse is always to flee to the jungle, out of harm's way, or else to summon assistance from some neighbouring family. The idea that women's heads are shrunken has probably its origin in the fact that tzantzas have long hair like women, but it must be remembered that the Jivaro warrior lets his hair grow long, longer even than that of his women folk, for, like

Samson of old, he derives strength from so doing. To him, the hair is the seat of all vital [190] energy, and supernatural properties are ascribed to it. In the process of head-shrinking, the hair retains its original length and therefore, by comparison, looks longer than it did on the original man."

20: Dyott--190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 142, 563

"Johnston commented on the fact that Kuashu had evidences of quite a strong growth of hair on his chin. I had told him that, surprising as it might be, none of these forest dwellers ever grow beards. He therefore wanted some explanation for the phenomena exhibited by Kuashu's face.

In the sixteenth century, when a few Spanish settlements flourished in what is now called the Ecuadorean Oriente, the Indians resented the slavery imposed upon them by the Spanish invaders, and finally united in a combined effort to rid themselves of their common foe, who seemed to be endangering their existence. A wholesale revolt against the whites ensued, and several villages were completely annihilated. This, as I have already stated, was the fate that befell Sevilla de Oro, and the Spanish women living there were taken prisoners and carried off into the forest wilderness, where they became the mothers of subsequent Jivaro children. This infusion of Spanish blood shows itself in the bearded faces which are occasionally met with in this area."

20: Dyott--190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 826

"So strong is the faith of the Jivaros, like that of many primitive races, in the supernatural properties of the hair of the head, that they make cinctures of that material; but hair on the face is regarded in quite a different light. It is a sure indication that you are related to the animals of the jungle. My flowing whiskers were not admired, and if the truth were known, speculations were rife as to what particular animal I was related to. The wholesale removal of hair from the human body is practised by the Indians, and with the exception of the scalp, its growth is never encouraged."

20: Dyott--190-191 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 721

"In the afternoon, our two warriors left on their mission of death. They were both pretty well keyed up for [191] the occasion, and my companions felt thankful that we were not to be the object of their vengeance. Kuashu exhorted them to be brave, and with that both of them departed to take up their all-night vigil at the place agreed upon. It was considered a favourable omen that the rain had ceased, the sky was clear, and the evening sun shone blood-red over the tree-tops.

Shadows of night soon began to creep in upon us, the doors of the house were securely closed and our savage, yet kindly friends sought their hard sleeping racks like so many barnyard fowls, ascending to roost on a summer's evening. How strange it seemed to be in a place like this in the heart of nowhere, surrounded by such types of primitive humanity! The scene within this forest dwelling was eerie beyond description. Wooden posts stood blankly silhouetted against the uncertain fire-light. Slanting shadows slid obliquely over the earthen floor, and on the sleeping racks, bare legs and arms of slumbering Indians stuck out at crazy angles, suggestive of a cubist painting. Eternal peace had descended on the forest outside. The croak of a frog broke the stillness of the night air, and only the tropical moon, swimming in the deep blue canopy of heaven, spoke of the world I knew and assured me of the reality of the scenes before me."

"We were all astir the next morning at an early hour, and before the sun made its appearance the warriors came home. They shouted out their tidings of victory as they approached the house, and we were soon listening to all the details of the encounter. Everything had worked perfectly. The victim had walked into the trap, and Mihanda had finished him off with one spear-thrust. Not a trace of the combat remained behind. The body had been immediately cast into the swiftly flowing stream, where the chances of its being found were very remote. In this way one more [192] Indian 'met with an accident,' and the Jivaro sense of justice was satisfied. 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' is their motto, and they adhere strictly to the principle. On no account are two men killed to avenge the death of one. The Jivaro is at any rate just in his dealings.

Kuashu embarked upon a long discourse as to the many benefits his son would derive from performing the sacred duty entrusted to him. 'Now that the spirit of your father's brother has been satisfied,' he said, 'your influence will become great amongst your fellow men. Your yuca will bear fruitful crops, your bananas will produce abundantly, and your family will increase and prosper.'

Secouta looked with pride at her husband, a happy smile illuminating her usually expressionless face. Mihanda seemed to pay little heed to his father's oration or his wife's looks of approval. He took a large bowl of nija-manchi that was handed him, drained it, spat on the floor, and then casually scraped the blood off the end of his spear.'

21: Davar--359 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 122

"Traversing the Amazon basin was only a part of our Cycling expedition round the World, but it was easily the best part of it. I do not propose to narrate here the hardships we encountered, or the dangers that befell us, or the adventures that came our way, or the wonderful things we witnessed. There will be proper time and place to narrate them in all their splendour. What I propose to deal with is our experiences among the wild tribes of Peru, who go under the general name of 'Jivaro' or 'Khivro' as the explorers are wont to pronounce this word, and who have been noted for a peculiar custom, which is a record by itself of the shocking levity to which customs and ceremonies among the primitive societies can descend."

21: Davar--359 (2) (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"I refer to the custom among thee 'Jivaro' Indians of making a ghastly trophy out of the heads of their decapitated enemy,, by treating it to a process which causes the head to shrink to less than one-third of itts original size. The martial ambition of the Jivaro Indian is not satisfied with merelly slaying his enemy and recording his victory by adding a feather to his cap. He goes a sstep further and wants to preserve a concrete record of his victory in the shape of the shrunken head of his unfortunate victim."

21: Davar--360 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 727, 157

"To have strayed into the regions inhabited by these primitive occupants of the Amazon basin was no small piece of good fortune for us. I was counting upon securing a shrunken head or two by way of an interesting trophy and to witness, if chance permitted, the ceremony, or learn from the natives the secrets of this curious process which is as much a mystery to the civilised world, as the mumifying process used by the Egyptians to preserve the mortal remains of their dead.

But the Jivaro Indian cannot be induced to part with his secrets at any cost. He is extremely tenacious in holding to silence as regards this process, and guards his secrets as he would his life. Because of this, no explorer or traveller of the civilized world has, as far as I know, managed to learn the details of process, and notwithstanding the assertions of Dr. Rafael Karstein to the contrary, I seriously doubt if there is a single living being in the civilised world, who knows exactly what these shrinking ingredients consist of."

".... I was not totally unfortunate in this respect. I did manage to procure a couple of these dwarfed heads and was even able to witness partially the ceremony which accompanies this dwarfing process. 'Ceremony' is not at all the wrong expression to use in this connection, for to the Jivaro Indian, this process has a touching religious significance. After all my efforts at collecting facts, I am in a position to give a brief account of this head-shrinking process. [361]

In the first place the head is severed from the trunk, well down on the neck. The skin is then cut open from the hair-line on the fore-head, and along it, right down to the back of the head and neck. After this gruesome process is over, the flesh is stripped from the cranial bone. Next the whole cranial skeleton is removed, and the first stage of the process closes here. As the cranium bone is no more of use, it is either buried or thrown away. But not unoften, it is hoisted on a pole, and used to decorate the owner's hut or 'bohio'.

....As soon as the hard cranium is got rid of, the skin is filled with hot sands and pebbles. It is stitched up with cord and parboiled in a vegetable pickle, whose contents are known only to the Jivaro Indians. After parboiling, the head is removed and again filled with hot sand and pebbles, but this time the neck is closed up with grass. The next move is to roll the head in a bejuco bag containing more of hot sand and pebbles. From time to time it is taken out and allowed to remain for a period--about two hours--

in a cold pickling solution. The rolling motion, combined with patting the head with hands, constitutes the chief part of the shrinking process. When finally the head emerges out of the process, it has shrunk to a size about three inches in length and two in breadth--a dwarfed piece of human anatomy, a miniature likeness of the wretched victim."

22: Hamy--385 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 177

"The vast territories which stretch along the banks of the Maranon, from the confines of Peru and from the republic of Ecuador, hide in the depths of their almost impenetrable forests, a certain number of Indian tribes, which have remained almost unknown up to recent times. The governors of Cuenca and magistrates of Chachapoyas, in whose jurisdiction the greater part of these Indians are believed to be located, exercise in reality, only nominal authority, and the missionaries, in spite of long and persistent efforts, have not succeeded until recently to found durable establishments among these savages."

22: Hamy--385-386 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"In the sixteenth century, the Spanish had, because of the civil wars of the tribes of Paute and Morona, created amon them various colonies under the names of Logroño, Mendoza, Sevilla, etc. (1). The Indians, subdued for a moment, rose up in 1599, under the direction of a warrior named Quirraba, and destroyed in very little time the new-born cities. The memory of the cruelties which they inflicted at that time on the immigrants has remained vivid until the last century in Spanish America, to which is attributed in part the remarkable qualities which are displayed sometimes by the tribes of the Maranon or of the Pastassa, being a result of alliances forced on a certain number of white women, which the sack of Logroño had left in the possession of the agressors of this unfortunate little town.

The ancient historians of Peru are agreed in attributing this [386] bloody revolt of the Indians to their desire to escape from the work of the mines, to which the conquerors had subjected them. A love of liberty is one of the most salient traits of character of these bellicose tribes; they had victoriously resisted the Incas, they knew how to break the yoke of the white invaders after 47 years of oppression.

"(1) Villavicencio, Geografia de la Republica del Ecuador. New-York, 1858, in 8°, p. 275."

22: Hamy--385-386 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 175

Of this occupation, so short and abruptly terminated, the Spaniards have reported no sort of scientific documents, and until 1684 one remains almost completely ignorant of everything concerning these hostile tribes and the territory which they occupied. About this period, the Jesuits, encouraged principally by the Count de Leon, president of the royal council of Quito, attempted to penetrate anew this country 'of inaccessible mountains' inhabited by an unknown people 'naturally savage and inhuman.' The history of the missions has preserved the names of Richler, of Gaspard Vital, of Vasquez, and of still others, whose painful voyages have enlarged a little the horizons of science. Several of these travelers of the first hour lost their lives on the dangerous missions which they had accepted or initiated. But, thanks to their efforts, we have begun to know a little of this vast country. Through them one distinguishes already several Indian parties of Cheduas, of Alones, of Choltos, of Chipes, of Andoas, of Abijiras, etc., without being able to determine on the map the exact area which they occupy...."

22: Hamy--386-387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 101

"In 1741, Father Samuel Fritz published a general map, incorrect without dobt, but much less incomplete than that of Pagan; and on this map one can read, unde a form little different from that which is used at present, the true name of the larg Indian family of the territories of Cuenca and of Chachapoyas.

Fritz named these savages Xibaros...; la Condamine...., Lapie...., [387] Iollien ...., etc., have preserved this designation. They are now called Jivaros or Jebros."

22: Hamy--387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

"Father Manuel Castrucci of Vernazza visited them in 1845 on the Pastassa river; Lieutenant Herndon, of the United States marines beginning his exploration of the Amazon in 1854, saw one of their tribes on the banks of the Huallaga river (2); the Bishop of Chachapoyas conducted a Peruvian expedition in the same locality in 1859. Mateo Paz Soldan..., Messieurs Osculati..., Villavicencio..., Bollaert..., Barriero..., Moreno Maiz..., Antonio Raimondy..., Cl.-R. Markham..., have contributed short accounts on the Jivaro. Finally Father Louis Pozzi who is evangelizing them at the present time, has just written several letters to the mission of Gualaquiza which contain interesting information...."

"(2) Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington, in-8°, 1854, p.174."

22: Hamy--387-388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 101, 175

"By comparing the various documents, one finds that the Jivaro family, localized especially in the north of Maranon, between the Pastassa and Chinchipe rivers, includes nevertheless, four tribes to the south of the river, in Peruvian territory: the Muratos, the Uambisas, the Aguarunas and the Antipas. The first of these tribes is not yet clearly defined on the map. The second appears to occupy the area opposite the mouth of the Huambisa or Yurumbisa river. Mr. Herndon encountered the Aguarunas, whom he named Aguanos, at Santa-Cruz on the Huallaga river, a little above the point where this river joins with the Maranon. The expedition of the bishop of Chachapoyas discovered other Aguarunas on the Maranon itself, between the mouth of the Nieva river and the celebrated Pongo of Manseriche. Paz Soldan and Mr. Raimondy show us on the river, above the same [388] Pongo, the Antipas neighbors of the Aguarunas, with whom they are at continual war...."

22: Hamy--388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 103, 175

"The Jivaro north of the river, located in consequence in the republic of Ecuador, are very much more numerous. Villavicencio speaks of 13 or 14 tribes which he calls the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, the Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, the Pindos, the Agapicos, the Achuales, etc. But several of these groups of Indians are sections of tribes, rather than the tribes themselves. They take their names from the rivers on whose banks they live or from the designations imposed by the Spaniards. And that explains why the list of Villavicencio, incomplete as it is...., added to that of Mateo Paz Soldan, surpasses the number formerly assigned by Velasco to the Jivaro dialects.... Whatever they are, the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, are grouped in the neighborhood of water courses which run into and form the Santiago river. The Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Pindos, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, occupy the bassin of the Morona river. The other Jivaro are scattered in the basin of the Pastassa, along this river and its affluents."

22: Hamy--388 [2] (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 101

"The information which we have condensed (in the preceding pages) will suffice as a description of a map as yet vague of the present extension of the Jivaro family. Co-ordinated with other geographic descriptions collected in the neighboring valleys or mountains, they permit us already to fill in our atlas a gap of considerable extent."

22: Hamy--388-389 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 174

"Is it not possible to go farther and to connect, with the aid of these notes published by the voyagers whom we have named, all these Indians with one or another of the large ethnic groups identified in [389] South America? The elements of diagnosis taken from physical characteristics, which we always give the same place in the study of human groups, are almost completely lacking; but the solution which anatomic anthropology denies us, ethnography and linguistics are in a position to furnish us to almost complete satisfaction.

If, in fact, the outward traits of these savages, such as we have, are insufficiently detailed, we see that the names they carry are of Guarani origin, and we note among them the existence of rather numerous ethnigraphic traits which relate them to the same Americans."

22: Hamy--389 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 142, 175

"However incomplete and vague the descriptions of the Jivaros may be, we must reproduce them with whatever details the travelers can give. They describe the Jivaro as being of slim build, the men being a little taller than average, and the women a little smaller. The body is well formed; the limbs are quite muscular, robust and agile; the constitution is strong and healthy. Nothing has been said of the form of the head; the face appears to be orthognathous or slightly prognathous; the forehead is bare [découvert], the nose aquiline, sometimes slightly upturned; the eyes are small and black, horizontally directed and very lively; the lips are fine and the teeth ivory white. The hair, usually very black is sometimes of a reddish brown; the beard is thin and when it is more apparent, it is attributed, like the light coloring of several individuals to the crossing of these with the Spaniards. There is nothing, extremely characteristic, unfortunately, in this picture of the Jivaro."

22: Hamy--389 [2] (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"Morally, the Jivaro add to their bellicosity a courage which meets every test, and a remarkable cunning. Their character is indomitable, and they maintain above all else their love of independence."

22: Hamy--389-390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 192, 175

"The Jivaro speaks generally one of the 13 dialects mentioned by Velasco. Sometimes, as among the Aguarunas, he uses a little Quechua; it appears even that the names of numbers above five are borrowed from this language, and Mateo Paz Soldan was led to believe with several other writers, that certain Jivaro had formerly been subjugated by the Incas....

This opinion is not generally held...., and the use, very [390] limited moreover, of Quechua finds its explanation in the relations maintained in the neighborhood, comparable to those which the same Indians maintain today with the Peruvians of Chachapoyas and the Colombians of Canaios, who teach them a little Spanish."

22: Hamy--390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 197, 174

"The Jivaro language, completely different from all the neighboring languages, clear and harmonious, expressive, energetic, would be easy to learn according to Villavicencio, particularly difficult, on the contrary, according to Father Pozzi, because of the uncertain pronunciation, and where the aspirated letters play a large part .... We know nothing of this language except the proper names; but the comparison of these names with the geographic and ethnic appellations which one meets lower down on the courses of the Amazon and its affluents, shows us such analogies, and similarities, that the common origin of the Jivaro and the tribes of the large Guarani group is, on this evidence alone, established with assurance."

22: Hamy--390-391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 101, 175

"Humboldt and Orbigny have already included in the Guarani peoples the Omaguas of Ucayali and of Marañon, brothers of the Umaüas of Brazil. First of all the name of the Jivaros recall in a striking manner that of one of the large affluents of the Amazon, the Javari river. Along the banks of this river live the Mayorunas. Near the Japura river, another tributary of the great river, are the Marahunos. On the Ouanari, affluent of the right bank of the Oyapoc, live the Maraones. These three names are closely related to that of the Moronas of the Morona river. In the eighteenth century on the same Japura river, there were the Achuaris whose ethnic appellation scarcely distinguishes them from that of the Jivaro Achuales. The Muratos recall the Maras of the Purus river. The name of the Uambisas fits perfectly into the most frequently used forms of the Guaranis, of whom the tribes in Ua were formerly so numerous. It is the same for the Catapasas which one can relate to the Catapuyas, the Catahaichis, the Cataxos, the Catakinos, etc. The Pastassas seem to have taken their name from the Carib Pastuzzos of the Atlantic coast, between Chiriqui and Goajira. The Gualaquisas have a name akin to that of these Gualachos who have inhabited the islands of the river of Coronda below Santa-Fe. Finally the Upanos derive their [391] origin from the ancient Panos of the Javari river. It is known that these are the same Upanos who, chased into part of the basin of the Morona by hostile neighbors who were nevertheless of the same race, descended into the pampa of the Sacramento, where the Franciscans found them established and where several recent travelers, among whom we have noted especially

22: Hamy--390-39 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 101, 175

Mr. Paul Marcoy.., have encountered their miserable remnants.

It should be added that the general term by which the great Indian race of the East is designated, the word Guarani, finds itself scarcely changed in the name of the principal tribe of Peruvian Jaros, the Aguarunas, of whom we have, with Herndon and Paz Soldan, localized the two tribes...."

22: Hamy--391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 166, 175

"The study of the names of the Jivaro tribes alone then, demonstrate that which Orbigny had already foreseen, that the populations of Marañon are connected more or less directly to the great Guaranian group. The relations which we have just established tend, moreover, to prove that the savages of whom we have sketched too short an ethnology have come to establish themselves in the forests of Cuenca, of Jaen or of Chachapoyas, by going up the rivers, since certain names of tribes, mentioned along the middle course of the Amazon at the time of its discovery, have disappeared from the spot, to be rediscovered today along the banks of the Maranon and its upper affluents. The history of the Jivaro people would be comparable, in consequence, to that of the Tupi nation, nearly annihilated in the neighborhood of Para by the Portuguese whose traces Pedro Teixeira discovered along the Madeira river, or again comparable to that of the Chiriguanos whose curious migration described by Orbigny, across the Chaco to the foot of the last spurs of the Bolivian Andes. (2) "

"(2) We have purposely omitted to speak here of the Antipas, the neighbors and enemies of the Aguarunas, and who, ranked by Mateo Paz Soldan among the Jivaro, can be only a branch of the race Anti, which would explain their incessant battles against the Jivaro themselves."

22: Hamy--391-392 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"We have said that the ethnographic documents, as limited as they are, confirm the viewpoint just presented. The information of this type, whose [392] value should not be exaggerated, have, for a comparative study of human groups, a great importance. As regards South America in particular, they have such characteristic usages, such special customs, mores so peculiar to certain races, that when they are met even among distant peoples who preserve no memory of their common origin, one is almost justified in placing them in the same ethnic group.

Among these characteristics, there is one which we are going to describe in the Jivaro, and which is common to almost all the Guaranis: it is that which consists of the fabrication, with the aid of processes yet little known, of these hideous preserved heads, which we are beginning to see in certain number in our European ethnographic museums. From Para and Cumana to the Cordillera, all the Guarani savages make with the chief of the vanquished enemies trophies ornamented with plumes, with bird skins, etc., and which do not differ from each other except in the details of preparation.

Cajas, Mauhès, Mondurocus, Gentios Bravos, etc...., preserve in their own manner, the souvenir of their victories. And these are the spoils of a hostile general prepared in a slightly different manner by the Jivaros who have contributed the most to making known this fierce Indian family."

22: Hamy--392-393 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"Already in the last century, Manuel Sobreviela has remarked that the savages which he just visited in eastern Peru 'boil the head of their enemies. They then remove the skin, which they stuff and dry with smoke to form a masque. The teeth they use to make necklaces, and they suspend the skulls from the roof of their dwellings.'

He added that on a certain day they celebrated the tribal victories with the greatest pomp in the house of the chief, and that the boys come to the feast carrying by the hair the masques he mentioned. . . . [393]

These are the masques, or rather the skins of the face and cranium separated from the bones which they recover, which, transported to Europe, have principally attracted the attention of ethnographers to the Indians, heretofore ignored, of Marañon. Father Pozzi tells us that a head similar to those we are going to describe was sold in Paris for a curiosity at the enormous price of 1,500 francs, some 8 years ago. . . ."

22: Hamy--393 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116. 727

"The heads prepared by the Jivaro are today less rare and less sought after: our collections include up to three specimens, and two others have been brought to our attention in England. The first sent in 1861 by Mr. Cassola to Mr. W. Bollaert, is briefly described in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London...; it comes from a hut on the banks of the Pastasa, and it is supposed that it is the head of an enemy chief, 'carried as a talisman in combat.' The skin [tegumenta] detached from the bones form a small head which appears to be reduced to a quarter of its original volume. A cord is fixed at the top of the head; another passed through the perforated lips and hangs in front. The ears are pierced and the nostrils filled with a black resin. Mr. R. Owen has proffered the opinion that it is the tanning of the skin which caused the reduction in volume. Mr. Bollaert believes it is dried before the fire over a clay mold.

A second sample of the taxidermic industry of the Jivaros, described by Mr. Barriero..., was exhibited at the universal Exposition of London in 1862, the gift of R. de Silva Ferro; it came from a tribe which Mr. Barriero named Tambo or Tumba. Mr. Barriero has furnished, concerning this piece, interesting details of the drying agent (a stone heated in the fire and introduced into the skin of the head), on the triumphal feast, on the superstitions attached to the possession of this type of trophy or chancha, transformed, says the author, into an idol, an oracle, a talisman when it comes from a warrior renowned for his bravery."

22: Hamy--394 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The details collected by Mr. Barriero were yet unpublished when a third head was offered on April 17, 1862 to the Society of Anthropology by Mr. Moreno Maiz, who held it from Mr. Galvez, Minister of Peru at Paris.... This specimen, found in an ancient Jivaro tomb, led Mr. Moreno Maiz, contrary to the opinion of the historians of the country and of Sobreviela in particular, to believe that it could be a relic of an individual of the tribe, preserved for religious reasons. Certain texts of Herrera, which he could have cited, support this viewpoint, opposed, one can see to that of Mr. Barriero.

The sojourn of the specimen in a tomb had, however, partially damaged it. A loss of substance near the right temple, a deep depression in the corresponding region on the left side, several tears, all that combined with the small volume of the head (horizontal circumference 21 to 22 centimeters; cephalic measurement [cranio-sus-auriculaire] 15 centimeters) leads one to believe that we do not have a specimen comprising all the cephalic teguments, and one is left only with the discussion of the mumification procedures which the Ethnological Society of London has not yet made known, and the study of several of the external characters revealed by this ethnographic curiosity. Long, black hairs, 35 to 38 centimeters in length, mixed with several brown hairs, or red shading sometimes to blonde, eyebrows still very apparent and appearing to have been thick, no trace of beard: such were the only physical characteristics which could be conscienciously used. One cannot distinguish eyelids; the skin, thick and black like wax has retained none of

its original aspect; the nose and chin were deformed; the two lips, thrust forward, revealed three large holes; all the face was flattened sideways and the corresponding fluting having certainly contained cords formed a ligature; the ears were partially destroyed, but one could see in a lobe on one side the trace of a hole intended for some decorative ornament. A double hole for suspension perforated the vertex..."

22: Hamy--394-395 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"A fourth head sent from Ecuador to the Museum in 1864 [395] by Mr. Fabre, consul general.... has shown that, contrary to an opinion given out following the communication of Mr. Moreno Mais, these shrunken heads are certainly complete and that their small volume is attributable solely to the skillful process employed by the Jivaro.

Mr. Fabre received this specimen from the province of Macas, and from the nieghborhood of the volcano Sangai; it was the work of the Jivaro or Zibaro, named Jambas. Like the previous ones it is an adult head, extremely shrunken, since they measure only 9 centimeters and a half in length by 7 in width, the horizontal circumference is 26 millimeters and its sub-auricular transverse curve does not reach 17. It has long hair over 40 centimeters, generally very black, mixed however, like the preceding head, with a small number of brown or red hairs. The face, flattened laterally, is thrust forward on all sides toward the mouth, tied this time, like that of the previously mentioned photograph by a triple cord fixed on three holes pierced vertically in the thick part of the two lips, and which carries a long fringe formed of 36 strings of unbleached cotton of various thicknesses.

The eyebrows, very black, are rather long and well planted; there is no beard whatsoever; the skin is a veritable black and glistening leather. The palpebral creases are stripped of hair; the nose, deformed as in the preceding specimen, has large open nostrils, with a hole pierced in the membrane dividing them. Another hole penetrates perpendicularly in the sub-membrane, at the beginning of the upper lip. The ears, shrunken

like the rest of the skin segments [teguments] appear to have been naturally small, and their lobe not deformed is wide open. Finally two orifices pierced in the vertex serve to pass a string destined to suspend the hideous little head.

The existence of these holes for suspension, as well as the presence of the fringes fixed to the mouth which one finds on the trophies of war of the Guarani, have persuaded us for a long time to consider them as veritable spoils of a hostile general, to which are attached certain superstitious ideas, these specimens for which Mr. Moreno Maiz has proposed another interpretation, when the documents of Father Louis Pozzi arrived at the Museum, thanks to the initiative of one of the procurers of the missions of the Jesuit order, Father Tailhan."

22: Hamy--396 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"It appears from the letters of Father Pozzi that the heads prepared by the Jivaro are, like all the warlike tribes of the Amazon, veritable trophies. 'They allow their hair to grow, says the missionary, and they make with it a long tress to which they attach the plumage of a bird killed by them. When they go to war, and also during solemn fetes, they hang on this tress the heads of the enemies killed by their hand.' In support of this opinion, Mr. Pozzi has sent one of these heads accompanied by the skin of the birds which decorate it. He had secured without too much difficulty all this ornamental equipment from the hair of a neophyte of his mission of Gualaquiza, brought gently by the missionary to renounce this barbarous custom.

The anterior-posterior diameter of this head of Gualaquiza, which does not differ from that of the Jamba except that its volume is a little less and in other minor details, being 83 millimeters. Its maximum transverse diameter is 60; the horizontal circumference is 25 centimeters; the sub-auricular transverse curve is 15 centimeters and a half. But a specimen annexed by Father Pozzi from his interesting envoy permits us to understand in a fairly exact manner the reduction achieved by the taxidermic process. We possess in effect, the crown of woven straw, ornamented with black, red and yellow feathers which the young warrior wore whose head figured among the ornaments of the neophyte of Gualaquiza. And the entire circumference is a little more than 56 centimeters; if we compare this figure with that of the measure of the circumference of the trophy, we see that this curve is diminished in the ratio 56 to 100."

22: Hamy--39697 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"We have ei that the Gualaquisa specimen differs a little from that of the Jamba. The hair, very hg is 65 centimeters and recalls the memory of the Indios Pelados of whom the earlie Spanish explorers spike; the skin is a tawny brown; several large hairs are appart in the nasal cavity; the eyebrows are longer and thicker; long black lashes garnish t eyelids, closed with the aid of a large stitch visible at the internal angle of the fold The victim has this time a little beard, which forms a small mustache and a very smaqoatee [barbiche]. It is exactly what Mr. Marcoy notes among the natives of Ucayalland that Barrow has seen formerly among the Guaranis of Brazil.

The mode suspension is identical to the preceding specimen; the same holes... etc. And the [3] spoils fixed, as has been said, to the hair of the conqueror, is ornamented with t skins of 3 magnificent humming-birds [oiseaux-mouches].

The study this curious trophy, the exact notion which we possess on its origin destroys definitely the hypothesis of Mr. Moreno Maiz, and furnishes, as we have already said, argnents of considerable strength in favor of assimilation of the Jivaros with the Guaraarace..."

22: Hamy--397 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171

"The arms, the varied ornaments, the paintings, etc., which we know of these same Indians; the lance, the javelin and the blow-gun [sarabacane], the round buckle, the crown of plumes of the skin of the monkey, the necklaces of teeth of men, monkeys, and jaguars, the ornaments of black, white and red grains, the circles which they put in the lobule of the ear for attaching the feathers, the yellow and black painting with which they adorn the body, all this is common to the Jivaro and to the greater part of the Indians of the Amazon, of Brazil or of Guiana."

23: Turner--97 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 727, 435

"The macabre nature of the shrunken head trophies (tsantsas) of the Jibaro Indians has long assured them a ready sale to curio-hunters. As Stirling has pointed out in a valuable paper,[1] this demand has given rise to a considerable business in the manufacture of counterfeit tsantsas, with the result that a large proportion of the specimens in private (and some public) collections are in fact the heads of unclaimed dead from hospitals and pauper asylums prepared by taxidermists. The laws of Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil prohibit the export of tsantsas, but numbers are surreptitiously hawked to tourists along the Pacific coast from the Panama Canal southwards. The prices asked may range from £1 to £10 or more, according to the estimated means of the customer. While some of these may be authentic, the majority certainly are not."

[1] Stirling, M. W., Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology: Bulletin 117. Washington, 1938. Cf. also Rivet, P., 'A propos 'de Tsantsa,' Journ. Soc. Américanistes de Paris, N:S: 24, 1932, pp. 213-14."

'The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, possesses two such forgeries, purchased in Ecuador and presented in 1936. One of these has now been placed on exhibition alongside the genuine tsantsas, with a label drawing attention to the features which mark it as false. Most of these features are apparent in Pl. C (fig. 1), which also shows an authentic Jibaro specimen (fig. 2) for purposes of comparison.

In the counterfeit tsantsa:

(a) the head is less thoroughly shrunk, the integument being consequently not so thick and continuing to exude a certain amount of oil;
(b) although slight prognathous distortion is present it is not sufficient to give the characteristic snout-like appearance seen in fig. 2; further, the dome of the head is high (reaching well above the upper edge of the head-band) instead of low and elongated, and the usual depressions in the region of the temples are lacking;
(c) the lips show no signs of perforation by the chonta-wood pins used by the Jibaro during the shrinking, and are sewn with light threads in place of the normal heavy fringe of cotton string;
(d) the top of the head is not pierced for the suspending cord;
(e) the posterior median incision is carried much farther forward over the crown of the head than is done in authentic specimens;

(f) the lobes of the ears are not pierced, as is done by Jibaros of both sexes early in life; instead, bone ornaments have been thrust through the rims of the ears, which does not accord with Jibaro practice;
(g) the facial down has not been singed off, nor the skin polished (the shiny surface being due to grease);
(h) the feathered head-band of beaten palm-bark is of a type not worn by living Jibaros, nor are genuine tsantsas ever provided with any kind of headgear;
(i) the hair is of finer texture than in most Indian specimens; it is less abundant and the short side-locks affected by most Jibaros are absent.

It is realized that the last detail is not definitive in that the Jibaros may still occasionally take heads from non-Indian victims (Stirling mentions a successful attack on a settlement in 1925), but considered in relation to the other foregoing points of variation it may be taken as strengthening the assumption that the head is that of a female European or mestiza hospital casualty. As final confirmation it may be added that part of a Quito newspaper of 1936 was found wadded into the crown in a manner suggesting that it was used to preserve the shape during reduction."

"The second counterfeit in the Pitt Rivers collections is nearly identical in form and decoration with that illustrated, but is further adorned with two long pendants of the elytra of the beetle Mallaspis antennatus, tipped with feathers and human hair. Similar pendants are frequently hung from the ear-lobes of genuine tsantsas (see fig. 2) but in this specimen they are attached to the back of the head-band.

The above-mentioned particulars correspond closely with the criteria given by Stirling for distinguishing spurious from genuine tsantsas. The same author suggests examination of the stitching of the posterior incision which makes possible the removal of the skin from the skull. The professional taxidermist with his superior equipment tends to make a rather neater seam than is usually to be found in the Indian article,[58] although this is not invariably the case. It should be added that the work of some counterfeiters is a good deal harder to detect than are the two examples described above.

Not all non-genuine tsantsas have been made for commercial purposes. Rivet (2)

2. 'Rivet, P., 'Les Indiens Jibaros.' L'Anthropologie, XVIII-XIX. Paris, 1907-8. (Chapter entitled 'Têtes 'Momifiées ou Tsantsas,' Vol. XIX, pp 69-87)."

illustrates a passable counterfeit made by an Ecuadorean medical student, and in 1893 an Austrian doctor named Hein (3) described four which he had prepared from the heads of deceased patients. In both these cases the motive was to test the technique of reduction as reported by travellers. Hein's attempt to shrink a fifth head by drying in the sun failed completely."

'3. Hein, Wilhelm, 'Die Kopftrophäen der Jívaros.' Mitth. Anthrop. Ges. Wien, XXIII. Sitzungsberichte, p. 28. Vienna, 1893."

23· Turner--58 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116,·727, 602

"Mummified animal heads, usually of monkeys or sloths, are sometimes seen in collections. Of these the sloth heads are likely to be genuine. The Jibaros are elaborately careful not to take the head of a victim who is related to the slayer, however long adopted into the enemy band. In such cases, as also when a vigorous resistance prevents the securing of an unrelated victim's head, the slayer may at some later date take the head of a sloth (Choloepus didactylus) and prepare a token trophy, called uñushi. Generally similar ritual procedure accompanies the preparation of the uñushi. Finished trophies display the lip-fringe and suspending cord seen in tsantsas, but the degree of reduction is proportionally less. Some other animals may be similarly treated when one of their number is supposed to have caused the death of a Jibaro.

Stirling persuaded a Yaupe Jibaro to reduce the head of a monkey, but this was done without ritual and simply as a demonstration of the shrinking technique. Preserved monkeys' heads seen by the writer have certain features in common with the counterfeit tsantsas and it is to be doubted whether they are of Jibaro origin. Even where this should be the case they probably represent nothing more than purely commercial examples of Indian taxidermy."

23: Turner--58 [2] (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 114, 727

"Since the foregoing was sent to press, [KS: Counterfeit 'Tsantsas' in the Pitt Rivers Museum] Mr. Stirling has drawn my attention to a journalist's account of a domestic workshop on the outskirts of Quito where 'shrunken heads' are made in quantity from goat- and dog-skin shaped over clay moulds and shaved in the appropriate places. One diagnostic feature of these counterfeits is that the hairs of both eyebrows necessarily run in the same direction. (Ludwig Bemelmans, 'The Head-Hunters of the Quito Hills.' The New Yorker, April 12, 1941. New York.)"

"The Jivaro Indians, known as Shuara among themselves, are popularly referred to as 'The Headhunters.' Those studied in the summer of 1938 were found dwelling in the jungles on both banks of the Upano River, about 75 miles south of Macas and east of Méndez, at the foot of the eastern slope of the Andes, Department of Oriente in Ecuador, South America.

For comparative study, two groups were selected, confined only to the males of varying ages from pre-adolescence to adulthood, selected at random.

Group number 1 consisted of 67 individuals, 56 adults and 11 pre-adolescents, who had had little to no contact with whites or with the world outside of their community. They subsisted on a diet consisting of bananas, both roasted and raw, herbs, roots, berries, nuts, yuca or manioc tuber, maize, fish, the meat of monkeys, wild pigs and birds. The mainstay of their diet is a manioc beer, prepared by the women, who masticate the manioc tuber, thoroughly incorporating it with saliva and then expectorating the solution into a container. After several days' fermentation, this beer is drunk in copious quantities by everyone including the small children. A persistent custom among most of the individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] is the chewing of the 'nashumbi' berry, identified botanically as Manettia coccinia, which produces a brownish lacquer-like coating over the teeth. It is not known if this inhibits tooth decay or not.

The examination of the teeth of these individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth]

was attended with considerable difficulties since tribal customs prohibit the touching of the faces of children and women by strangers. Plaster casts of the teeth were made of the majority of those examined, but since dental instruments were not used, tabulation of tooth cavities was made by observation with the aid of a tongue depresser. The records made represent the types of tooth positions in the dental arches as a comparative, relative record rather than an absolute index. The results of this examination revealed 55 individuals or 82% of all with maxillary [238] center incisor teeth which were either rotated, overlapped, or otherwise misplaced in the dental arch. In some individuals there was also a misplacement of the mandibular central incisors. (Plates 1 and 2) In all adults of this group a complete permanent dentition was the rule, with no other misplacements of teeth than the affected central incisors having been noted. No explanation of the existence of this variation of the positions of the central incisors can be given other than that it is a persistent variable, which cannot be classified merely as a form of malocclusion.... In group 1, malocclusion, affecting the remaining dentition, was noted only in pre-adolescent boys and girls, although it was impossible to make plaster-cast records of most of those seen. This may offer some evidence for the contention that malocclusion of the teeth is associated with other systemic disfunctions. In an environment such as this one, where the rigors of existence are so severe and the securing of sustenance and

alleviative treatment for illness so uncertain, only those who are most fit to survive ever reach adulthood. This does not offer conclusive proof that most children with malocluded teeth die before maturation, since it is possible for some tooth malpositions to correct themselves in conjunction with the added growth spurt, which usually attends pubescent and post-pubescent body alterations. However, the testimony of the fathers of families all coincided with the statement that children with irregular teeth rarely reached manhood, but died before that time.

Examination of the dentition of group 1 revealed a surprisingly low average of dental caries. 41 individuals or 61% had teeth entirely free from dental caries and of those remaining, the greatest number of tooth cavities to be noted did not exceed five. Mandibular fourth molars were found in two individuals, but no other supernumerary or missing teeth were noted. (Table 2.)"

24: Wright--238-240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 262

"Group No. 2 [KS: in comparative study of teeth] consisted of 80 males from pre-adolescent to middle adulthood, of which 34 were adults, and 46 pre-adolescent. This group lived in the mixed white and Indian settlement of Méndez, approximately three days journey from the region of Group No. 1. This latter group is of the same racial stock and family as those of Group No. 1, and originally lived in the same jungle environment, but are now under the protection of the missionaries and were living in and about the mission settlement. Their customs and food habits had been altered to meet the requirements of a quasi-civilized community. The usual diet of these individuals consisted of bananas as the only raw food, cooked meats, potatoes, rice and beans, bread, canned salmon, biscuits, coffee and carbonated beverages. Occasionally, cheap candy, cakes and sugar cane were available, the latter in ample quantities. Almost every individual suffered from [240] gastric disturbances. Because of local obstacles which could not be overcome, the making of plaster casts of their teeth and routine accurate dental examinations were virtually impossible, and cursory examinations for comparative study had to suffice. With the exception of three adult individuals, no one was free from dental caries. Approximately 25% had all their teeth affected with dental caries, and 35% from one to several teeth were missing. Of 34 adults, 16 had good occlusions, while 18 had fair occlusions, but with misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of the pre-adolescent

members of this group, 14 had good occlusions, and 32 were affected with malocclusions of varying degree; all of the latter had misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of a total of 80 individuals in Group 2, 50 or 82.5% were affected with maxillary central incisor misplacements. (Table 1.)"

TABLE 1--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DENTAL OCCLUSION OF GROUPS 1 AND 2.

	Group 1. 67 Males		Group 2. 80 Males	
Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Good Occlusion	18	3	16	14
Rotated Max. 1st incisors. Bal. occl. fair-good.	47	5	18	32
Rotated Max. 1st incisors gen. mal-occlusion		3		

[Put above slip number 2, matching column rules.]

(1938) 1942

[Match columns with slip No. 1]

4th mand. molars.	2			
Rotated Max. 1st incisors.	Total 55 or 82%	of Group 1.	Total 50 or 82.5%	of Group 2.

TABLE 2--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TOOTH CAVITIES OF GROUPS 1 AND 2 (1).

Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Free from caries	32	9	3	
1 cavity	15	1		
2 cavities	1			
3 "	4		31	46
4 "	1			
5 "	3	1	(comparative records) 25% of all had cavities in almost all teeth. 35% had missing teeth.	

"1. [See following sheet for footnote]"

24: Wright--239 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-3
116, 164, 177, 262

"1. [Footnote 1, p. 239] It was impossible to tabulate Group 2 in detail except to show results of a cursory examination for a comparative study."

24: Wright--240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
116, 164, 177, 262

"In comparing the dental conditions of the two groups [KS: in comparative study of teeth] the factor of misplacements of the maxillary central incisors is a persistent variable which is constant for both groups. With 82% in Group 1, and 82.5% in Group 2, there is a variance of only .5% for affected teeth, a curious coincidence. There is another factor to be noted, namely that of the wide variance of dental caries between the two groups. The change in food habits is undoubtedly responsible for the increase in dental caries in Group 2, but this change in environment does not alter the inherited tendency to variation in occlusion common to both groups."

25: Vigna--35 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 131

The "Shuaras or Jíbaros" occupy the eastern zone of Ecuador, which lies between the Pastaza River to the north, Morona to the east, Marañón to the south, and Andean cordillera to the west. This region is comprised exclusively of virgin forests and geographically is located between the meridians: 77 and 78.5; and the parallels: 2 and 4.5 Greenwich.

In area, this zone is approximately some thirty thousand square kilometers. (Exact measurements cannot be given, for up to this date no one has dared to measure the Amazonian forests and current aerophotometric studies have not yet provided us with authentic figures.)

25: Vigna--35 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 161

The present civilized population is somewhere between ten and twelve thousand inhabitants. The majority are settlers of crossed race of Andean origin. The number of Jíbaro Indians is estimated between fifteen and twenty thousand. It is difficult to count the savages, who, fundamentally, are nomads. They do not establish towns or villages, but live in the heart of the virgin forest, separated from one another many times, by long days of journey. They are still reticent about furnishing the information necessary to an exact formulation of their political structure.

25. Vigna--35 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 144, 171

The Jíbaro group differs greatly from the other natives of Ecuador, in tradition, custom, and language. Types who show evidence of crossing with the white race are difficult to find, and the few and rare cases can only be explained by the abduction of white women by the Jíbaros in reprisals of vengeance.

25. Vigna--35-36 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 174

The somatic character of the Jíbaro tempts us to believe that this group descended directly from the Mongolian [36] or yellow race. The shape of the eye and the facial outline instinctively suggest the oriental races. However, as the Jíbaros are a people without history, without literature, without monuments, and with very little written material and that of a fragmentary and variable nature, I believe it would be improper to set forth an hypothesis concerning their origin and derivation before undertaking an extensive comparative study.

25: Vigna--36 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 141, 152

The Jíbaro, barbarous and savage as the forest of which he feels incontestable king, is born and bred in a constant fight against the untoward elements of atmosphere, climate, marvellous tropical vegetation and under brush, and the innumerable adversities of nature. He is physically very well-developed, and though not very tall (1.60-1.70 m.), he is robust, muscular and well-proportioned. In bearing he is noble and haughty.

25: Vigna--36 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 153

Nature has been prodigal in physiological elements necessary to the Jíbaro in his environment, but it has been almost miserly with him in intellectual and volitional faculties. The Jíbaro has a keen visual sense and a perfect auditive sense; one might almost say that nature outdid herself in the delicacy and extraordinary form of these two senses in the Jíbaro. The other three senses are rather dull. These are compensated by what we might call the sixth sense--the sense of "orientation." Set down in the middle of the forest, the Jíbaro, after a short period of reflection and observation, is able to orientate himself perfectly towards his destination. Volitional faculties are still embryonic, and when instinct or necessity is not operating upon the Jíbaros, mimicry and impressionability triumph.

25: Vigna--36 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 153

The peculiar circumstances of the environment have obliged this people (assuming that it is an immigrating people) to base their effort at adaptation on renunciation. This is the reason why the Jíbaro today lives without aspiration or special necessities except for the ineluctable demands of a still primitive life. As an almost inevitable consequence, the Jíbaro displays a retirement from and a repugnance for all that implys any alteration in his routinary life, or any physical or moral force unusual for him.

25: Vigna--36 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 158, 164

In general, among the Jíbaros, there are no insane or neurasthenics, nor are there persons afflicted with arthritis, rickets, or scrofula. However they are greatly disfigured by a licheniform affection of the epidermis with a tendency to darkish color. They suffer from tuberculosis. This is spread rapidly by means of the containers in which they indifferently serve themselves their favorite drink "Chicha."

25: Vigna--36-37 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 174

A history, as such, of the Jíbaro people does not exist. They have no continuous, solid, and true legendary tradition which would provide the information from which their history [37] could be reconstructed.

25: Vigna--37 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 175

The inhabitants of the town of Macas, a settlement in the heart of the forest and founded by the early settlers (1600) have preserved some sporadic notes on the Jíbaros. The Ecuadorian historians (V. González Suárez, Villavicencio; etc.) have made use of these references in an effort to weave together a fragment of Jíbaro history. They speak of a numerous and warlike people who may have descended from the Mainas or the Caribs, - of a people with so much cohesion that it was able to oppose the covetous exigencies of the Spanish, assassinate tens of thousands (!) of the same, destroy the cities raised in the virgin forest by the whites, and declare itself owner and master of those infernal regions. But the historians cited do not offer us information of an enlightening and historic character; nor do the records of the Jesuit Fathers, in particular the book entitled: 'Las Misiones del alto Marañón español,' offer detailed information of historical value.

Since we do not have a true or authentic basis, we will not waste time cavilling and will not bother to form an hypothesis. One of the most important and indispensable sources of information was, without doubt, 'El Archivo de las Indias' of Seville (Spain), and from this source certainly, we should have been able to gather valuable information concerning the savage tribes of the Amazon.

25: Vigna--37 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 181

The Jíbaro man, king and absolute master of the household, does not himself do any heavy work; this is done by the Jíbaro woman. The man helps to clear the forest and prepare the vegetable gardens, but the woman must take care of the agricultural details. The principal occupation of the Jíbaro is hunting, fishing, and diplomatic relations with the other tribes. Nature, who has most prodigiously supplied the vegetative necessities to the Jíbaro, who is very parsimonious and has few requirements, demands very little of him. The consequent idleness offers great stimulation to his passions. Indolent and without desire, the Jíbaro on certain occasions fails to be rational. The easy promiscuity of the sexes in a climate favoring sensuality, the bold license in talking, especially on the part of the women, and the precocious physiological development, contribute to the low morality of the Jíbaro savage; although, to his honor it must be said that the Jíbaro who has not had contact with civilization, has an extremely fine sense of respect for truth, someone else's property, and the general precepts of natural law.

25: Vigna--37-38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 156, 181

The Jîbaro is materialist by nature. He has no organized social constitution (He does not recognize any chief or authorities, only provisionally and in case of reprisal.); he is polygamous, revengeful through tradition made precept, calculating and cold, inconstant and ungrateful; he does not easily assimilate outside influences; if [38] it is kept in mind that in addition to this he does not have expressions that formulate moral or supernatural ideas, one will have an idea of the social state of the Jîbaro.

25: Vigna--38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 157

The woman is a slave. She has no control over the education of the children who from an early age become their own masters and are free to direct their own liberty. Because of the enormous distance between family and family, and the difficult and dangerous journeys, the Jíbaro is an egocentric type par excellence.

In practice, the Jíbaro does not readily abandon a present possession, even the most low and abject, which he may obtain hic et nunc, for a future good promised verbally. Also, he does not easily forget an injury or a punishment threatened for the future, which in any contingency he does not generally take into account.

25: Vigna --38 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 192

The Jíbaro Language. The Jíbaros have their own language which bears no resemblance to the primitive languages or dialects spoken among the other Indians of Ecuador. On rare occasions, they have appropriated words and foreign terms in order to indicate things and phenomena new to them. The Jíbaro language is somewhat difficult to pronounce; but it is melodious and solemn, especially in the official discourses, or as spoken by the women and children.

25: Vigna--38 [3] (no date)1945 Jivaro
116, 193

The basic construction of the Jíbaro language is poor and the words are limited to things known and subject to control. All the richness of the language is in the verbs: these, besides expressing in consummate form the manifestations of daily life, possess an extraordinary wealth of shading. The Jíbaro language is difficult to learn especially because of the verb; this has as many conjugations as there are expressions it can assume: positive, negative, doubtful, interrogative, of convenience, of favor, etc. When the language does not lend itself to the expression of an idea, they resort to curious circumlocutions, which are often ridiculous and always superficial.

25: Vigna--38 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 214, 194

Good studies and essays are to be found on the Jibaro language. The Salesian Missionaries today have a grammar and dictionary of the Jibaro tongue, printed through the direct interest of the Ecuadorian supreme government. They have also written many essays on this language for the purpose of catechising. As the Jibaro up to the present is solely a spoken language, and therefore subject to modifications and alterations, sometimes local and even individual, and since it has not undergone crystallization of any kind in signs, characters, or monuments, it does not have its own writing. The phonology of the Spanish language has been used in order to organize it.

From the abundant material accumulated, it appears permissible to conclude that many Jîbaro words are similar to the Japanese. Moreover, some of the grammatical rules seem [39] to have strong points of contact with the language mentioned: 1) The Japanese language does not have articles; neither does the Jîbaro, and it also lacks gender; 2) The Japanese language has a special form for the positive conjugation, for the negative and for the interrogative; the same occurs in the Jîbaro.

There is still a great deal to be covered in Jîbaro philology, especially in that which pertains to the scientific part of the language.

25: Vigna --39 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776

The Religion of the Jíbaro. It is difficult to speak of a religion proper to the Jíbaros, if in this we intend to find concrete manifestations of supernatural ideas, practices, ceremonies or rites. The Jíbaro believes in a Principle of Good, called "YUS"; the origin of this word is possibly encountered in the corresponding Spanish word "DIOS". The Jíbaro does not fear the "YUS" because he is good and does no evil. The Jíbaro also believes in the Principle of Evil, called "Yhuanchi", whom he fears and propitiates in various ways and whom he tries not to molest in order not to provoke an annoyance which often crystallizes into material form.

25: Vigna--39 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 787

The "Yhuanchi" is the principle that informs many manifestations of the domestic and social life of the Jíbaro. Through dreams, provoked by means of a potion of "Natem "Natem" (narcotic of vegetal nature which puts them to sleep for hours and entire days), the Yhuanchi makes known to the Jíbaros the cause of family illness and misfortune; it reveals the name of the supposed enemies, predicts the future, organizes the undertakings, and orders vengeance, etc. In order to put himself in communication with the Yhuanchi, the savage withdraws from the others, fasts strictly, and retires to the forest, oftentimes near a waterfall.

25: Vigna--39 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 755

The Yhuanchi instructs, prepares and gives the necessary science to the "Witches" for the curing of illness and for malefic influences. In order to obtain these favors, the Jíbaro who is initiated in this life must fast rigorously, abstain from certain foods and drinks, and follow a certain strict regimen. The Yhuanchi orders and directs the bellicose reprisals of revenge on an enemy, although this may be merely an assumption as happens in the majority of cases.

25: Vigna--39 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 241

A special Principle, similar to a goddess, presides over the sowing. They direct songs to her in order to propitiate her.

25: Vigna--39 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 761

Another divinity, --if the Principle which informs all the activities of their life according to their concept, can be called divinity--assists and provokes death, when this is not violent and caused by war.

25: Vigna--39 [6] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 769

The dead are venerated, and one might almost say that they have a true cult.

25: Vigna--39-40 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 771

Jíbaro Superstitions. We are tempted to state that all the manifestations having the value of religious acts among the Jíbaros are a series of superstitions or superstitious practices, with more [40] or less influence in their daily life. In other words, the faith that they have in the "Yhuanchi", the forms of communication with the spirit, and all the suggestions victimizing the Jíbaros are simple superstitions.

25: Vigna--40 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 755

The power of the witch "Huisin" is the chief superstition among the Jîbaros. The witch cures and heals illnesses through gestures, contortions, songs, and sucking of the afflicted part, after drinking a narcotic called "Natem." If the patient recovers, the witch, as fee for his intervention, will have the right to demand everything that stimulates his greed in the house of the sick man. Alas for those who deny him some of his pretensions! If the patient dies, the fault and cause of his death will be another sorcerer, who through envy, and from afar, practiced witchcraft on the patient and caused his death.

25: Vigna--40 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 761, 754

Natural death, through infectious sickness or natural human exhaustion, has no explanation, nor do the Jibaros admit of one. The witch who is the supposed author of the death of a Jibaro, will sooner or later be the victim of inexorable vengeance on the part of the members of the family of the deceased. In cases of necessity, these will leave the vengeance as heritage from father to son.

25: Vigna--40 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 755

When the witchdoctor realizes that an illness is slight, and the patient easily lends himself to suggestion, he will suck the sick part and draw out of it a spider, worm, insect, arrow, or anything that may be blamed for the malady.

It cannot be excluded that from time to time preternatural forces do intervene in these cures. Certain instantaneous cures of illnesses in which suggestion could play no part, or in illnesses of the nervous system, cannot be explained in any other way.

25: Vigna --40 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 752, 825

When a Jíbaro is bitten by a snake, special, empiric, and superstitious cures are utilized. The patient is not allowed in the common house (He must make for himself a little hut of branches and leaves outside of the house), or, in the house they keep him apart by means of leaves and branches. They fear that the "evil eye" is acting on the patient and making the poison more efficacious. Snake bite is cured with infusions of the leaves of the "Huaco" and enemas of water and very strong pepper.

When someone knows that a Jíbaro has been bitten by a snake, he hurries to bite a machete or some iron as preservative. As soon as the sick person recovers, a great fiesta is organized in the house. All who participate, including the patient, paint their bodies a black color and in the form of a snake. This will serve to prevent bites in the future.

25: Vigna--40[5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 754

They fear witchcraft and tremble before the sinister glance of a Jíbaro whom they do not know, believing that he is a witch. [41]

25: Vigna--41 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 527, 783

In their fiestas, --they have solemn fiestas, periods of domestic events and of initiation - before the rites and dances begin, the chief, if he has some crime to expiate, must purify himself, taking infusions of tobacco and other herbs.

25: Vigna--41 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

Superstitions referring to food deprive them of excellent hunting. For example, they will not grow horns; nor the flesh of deer, for they believe that in ancient times, the Yhuanchi incarnated in the deer; the flesh of tapir causes loss of strength, etc.

25: Vigna--41[3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 342

In the House of the Jíbaro. The house of the Jíbaro is rectangular and terminated at its extremities by two semi-circles, in which are found two doors: the common door and the door reserved for the family. The walls are made of pierced cane or with hard logs, tied with reeds. [bejucos] The roof is of straw and the doors generally are solid and of a single piece. During the night they are firmly barricaded.

25: Vigna--41[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 352

The beds, made of logs and bamboo-cane, are along the walls. Near the bed there are a rifle and a bag containing the toilet articles of the man: that is, achiote, mirror, cotton, and often needles, powder and ammunition. In the center of the house is the "Tunduli", a thick hollow tree trunk which produces a hoarse sound on being struck. With the appropriate blows, they summon the master from afar, they announce war, they communicate the most salient news, they warn of the arrival of some stranger, and, to the measured beat of the Tunduli, they dance and celebrate fiestas. The sound of the tunduli is heard sometimes at ten and fifteen kilometers distance. The other furnishings of the house are a rudimentary loom, blowgun, and "cután" or wooden seat for the head of the house. Strangers or visitors may not sit on the cután. [KS: Wooden seat used by head of the house.] Before sitting on one of the beds, they must wait, standing near the entrance, to talk with the owner. It is a sign of distinction for a visitor to be offered the "cután" by his host.

There is a minor difference between the bed of the man and the woman; the bed of the latter has walls formed of leaves or branches at its sides.

25: Vigna--41 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 354, 513, 372, 415

The fire is always kept lit. At night it burns at the foot of the sleeper and keeps him warm, so that the Jíbaro has no need of sheets or blankets. In illness, in order to conserve heat, they use a piece of cloth that serves as loin cloth. They do not have a kitchen; the fire that burns at the foot of the bed serves for hearth and here, they prepare their food. Hollow calabashes are used for water. When they go on a journey, they take along a burning firebrand. [42]

25: Vigna--42
116, 252, 262

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The principal foods of the Jíbaro are: yuca, banana, green ear of maize, sweet potato, and the flesh of hogs, monkeys, bears and birds. Frogs wrapped in leaves and roasted slowly in live coals are eaten with relish.

25: Vigna--42 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 273, 276, 484

The principal drink, --which is also often eaten--and liquor, is the chicha of yuca, called "nijamanchi." The women who are in charge of its preparation, masticate the cooked yuca and spit it into special bowls where the mass ferments within a few hours. Its taste is similar to that of curdled milk. During the morning they take an infusion of "guayusa" - leaf of a tree that contains much caffein and is a savory sedative. On journeys, the only food they carry is the chicha of concentrated yuca, which they take with water; they do not take any other food en route.

25: Vigna--42 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 286

The Dress and Finery of the Jíbaro. The dress of the Jíbaro consists of a loincloth of cotton, woven by the man on primitive frames. He spins the threads which make up the weave on rainy days with very simple distaffs and spindles. Once the threads are prepared, the Jíbaro colors them with earths and special coloring materials procured in abundance from the plants of the forest. The color of the cloth that he weaves is not showy; the colors of the ground, coffee-color and black, are not easily distinguishable.

25: Vigna--42-43 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 302

The man paints his face with bright colors derived from the achiote or the "sula" (seed of a tree with coloring properties of a brilliant black). They pound the green "sula", and using it with water, paint their hair which is straight and thick. One never sees Jîbaros [43] with hair that is not an intense and brilliant black. This dressing of the hair, which is a general routine for all the family on the day established, is repeated one or two times a year.

25: Vigna--43 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 301

The Jíbaro wears necklaces of variously colored seeds or glass beads. The lobes of the ears are pierced and small reeds are inserted; from these hang ornaments made of birds' feathers or wings of Coleoptera. They hang small tassels made with feathers from the Tzucanga (Toucan) or from the mountain cock, from the braid at the nape or lock of hair bound with a band of bright colors. In their ceremonies they wear a precious ornament called "Tayu-ucunchi" which is made entirely of hundreds of femurs of Tayu birds; or they bind the thorax with an ornament made of thousands of seeds.

25: Vigna--43 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 302, 152

The Jíbaro woman does not paint her face, except on rare occasions and in a grotesque form. This is not done in an artistic manner as in the case of the man for whom the color, besides having an esthetic value, is a means of warding off witchcraft. The Jíbaro woman ordinarily does not care for her person, but goes about disheveled and slovenly. She pierces her lower lip and introduces into it a small reed. In general, the Jíbaro woman is very sullen and more savage than the man. Her laugh is very loud and uncontrolled (sonora y desmañada).

25: Vigna--43[3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 411

The weapons which the Jîbaro uses at present are: the shotgun or rifle purchased from the white people. With the shotgun he hunts the mountain animals and his enemies. In former times his weapon was the lance made with the wood of "chonta" or with iron bought from the whites. They are very skilful with the blowgun; and by means of poisoned arrows which they hurl a distance of twenty to twenty-five meters, they hunt small and large animals. The children are very dexterous in the handling of the blowgun.

25: Vigna --43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 151, 533

The Jíbaro is very seldom out of tune in his songs, for he has a very keen ear. He uses a reed flute, and through a simple melody with an inflection of sadness he expresses his sentiments. Many times, sweethearts communicate their love by means of these melodies.

25: Vigna--43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291

The Jîbaro woman is very decently covered with a cloth of the same kind as the itipi, of the same width and two varas long. The cloth passes over the left shoulder where the two extremities fasten with a great bodkin or "chonta" thorn. It covers the breast. The right shoulder and both arms remain uncovered. The cloth falls to the ankle, and is fastened with cinctures of cotton from which ten or more jingles of shells or hollow seeds often hang; on walking, the women produce a typical, happy sound. These Cinctures are indispensable for the pregnant woman, for thanks to them, the creature is formed in the maternal womb with a happy character and is a lover of harmony. The name of the dress of the Jîbaro woman is "Tarachi." It is not unusual to see Jîbaros who use loincloths made of the bark of "tamajuana", which they gather in abundance, beat, and dry. This cloth is closely woven and flexible.

25: Vigna--43 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116. 584

During their betrothal they are usually exceedingly sparing in external manifestations or affectionate words. The presents of the lover to his sweetheart consist of necklaces of glass beads or seeds, combs, cinctures, ornaments or cloth for her dress. The lover is generally recognized by a ring made of beadwork which he wears on one or all of the fingers of his hand. Frequently, when only a few years of age, the little girl already has a future husband chosen by her parents. The latter give their daughters to relatives, friends, or to valiant youths.

.25. Vigna--43-44 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 582

They [KS: betrothed couple] must always belong to near or distant kinship or to the same tribe. The daughters of one tribe never marry with young boys or men of other tribes, especially [44] unknown tribes. In the recounting of their relatives and tribes, the Jîbaros are very skilful and have a tenacious memory; for them, it is a question of life and death.

25: Vigna--44 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 585

When the young man asks the hand of the girl to whom he is already betrothed, the parents of the girl generally require the suitor to perform certain labors or to accomplish certain feats. The marriage ceremony is simple; the chief or oldest member of the tribe generally assists. As soon as they are married, they go off to hunt and remain in the mountain several days; they do not carry anything with them except fire. Only after the husband has demonstrated that he can establish a home and that he respects his wife, will he be able to carry her away from the home of his in-laws.

25. Vigna--44 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 593

The husband is absolute master of his wife. If he finds that she is unfaithful, he will punish her harshly and severely, inflicting wounds with the machete in her head or body.

25: Vigna--44 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 595

Generally, the Jîbaro does not content himself with one woman. The monogamous are rare. His next wives will be the sisters or cousins of the woman. Many times men have three, four and even five wives. Each one of them cares for her own garden, birds, hogs, bowls, hearth, bed, and children. The latter many times merit less attention than the pack of dogs which serve for hunting and are tied to the bed. It does not matter that the dogs make an infernal noise with their barking when anyone enters; the dog is indispensable to the Jîbaros.

25: Vigna--44 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116. 556, 593

It is easy to see that the wealth of the Jîbaro consists in the number of his women. The affection of the latter for their children is intense and touching. This is not always true of their affection for the husband. Instances in which the woman hates her husband and causes his death by poison are nor rare. The women are very clever in the handling of poisons. Many times the men themselves do not know the poisonous herbs, tubers or reeds as well as the women. There are cases in which the women have prepared a poisonous drink of which the effects appeared only some weeks or months after! They have sometimes hidden the fatal substance in their fingernails, and, mixing it with chicha have offered it to the stranger, acquaintance, or husband, thereby procuring the rapid or slow death of their victim; the rage, cunning and malevolence of the Jîbaro woman is beyond belief.

25: Vigna --44 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 231, 222, 442

The Jíbaro women breed domestic birds, hogs, little monkeys, parrots, and even wild birds, with astonishing skill. They do not keep fruit or products of the earth in their house which is always painstakingly clean, but every day they go to the garden to obtain the necessities for the day.

25: Vigna--44-45 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 226, 462

Fishing is carried out indiscriminately by men and women. With the crushed root of the barbasco they numb[45] the fish in the brooks or rivers. They are then gathered in a sort of mat which is placed a certain distance from the spot in which they have thrown the barbasco. The Jíbaros are fond of fish and fishing constitutes a social event.

25: Vigna--45 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 212

The Jíbaro does not know how to write; he sometimes draws signs and simple lines in the little reeds that he puts in the lobes of his ears, and on the oars of his canoe. He skillfully weaves the threads in pleasing designs in his fabrics; he is likewise skillful in the combs that he works with pieces of very fine arrows.

25: Vigna--45 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 481, 501

In the water, the Jîbaro who is a perfect fish, braves the swiftest currents of the rivers of the eastern Amazon; he has been accustomed to swim with skill and rapidity from childhood. In order to ford the large rivers he uses a boat of wood carved from the trunk of a resistant tree. He calls this boat "canoa", and when he has completed it, before launching it in the river he will take care of the finish by means of fire, engraving on the external walls symmetrical lines and cabalistic drawings with the fire.

25. Vigna--45[3] (no date) 1965 Jivaro
116, 802

The arithmetic of the Jíbaros is poor. They count up to ten, because there are ten fingers. The word used for the numbers changes up to five; from six on they repeat the ordinatives with a suffix: "mey." When they wish to indicate the number twenty, they place the fingers of both hands near the feet (which are always bare). After the number twenty, all quantity is indicated with the word "Untsuri" (many).

25. Vigna--45 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 805

They are not acquainted with the calendar. They are not accustomed to enumerate the years nor their age. They note the change of the year through the flowering of the chonta, and they indicate the years by the word "Uvi", which means chonta. The months and days of the week do not have individual names. They count the days by the nights: "so much sleeping"; that is: after so many nights. In order to know how many days they must wait before an event, they accumulate some pebbles or some grains of corn or peas. Months are counted by moons, and in the full moon they generally perform vengeances and killings which are always treacherous and perfidious.

25: Vigna-45-46 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 521, 574

The social obligations of the Jívaros are curious. On visits of courtesy or friendship, the visitor, even though he may be the father of the owner of the house, waits in silence near the door, until his host finishes his tasks, his conversation with another, his meal or his toilet. When the host deems it opportune, he addresses the visitor. The latter, on the alert and with his hand near his mouth, spitting on the floor at intervals, does not give greetings; he only tells him that he has come. And he repeats each expression two, three and even four times. The host accompanies with monosyllables of approbation, or by repeating the last word. After the speech, the host repeats the same speech with some comments; thus, the [46] conversation sometimes lasts whole hours. When there are many visitors, while one speaks, the others keep silent and remain in a file along the wall of the house, awaiting their turn for conversation with the host. One can imagine the thankless task which is imposed upon the latter when he is visited by many friends. Many times they become hoarse and aphonic from so much talking. Only at the end of the conversation does the master of the house order one of his women to serve chicha to the visitor; the cups of chicha are offered again and again until the guest says: enough. It is a dangerous thing to refuse chicha.

25: Vigna--46 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 521

The "official" conversation between two Jîbaros who for the first time are talking or communicating things of transcendency, is exceedingly picturesque and typical. In these conversations, the pantomime, the tone of voice, the words and monosyllables that they use, have a special importance and finality. It is not easy to imitate these conversations and only the men can do it with perfection. If they do not wish to be understood in the solemn conversations, the words that they use will have special inflections and apocopes. The Jîbaro women never converse with the ceremonial of the men, but in a familiar form.

25: Vigna--46[2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 437

Among the Jíbaros, commerce as such does not exist. They do not use money among themselves; they have learned the use of this from the whites. Among themselves they use barter or exchange of things. The Jíbaro is exceedingly rich, for he lacks nothing; his necessitites are very limited.

25: Vigna --46 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 177, 609, 153

The relations of the Jîbaros with white people are characterized by friendship and opportunism. They admire the white civilization and imitate whatever appears suitable to them. It is a pity that they generally admire the vices and not the virtues. Through his contact with white civilization the Jîbaro has learned to lie, to intoxicate himself with liquor and to steal.

The work of the Catholic and Christian Missionaries among them proceeds slowly, and the Catholic Missionaries have chosen by preference to dedicate themselves to the education and evangelization of the new generations.

The respect that the Jíbaro has for another's property and for sincerity, has already been mentioned. The Jíbaro never speaks in a low voice. He has nothing that he can or must hide from the others. Frequently he expresses even his most intimate thoughts in a loud voice. It is a shameful thing for the Jíbaro to be surprised in a lie or in the theft of another's property; the change of this conscience in the Jíbaro is due to contact with white people or to an access of passion or anger.

25: Vigna--46-47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 183

Personal modesty is generally great in both men and women. The boy, until puberty, goes about nude in and out of the house; the girl, from a tender age always wears the "tarachi." The man is reserved in his actions, and of very few words; the [47] woman has great modesty in her deportment, but almost none in her manner of speaking.

25: Vigna--47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 847, 826

From trustworthy evidence that we possess, we are tempted to say that deformed children (very rare among them) and those unable to face life, disappear among them by custom. The midwives are generally the poorest advisers for the women, in regard to maternity. They know herbs, and serve infusions to check menstruation or to cause abortion.

25: Vigna--47 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 152

The Jîbaros, who are truly savages, sacrifice all on the altar of the god of their stomach or on the altar of their passions. King of the forest and absolute master of his liberty, the Jîbaro does not know restraints of law or of any authority.

25: Vigna--47[3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 721

Vengeance which is hereditary is sacred law for the Jíbaro. Once the vengeance is organized and prepared, the Jíbaro calls together many members of his family or friends to accompany him on his task. While their courage is exalted by means of abundant libations of chicha or by violent provocative discourses, they organize the preparations which are always secret and scrupulously detailed. The action which follows is always violent and treacherous. It is a curious phenomenon that the Jíbaro who has no secrets, knows how to conceal his projects of vengeance.

Once the enemy is overcome, they quickly return to the houses where they drink chicha in abundance. If vengeance is complete, the victim will lose his head under the knife of the avenger. This trophy is carried with great huzza to the house of the hero; the women will then empty out the cranium and reduce it to the size of a fist; the mouth is sewn with thick hemp. When the head, which is called "Tzantza" is thoroughly dry, great feasts are arranged for a not too distant period in honor of the hero. Friends and acquaintances from distant regions are invited to this fiesta, and eating and drinking goes on for whole days.

It is noteworthy that the old men who are not able to participate in these reprisals, encourage and cheer the young to proceed with valor and ardor in vengeance.

25. Vigna--47[5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 527

The Jîbaro has many occasions for fiesta in the family: a good hunting or fishing, the birth of an infant, marriage, etc. are all motives for having feasts. The principal ceremonial fiestas for the Jîbaro are: the Tobacco, the Yuca, and the macabre fiesta of the Tzantza, the greatest celebration of all. When they do not have a tzantza of a man, they will make a fiesta with that of a special monkey, which causes much preoccupation.

25: Vigna--47-48 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 152

At first sight it appears that [48] the Jíbaro suffers pain and death with stoicism; and while it is true that he is courageous in sickness or any ailment, he is very much affected by moral pain.

25. Vigna--48 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 152, 764

When a child dies, a sentiment approximating madness takes possession of the mother; she pulls her hair and very nearly tears it out by the roots. I have assisted in a case of maternal pain caused by the death of a son, in which desperation was so acute that she would have hanged herself had she not been stopped. With hair covering her face, she cries, shrieks and screams with a grief that is moving.

25: Vígna--48[2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 533, 764

The song that the Jíbaros use as an expression of sorrow, is intoned to the only musical motif that they know: the chant of the witch when he cures the sick. While crying, they evoke the figure of the deceased and the ancestors with so much love and such tender appellatives that they draw tears. During the inflection of the voice, in the weeping, they repeat rhythmically the vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

25: Vigna--48 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 765

When the first husband dies, the wife, as a sign of mourning, cuts off her hair completely; if the deceased is the second husband, the hair is cut to the nape of the neck. The men also, by custom, cut a little off the ends of their braids.

They cry for several days over the grave. The weeping almost assumes the solemnity of a rite, and relatives often are invited. For a certain period of time, various foods are placed over the grave: chicha, meat, banana, yuca, etc. When the time has passed, the woman, recollecting her dead may, at any unexpected moment, weep copiously.

25. Vigna--48[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 764

If the deceased is the master of the house, the grave is dug in the center of the house near the principal log which sustains the roof. Once the deceased is interred, the dwelling is abandoned, and the dead is left in peace. All the objects that belonged to him are left hanging from the log near his grave.

The grave generally is a meter in depth. The cadaver is wrapped in his itipi or tarachi and in the other clothing that belonged to him and placed in the grave. He is tied with strips of cloth, cinctures, or reeds. If it is possible, he is wrapped either in pierced bamboo reeds, or he is put in pieces of old canoe. This is sealed hermetically by plugging the cracks with beeswax.

25. Vigna--48-49 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 764

If, before dying, the deceased has given orders that they do not inter him, they prepare a sort of catafalque on which they place the primitive casket. Then, immediately, they abandon the house. If the oral testament of the deceased requires it, he will be interred in a sitting position with his face towards the entrance of the house - as if he were still guarding his habitation. There are cases in which the dying have given orders that they do not be interred nor put [49] in coffins. In this case, the cadaver is fastened to the principal log of the house in a sitting position on a bed that is like his own bed. They light a fire at his feet and watch periodically that it does not die out. The living then leave this newly-formed cemetery. It happens that the cadavers which are preserved in this manner mummify. They resist rough weather until the day that the roof of the house is destroyed and humidity accelerates the process of putrefaction.

25: Vigna--49 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 768

The Jibaro has no need of making a will. He leaves few things on this earth, and all of them are of slight importance. The earth belongs to all; the house is subject to rapid deterioration; the gardens belong to the women, the sons will each one think for himself; the women will be carried away by the most immediate relatives who adduce inalienable rights over them. It is not unusual for fights and wars to arise over a widow. No one talks of the dead in conversation with strangers.

25. Vigna--49 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 766

If the deceased is very young, he is placed in a bowl of clay and interred near the beds of his parents, at some few centimeters depth.

26: Brüning--46 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 121

In 1902 an expedition to the Marañón River was organized in Chiclayo. The purpose of this expedition was the search for a convenient communication between the Pacific Coast and the watercourses east of the Andes. I had an opportunity to participate in this expedition. When the money allotted to the enterprise ran out, I continued the expedition at my own expense. During this trip we had brief encounters with the primitive Indians who live on both banks of the upper Marañón River and its tributaries. The following information is based partly upon my own observations, partly upon information which I received from the whites who live as rubber traders among the natives.

26: Brüning--46 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 131, 166

The Indians are inhabitants of a region which extends along the upper course of the Marañón River, from Yusamaro downward to Puerto Meléndez at the Pongo de Manseriche. They live in this region in small and widely dispersed settlements close to the banks of the River. I have been informed that their chief settlements are located farther up along the tributary rivers. Beyond Yusamaro no Indians are said to remain anymore, yet formerly their settlements are said to have extended to the Pongo Rentema. They had moved down to the Marañón River on account of the quarrels they had with the whites or, rather, the mestizos. Their settlements can not be called permanent anyway. Despite the fact that the Indians live at one place for a long time, and in relatively permanent dwellings at that, they are said to leave their settlements frequently for no special reason in order to reestablish themselves again at some distance from the former settlement.

26: Brüning--46 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101, 175

The Aguaruna, Antipa, Huambisa, and Murato Indians are the component tribes that make up the Jibaro people, according to Bastian. The Jibaro people were never completely subjugated by the Incas, just as they put up a firm resistance against the later Spanish attempts at conquest. What the old historians report concerning the Jibaros may still be said of the Aguarunas of today: they are just as proud, brave freedom-loving, and, at the same time, hospitable as the old Jibaro people are said to have been.

The Aguarunas keep up a friendship with the Antipas, but they are hostile to the Huambisa Indians who live along the banks of the Santiago River. I have noticed that they regard it as an insult if they are called Huambisa.

26: Brüning--46-47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 436

In former years the Indians came as far as Bella Vista and later even to Bagua Chica in order to exchange parrots and other animals for articles of everyday use. Raimondi tells us that in 1845 the Aguarunas destroyed at the same time the mestizo-settlements [47] Puyaya and Copallín, the one situated on the right bank of the Marañón River, somewhat below the Rentema, the other on the left bank.

The old mestizo Santiago Lara, one of the survivors of Copallín and now 56 years old, told me in Bagua Chica the following story concerning the destruction of Copallín: "It happened in about 1856 that Jibaros first attacked the houses that were situated outside the village. The inhabitants of the chief settlement, warned by the clamor, were given a chance to flee. My father took me on his shoulders, and we fled, like the others into a mountain gorge. When the Indians came, they found the village deserted. They carried away everything they regarded as valuable, but they did no damage to the buildings." And yet, neither Copallín nor Puyaya was ever resettled by its inhabitants. Another Copallín was founded on the right bank of the Uteabamba River.

In 1871, or thereabout, Indians advanced once more beyond the Rentema for trading purposes. They left their canoes at the mouth of the Uteabamba River. The Indians numbered about 25, and there was one woman among them. They were escorted to Bagua Chica by the inhabitants of this village. Our informant was at that time deputy headman of Bagua Chica. Immediately he sent word to his superior, who happened to be away on his farm. The superior gave orders to entertain the Indians with food and drink while he would take further measures. In the meantime, he gathered men from the neighboring villages of Copallín, La Peca, and La Montería with the intention to kill the Indians. Among these men were several survivors from the old villages of Copallín and Puyaya. These survivors maintained that they were able to identify some of the Indians as the attackers of those old villages. Under some pretext the Indians were led into the assembly house (Cabildo), where they were locked in. Soon the poor Indians saw themselves attacked with rifles and pointed bamboo spears. Through the roof and the bamboo walls shots were fired at them, and they were stabbed until all were killed with the exception of three who succeeded to escape through the door. Two of these and a young fellow, who had kept watch over the canoes, brought the news of the carnage back to their villages; the third man was sent as a present to the prefect of Chachapoyas, where he later died of smallpox. The Indian woman, who had been turned over to a farmer in the vicinity, met with the same fate.

The dead were buried on the left bank of the Uteabamba River a little below Bagua Chica. This place is still known as the Playa de los Jíbaros.

Old people in Bagua Chica also told me that in former years the whites or rather the mestizos had provoked these attacks since they had taken the women from the Indians who were engaged in peaceful barter transactions.

26: Brüning--47-48 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 181

In June 1904, that is after my trip, the Indians along the upper Marañón made another uprising, killing all the white men who lived among them, some fifty or sixty, and even a few missionaries. These carnages are officially described as acts of treachery on the part of the Indians. But in going to the bottom of things one will find out that they are acts of retribution. These Indians are sensitive children of nature who never forget an insult even if it may take a long time until they get their revenge. They time their revenge according to the circumstances. Superstition, too, plays its part. For they first make a brew of a narcotic liana, which in the Aguaruna language is called náktém, while the white men call it "rope of death" (ayahuasca). The drinking of this brew causes them to have visions, and they shape their revenge plans in accordance with these hallucinations. In this manner many years may pass, and it can easily be understood that they then take their revenge not always on the guilty ones. They are aware of one thing only: the offense had come from the white men, and white men have to be punished for it....

[48] An affair which is only a joke for the whites is often a serious insult for the Indian. All these insults are put on one common bill, which must be paid in blood at a time which the Indians regard as auspicious. But when the time for payment comes, then the Indians know only Indians on one side and white men on the other. Even white men who are friendly toward the Indians are not exempt from punishment.

26: Brüning--48 (1902) 1928 Jivaro
116, 197, 177

There are, as pointed out before, only a few white men among the Indians. These white men collect rubber. Most of them live in Chachapoyas and its vicinity. They refer to the Indians as Infieles, while they regard themselves, in contrast to the natives, as Cristianos. The Indians use the term Cristianos when they refer to persons or languages that do not belong to their race. They call themselves and their own language Aguaruna. In conversation among themselves they use, what the white men call, Quichua. But it is a Quichua which contains just as many Spanish and Aguaruna words as it contains Quichua words. And the white men frequently have to learn this dialect from the Indians. A true Quichua Indian, whom we had taken along on our expedition, insisted that he could not understand a word of this language. An old man in Ja'n told me after my return that formerly, when he had visited them in his youth, the Indians had understood Quichua. Would it not be better if the white men would learn the pure Aguaruna language or would teach Spanish to the Indians? I have seen it in Huavico, where an old man from Huancabamba was living, that both things are not impossible. This old man used only the Spanish language. Consequently, all Indians in the vicinity knew Spanish fairly well, and two Indians, who lived with him in his house, knew it even quite well. During my short stay there I had the opportunity to make a short glossary of the Aguaruna language. The young nephew of the old man spoke Aguaruna well, and otherwise, too, in his mode of life, he had become half Indianized. Time and again I had to laugh upon seeing the strange

116, 197, 177

surprise of the Indians when this young white man addressed them in their own language; they circled him with awe, examining him from all sides.

26: Brüning--48 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 436

In order to get articles that were valuable to them the Indians started to collect the products of their forests. In exchange for rubber, various resins, canoes, Maní, yucca, bananas, tamed animals and parrots the Indians ask for Winchester repeating arms, rifles and the necessary ammunition, axes, knives, scissors, needles, fish-hooks, mirrors, cotton wares, sewing thread, etc. At that time the rate of exchange was the following: For a small canoe for six people they would receive an ordinary single-barrelled rifle (European value perhaps 10 Marks). For a hen or a large bunch of bananas they would receive one vara (84 cm.) of Tocuyo (thin, unbleached cotton, muslin?). In exchange for a basket (15 liter) of ground-nuts (maní) they could barter 4 vara (336 cm.) of Tocuyo. I have witnessed it several times in Nazaret that the Indians were terribly cheated with regard to weight when they made their rubber deliveries to the white men, and I could see it from the expression on their faces that they were aware of the fraud.

26: Brüning--48-49 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101

The white men call Aguaruna those Indians who live on the right side of the Marañón River; the Indians to the left are called Antipa. Both names may be found on Raimondi's map (number seven), but with this difference: the inscription at the left side of the Marañón River reads: "Jíbaros y Antipas." The Indians under discussion call themselves now, all of them, Aguaruna, [49] even those on the left bank of the Marañón River. I received this information in Numpatkai as an answer to a direct question. Moreover, I have been unable to discover either physical or any other distinguishing characteristics between the Indians of the two river banks. It may well be that the Indians use the name "Aguaruna" to distinguish their own race from that of the white men. The Indians of the two banks of the upper Marañón entertain friendly relations with each other, and they speak the same language, which is identical with that of the Huambisa and Murato tribes.

26: Brüning--49 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101

The name "Aguaruna" is not derived from the language of the Indians thus named. "Aguaruna" is composed of the Spanish word agua (i.e., water) and the Quichua word runa, which means "people," "men". Aguaruna, i.e., Watermen, Waterpeople. This name, at any rate, was given to them by the white men who first came into contact with them. The name indicates that these Indians habitually live in the proximity of water. To explain that the name if composed of Spanish and Quichua elements, it may be pointed out that whoever gave the name to the Indians may have come from the mountain area where Quichua is still partly spoken and where such two-language words occur frequently. For example, the Quichua word Ahua-runa may mean "weavers" because the men there do the weaving.

I have tried in vain to find out which name the Indians derive from their own language. During my research in this direction I have heard the word Yánum on several occasions, but it turned out that this term means "man belonging to the tribe", "fellow countryman," or something similar.

26: Brüning--49 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 141

I saw the first Indians in Nazaret on the Muchingis. They wore only a square loin cloth (itipe). I was favorably impressed by the muscular and evenly built upper part of the body. The Indians are of sub-medium stature and slender rather than corpulent. Their facial expression is friendly rather than stern, and one is inclined to trust them. Their bearing is straight and erect. This favorable impression disappears it they put on shirt and trousers, which some have adopted.

26: Brüning--49 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 142

The color of their skin is a dark brown. I noticed very little difference between the color of the covered and the naked parts of their body. They themselves maintain that the color is caused by the sun.

The cheekbones are strongly protruding. The inner corner of the eyelids are slightly pulled down, but not to such an extent as with the Chinese. In general they have a wide mouth. They have a somewhat hanging lower lip. The teeth are well developed and healthy. The bridge of the nose is narrow and sometimes somewhat bent; the sides of the nose are wide and look inflated; therefore, upon first sight, they appear flat-nosed. Across the toes the feet are wide, and the big toe is usually somewhat protruding.

. The hair of the head is strongly developed in both sexes. Males and females wear it long. It seemed to me that their hair was not as thick and coarse as that of the coastal Indians. It is dark black and has, when wet, a blueish hue. I did not notice any facial hair growth. But there is rather plentiful hair about the genitals and less of it in the arm-pits. This is true of the male Indian. I did not have an opportunity to study the situation with respect to women,since they do not denude themselves in the presence of strangers.

26: Brüning--49 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 144

In Numpatkai, on the left bank of the Marañón, I have seen various Indians, chiefly young ones, who had dark-chestnut brown hair. These are evidently descendants of white women who had been kidnapped by the Indians.

26: Brüning--49 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 522, 195

The natives, when among themselves, like to joke, and a good joke is greeted with hearty laughter. They show their astonishment by emitting a drawling, softly pronounced gua.

26: Brüning--50 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574

Generally speaking, I found the Indians hospitable and generous. Whenever we entered one of their houses at mealtime, we were instantly invited to partake of their food, even if it was evident that they themselves did not have too much. However, they expect to find this type of courtesy in others. The Indians would take it as an insult if one would refuse a drink which they offer. A person who has refused a drink once may never expect to receive another offer of either drink or food. Later on I shall have an occasion to deal with this subject more thoroughly. I found the Indians honest, and this is also the opinion of the white men who live among them, though the whites are only too inclined to speak ill of the Indians.

26: Brüning--50 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 153, 177

The Indians are very intelligent and mentally alert. They showed great interest in the unfamiliar. Due to language difficulties we were unable to converse with them, and yet, they sensed instinctively what we wanted, and they seemed to be able to read our thoughts and to guess our wishes. I was struck by the thirst of knowledge on the part of some boys, 8-12 years of age, and after I had satisfied their eagerness for learning, they tried to enlighten me concerning the facts that were of their immediate concern. It is a pity that these poor people are not subjected to a better civilizing influence than that which rubber dealers are able to give, for one can hardly say that the rubber collectors are especially suited for this task. It is highly doubtful whether the missionaries act as a civilizing force. For an Indian who has been baptized may have been received in the pale of the church, but he is still a long way from civilization. On the contrary, upon becoming a Christian he hastens to do away with his good character features and to adopt the vices of civilization. During our return trip a number of older boys were baptized by an Augustine monk who accompanied us. But I had the impression that their fathers were chiefly prompted to this step by the gifts (such as large colored handkerchieves and glass pearls) which the monks offered.

26: Brüning--50 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 762

The Indians are very sensitive with regard to both kind actions and insults. During our trip down the Marañón we found a grave, not very old, in the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracaiyo. When we inquired, we were told that this was the final resting place of one of the wives of the Curaca: she had hanged herself a short time ago because her drunken husband had slapped her in the face. A rubber collector told us of a similar case that had happened a few months earlier at another place.

26: Brüning-- 50 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 177

The whites regard the Indians as treacherous and revengeful...But I have heard of instances where rubber collectors made use of the Indians to eliminate burdensome competitors in the rubber business. Persons who are not familiar with all the facts will, of course, raise their voices against the Indian treachery. However, I am inclined to believe that the Indians are fond of this type of business, since there is innate in them something of a bloodthirsty tiger, and their animal instincts can be easily provoked. The whites, too, are guilty in this respect since they did equip the Indians with modern shooting arms. I have not been in a single native house where I did not find at least a few Winchester repeating rifles (latest model type!). These modern weapons in the hand of the Indians constitute a two-edged sword, as we learned in the year 1904.

26: Brüning--50-51 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361

The Indians like to dwell in the vicinity of rivers. Once they have found a suitable spot, they start by clearing out a lot. [51] Such clearing is necessary everywhere, for there is no territory without forest. On the clearing a temporary hut is built out of the timber which the clearing process had yielded. More trees are then cut down to obtain a larger area for the fields where they plant Yucca, corn, cotton, bananas, and maní. This field is as a rule somewhat removed from the house and in the middle of the forest. I have not been able to find out the reason for this. They do it perhaps because there is no suitable land close to the river, where the huts are set up, or for some other reason. As they go along, they collect the material for their permanent home. The erection of the permanent dwelling is a slow process, and occasionally it may take several years before it is ready since they work on it only seldom and with long interruptions.

26: Brüning--51 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342

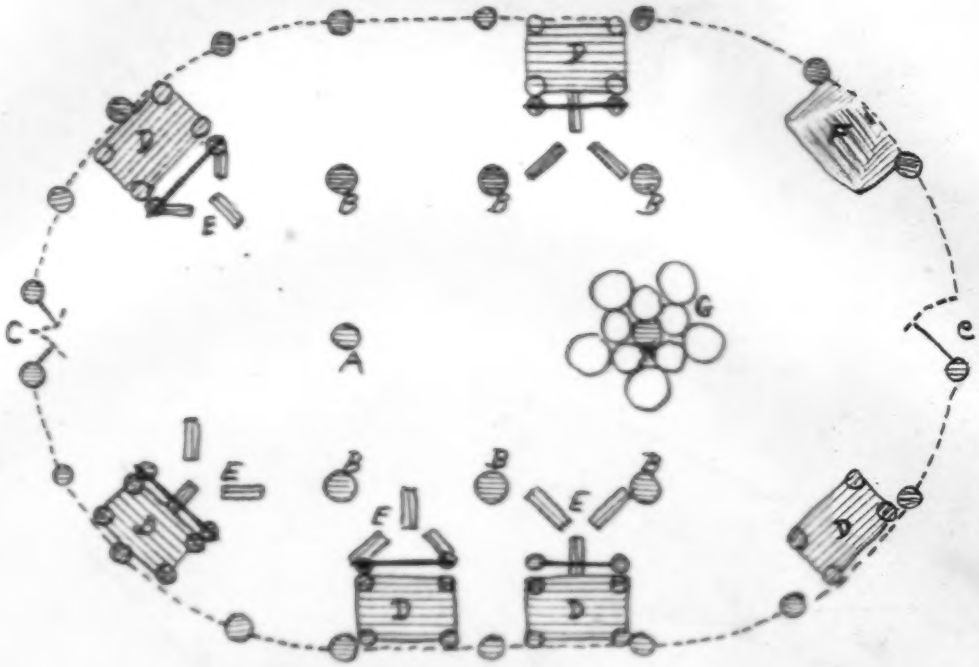


Figure 1. Groundplan of a Hut.

Construction begins with the erection of a provisional scaffold which serves as a support for the workmen. The ground plan of the house (Fig. 1) has almost the shape of a large oval, that is to say, the two long sides run parallel, and at each end there is a half circle. Two round, smooth trees, 6 - 6.5 meters in length, constitute the foundation of the house. These trees are set up as uprights in the centers (A in the drawing) of the two half circles. On top the two uprights are connected by the roof-tree. On either side of the central uprights three additional uprights (B), shorter than the central ones, are set up. The tops of these outside uprights are connected with the roof-tree by means of a square frame. The walls are formed by means of thin posts which on top are connected with each other. The rafters rest on these thin posts and, in turn, support the laths. Everything is firmly tied with lianas, bast, and chambira. Next comes the roof, which is built with special attention as you may expect it in a country where there is hardly a day without rain. The material used are the leaves of various palm trees that had been seasoned long in advance. In Timasto, I have seen a special storehouse for the prepared plaited leaves, that had been stored here over a long period of time. A layer of large, pinnate and plaited palm leaves is first placed upon the laths. (Illustration number 1 shows such palm leaves, partly plaited, in the foreground.) Next, loose leaves are placed upon the first layer (see Illustrations 2, 3, and 4). The roof projects about one meter beyond the wall. When I first visited one of these houses in S. Antonio [52] on the Muchingis (a village about one rowing-hour distant from Nazaret),

26: Brüning--51-52 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-2
116, 342

I beheld with admiration a roof which, as to its construction, surpassed all the roofs of the coastal and mountain Indians and even of the whites. The cleanliness and tidiness of the Indians is generally another point in their favor.

26: Brüning--52 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342

After the completion of the roof the house is ready for occupancy. The outside wall is only gradually finished. The Indians use for it split Chonta palms or even bamboo. These walls permit enough light to go through for the illumination of the interior. As for the doors there do not seem to exist any fixed rules: I found them in the middle of the long side, but also at one end, and even at both ends. I had an opportunity for a closer study of the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracayo. In this house there was at one end (toward the river) a double door, and at the other end (toward the forest) a single door. These doors were crudely made out of one piece, as thick boards hewn with the axe. In Huavico I noticed a door which was made of plaited palm leaves. The Curaca, who was our host, used this door as an umbrella when he was once forced to leave the house during a heavy rain.

26: Brüning--52 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342, 592

The houses are always very spacious since they have to serve more than one family. According to one of my informants, such a house is inhabited by up to 50 persons. As a rule it is the Curaca, as the chief, with his children and their wives and husbands. And since a Curaca may have up to ten wives, the great number of dwellers can be explained without difficulty. The aforementioned house of the Curaca Laichape had a width of 10 meters and a length of 15 meters. 20 - 30 persons lived in this house.

26: Brüning--52 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 531, 777

In the house in Huavico, which at that time was used by a rubber trader, though it had originally belonged to the Indians, I noticed several grotesquely painted black human figures on the frame which connects the main uprights. The Indians explained that this was a preventive measure against worm holes.

26: Brüning--52 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 103

It is the rule that a settlement consists of only one house. Two houses, as I had seen them, for instance, in S. Antonio, are rarely found together. The various houses form, however, larger or smaller groups, separated from each other by forest and yet connected with each other by narrow footpaths. One such group has a definite name.

26; Brüning--52 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 712, 343

A special type of buildings are the battle towers which can be found in connection with certain dwellings. I did not see one of these battle towers close enough, but I saw them from a distance while travelling by. The dwellings which I inspected did not have any such battle towers. They are placed at a distance from the main dwelling, but are connected with the latter by means of a ladder, which consists of notched tree-trunks. The towers consist of four sturdy uprights, each one 8 - 10 meters high and placed in a square at a distance of three meters from each other. On top there is a platform, which is protected by a parapet (height: 1 meter) and a roof.

Along the wall are the beds, separated from each other by a smaller or larger interspace. According to my white informants, each bed is said to be used by one family. In the sketch (Fig. 1 D) I have drawn in the arrangement of the beds in the house of the Curaca Laichape. These beds are noteworthy in one respect: they do not allow space for the entire body. In Fig. 2 I have sketched such a bed. Four upright posts (a) are sunk into the floor in a square so that they protrude about one meter. Two and two posts are connected by cross-pieces (b) that are inside the square and parallel to the wall. The cross-beam close to the wall is a little higher than the cross-beam at the other end. Longitudinal beams (c) are placed on top of the cross-beams, and the former constitute the base for a layer of finely-split bamboo (d) which extends somewhat upward along the back wall. [53] This split bamboo is a very elastic foundation. Since the bed is somewhat sloping from the head down to the foot end, another wooden cross-beam (g) is placed at the foot end so that the sleeping person would not slide down the bed. This bed has a length of less than one meter, and a grownup person can not stretch out on it. There are therefore, in front of the bed, two fork-shaped posts (e), connected by a cross-beam (f) on which the feet are to rest. Moreover, in front of each one of these beds there are three pieces of round firewood (h) which are kept glimmering all day long by having them extend at one end to the fireplace. In daytime, this glowing wood is used for the preparation of the meals, while at night it will warm the feet of the sleepers. The natives seem to use a special type of firewood; for the wood was precisely round and

of the same thickness in all the houses which I visited. The sides of the beds are covered - 50 - 60 cm. upward from the bamboo foundation - with cloth or with wide pieces of flat tree bark and bamboo. This is frequently done in the front, too, leaving an entrance only in the middle. The cubicles thus formed and enclosed on each side are at any rate used for the children. There are certain variations, especially with regard to the width of the beds.

26: Brüning--53 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352

In the Aguaruna houses there may be found a great number of low seats, made of light, perhaps Balsa, wood. They occur in a variety of shapes, but I found the one sketched in my drawing the most common one. The one shown in Fig. 3 requires the most labor. All of the seats are made out of one piece of wood. The specimen sketched here had a height of 25 cm. On top there was a circular seat (38 cm. in diameter), slightly carved out in the center. This seat had a short handle. From the top downward the diameter of the wooden block is gradually reduced, and the stem takes on a square shape. At the bottom two longer strips of wood remain and serve as base. These seats are highly uncomfortable for somebody with long legs and not used to this type of seating accomodation, which forces the knees up almost to the height of the chin. A certain training is required if one wants to get up gracefully from this seat after the knees have become numb.

26: Brüning--53
116, 352

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

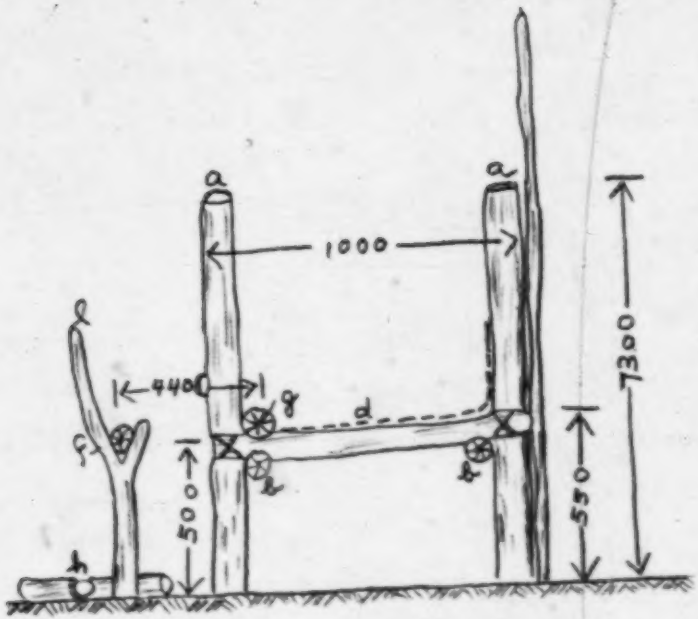
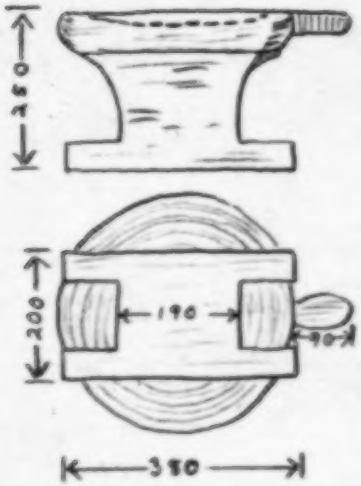


Figure 2. Cross-section of a Bed.

26: Brüning--53 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352



[Translator's comment: Figure 3 is not numbered. The caption should read: Cross-section and Bird's-eye View of a Seat.]

26: Brüning--53-54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352

The free spaces between the beds are occupied with square stands designed for storing various utensils, chiefly pots and bowls. One of the semi-circular ends of the house seems to be the special reserve for the women. Here are a great number of these stands, all covered with earthenware, as one may see [54] on Illustration number 2. These stands are made or 4 upright posts, each one approximately two meters long. On top there is a bamboo platform with the pots. Around the upright beam which forms the center of the semicircle there is the Indians' greatest treasure: many pots with what the whites call Masato (Nijamantši in the Aguaruna language), a brew made out of the yucca root; occasionally one may find there pots containing dishes made in advance. On one occasion I was served cold monkey-soup out of one of these pots, and this as a supplement to the regular meal.

Moreover, there are stands for the weapons, blowguns, spears, rifles and carbines, all set up upright.

This takes care of the most conspicuous household objects. I shall describe some of the smaller utensils later on as the opportunity arises. I shall report now on a few visits which I made in various houses. I shall describe my general impressions and, at the same time, the everyday life of the Indians.

26: Brüning--54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574, 103

I paid my first visit to two houses, close together in S. Antonio on the Muchingis River. The name S. Antonio was given to this settlement in honor of its Curaca Antonio by one of the most important rubber collectors, who lived in Nazaret, which is some 800 meters distant from the mouth of the Muchingis River. I do not know how the Indians themselves call "S. Antonio." I regard this random changing of place names a great nuisance. The same rubber collector had in most instances given new names to almost all the Indian settlements along the upper Marañón, and he had chosen the names from the names of his own family and had prefixed them with a San. This is also customary in other regions of Peru. You will not find the name of the Muchingis River on any map or elsewhere. This river is called Imaza or Chuchunga on Raimondi's map (number seven). Another of its names is Chiriaco, which means: Cold Water. I prefer the name Muchingis since, as the very same rubber collector informed me, it is used by the Indians who live along its banks.

26: Brüning--54-55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 273

From Nazaret the canoe brings you in one hour up the river to the village S. Antonio, situated, like Nazaret, on the left bank of the river. When we arrived, a number of women were busy collecting maní in baskets and carrying them into the house. (This maní had been spread out in the sun for drying purposes.) Between the women children were playing. The Curaca Antonio lost no time in presenting himself. He was dressed in a khaki suit, trimmed with golden galloons and metal buttons. He seemed to be quite proud of his suit, though this hangover from civilization was rather dirty and shabby. He had received it as a present from the rubber collector in Nazaret. Instantly he invited us to enter one of the houses, where he placed himself on one of the low seats motioning to us that we should do so likewise. He called on the women to serve us Masato. One after the other of these women came with their drinking cups, and one had to accept each one of them, though it requires the stomach of an Indian to carry out these rites of politeness. We reciprocated by giving him needles, sewing yarn, and small round mirrors. The house was very tidy and clean. I counted eight beds. In the course of time male Indians arrived, all eager to drink Masato. We also visited the other house which was still open on the sides (Illustration number 2).

Soon many Indians appeared, decorated with the ornaments of war, most of them armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and all of them drunk, which did not prevent them from drinking more Masato. I was accompanied by employees of the rubber collector, and

they told me that these drunken Indians had come from an assembly where they had made a brew from the narcotic liana [55] called Ayahuasca (a Quichua word) by the whites and Náktém by the Indians. They had made the brew in order to get enlightened as to the feasibility of a certain raiding expedition. It may very well have been the decision with regard to the revolt against the whites which happened in 1904. In spite of their drunkenness all of these Indians behaved properly, they even appeared very amiable.

26: Brüning--55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273, 579

We have been informed of occasional brawls between drunken Indians. In the foreground of Illustration 2 one can see one of these noble warriors standing next to a member of our expedition and holding a drinking cup to his mouth. The small woman is submissively waiting until her master has emptied the cup so that she can fill it again.

26: Brüning--55 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 574

When we first visited the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracayo we found there, with the exception of an old and almost blind Indian, only women and children. Our unexpected visit made evidently no impression upon the inhabitants of the house. We moved freely about the big house, and nobody paid any attention to us. Most of the women were seated on their beds, talked to their children or were just plain idle. Others were busy preparing the meal, and one was engaged in the making of pottery. She had in front of her a large lump of blueish clay which was extremely pliant. She took a piece and formed it into a long sausage by rolling it between her hands. She applied the sausage to the rim of the pot and fastened it there by kneading it. In this manner she added one roll after the other until the pot was finished. Unfortunately, I have no information as to how this earthenware is baked, but I have seen many containers, especially drinking bowls, glazed with a brown laquer.

We had stayed in the house for a short while, when the men appeared, one after the other. One of them had killed with his blowgun a number of small, many colored birds, which he began to skin right away in order to use their skin as decoration. He cut off the legs, took out the skull, but left the beaks. It seems that drying is all that these skins need. The skinned body of the bird was put, without further ado, upon a pointed stick, and after a short roasting over the fire it was consumed by the Indian.

Aside from the usual utensils we found in this house the grave of one of the five wives of the Curaca Laichape: she had hanged herself after her sense of honor had been

outraged. The grave was marked by an earthen mound (height: 70 cm.) which had the dimensions of a body. It was close to the wall of the house. I cannot explain the presence of this grave inside the house, for, in general, I have been told by the whites, the Indians give up their house after a person has died and was buried therein.

The Curaca Laichape was clad with shirt, trousers, and cap. He spoke a little Spanish. Later on he accompanied us to the Puerto Meléndez. He had taken along two of his relatives as boatsmen. The three proved to be very trustworthy and docile people.

26: Brüning--55-56 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 231

Many dogs are in evidence everywhere in the Indian houses. They are tied to the tops of the bedposts so that they can rest on the beds. They barked violently when we approached, and they pulled furiously on their liana lines. They are small snappish mongrels. The women give them special attention, and once in a while the dogs would be escorted out of the house so that they could relieve nature. [56] It seemed to me as if the food for the dogs was prepared with special care. In the case of puppies I have witnessed how the Indian woman first chewed the food and then offered it to the dog out or her own mouth. Very young puppies are carried by the women in the fold of her upper dress and they are allowed to suck on the women's breasts. On their travels the natives tie the dogs to some object on the resting place in the open field, and the dogs may lie down on a large leaf of some plant which is placed there for the purpose. I have never seen dogs running wild. The whites told me that the Indians use their dogs for hunting purposes. On this subject, however, I have not been able to assemble definite data.

26: Brüning--56 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 231

Aside from dogs the Indians, or rather the women, keep a great number and variety of other animals, and I was impressed by the fact that all animals become tame very readily, and they have the run of the house and its environs. The Indians have a predilection for the various kinds of parrots and araras, fowl like birds, various types of turkeys, Paujiles and trumpeters, in addition to diostedé and various kinds of monkeys. The Indians bring these animals into the house when they are still young, and it is the women's business to domesticate them.

Of domestic animals, aside from dogs, I have seen, and this in isolated instances, chickens only and, in one case, a pig. According to my white informants, the Indians keep poultry not on account of the eggs (which they do not eat), but for the sake of insect control. During our journey we had a hard time to obtain either poultry or eggs.

26: Brüning--56 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515

The Indians are very cleanly; they bathe frequently. When it comes to bathing and to body-culture in general, the men surpass the women. When we approached an inhabited settlement on our canoe voyages, our crew would stop a little before in order to take a bath and to comb their beautiful long hair or to make up their faces by drawing a few dots or lines with achiote.

26: Brüning--56 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 514

I have been told that it is customary among the Indians to move the bowels in the water, and afterward they wash themselves. The following personal observation may have a bearing on this. During a canoe trip our Indians put to shore, and some of them jumped suddenly into the water; after a while they broke a thin twig from a stranded tree and, for a short while, moved it back and forth between their buttocks. At the same time they emitted from their mouths a sound which sounded like a mixture between hissing and whistling.

26: Brüning--56 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515, 291

When bathing, the Indians dispose of their loin cloth (itipe). With a short piece of string they tie up the prepuce in front of the glans. In isolated cases I noticed that the Indians tied the penis string to a stronger waist string, an operation which pulled the penis upward. The waist string is also used to fasten the loin cloth. According to information received from the whites, the tying-up of the prepuce is motivated by the fact that a small fish (carnero) may be found at certain points of the Marañón River and its tributaries; this carnero is said to enter the urinary tract, thereby causing painful inflammations. If there was a sudden downpouring of rain during our canoe voyages, the Indians used to store the itipe in a waterproof basket and afterward tie up the prepuce.

26: Brüning--56-57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302

Men and women wear their hair long and let it come down over the shoulders. In front they cut it off straight at the height of the eyes so that it would not interfere with the vision. The women seem to be satisfied with that, while the men bestow great attention to their hair. Aside from the fact that they [57] wash it frequently, they also dye it from time to time. Every moment they comb their hair. To have it handy at all times, they even leave the comb in the hair, which is frequently the case with the female inhabitants (regardless of race or social status) of the coastal areas. As a rule the hairdo of the men is distinguished from that of the women, aside from the greater care taken, by the fact that they have two strands of hair, one on each side, hanging over their faces. These strands are formed by winding sewing thread around part of the hair. These frontal strands are of varying length, but always shorter than the hair that falls down the shoulders. These strands are called akáhít in the Aguaruna language. (Cp. Illustrations 4 & 5)

26: Brüning--57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 302

Both sexes dye their teeth black. For this they use two methods. Most frequently they rub their teeth with a small berry whic is the fruit of the yanamúk plant, a low, herbaceous, densely growing plant. Or they use the leaf of a plant which they call piú. First they chew these leaves, then they rub their teeth with it. Either procedure keeps the teeth black for more than one week.

Both sexes paint their faces, necks, arms, and chests. I have also seen paintings on the stomachs of men. Here again, the women use far less time and care in this respect. The most frequent mode of painting that can be found in men and women alike is the blackening of the hands, the neck, the shoulders, and the upper portion of the chest and back. If I understood it correctly, then this coloring is said to serve a practical purpose: to repel gnats and mosquitos. The coloring is done with the juice of a fruit which the Aguaruna language calls Súa (the whites call it huíto - Genipa oblongifolia is the botanical term). I had an opportunity to watch one of our crewmen preparing the juice: the fruit has the size and shape of a goose egg. The fruit is first skinned, then it is well chewed, piece by piece. The chewed mass was then spit upon a small quantity of wool taken from the balsa tree (Ochroma piscatoria ?). The wool is placed on a broad fresh leaf. After the entire fruit is chewed, the mass is wrapped into the leaf and roasted for a while over glowing charcoal. The parts of the body are rubbed with the wool which is permeated by the juice. The paint is said to last for about 14 days. The súa juice is also used to make parallel lines of varying thickness around the arms and legs. To accomplish this, the Indians make use of small wooden rollers that have notches all around. The extent of the wood corresponds to the thickness of the lines, while the notches correspond to the space in between. These small rollers (Fig. 4) are wetted with the súa and then rolled over the body. In Aguaruna these rollers are called

súa-pain-tómate, which evidently means: wood for the application of súa or something of a similar nature. In the face, but chiefly on the chest and even on the upper part of the stomach, various lines and, occasionally, figures are drawn with the help of a piece of wood. (Cf. Illustration number 5, the Indian to the left.) One ornament which I have observed frequently is shown in Drawing number 5. From time to time the hair is also dyed with the help of súa.

Figure 5. Painting Pattern (on page 58)

26: Brüning--57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302

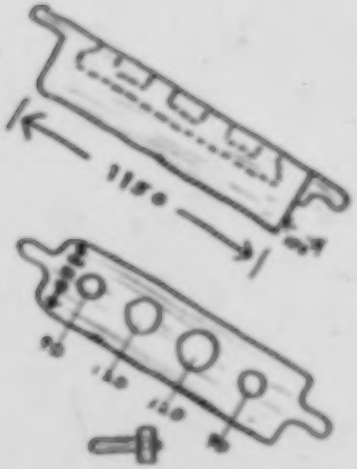


Figure 4. Rollers Used for Body-Painting.

26: Brüning--58 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302, 415

Every day the face is painted with achiote (ipáko) which is made up into an ointment with the help of some fat. The patterns consist chiefly of round dots (diameter ca. 25 - 30 mm.) and wide, symmetrically arranged lines. Preferably they paint two spots in the cheek-bone region. But before the pattern is applied in bold strokes, the face is rubbed with dry achiote. The achiote ointment is stored in small bamboo containers.

26: Brüning --58 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 304

Aside from these two modes of ornamentation I did see actual tattooing, but only in the cases of a few men. It consisted of rows of black dots (diameter ca. 1 - 1.5 mm.) on the chin, the cheeks, the tip and the bridge of the nose. In a few instances I noticed this tattooing only on one of these points, in other cases on various places.

26: Brüning--58 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 291

Men have only one piece of clothing: the itipe, a square piece of cotton, held by a waist string and usually reaching down to the ankles. It is light and has chocolate-brown stripes. One specimen in my collection has a width (around the hips) of 140 cm. and a length (from the hips to the ankles) of 70 cm. Two pieces, each one 70 x 70 cm. are sewn together. Here and there a man would wear a shirt, trousers and a cap. Boys up to the age of eight go stark naked.

26: Brüning--58 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 291

The women's dress is called tarátše. It is somewhat larger than that of the men and of a solid chocolate-brown color. A square piece of cotton is sewn together with a few stitches at the two corners on one side. Occasionally it is only pinned together (sometimes with a thorn), or it is simply tied into a knot. Then it is pulled over the head and over the left arm, so that the knot will rest on the right shoulder, while the left shoulder remains bare. The open right side is overlapping and held together around the waist by means of a belt. I believe to have observed that the part which is stitched together always rested on the right shoulder. (My only clear photograph of women, Illustration 3, seems to belie this statement, but I discovered that I exposed the negative through the plate.) The tarátše reaches down to half of the calves or to the ankles. Fashion does not seem to prescribe anything definite. Old women and young girls wear their dresses shorter than young married women. Girls are clad from their infancy on.

26: Brüning--58 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 286, 462

The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning--58 [6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 287

Formerly they are said to have worn bast clothing. A white person in Huavico told me that bast is still worn along the upper course of the Senepe River. I was able to acquire for my collection a piece of bark cloth (kamúš). It is 92 cm. long and 100 cm. wide. The two corners at the sides that measure 100 cm. are tied into a knot, from which I conclude that this was a woman's dress. An old Curaca in Huavico made a replica of such a piece upon my request. The bark comes from a tree which is likewise called kamúš.

26: Brüning--58 [7] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286, 248

For their own home production of clothing the Indians cultivate a small amount of cotton (uhútĩ), which they themselves spin and weave.

The only special ornament which I noticed the women were wearing was an additional belt. [59] The belt in my collection has a length of 154 cm. and a width of 3.5 cm. It has a dirty light brown color with black lines, and it was woven by the Indians themselves. The ends of the warp protrude 4 cm., and they are braided into thin plaits. At each end, at the lower edge, there are specially prepared pieces of shell which, when clanging together, produce the sound of our glass prisms. At the extreme ends there are small bundles of tukan feathers and, as a specialty, a small tassel of red sewing yarn, and between the shell pieces the points of the tukan beaks as well as the shells of some fruit. With the exception of the feathers all objects are strung on long thin glass pearl-threads.

26: Brüning--59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286

For spinning purposes the Indians use the ordinary simple spindle tš(i) kít(a), which is still common everywhere in Peru, with this difference, however, that the spindle of the Aguarunas is relatively rather big. The specimen in my collection has a length of 67 cm. It is made of chonta wood. The whorl (sémp(i)) consists of a thin disc of turtle-shell (?) and has a diameter of 47 mm. With the help of this simple tool they are able to make a very fine and even yarn (ikóngamo).

Their weaving apparatus is likewise hardly different from the one which is in general use in Peru. It is a distinguishing feature, however, that the Aguaruna Indians combine the two ends of the warp with a thin stick (itšúve kamantšá), that is to say, that they form an endless warp, while in the case of the coastal looms each end of the warp is fastened by itself to one of the pieces of wood.

Their type of loom is best illustrated by my drawing in Fig. 6. The upper piece of wood (númi payánko) is tied to some post of the building. The lower wood is, when in use, tied to the lower part of the weaver's back by means of a belt (yúngua). The whole thing is thus kept straight by the weaver's body.

In my diagram hóhac signifies a thin stick to which are fastened, by means of small loops, one half of the warp threads so that the latter may be exchanged. Katšúi (cachui) is a piece of wood that is, in cross-sectional view, wedge-shaped and serves to fasten the woof. Itšívay is the broad-holder [Breithalter in German ?]. The shuttle is called tšikit(a) (chiquita).

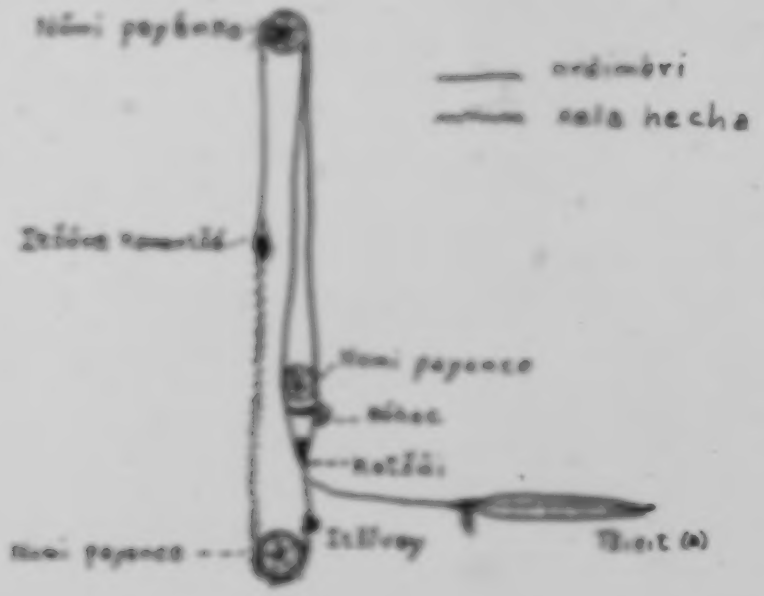
26: Brüning--59 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 386, 436

For dyeing purposes the Indians use the leaf of a tree which they call yamakáy. The dye stuff is chocolate-brown. I cannot tell whether they dye the cotton or rather the yarn. They dye fabrics which they acquire through barter.

26: Brüning--59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 286, 404

Figure 6. Cross-section of a Loom.



26: Brüning--59-60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301, 237, 777

The Indians, while wearing very simple clothes, have a great variety of ornaments, especially the men. In contrast to [60] the cultural life of other countries, it is the Indian male that devotes more time to the adornment of his exterior than the Indian woman. The woman does not have the time for it: she is the working part. I believe that I may divide the ornaments into two categories: the ornaments used in everyday life, and ornaments used in connection with festive occasions only.

Into the first category we may place the bracelets made of the skin of the iguana lizard. The natives cut the skin crosswise so that they obtain rings that are closed and about two centimeters wide. When wetted the skin may be stretched and easily slipped over the hand. Upon drying the bracelet shrinks and cannot slip off the arm. Men and women wear several of these bracelets around the wrist. Even the rubber collectors who live among the Indians wear these bracelets. These bracelets are said to prevent the wearer from becoming tired while working.

26: Brüning--60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

The necklace (poékta), is worn by men and women alike, (also belongs in this category) Nowadays such a necklace almost generally consists of a band which is approximately 3-4 cm. wide. This band is in straight cross-strips studded with small white porcelain buttons of European make. It embraces the neck tightly, in the manner in which the sayuelo is worn by the catholic priests of the region. Animal teeth, seed kernels, small nuts and polished shell pieces are worn dangling from the front of the lower edge. These shell pieces are of some value to the Indians, and they are said to occur at the mouth of the Pongo de Uta. On my return trip I looked for these shells, but I was unable to get hold of them. This does not imply that they do not occur there. My stay was too short, and there was no time for closer investigation. Moreover, it is quite possible that they occur only in certain seasons of the year.

24: Brüning --60-61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 201

In Illustration number 6 you will find four necklaces of my collection. Number 1 has sixteen strings with small, black, flat, and crosswise perforated seeds. Thirteen of these strings are, except for the ends, unconnected, while the three lowermost strings are interconnected by means of pendants. These pendants consist chiefly of seven groups of 4 - 5 connected hard, nutbrown fruit-shells (of the nut-type). Five of these groups hang on short strings which carry small red glass-pearls. [61] In one group three strings have small blue glass-pearls, while two have small white glass-pearls. The strings of the seventh group have only small white glass-pearls. Between these groups of fruit shells there are three ground pieces of shell, likewise on a string carrying glass-pearls. The string is drawn through a hole in the shell so that the latter can freely pendulate. The ends of this string are attached to the three lowermost strings.

26: Brüning--61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Necklace number two. It consists of eight strings on which black seeds are strung. The seeds seem to be the same as in no. 1, but they are a little larger and better formed. These eight strings are connected by cross-strings, spaced about two centimeters from each other. At each cross-connection hangs a pendant. Six of these pendants are a sort of nut, just like in no. 1., and arranged in groups of two or three. The small strings to which they are attached are strung with the same seeds as the main strings. The four other pendants--three of which containing four little strings each, while one has only three strings--consist of larger black seeds, the lowermost being somewhat larger than the upper ones.

Necklace number three. Four strings with larger black seeds. The strings are loose except for the middle where they are connected by the pendants. These pendants consist of polished shell pieces, two of them, each one different. The larger shell is completely flat. Another pendant is a large blue faceted glass-pearl which hangs on two strings on which small red glass-pearls are strung. The fourth pendant is a small bundle of tree bark. The bark had been folded and stitched together with thread at the sides. This bundle may contain a talisman.

Necklace number four. A double string holding 34 groups of pendants, each one consisting of paired nutbrown fruit-shells. The two main strings as well as the short strings of the pendants are strung with light pink glass pearls.

All of these necklaces do not surround the entire neck. They are tied together in the back with a simple thin thread.

26: Brüning--61 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Women wear in addition many pearl necklaces which hang down in front of the breasts in larger or smaller windings. Glass pearls are a much-desired article of the barter trade. I have seen mostly blue and white ones. Necklaces of this type must be registered in the second category, since they are extraordinary pieces of ornamentation and not worn everyday. The women regularly wear a bundle of various seeds and nutshells. But this bundle does not count as an ornament since it is not worn openly. I was given the following names for the various seeds: matot, pangána, dope, tšangínake, tšitšimjits, sãunak, and sikût. Unfortunately, I did not have these objects when I would have had a chance to have them identified. Later, when I received such a bundle for my collection, I had left the Indians and could not ask them anymore. I know, however, that sikût means vanilla. Judging by the smell I should say that eãpingo must have been part of the bundle, at least in my specimen. Tied to the bundle was also a comb (timúš). The entire bundle is fastened to a long thin string which at the other end is fastened to the shoulder connection of the dress. The bundle is worn under the dress on the bare body between the breasts.

26: Brüning--61-62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

An ear decoration for both sexes may be regarded as another everyday ornament. It consists of small bundle of yellow and orange-red feathers of the tukan. On top of this small feather bundle is a small cross-piece which is put through the string-loop in the ear-lobe. The loop is a permanent fixture of the perforated lobe.

On the left bank of the Marañón River, in Numpatcai, I have seen two old men with pieces of bamboo (kahíst) [62] in the earlobes. These were pieces of thin bamboo (diameter abt. 1 cm.), 5 cm. in length, which they had stuck through the lobes. The whites there told me that this was a feature that distinguished the Antipa Indians from the Aguaruna, but which formerly had been worn by all members of the tribe.

26: Brüning--62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

The festive ornaments of the Indians are the following: the long hair is tied in the back with a band, to the ends of which are attacked colorful feathers and entire bird skins or bundles of feathers with long human hair. One type of band is woven, 13 mm. wide and, taken doubled, 44 cm. long. At both ends of the doubled band there are 28 strings. On each one of these strings there are on top three black fruit seeds, then a thin bird bone (85 mm. long), again two seeds, another bone, and two more fruit seeds. At each one of the ends of the strings there is a bird skin, most of them from the tukan, only one from a wood-pecker-type of bird. At one end there are the wings of various beetles, such as are also used for ear decoration. The bird skins are tied to the strings with the beaks. The skull has been removed, and the legs are likewise missing. The skins are stuffed with vegetarian wool.

The second type is a plaited string (width: 3 mm.), 218 cm. long. With the help of resin a bundle of human hair and two bundles of yellow and red tukan feathers are tied to each end of this string.

26: Brüning--62 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

Another type of headdress has wide woven bands with long loose strings. These are worn wound round the head.

a) has a width of 62 mm. and a length of 49 cm. The ends of the warp, projecting on either side, are twisted into strings that have a length of 50 cm. each. Two of these strings are used to tie the band together so that it can be placed around the head. The other strings are allowed to hang loosely over the back. To one of these strings a small bundle of yellow and blue feathers is attached. The part of the band which runs over the forehead is decorated with a polished shell and with a bundle of yellow and red tukan feathers.

b) is a band that has a width of 53 mm. and a length of 43 cm. The strings at both ends are twisted and have a length of 49 cm.

c) is 62 mm. wide and 44 cm. long. The strings have a length of 45 cm.

Three colors occur in all three of these bands: white and two shades of brown.

26: Brüning--62 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

Another head decoration consists of a ring (hoop or circlet) which is made out of spirally split bamboo or a liana (the whites call it támši). Two such rings are placed one on top of the other, and they are connected with braided strings. Between the two circlets are alternately placed red and yellow tukan feathers. This head decoration is called tawáš (cf. Illustration 4, the fourth warrior from the left). The tawáš has a diameter of 17 cm.

Another head-circlet consists of plaited támši (width: 6 cm.) which is covered with the fur of a monkey's tail. This fur is brown and black in the middle. At one of the edges there hangs a bird skin. This head decoration is called atsehókta (cf. Illustration 4, second warrior from the left.)

Moreover, I have seen another circlet formed of ball shaped flowers (similar to our clover blossoms, yet smaller). See Illustration 4, third warrior from the left.

The Aguaruna Indians permanently sport a small loop in the perforated lobe. This loop is designed for various pieces of ornaments. [63] Usually, it is nothing but a small bundle of tukan feathers, that are glued together with some resin. But for festive gala occasions the Indians wear long strands of beetle wings, the wings coming from two types of beetles. This ear decoration is called akite. In the following I shall describe some of these decorations.

Fig. a. This ear decoration is fastened by means of a small perforated bone. Its upper part consists of two strings strung with tiny glass-pearls. To this are appended two strands of greenish-iridescent beetle wings--the beetle being a sort of carabid ? -. Each strand is finished off with a bundle of red and yellow tukan feathers. On top, where the strands begin, two bundles of these feathers and one tuft of hair are seen dangling. The whole has a length of 30 cm, but is of relatively light weight. This ear decoration has a special name (after the beetle wings): akite-tóika.

Fig. b is almost identical with the preceding one, but the tuft of hair and the glass pearls are missing. The fastener is not of bone, but consists of two bamboo splinters glued together with resin. Entire length: 27 cm.

Fig. c has no fastener and no feather bundle. On top it has instead a piece of tukan skin with its feathers. The strings have an elongation with which the decoration is fastened to the ears. Entire length 35 cm.

Fig. d. Each strand is decorated with the wings of certain beetles. One beetle type is called tóika (the same whose wings are used in a - c), the other is called wáwa, which seems to be a buprestid and occurs rather rarely as a decorative element. This ear decoration has on top small blue glass pearls and a bone splinter as a fastener. The entire length is 13 cm. It has a special name: akite wáwa.

The warrior on the right on Illustration number 4 wears long ear decorations such as have just been described.

Cheap European earrings, such as we had brought along for barter purposes, did not please the Indians at all.

One of their main decorations is called dópiš. It consists of a great number of strings, arranged side by side and strung with seeds. They are worn in pairs and thrown over the shoulders so that they cross on the chest and on the back, reaching down to the hips. Three warriors on Illustration number 4 are wearing this kind of decoration.

One specimen consists of 112 double rows, arranged side by side. The whole seems to be one single string, which, later on, was arranged side by side. The part which touches the shoulder is kept together by means of three crosswise-plaited strings. In the middle there are short strings, strung with small colored glass-pearls and with various seed-kernels at the end. If laid side by side, these 112 strings extend to a width of 37 cm. The length, counted from the shoulders to the hips, is 65 cm. The little black seeds (diameter approximately 3 mm.) are called dúšip (e). Over these wide chains, other, smaller ones, are worn, as you can see on Illustration 4. One such specimen consists of 6 double rows of a white and hard berry (yusána[gi]), each one having a diameter of about 8 mm. These six rows are also connected by three cross-strings where they touch the shoulder. Another specimen consists of double rows which are alternately strung with four of these white berries and one red bean-like fruit. The length of the string from the shoulder to the hip is likewise 65 cm.

A sort of belt which the Aguaruna Indians wear around the hips, consists of braided human [64] hair. The rubber collectors told me that this is the hair of their defeated enemies. But when I asked the Indians directly, they denied this and said that it was

their own hair. I think however, that the rubber collectors were right in this instance. The two warriors to the right are wearing such belts.

26: Brüning --64 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 224

The Indians obtain their main articles of food by hunting and fishing. With regard to food they do not seem to be very choosy. They hunt simply everything. Their main hunting weapon is the blowgun. But you can also see firearms, though of the worst kind and all of them single-barrelled. Gun powder, shot and matches with protection against humidity are highly desirable barter objects, and every traveller should bring them along.

26: Brüning--64 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411

The blowgun (óm) has a length of 2.5 - 3 meters. On its outside it is tapering from the bottom toward the top. At the bottom there is usually a straight mouthpiece made of bone. The blowgun is made of chonta wood out of two longitudinal halves. In each half a semicircular channel is crudely cut. Each half is then tied over a tight rope which is smeared with water and sand. By moving the half of the blowgun back and forth on this rope, the channel is made smooth by the action of the sand. After the two halves have been prepared in this manner, they are taken off the rope and united after a cleaning process. The two halves are held together by a sort of bast which is wound in spirals from one end to the other. A layer of resin (pengái) is smeared over the bast. I observed how the Indians, in order to smooth the resin, heated a smooth piece of pottery over a fire and moved it lightly over the resin, which thereby is caused to melt to an even surface. Near the mouthpiece each blowgun has a sight (omgomió), consisting of a short narrow piece of bone which is pasted on to the resin in a longitudinal direction.

26: Brüning--64 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411

The thin splinter of the wood of two palm trees, kungúk (i) and cincúk (i), is used as a missile (çénçak). Pieces about 20 cm. in length are cut off from these palms, and from these pieces thin splinters are cut lengthwise. The darts are smoothed by scraping with a knife, and one end is shaped into a point. As a rule, these points are poisoned with utši, especially the darts used for larger animals. This poison is imported in thin bamboo containers from the Ucayali. The rubber collectors along the Ucayali River bring the poison to Iquitos and Barranca from where it is brought upstream on the Marañón River. Some of the Indians make this trip with the express purpose of obtaining this poison. The Aguaruna Indians themselves prepare a poison which they call çeáç, but they do not regard it as effective as the utši.

In order to make the poison ineffective in animals that are to be eaten, the Indians right away rub kitchen salt into the wound.

26: Brüning--64-65 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411

The arrows are kept in a quiver made of thick bamboo (tónta); therein is a bundle of straw tšipáti) which is especially prepared for this purpose. The straw prevents the arrows from falling out even if the quiver be turned upside down. The quiver is carried around the wrist by means of a loop. A totuma fruit (called máti in the Quichua language) is fastened to the quiver by means of a string. The totuma fruit is stuffed with the wool of the balsawood tree (wambóš, a Quichua word). The wool can be withdrawn through a small round opening. If an arrow is to be used, the hunter takes out a little of this wool, winding it round the obtuse lower end of the arrow so that it will fit exactly into the opening of the blowgun. Prior to this a notch is made about three centimeters below the point of the arrow [65] so that the poisoned top will break off when it enters the animal. The notches are made with the sharp teeth of some animal which I was not able to identify. The lower jaw of this animal dangles from the quiver. The term for the tool is páni . In order to be able to clean the blowgun, the Indians always carry at the side of the quiver a long rolled-up piece of a flexible reed which, at one end, is equipped with a tuft of vegetarian wool (hápik).

26: Brüning--65 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224

To prevent too much deviation from the straight line, the Indians try to shoot their arrows in a vertical direction as often as possible.

In Huavico I witnessed a scene in which an older boy shot with the arrow from his blowgun a pigeon-sized bird that had strayed into the house. The arrow penetrated the bird at a height of approximately 7-8 meters and fastened it to a rafter in the roof.

26: Brüning--65 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 136

The natives chiefly eat the following animals: two types of monkeys, a) the howling monkey (named cotomono by the whites and yakúm in Aguaruna) and b) the spider monkey (called maquisapa by the whites and wáši by the Aguaruna Indians); various types of turkeys, kúyo, onç [e], of which I have seen five; a hocko hen, paujiles, pívi, másu; a trumpeter bird, (tsiva), and many other birds whose names I do not know. In general, they do eat all birds, even the tiniest humming-birds. I have seen it how the Indians skinned a bird, speared it with a pointed stick and, without drawing it, roasted it over the fire and ate it. There is only one bird which they do not eat: they call it çáça. It has the shape of a pheasant, congregates in larger flights and emits a sound which lies halfway between croaking and screeching. The meat has a somewhat bitter taste, as I was able to find out for myself, but it is not so bad that somebody who is half-starved should reject it. [AN: The scientific name is Opisthocomus hoazin.] Of the larger mammals the following are not eaten: cattle, tapir (pamáu), ronsoco (ungumióg) and doe (hápa). [AN: It would be better to say: stag, species of the genus mazama.] The rubber collectors informed me that the Aguaruna Indians identify the doe with the devil. Ronsoco is a large rodent (Hydrochoerus capybara). Could it be that these animals are not eaten simply because they could not be killed with the blowgun--the only aboriginal weapon?

26: Brüning--65 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224, 251

The Indians frequently go on hunting expeditions in regions that have plenty of wild life. They bring the entire household (men, women, children, dogs, and especially large containers with masato) into a canoe and paddle to the hunting area. These hunting expeditions sometimes last for weeks and frequently even for months. The meat which they obtain is soon made into a durable preserve; part of the meat, however, is eaten right away. To smoke the meat, the natives build on four low posts a grill (size: one square meter) of closely placed bamboo sticks. The meat is placed upon the grill. On top the grill is covered with a roof of palm leaves. A fire is made under the grill, and the natives see to it that there is more smoke than open flames. In this manner the meat is dried and smoked at the same time. The Indians call this apparatus pungámo. Our crewmen frequently built these pungámos close to our camping sites whenever the hunt had yielded more than we needed at the moment. Over the roof the Indians dried their itipes, if they had gotten wet.

When the Indians return from such a hunting expedition, they invite all the neighbors to a big festival. On these occasions, the rubber collectors told us, they eat up in a few days what they had hunted in many a month.

26: Brüning--65-66 (1902)1928 Jívaro
116, 415, 283

The most common hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun. But frequently we saw cheap single-barrelled hunting rifles. The Indians carry their ammunition, etc. in a [66] hunting-bag (wampatš), which is fashioned like a net out of strings which the Indians themselves had twisted. They twist these strings out of palm fiber between the palm of the hand and the naked thigh. The fiber is called tšambira by the whites and kumáy by the Indians. The hunting-bag is somewhat narrower on top. They wear it over the right shoulder under the left arm on a band which is plaited out of the same strings.

26: Brüning--66 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 226, 262, 411

In addition to meat the Indians eat a great deal of fish. Fishing is done by a variety of methods. They obtain the largest catch when they stupefy fish. For this purpose they use two plants, each one separately. One is the herbaceous plant másu, the other the bark of a liana (tímu). Both are pulverized and thrown in quiet coves of the rivers and brooks. The narcotized fish soon come to the surface where they are speared with long pointed chonta sticks (šikít). These fishing spears have a circular cross-section and a diameter of about 2 cm. Their length is 3 - 3.5 m.

When the rivers are on the rise, the Indians are quick to make an estacada (a sort of grill) of bamboo and place it across the mouths of the brooks and inlets. When the waters are falling again, the fish remain behind these estacadas. The natives even use fish-hooks which are a desirable article of barter.

These are the main articles of food in the realm of fauna. According to the rubber collectors, the natives are said to eat a large beetle larva which occurs in decaying wood.

26: Brüning--66 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 241, 462

Vegetarian foodstuffs are no less numerous than animal foods. We have to distinguish between cultivated and wild-growing plants. The former include the yucca (máma, non-poisonous Manihot), the banana (pandáp), the ground-nut (dúse), and perhaps the sweet potato: camote, (íntši).

As a rule, the fields are in the middle of the forest. Here the man cuts the trees in order to make a clearing. Today he uses bartered steel axes, made in U.S.A. Not so long ago they are said to have used stone axes. In spite of my inquiries I have not been able to see one of these. The rest of the work--the burning of the branches (they leave the burned trunks in the fields), sowing, and harvesting--is done by the women.

The foremost cultivated plant is the yucca (máma). It is the basis for the masato (term used by the whites), the Indian beverage, called nijamántši in the Aguaruna language.

26: Brüning--66 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 252, 137

There is a great variety of wild-growing edible plants, and it would be of great help to the traveller in the primeval forests of the upper Marañón if he would know these plants, for he is frequently forced by circumstances to make use of the prevailing flora. With what keen appetite have we not often devoured some inconspicuous fruit which the Indians designated as edible! Hunger is always one of the most formidable enemies for travellers in this region of the globe. During my short stay with the Aguaruna Indians I learned to know as edible the tender shoots of two palm trees. The names of these palms were tuntuám and uyáy. In order to reach this food one has to cut the entire tree (which brought anguish to my soul, but hunger is all powerful). These shoots are eaten raw or cooked in water. If you cook the shoots, you may drink the water as soup. The taste was similar to that of white cabbage.

26: Brüning--66-67 (1902) 1928 *Jívaro*
116, 262, 137

I have eaten the following wild-growing fruits (or I have watched others eating them): the nut [67] of the ivory-palm before it was fully matured. The Indians calle it tšapi, the whites tagua. The fruit of a passion-flower, called antšímuntše: It tastes well, similar to our goose-berry. Furthermore, the fruit na(h)ahâip which has the size of a small orange and the yellow color of an orange; its skin, however, has greater thickness and firmness. Its stone is so big that there is little space left for the sweet watery meat. We found this fruit at the eastern foot of the mountain, a little above Nazaret on the Marañón. Along the Marañón tributaries we found a fruit which is called pacáy in the Quichua language and huava along the north coast of Peru. Along the Marañón, however, these fruits can be found not on large trees but on low shrubs. Moreover, the pod was at the most 10 cm. long, while along the coast it had a length up to 50 cm. Otherwise the two fruits seemed to me the same. The Indians call this fruit which grows in their territory wámbokiš. It consists of a dark-green, leatherlike pod in which there are the black beanlike seeds bedded in a white, cottonlike, sweet mass. The white mass is the edible part. The aforementioned are according to my information, the articles of food provided by the primeval forest. But there are certainly more.

26: Brüning--67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 252, 263, 317

I noticed that all dishes are prepared without salt. But when the cooked food is served, a piece of salt is always served with it. In the case of a liquid dish, the Indian places the salt between two fingers and stirs it into the dish, so that a little of the salt can dissolve. Otherwise they bring the salt to the mouth from time to time, or they lick on it. Salt is a very scarce commodity on Aguaruna territory. They obtain it from the upper Marañón where there are said to be some salty brooks. The salt remains as a dirty ash-colored sediment when they laboriously boil the water down in large pots. In Aguaruna language salt is called wig.

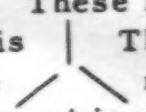
26: Brüning--67 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 264, 515

I have been unable to observe whether the Indians stick to a certain timetable when they take their meals. The few times we visited one of their tambos, we were always served cold food out of one of the numerous pots. They seem to be familiar with the technique of "cooking in advance." Liquid food, for instance, a sort of soup, was served in shallow bowls (pinínge), and solid food was served on the large leaf of a plant, always accompanied by a small piece of salt. In one instance I found in the soup the coarsely cut leaves of the yucca plant: they were boiled with the soup. Liquid stuff is drunk directly out of the bowl. Solid food is brought to the mouth with the hands.

In their tambos they always keep pots with water. I have seen these pots hanging from the ceiling on a thick rope or placed on a trifurcated post that was rammed into the dirt. After each meal the Indian takes a mouthful of this water, rinses his mouth with it and forcefully squirts it over his hands.

26: Brüning--67 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 252

As pointed out before, in front of each bed there is a fireplace, consisting of round logs of a special wood. These logs have an identical diameter, and they are placed in star formation, like this  They are also used as support for the cooking pot. I had the impression that the major part of their food was cooked in water. I have also noticed that their meat is wrapped in large fresh plant leaves and placed on the fire. In this manner the meat remains juicy. On the other hand, meat is sometimes directly placed on glowing charcoal, without having been wrapped first; this is the way it is frequently done here on the coast.

26: Brüning--67-68 (1902) 1928 Jívaro -1
116, 273

As a beverage the Indians prepare a brew from the yucca. This beverage is not only a stimulant but also of nutritional value, as you may judge from the way it is being prepared. Here is the manner of preparation: first the yucca is skinned and washed [68] Then it is cut crosswise into pieces 8 or 10 cm. in length, so that they can be easily placed in a pot. After the pot has been filled to the brim with such pieces, water is added so that the entire yucca is covered. The pot is then covered with a large leaf which is tied around the top. The pot is kept over a fire until the yucca is done. Then the water is poured off. They wait until the yucca gets cold. The women who are seated around the pot, take a part of the yucca and chew it, spitting the chewed mass back into the pot. With the help of a sort of kitchen ladle the whole mass is mashed so that the chewed mass is distributed among the non-chewed yucca. This entire mass is called nijamántši. It is now ready for use. In order to prepare the beverage, the woman takes a handful of this mash and puts it in a sort of strainer--a totuma bowl with tiny holes. Water is added to the bowl, and the mash is stirred by hand. The water with the starch granules runs through the holes into the drinking-bowl underneath. The fibers remain in the tutuma and are later thrown away.

This yucca mash is always prepared in great quantities. The storing vessels are sealed with leaves, and the content soon undergoes fermentation, thereby assuming a sour smell and taste. The beverage obtained from this mash is very refreshing, tastes and looks like butter milk. In this state it is slightly intoxicating, but you would have to

drink a lot in order to get really drunk. I have never succeeded in this, because I was always full before the drink could show its efficacy. The Indians are able to drink incredible quantities and, as a consequence, become slightly tipsy. They can do without almost anything else, but they must have their nijamántši.

26: Brüning--68 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273

When we travelled downstream on the Marañón, we left the main portion of our food supplies (masato and bananas) under a protecting roof which one of the former travellers had built on the high bank of the Marañón approximately opposite the mouth of the Santiago River. We were going to the Puerto Meléndez and hoped to be back in a few days. We wanted to bring our canoes through the Pongo de Manseriche carrying as little load as possible. After our arrival in the Puerto Meléndez, however, the Marañón River began to rise considerably, so that we were forced to stay for a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez. Finally, we were able to make the return voyage. When we arrived at our storage site, we found there only a huge field of slime and mud. The River had risen about 6 meters. The protecting roof was collapsed, and everything was covered with mud. Though there was little hope to find something of our food provisions, the Indians did not hesitate to search through the mud and under the roof for the masato pots, and they were lucky enough to find them, but, judging from the smell, the masato was in a state of definite decay, which did not prevent the Indians from devouring it without water.

26: Brüning--68-69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 753, 827

In general, the Aguaruna Indians seem to be healthy. In the case of sickness, a small hut is erected far from the settlement at a solitary site in the forest, and here the sick person remains until he recovers or dies. This is the information obtained from the rubber collectors. I have not been able to get any information as to nursing practices.

The Indians are most afraid of coughing and bloody diarrhea. The rubber collectors have constantly warned us of coughing, as the Indians would withdraw if they heard us cough. We had one experience with this on our downstream voyage on the Marañón. We had been told that in the Indian settlement Chipe we would be able to barter some chickens, bananas, and yucca. As we were just about to land, [69] we heard shouting; the women took up their children and fled with them into their houses; the man talked with unfriendly gesticulations, and we were forced to continue our voyage, without knowing the cause for the Chipe reception. None of our three crewmen knew one word of Spanish. When we met some Indians later, Indians who knew a little Spanish, we were told that the chief of the rubber collectors had spread the rumor that we were sick and had the coughing. This rubber collector was very jealous and wanted to preserve his autocracy in that territory; thus he did everything to keep outsiders away. This was perhaps one reason why he did not teach any Spanish to the Indians.

26: Brüning-- 69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755

The ordinary sicknesses are cured by the brujo. This is the general Peruvian name for quack and sorcerer. I have not been able to find out what the Aguaruna term was. In a tambo in Huaracayo I had an opportunity to watch a brujo at work. One evening we were assembled in the house of several rubber collectors when we heard a strange singing from a nearby Indian tambo. I was informed that this meant that a brujo was at work. Immediately I went over to witness the procedure. The tambo was completely dark. Nothing could be heard except the forceful voice of the brujo mixed with the whimpering of a woman. I was told that the woman had pains in the leg. The brujo sang with a loud voice. Next he smoked a strong cigar, inhaling the smoke. In between he sucked the aching part of the woman's leg. Then he gnashed his teeth, pretended that he had to vomit and spit, as if to give the impression that he had sucked some foreign matter from the leg. I can not tell how often he repeated this, nor how long the treatment lasted. The brujo acted so realistically, that I was sickened by it and had to leave the hut in order not to vomit myself.

26: Brüning--69 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755, 787

The same brujo --his name was Kuja--had thought up a little stunt at our expense. Due to the rise of the Marañón we had to stay longer in Meléndez. Since our return was delayed, the brujo said that he had seen it in a vision thatall the travellers, the Indian crew included, had died of small-pox. Since our crew came from Huaracayo, the inhabitants of this settlement were in mourning and had already started to prepare for a mortuary feast. Upon our return we found a great multitude of Indians to receive us. The brujo, whose calculations we had upset, was slightly embarrassed, kept himself aloof, faintly smiling from time to time.

26: Brüning--69-70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 757, 824

To cure their sicknesses the Indians use various herbs. I have made a collection of these herbs in Huavico. But when our boat was wrecked on our voyage up the Marañón and when we were forced to cross the forest from Nazaret to Bagua Chica on foot, the collection had to be abandoned in Nazaret since we did not have enough porters. Here is a list of my collection:

pihipí - the bulb of a sort of reed; used against insect bites by rubbing the wound caused by the sting.
sapáta - nut of a tree, called avila by the whites; used against toothache.
asángo - seeds used against diarrhea.
otuntú - the decoction of a plant used internally and externally against snake bite.
angpángban - leaves against snake bite.
kunakip - leaves against snake bite and diarrhea. [70]
maikuá - given to children from time to time to purgate them even if they are not sick.
zángu - tobacco plant.

Unfortunately, I am not able to give more detailed information. The notes that went with each plant were lost with the collection. These brief annotations come out of my glossary.

26: Brüning--70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 595

The Aguaruna Indians have the system of polygamy. I have heard of chieftains that had up to ten wives. Their number seems to depend on the man's ability to support them. One of the Indians in our crew was very nearsighted: we were told he had only one wife since he could not do much hunting on account of his bad eyes.

26: Brüning--70 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 592

The chieftain, his wives and children, constitute a house community. The whites refer to the master of the household with the quichua word kuraka, i.e., chieftain. The Indians used the same term in their conversations with us. I have not been able to find out whether they had an Aguaruna word for it, but one should think so. I noticed two cases in which the son-in-law lived in the tambo of his father-in-law, but I would not be able to say that this is the rule.

26: Brüning--70 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 862, 163, 156

I gained the impressions that there were not many children around. This would explain why mothers suckle their children--as I was told--up to the age of four. I saw it with my own eyes that the children ran to the mother and asked for the breast. The little girls whom I have seen were very timid and clung to their mother as soon as one of us approached; they even refused to accept gifts. The boys, however, were different, and I made friends with them easily.

26: Brüning--70 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 582

The age for marriage does not seem to be definitely set. In one case I saw a girl at the most 10 years old married to an old Indian. The little girl, conscious of her dignity, acted like an old woman in the house. But copulation is said to be ruled out at this early age.

26: Brüning--70 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292, 562

Married women are distinguished by a narrow band which they wear over the muscle of the upper arm. I failed to indicate in my notes whether it is the right or the left arm. Since this band (patáko) is placed over the arm of very young persons and since it may not be removed, as time goes on the flesh grows over it and sometimes covers it. A widow in Huavico took off her band in my presence and dedicated it to me: it is 12 mm. wide and 21 cm. long.

26: Brüning--70 [6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 462, 482, 285

Women as well as men (if the latter stoop to carry a load at all) carry their loads in baskets rather low on the back by means of a belt which is placed on the head.

There are two types of baskets. One kind, chiefly used by women, is an oval basket, about 40 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 30 cm. deep. The other basket is almost exclusively used by the men and serves as a storage place for their belongings. It is about 25 cm. wide and just as deep. It has a double wall and a leaf insulation between, so that it is waterproof. Moreover, it has a cover. These baskets are carried in the hand by means of a short handle. Both basket types are made of split bamboo.

26: Brüning- - 71 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 481

When they climb high and smooth trees, the Indians connect their legs (between foot and ankle) with a short piece of firm liana. The semi-circle formed by the liana embraces in climbing part of the tree trunk, and the Indians thereby obtain a firmer footing than if they would encircle the trunk with their naked legs alone.

26: Brüning--71 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515

An Indian who blows his nose grabs the lower part of his nose with thumb and forefinger and blows his nose into the palm of his hand. The mucus is then thrown off, and the hand is cleaned on any object, sometimes even without preceding disposal of the mucus. But I have never seen that an Indian wiped his hand on a piece of clothing.

26: Brüning--71 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 201, 157, 195

When talking and laughing the Indians frequently keep the hollow of their hand in front of the mouth, as may be seen in Illustration number seven (two Indians in the group to the right). If the conversation becomes animated, then they spit frequently in between.

Very strange are the long monologues or prayers (whatever you may call them) which the Indians say in the morning. These are recited very quickly and in a tone which marks a departure from the ordinary tone of conversation. On these morning occasions, too, they spit frequently and stamp their feet on the ground from time to time (see Nankijukima 75).

They emit a softly pronounced drawling gwa when they are amazed at something.

26: Brüning--71 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 153

Though it seems rather hazardous to make a statement on their intellectual capacity after such a short stay among the Indians, I feel that I should not be completely silent on the subject. I gained the impression that the Indians in general are rather alert. I noticed this especially in the case of youngsters at the age of from 5 to 8 years. I can assure you that some of them were like mind readers when it came to our wishes. When they pass into the age of puberty, they become more reserved. They showed the greatest interest for all objects which they had never seen before, and they were eager to know how these objects were to be used. They exhibited a childlike joy when I permitted them to look through my Zeiss fieldglass, which brought the distant objects near.

26: Brüning--71 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 436, 554

While the blowgun is their hunting weapon, the spear is their war weapon. At the same time, the spear is part of the etiquette, for a man would never leave the house without it, even if he would visit only his nextdoor neighbor. It is the weapon that signifies masculine dignity.

Spears with iron points were generally in use when I visited the Indians. The point (see Figure 7) has a socket at the bottom. The shaft is fastened into the socket with the help of resin. The spear or lance has a length of 2 1/2 - 3 1/2 meters. They are said to obtain the iron points by way of barter from the Indians along the upper Senepa. The points are said to come from Ecuador. The spear with the iron point is called nánki by the Indians. Formerly spears were used shaped out of the wood of the chonta palm, and they still occur in isolated instances. The shape of their point is the same as the iron one, but its cross-section shows a somewhat concave outline. Shaft and point are made out of one piece. These chonta lances are called angös.

Figure 7.

Iron Spear Point

26: Brüning-- 71-72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 177, 436

In all the tambos I found Winchester rifles which they had obtained from the rubber collectors by barter for rubber. But since the Indians most of the time do not have any [72] shot to go with it, these rifles are for the most part ornamental pieces. As a matter of fact, the Indians are not too fond of rifles since, they maintain, their report chases the game off.

In their tambos they have special stands where all the weapons are vertically placed and with great orderliness. Especially the blowguns have to be kept in a vertical position, otherwise they would bend.

26: Brüning--72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 721, 174

There is an old irreconcilable enmity, in spite of their belonging to the same language group, between the Aguaruna Indians along the right Marañón tributaries and the Huambisa Indians along the upper Santiago. This feud seems to date back to a time prior to the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Evidently the Inca penetration went only as far as the right bank of the Marañón; this explains why the Aguarunas adopted many Quichua words. After the Spanish Conquest many of these Indians were more inclined to embrace Christianity. There were a number of missionary outposts along the right bank of the Marañón. It is true, the Spaniards penetrated also the territory on the left bank of the Marañón, but they were incessantly harrassed by the independent Jivaros, for which the so-called submissive Indians had to suffer. These mutual annoyances continue to this day though to a lesser degree.

26: Brüning--72 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 726

Suddenly one party makes a raid on the other, cutting down all living creatures, except the young women who are captured and carried off alive. The heads of the men are cut off in order to reduce them later and to be kept as a trophy of war. The whites call these raids correrías.

The enemy is never openly attacked. He is first spied upon in order to find out how he can be attacked most suddenly. If everything is prepared, they attack the house with clamor, kill everything with their spears and disappear with their booty before help can be obtained. As a rule, the raids are carried out in the morning during moonlight, after the raiders have stealthily approached the house. I asked several Aguaruna Indians to mime a sham raid for me.

26: Brüning--72 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 726

In recent times, the number of correrías has decreased; nevertheless, I was told in the Muchingis River territory that the Indians were making preparations to attack their arch-enemies, the Huambisas. The oracle, however, had not yet been auspicious. In order to find out whether the correría would be successful, they drink the narcotic decoction of a certain liana which transports them into a state of dreaming in which they have hallucinations by which they judge as to the lucky or unlucky outcome of the intended raid. This liana is called náktém in the Aguaruna language and ayahuásca (a Quichua word meaning "rope of death") by the whites.

26: Brüning--72-73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

When, on July 2nd, the rise of the Marañón forced us to stay a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez, we were able to make the return voyage through the Pongi de Manseriche not earlier than July 10th, 1902. In the middle of this Pongo we met with a family of Aguaruna Indians, a man, two young girls, an elderly woman with an infant, two older children, and the unavoidable dogs. We could see that they had gone hungry. They had been without food for eight days, since the River had carried off their canoe while they had made an overnight stop. A second canoe with other members of the party had continued the voyage and was prevented from returning by the strong currents.

An Augustine monk, who was in our party, told us that these Indians had moved to Barranca about a year ago. During their stay there one Huambisa Indian woman, a prisoner of an earlier raid, had escaped. The Indians whom we met in the Pongo participated in an [73] expedition to recover this woman, though they had not succeeded in this. Thereupon they raided the first house they could find, killed the father and abducted the young girl, who was about 10 - 12 years old. (She was one of the young girls whom we saw in their party.) The Indian who had killed her father now was to become the husband of the daughter. She had evidently become accustomed to the idea and regarded it as the natural thing. While we were carrying our canoe for a stretch over land --the rapids were too strong here--, the second Indian canoe arrived in order to rescue the shipwrecked family members.

26: Brüning--73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

The cut-off heads of the enemies are reduced in the following manner: the skin in the rear of the head is cut open, and the skull is removed so that only the skin and the flesh of the face remain. The latter is mounted on a stone, somewhat larger than a fist, and hung in smoke so that all soft parts can shrink gradually. Finally, the stone is removed, the skin is stitched together in the rear, and the lips are contracted with a piece of string. Then, in order to dry it completely, the head is once more subjected to the smoking process. In this manner the head in the end is not larger than a fist, and the face looks like that of a monkey. The hair is kept at full length. A bundle of colored strings is fastened between the lips.

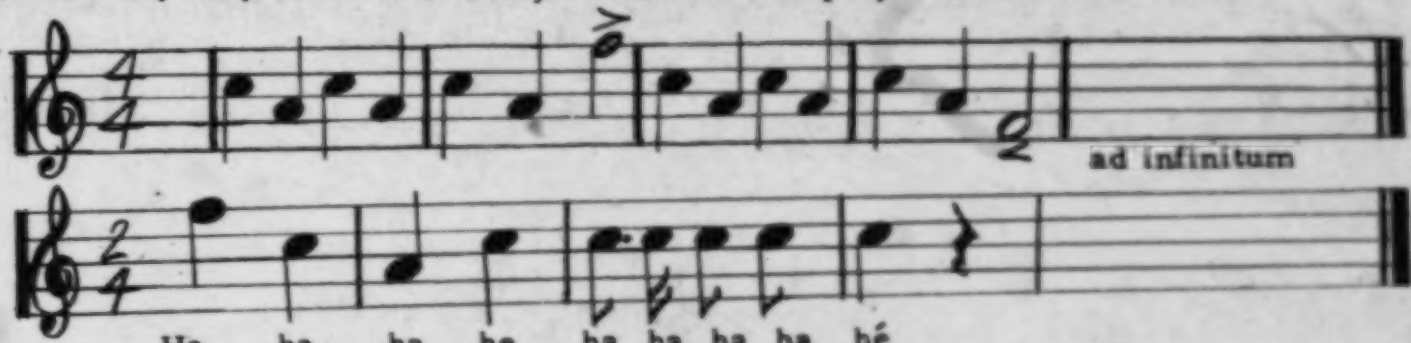
26: Brüning--73 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 628

It seems that among the Aguaruna Indians there is a sort of murderous revenge, though there is a way of redeeming it with gifts. I heard of one case where the gift of a blowgun eliminated the necessity for bloody revenge.

26: Brüning--73 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 534

I have observed among the Aguarunas the following actual musical instruments: a large bamboo flute (pinguí), a small bone flute (tunguí), a small drum (tambón). Bone rattles (mákits) may also be counted in this category.

The instrument most frequently used is the bamboo flute, which is about 45-50 cm. long and has a diameter of 3 cm. The air is blown in from the side. You can hear the sound of this instrument in the houses and on canoe voyages. It is one and the same melody everywhere. I have memorized it, and I am able to reproduce it here after 25 years. During our canoe voyage the Indian who was idle always played the flute, and in the houses, too, there was always someone who played this instrument.



Maitu huchahí tacu masahí.

26: Brüning--73 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116, 533

When we returned from our trip we witnessed a phantastic scene in Huaracayo, in the house of our Curaca Laichape, who had accompanied us on our journey. Inside the house the men with their war decorations moved pairwise in a circle, each one playing the flute, and occasionally singing, too. All of them were slightly tipsy due to the masato. The women, likewise under the influence of masato, accompanied the men by their singing and exhorted them to drink more and more. Some were seated or lying on their beds or in their seats, overcome by too much masato. Since the brujo had given us up as a total loss, they now celebrated our happy return.

26: Brüning--74 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 534

The small bone flute is approximately 12 cm. long. It is made of the bone of a doe and has three holes, two on top and one below. It is played from one end like the Quena flute. The doebone flute seems to be not very common, for I have seen it only once, in the hands of an old Curaca, who produced a lively melody on it.

I have also seen a small drum (tambón) with a diameter of about 20 cm. It is played with a stick, at the one end of which a piece of cotton is fastened. The bone rattle (mákits) must likewise be counted among the musical instruments: dried nutshells are tied together and attached to the ankles during the dance.

26: Brüning--74 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

A few words must be said about the túndui, the wireless telephone of the Aguarunas. It consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk, about 100-120 cm. long and of a thickness of 30-35 cm. At each end there is a handle, one of which is used to grab it, the other as a support on the ground, so that the instrument is free to vibrate. On top of the drum there are four holes in one direction. Originally, these holes may have been used to hollow out the trunk, in the end they help with the resonance. (See Illustration number 4.) They beat the instrument with a short stick which is wound with vegetarian wool at one end. The sound differs depending on whether the drum is hit from the side or at the top. The messages are conveyed, in the manner of our Morse system, by a combination of these two sound possibilities. If the air is quiet, one is able to hear the túndui at a distance of several kilometers. The message is transmitted from one place to the other by a process of interception and further transmission.

When we returned from our trip to Puerto Meléndez, our arrival was signalled with the help of the túndui from the houses along the bank to all the others so that when we arrived in Huaracayo, we found a large crowd assembled for our reception.

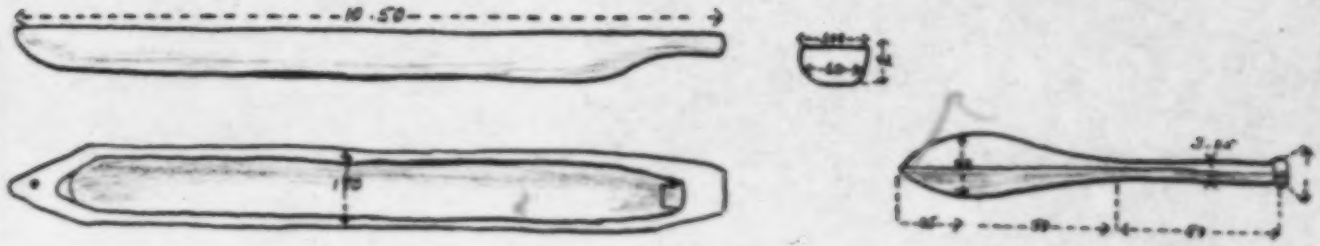
26: Brüning--74 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 484

The most important means of transportation along the upper Marañón and its tributaries is the canoe (Fig. 8). One could even say that this dug-out is the only means of transportation since there are only a few isolated overland paths.

The canoe appears in several sizes. Some accomodate only one to two people, others up to twenty men. All of them are made of cedar wood. Whether small or large, they all have the same shape. The part that touches the water is round in cross-section just as the original tree. At both ends flat seats for the oarsman were provided when the canoe was dug out. The canoe is directed by means of paddles, but on upstream voyages long bamboo poles (tanganas) are required, and with their help the boat is pushed forward. Should the river bank be flat, some Indians may jump into the water to pull the canoe with the help of lianas.

26: Brüning--74 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 484

Figure 8. Canoe and Paddle.



26: Brüning--74-75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 463

It is difficult for a neophyte to handle a canoe as it requires great skill to maintain one's balance. It is amazing to what thickness the cedar trunks grow. [75] During my trip through the Marañón territory I encountered an uprooted cedar tree with a diameter of about 170 cm.

Another means of transportation in the river area is the raft (balsa). It can be used for downstream voyages only and is therefore not so frequent. It is made by uniting several balsa trunks. The rafts are kept within the current by means of paddles.

26: Brüning--75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 505, 576

With reference to canoe voyages I should mention the following: As soon as a settlement is in sight, the Indians put ashore in order to wash and comb themselves and to paint their faces. Then they proceed, and when they pass a settlement, they hit the edge of the canoe with their paddles and give a long oration with a loud voice. They do this until the settlement is out of sight.

Bordesholm, January 1928.

Hans H. Brüning.

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 104

Mammals

kayúca	small rodent in the shape of a little pig.
kuhukón	small mammal of the size of a small cat; instead of a coat of fur it has flexible quills.
hínt̆sam	a bat
ungumiog	large rodent; the whites call it ronsoco.
hápa	doe
yagwá	dog
pamáu	tapir; the whites call it sat̆savaca
yakúm	a monkey, called cotomono by the whites.
wáši	a monkey; the Europeans call it maquisapa.
çéhe (n)	a white monkey.
cási	called mahás by the whites.
ohokú	the tail of animals

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro -2
116, 104

Birds

atáǐu	a hen
áyum	a cock
cúyo	a turkey
onç (e)	a sort of turkey with colorful feathers.
áunc (e)	a sort of turkey with darkbrown feathers.
tǐíva	trumpeter
kuyokúyo	a large duck with black and white feathers.
tǐúmi	black bird with red tail.
tǔíǐ	green parrot with blue head and neck, a black dot on each cheek.
tíngó	large green parrot, the head of somewhat blueish color, on top a little yellow, and a touch of yellow on the sides. The whites call it catalina.
ǐíǐi	small green parrot with ash-colored head and eyes of the same color.
tacám (p)	a blue guacamayo (ara) with yellow chest and body.
kíus	small love bird, perequito.
kavaú	a large green parrot.
pangén	a partridge
pívi	crested or tufted hen with a crest of feathers.

papájum	a sort of small seagull.
sukangá	tukan or diostedé.
šímbi	a sort of swallow.
súnsumanš	a white heron.
atáš	white-yellow wild duck.
ungtúng, untú(g)n	a brown heron
mášu	a sort of crested hen.
pangwána	a sort of partridge.
çáça	tufted hen (Opisthocomus hoazin). [76]

Fish, Amphibious Animals, Insects, etc.

kánšap	a ray with one sting.
tšúni	a large beetle larva.
wambíšok	general name for butterflies.
kánka	general name for fish.
dóptu (hint)	air-bladder of the fish.
miúntše	a mosquito.

téti	a mosquito.
mántše	green grasshopper.
nápi	snake.
zihin	spider.
tólka	carabid, } both of them used for ear decorations.
wáwa	brilliant beetle, } both of them used for ear decorations.
tíuma	louse.
yantána	a crocodile.
kungwim	a terrestrial turtle.
yotog	a large ant, called *iaula* by the whites.
kupitšo	balsamiferous ant
kangálhute	fish with lance.

Plants

pandap	banana.
samó	ripe banana.
pagáta	sweet sugarcane.
ubuté	cotton
wáwa	*Ochroma* (*Bombacea*).

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-5
116, 104

sikút (a)	vanilla.
íntsi	sweet potato.
tangána (Quichua)	a sort of bamboo (caña brava).
ipáko	Achote (?), ruku.
zángu	tobacco.
jíma	ají, Spanish chewing pepper.
sá	Indian corn
dúse	maní, groundnut.
míka	bean
máma	yuka, nonpoisonous Manihot.
táng (u)	Schiringa (?) tree.
tsíngose	tree-fern.
tsíña	logwood.
tsíña nua	a fine logwood.
átsu	gregarious palm.
satíka	pumamaqui, gregarious tree, growing on cultivated but later neglected soil.
máté	a tree from which a fiber (chambira) is obtained.
tsimút	a tree from which the túntui are made.

kumái	chambira, the fiber of which is used as string.
tsápe	ivory-palm which the whites call tagua.
tuntuám	palm the shoots of which are edible.
uyáy	another palm with edible shoots.
pihipi	a sort of rush the roots of which are used against insect bites.
múmi	tree, stick,
sásta	any flower.
nlúka	the leaf.
ngági	the root.
tímu	liana, narcotic used for fishing purposes.
náktém	narcotic liana, used by the Aguaruna Indians in order to discover the auspicious time for a raid.
pítungái	a sort of black resin and the tree from which it is obtained.
náum	a tree from which the resin pengái is obtained; blowguns are covered with pengái.
sapáta	is the nut of the avila; used against toothaches.
otuntú	a brew, used internally and externally against snake bites.
másu	plant used as a narcotic for fishing purposes. barbazco.
míske	plant with a mint fragrance. The brew is used against abdominal pain. [77]

tšihígab	unrefined copal resin.
ašánga	small kernels used against diarrhea.
tšipa	a resin.
wapáy	a bean obtained from a liana that has the shape of a doe-eye.
kapihona	a large tree with smooth yellow bark.
antšimuntše	fruit of the passion-flower.
wambokiš	the fruit of a small inga species.
wintši	the flower which is called papagayo by the whites.
yamakáy	a tree the leaves of which are used for the brown-dyeing of fabrics.
yanamuk	little berries used to blacken the teeth.
angpangban	leaves used against snake bite.
kúnakip	leaves used against snake bite.
máikuá	medicinal plant. Given to children for purgation purposes, even if the children are not sick.
piú	leaves used to blacken the teeth.
núpiš	leaves with gallnuts on them; used for decoration.
hingai	gallnuts.
na (h) ahaip	a yellow fruit with a thick rind.

çeáç	poison for the blowgun arrows. It is boiled to a sirupy thickness.
súa	fruit used for blackening the body.

Relationship Terms and Parts of the Body.

áišman	man. Also used to hail a fellow.
núa	woman (or wife ?)
apabá	father
yatsón	brother
nuasá	sister
sé	brother-in-law
nukúa	mother
nukútši	grandmother
utšúts	small child
vinuatkám	married
hámžin	pregnant woman
tují	a person with skin trouble.
waktsánghen	goodlooking young man
náki	lazy fellow
yánum	fellow-countryman ?

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-9
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múntšu	chest or breast
ámbo	abdomen
anantši	heart
númpa	blood
nšhe	flesh
okúntš (e)	bones
nuápg	skin
tšingun	elbow
kofš	ear
day	tooth
wíno	lip
máku	leg
nijál	forehead
núji	nose
nantšik	nail
sóso	chin
sangán	heel
intšs	hair
akáhik	lock of hair which hangs into the forehead of men.

tšikmónday	nasal mucus
ija	faeces
iki	fart
kata	penis
tsuki	vulva
bahay	pain, sickness
ubutkata	coughing

Clothing, Ornaments

itípe	loincloth of a man
tarátse	clothing for women
kamuš	barkcloth, which is said to be worn along the upper Senepa.
kahiet	a piece of bamboo [78] which is worn in the ear by some of the Antipa Indians.
akiáta	ear pendants
akíte wáwa	ear pendants made out of the wings of a decorative beetle.
akíte toika	ear pendants made out of the wings of a carabid.
atsebókta	head decoration made of monkey fur.
tawke	head decoration made of feathers.

dúsip (e)	black seed used for ornamental purposes.
patáko	a band worn around the arm by married women.
poékta	necklace made of small porcelain buttons.
timás	comb
yusána(gi)	red berries which are worn on bands over the shoulders.
dópis	bands made of black seeds; they are worn on the chest and back.
misa	a bundle of various fruits, worn as ornament by women.
sua pain tómate	a roller with which the black paint is applied on the body.

Musical Instruments.

pinguí	flute made of bamboo.
tungui	small flute made of the bone of a doe.
tuntuí	a hollow tree trunk used as a signal instrument.
tambón	small drum.
mákits	a bundle of small nuts worn by dancers around the ankles.

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-12
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Weapons.

ahahú	gun
yápa	revolver
nánki	spear with iron point.
ángõs	spear made of chonta wood.
tikit	fishing spear
ñm	blowgun.
omgomió	sight of the blowgun.
kápik	case with a piece of wool at one end, used for cleaning the blowgun.
mati (Quichua)	the hollow fruit of Crescentia Cujete (tutuma), used as a storage vessel for the arrow wool.
wambõõ (Quichua)	a sort of vegetarian wool (ceiba) which is wound around the arrows.
tõnta	a piece of bamboo used as a quiver.
tãipãti	straw in the tõnta, to prevent arrows from falling out.
çençak	arrow.
pãni	jaw-bone of a fish used to make the notches on the arrow-points.
cincuk(i)	two palm trees from which arrows are obtained by splitting process.
kungúk(i)	

útši	arrow poison, brought from the Ucayali.
çeal	poison prepared by the Aguaruna Indians themselves.
ampi	poison in general.
komgbína	defense tower.
wampatš	net for shooting purposes.

House and Utensils.

hõa	house
tanîš	wall
wáiti	door
hjía	roof
peáka	bed
kután	seat of a low piece of wood.
itšínak	pot for cooking use.
pinínga	vessel for drinking purposes.
ikósmo	grave in the house.

koçóm	cigarette
wãi	stick
tãangíua	basket (without lid) for women. [79]
tokope	basket (with cover) for men.
pungãmo	stand for smoking meat.
tã(i)kit(a)	spinning spindle
oémpi	spinning whorl.
ubuts	yarn
ikãngpmo	bobbin with yarn.
mũmi payãnko	the two thick staffs over which the warp is extended.
itãuve kamantaã	a thin stick to which the two ends of the warp are attached.
mũmi payãnko	a thick stick that separates the warp.
tõikit (a)	stick with which the woof is introduced into the warp.
katãui	a wedge-shaped piece of wood with which the woof is fastened.
itãivay	the "broadholder"
yunwa	weaver's beld, worn on the back in order to hold the woven material straight.
nijamãnai	the yuka extract from which the beverage is obtained by infusion with water.

nampúki intoxicated.

Celestial Bodies, Geographical Names, Mineralogical Terms.

ítsa	sun
nántu	moon
llaga	stars
náse	wind
yúmi itáue	rain
ipamát	thunder
pánki	rainbow
ítsa nagumgám	clock
hínta	path
múha	cordillera
tsitsíham	river ?
ánit	mountain, ascent ?
paka	descent ?
pikáui	descent ?
ínça	gorge

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amóhine		the rise of rivers
mahanõ	amóhine	the Marañón River has risen.
wáintše		rapids
pánki		the devil of the Marañón, a spook.
kámatak		sandy desert ?
káya		stone
káyam		sand
wig		kitchen salt
núnga		soil of the earth
yúmi		water
ji		fire
so		foam of the water
áha		cultivated field.
tongitěk		

Boating on the River

káno	canoe
kanět (a)	oar

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pepéngo	raft
wampu (d)	life-buoy
tangana (Quichua)	a long bamboo stick with which the canoe is propelled.
katingmí	go over to the other side of the river!
tayangita	go to the river bank!
ñgingita	go away from the river bank!
vianda	let's row!
stubadáda	push the canoe by means of the tangana !
vay vay stubadáda	push the canoe quickly by means of the tangana !
hákasta	wait for me !
wáma	onward !
wimi	let's go !
sintéa	make haste !
ísia	quick !
tsupínghe	drenched to the skin.

26: Brüning--75-80 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-18
116, 104

Words Concerning Time, Adjectives, etc.

ayú	Yes
maktí	no
húhu	this
ahóimi ?	now
yamáitai ?	now [80]
kašuímí	tomorrow or the morning?
unduhí	much, plenty
imátši	little, few
huungágmai	large
zizíkai	cold
atóšte	far
siánge	warm
tikihúts	near
kajü (a)	strong
kihíñue	of heavy weight
takáptíñue	of light weight

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pūinge	pleasant, delicious, excellent
yahautoi	
tunāu	unpleasant
takamāt	taciturn
suhingigai	the breaking of a rope.
atāikta !	grip it, seize it !
amāsta	give me in exchange, sell me !
māma amāsta	sell me yuka !
tāitsasmi	talk to me !
enemē	bring me !
sūsta	accept it from me !
wānda	drink!
yūmi wānda	drink water !
wikmita	hewing, cutting
ahākda	hewing with the axe.
sepikta	cutting with the knife.
minie	come here !
minime	I am coming.
ikimaeta	sit down !

aaaúe	there is nothing, you have nothing.
ávay	there is
anávai	have you ?
kakai	to die
wainpa kuku	what do you call this ?
(vi) yáica	my name is
(ámoy) yaitpa	what is your name ?
ócko yáita ?	what is his name ?
(digitá) yáita	his name is...
makújate ?	do you love me ? do you want me?
yiami	I want to know it.
nakítia	I do not want.
makápate	to measure
pimpiáke	I am tired.
tuavame	Where are you going ?
voyahay yuámi	Let us eat !
máma yuáte	I eat yuka.
atáku yuáta	You eat chicken.
yantáma yuám	Is crocodile edible ?

116, 104

yantána kánga yuávi	the crocodile eats fish
kungwím papaya yuávi	the turtle eats papaw.
hákasta hótimi	speak slowly !
nampúkkmi	dancing or to dance
nansumámi	
puhámok	Good day !
puhúmata	So long ! Au revoir !
huhúk	one
kímkk	two
apátsem	three
kampátu	four
kvásti	five
unzuhí	ten
huna kanán	one day ?
yusa, yus, kapánto	red
álte, minga	green
samáue	yellow

mukóoo, mukási (a)	blue
tšuíke, sóak	black
pohlíphin	white

A Song

Ha ha ha hi
Ha ha ha ha hi

Máitu máitu hutŝa hutŝahi
Huika huika takumasahi
Máitu hutŝahi takumasahi.

"On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador...

TRANSLATION

To the Secretary of the Spanish Legation, Quito.

Ecuador, Macas, 2nd Dec. 1860.

Sir, ---I received your letter of the 15th of August, in which you request information about the idol head of the Jívaros; how I obtained it, and how it had been prepared by them. What I now communicate to you, is the result of more than two years research.

A Jívaro of the Tambos tribe was baptized, when he undertook the commission to procure one of these idols; however, the first year he was unsuccessful. The following year he put the following plan into execution. He made a Jívaro believe that his idol wished to travel a little, for being in a sort of imprisonment, it would do nothing for its owner, suggesting that the idol should be handed over to him so as to make a trial. The baptized Indian brought it to me, returning with many presents to the owner, who then went on a hunting expedition, which turned out well. The fame of such success may facilitate the journeying of more of these idols.

After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims [the skull and its contents of course being removed--W.B.], a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process.

When the head is prepared, the tundui or war drum is sounded; this calls the tribe together for the feast of triumph, which has to be celebrated before nine days have passed since the fight, otherwise the spirits of those (of their party) who had fallen would not be satisfied, neither could the head be deified. On the tenth day the feast begins; the Jívaro who has an idol head suspends it with those of others on an upright pole in the centre of a habitation, the idol head of the feast having a prominent position. The invited are dressed in all their finery, the females especially. They seat themselves far or near from the idols according to their rank in the tribe. [113]

When they have feasted, the priest takes the head of the victim, and holding it up by a string, makes a long speech, eulogizing the feats of arms the owner of the head had done in his lifetime, the valour he showed at his death, the fame of his ancestors, that it was worthy of adoration, etc., etc., concluding with certain gesticulations. After a brief silence the priest utters a piercing cry, when all rise on their feet, making a loud noise.

The head is again tied to the pole, when they all take their seats, excepting the victor; he remains near the head armed with a lance, and abuses the head roundly, to which the head is made to reply in similar terms, the anger increasing on both sides to its utmost extent; the priest being the spokesman for the head or chancha, who concludes

his part shouting in the name of the head, 'Coward! when I was in life thou didst not dare to insult me thus, thou didst tremble at the sound of my name, coward! Some brother of mine will revenge me.' The Jívaro has been unable to support this speech against his bravery, and raising his lance he strikes and wounds the head of his enemy in the face; after which he sews the mouth up, and thus condemns his idol to eternal silence. From this moment the idol is speechless, excepting as an oracle, questions being put to it when the inquirer is under the spell of some strong narcotic.

Now commences the dance. The victor suspends the idol (on a pole) in the open air, and the female he most esteems follows him to perform this act. This is the greatest honour that can be conferred on a Jivaro. She holds on to the waist of the victor, all the men joining in a similar manner, forming a chain. The women dance apart. Each plays upon some musical instrument or other, wildly singing the song of triumph. They go on dancing round the interior of the habitation, with short intermissions, for two, three, or more days.

The Jívaro who may have given the victim the second wound, after a year of severe fasting, repeats the scenes of the first feast (excepting the first part of the ceremony); and if three or more have assisted, they have successively their feasts.

It sometimes happens that, being hard pressed by the enemy, they have not the time or opportunity to cut off the head of a fallen foe; in this case, the ceremony is performed upon the head of a sow, which is adored as if it were an idol head.

When the fruits of the earth are not abundant, and their stock of domestic animals does not rapidly increase, the women commence the feast of supplication, in which they alone dance, holding on by each other, the old priest or capito carrying the idol. If the head does not work a miracle, the hair is shaved off, and the head thrown into the woods.

The preceding is what has appeared to me the most interesting [114] of the savage customs of the infidels inhabiting our eastern Cordilleras. I may, however, add that, of those they kill in battle, they do not make idols of all, but only of such who have shown themselves most brave; from these they tear out the heart, and the extracted brains they eat. This custom is common among the tribes of the Tumbas, Mendes, Pastaza, Jurumbaini, Tutamagosa, Chiguavida, Achmiles, Guambinima, Guambisa, Huamboga, etc., as well as the inhabitants lower down; also by those on the Morona, with this difference, that those of the Morona are really cannibals.

(Signed) José Felix Barriero.
General Secretariat of the Provincial Government,
Quito, 2nd January, 1861.

The above signature and rubric are those of the present political chief of Macas.

(Signed) R. de Anambi.

Spanish Legation to Ecuador.

The above signature and rubric are authentic, and as used by the Secretary-General of the Government of Ecuador.

The Chargé d'Affairs of H. M. C. M.

(Signed) C. de Sanquericio y Ayua.

The preceding has been translated by the undersigned.

Wm. Bollaert.

London, January 15th, 1862.

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro
116, 727, 777

"In June 1861, Professor Cassola, on his way from Ecuador to Italy, showed me in London, in all probability, the first specimen from the Jívaro country of the peculiarly reduced cutis of the idol head. It was reduced to about one-fourth the natural size, preserving somewhat of the features. All the bone had been removed, only the skin and hair remaining. Of this head Professor Cassola told me, that a party exploring the river Pastasa observed it in a small temple, and at night stole it. It was supposed to be the head of a hostile chief, and was worn in battle as a charm.

A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mould of clay."

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 539

"Some Observations on the Jívaros (Jébero, Jívira), from Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, etc. By W. Bollaert. pp. 96. Translated from Villavicencio's Geografia del Ecuador. London: Trübner.

This great nation is found between the rivers Chinchipe and Pastasa; it is composed of numerous and large tribes, taking the names of the rivers on which they live, as Moronas, Pautes, Zamoras, Gualaquisas, Upanos, Pindos, Pastassas, Agapicos, Achuales, Cotapassas, etc. All these speak the Jívaro language, which is clear, energetic, and harmonious, and easy to learn. The Incas of Peru tried in vain to conquer them; the Spaniards succeeded in reducing them, founding cities in their country; but a rising on one day in 1599 destroyed the work of many years. Since then some attempts have been made to subdue them, but without success. They are active and muscular, have black eyes, small, and very animated; they show a bold front, are bent nosed, thin lipped, and have teeth as white as ivory. Many of them are whitish and bearded; it is believed this whiteness comes from the Spanish women they stole when they rebelled in 1599. They use the lance with great dexterity, and manage the shield well.

Although the Jívaros are of so unbending a character, some of the tribes approach the conquered settlements, entering into relations with them, as has occurred in

Canelos, with some of the Jívaros of the Pastassa, and they have even learnt the Quitu language. Other tribes have crossed the Cordillera, and have entered the towns, seeking peace and trade, inviting them to open roads.

Mr. Markham, in Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, p.166, Hakluyt Soc., 1859, states that the Jívaros take a strong emetic every morning in the shape of an infusion of the leaves of the guayusa (sometimes called the tea-plant), for the sake of getting rid of all undigested food, going to the chase with an empty stomach.

In 1855, some Jívaros are reported to have destroyed the ancient town of San Borja, and the villages of Santa Teresa and Santiago. See Samuel Fritz's Map, 1707. Velasco, Historia de Quito, iii, p.152; Villavicencio; and Heraldo de Lima, 1855."

27: Bollaert--116-118 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 539

"Conspiracy of the Jívaros. From Velasco's Historia de Quito, iii, p.152, etc. Translated by W.B.

In 1599, the same year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jívaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jívaros would not, and were about resolving to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of the river Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary; and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jívaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy; the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all the Spaniards in that region on a

certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began [117] to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learnt that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant twenty-five leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the

morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jívaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Jívaros Moronas intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huamboya (sixteen leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone towards Riobambo.

When the Jívaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro, the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12, 000. Sevilla had 25, 000 inhabitants; one quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jívaros nearly destroyed the neighbouring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force into the Indian

country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jívaros as far as the river Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jívaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the other into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barcas, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jívaros lay in ambush, and de-[118]stroyed the whole of the expedition. After six months, those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned back to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He applied to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.

Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four.

The Bishop of Quito then suggested to the Jesuits to go as missionaries amongst the Jívaros; so in 1633 two of the order embarked with some Indians on the Paute, for

Logroño, which was found only after much search; the ruins of the city had been covered with vegetation in the space of thirty-two years. The Jesuits now alone journeyed through the wilderness in search of the Jívaros, when one of them died. The other, after two years wandering, arrived at Jaen, his body full of wounds, and nearly naked."

28. Tessman --338 (No date) 1930 Jivaro

116, 114

Ethnographic literature: Of all the tribes of Eastern Peru the Chiwaros are most frequently discussed in ethnographic literature. With the exception of the Uitotos there is no other tribe about which so many monographic studies--at least concerning certain aspects--have been written as in the case of the Chiwaros. To the Finnish scholar Rafael Karsten must go the credit for having written scientifically sound descriptions of the Chiwaro culture. The following list of publications [KS: See category 113] does not claim to be complete. I have omitted the rich literature concerning the mummified heads and the notes published by various museums. A chronologically arranged survey of this type of literature may be found in L'Anthropologie, XIX, p. 74 (author: Rivet). I have included only a few recent notes on this subject. I did not include the article by Milacsek (Buenos Aires), published in 'Erdball' (1927), p. 372, since this article is not based upon a knowledge of the Chiwaros, though Milacsek pretends that he had visited the tribe. The book written by the Princess Theresa of Bavaria, Reisestudien im westlichen Südamerika (Berlin, 1908), vol. I, p. 271 contains at least a few good pictures; otherwise the book does not contain any personal observations concerning the Chiwaros.

28: Tessman--338 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 101

The name Chíwaro derives perhaps from the Kandoschi language, for they call the Chíwaro šuara. This may have been the basis for jívaro (Spanish), since the form šiwora also occurs (Beuchat). The Chiwaros themselves do not have a name of their own for the entire tribe. Each sub-tribe has a name of its own.

Aside from the Spanish version Jivaro one can also find Jibaro (often spelled Xivaro and Xibaro in ancient times), furthermore: Givari, Xivari, Chivari (Italian writers!), Givaro, Zibaro, Jivara, Jivira, and Hibaro.

"1863. Bollaert, William. On the idol Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador in: Transactions of the Ethnological. Soc. of London. N.S. Vol. II, S. 112-118. London 1863. *
[341]
1873. Hamy, Ernest Theodore. Nouveaux renseignements sur les indiens jivaros in: Revue d'Anthrop. Série I, Tom. II, S. 385-397. Paris 1873. *
1874. Lubbock, John. Note on the Macas Indians in: Journal of the Royal Anthr. Inst. of Gr. Britain and Ireland. Vol. III., N. 1, S. 29.
1880. Reiß, W. Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern in: Verhandl. d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. VII, S. 325-337. Berlin 1880.
1883. Colini, Guiseppe Angelo. Osservazioni etnografiche sui Givari. Roma 1883 in 'Memoire dell'Accademia dei Lincei' Roma 1882-- 83, p. 25.
1883. --, Collezione etnologica degli indigene del l'alto Amazoni. Bollettino della Società Giegrafica Italiana I, 1883. Ser. II, Vol. VIII, Anno XVII, 1883, S. 287 ff.
1885. Prieto, A.S. Descripción de la provincia de los Jivaros. Quito 1885 in: Compte Francisco Maria: Varones ilustres de la orden Serafica en el Ecuador, ed. 2, t. II., S. 63. Quito 1885.
1903. Montané, Luis. Chanchas y Jivaros in: Cronica médico quirurgica de la Habana. T. XXIX, No. 22. Habana 1903.

*[KS: sources are in the files]

1903. Ambrosetti, Juan B.: Cabeza humana preparada según el procedimiento de los indios Jívaros del Ecuador. Anales del Museo Nacional de Buenos Aires, Ser. 3, Tom. II, S. 519-523. Buenos Aires 1903.
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1917. Hermessen, J.L. A journey on the Rio Zamora, Ecuador in: The Geographical Review publ. by the American Geographical Society of New York. December 1917. *
1919. Farabee, William Curtius. Mummified Jivaro Heads, Pennsylvania University Museum Journal. Vol. X. S. 173-183. Philadelphia 1919. *
1919. Karsten, Rafael. Mitos de los indios Jivaros. Bol. de la Soc. Ecuatoriana de Estud. Hist. Amer. Vol. II. S. 325-339. Quito 1919. [342]
1920. --, Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der südamerikansichen Indianer. Drei Abhandlungen in Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora 1: 4. Åbo 1920.
1920. --, Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador. Three Essays.

*[KS: sources are in the files]

28: Tessman--338-342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-3
116, 113

I. Ideas and customs relating to Agriculture among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians of Eastern Ecuador. II. Hunting and Fishing among the Ecuatorian Indians. III. Birth Customs and Ideas of Supernatural Birth among the Ecuatorian Indians. in 'Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora' I:3. Åbo 1920. *

1921. Anthony, H. E. The Jivaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Natural History. Vol. XXI. N. 2. S. 146-149. *

1922. Karsten, Rafael. The religion of the Jibaro Indians in 'Boletin de la Academia Nacional de Historia'. Quito 1922.

1923. --, Blood Revenge, War and Victory Feasts among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Buletin 79. Washington 1923.

1928. Brüning, Hans H. Reisen im Gebiet der Aguaruna in Baessler-Archiv. Bd. XII Berlin 1928, S. 46-85. *

* [KS: sources are in the files]

Explanation of Plate 59

Fig. 1 Signal drum, Fig. 1 a drumstick; Fig. 2 transverse flute; Fig. 3 comb; Fig. 4 double-skin drum; Fig. 5 anklet rattles; Fig. 6 iron dagger in scabbard, side view and front view; side-blown flute, seen from the side and from the front; Fig. 8 cooking pot; Fig. 9 drinking bowl; Fig. 10 eating bowl; Figs. 11 and 14 stool for women; Fig. 12 stool for men; Fig. 13 knitting pattern for a strap bag; Fig. 15 spindle; Fig. 16 end-blown bone flute.

[p. 341] Explanation of Plate 60

Fig. 1 bone needle used for manifacturing strap bags, Chiwaro; Fig. 2 skeleton frame for a Chiwaro dwelling (the semicircular projection in the rear omitted); Fig. 3 trap with pull action, Kandoschi; Fig. 4 Chiwaro bed; Fig. 5 trap with spring action, Chiwaro-Aguaruna; Fig. 6 trap with pull action used by the Kichos; Fig. 7 skeleton structure of Kichos dwelling.

Caption of Plate 61

Ssantschuma, an Aguaruna. The frame is made of the decorated shafts of four spears.

Caption of Plate 62

A kandoschi (Murato).

Caption of Plate 63

Mummified Sloth Heads, Chiwaro.

Captions of Plate 64 [346]

Tattooings
Figs. 1, 5 and 6: Agurauna men

Caption of Plate 65

Pile-building, used to look out for enemies, Chiwaro (upper left); Chiwaro-Aguaruna with spear (upper right); below: Chiwaro group.

Caption of Plate 66

Chiwaros in front of their house along the Morona River.

Color Plate VII, Caption Translation

Drinking bowl of the Chiwaros (above).
Drinking bowl of the Munitschi (center) and bowl of the Kokama (below).

Caption of Plate 68

Upper left: carrying baskets; lower left: storage basket with cover; next to it a basket to store fish and a double-skin drum; right: bag with strap; above: unfinished plaited bag; below: fur bags with straps.

28: Tessman--342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 101, 131

"The Chiwaros are divided into several sub-tribes, three of which are important: the Chiwaro-Aguarunas, the Chiwaro-Makas, and the Chiwaro-Atschual. The fourth division, the Chiwaro-Uambisa, is smaller; it may be a tribe mixed of Aguaruna and Makas Indians.

The Aguarunas live farthest to the south, in general along the right bank of the Marañon in the large bend which this river makes when it leaves the Cordillera. My information concerning the Chiwaros are based, if not indicated otherwise, on the Aguaruna tribe which I have studied. The Chiwaros show an inclination toward group formations. There could be mentioned, for instance, the Nantipa (or Antipa) along the left bank of the Marañon, but this is nothing but a special group which, due to continuous warlike entanglements, separated from the main group under the leadership of a chieftain (nantipa).

Along the middle course of the Santiago live the Uambisa (also Bambisa, Guambisa, Huambiza); along the upper Santiago and probably also along the Morona River there are the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, who are probably the nucleus of the tribe and the original bearers of the name Chiwaro. Along the upper Morona a part has separated from the main group, ~~but~~ this part does not deserve the designation of sub tribe, etc.
The Aguarunas call the Uambisas uampís or šiwá, while the Chiwaro-Makas Indians are called uákis by the Aguarunas.

28: Tessman--342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-2
116, 101, 131

The third large sub-tribe is that of the Atschual (or Achuaros, Aisuari); they live chiefly along the right bank of the middle Pastaza, especially along its tributary Huasaga. They call the Chiwaro-Makas Indians šuer and the Uambisa and Aguaruna Indians patukma."

28: Tessman--343 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 197

The Chiwaros are a rather homogeneous people; their language is extremely uniform. It is therefore not easy to investigate whether it is true that the Aguarunas are closer related to the Makas Indians with regard to character and to culture in general and that the Atschuals have a closer relation to the Makas Indians with respect to language. (This according to a settler and expert on the Atschual Indians.)

28: Tessman--343 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 161

Karsten, in his Blood Revenge, p. 1 estimates that there are 15-20,000 Chiwaros. This is too high a figure simply because Karsten has erroneously included the Kandoschis. I believe that there are at the most 10-12, 000 Chiwaros.

28: Tessman--343 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 614, 621

The Chiwaros are not subdivided into sibs proper, but many groups must be distinguished, groups that originated from war conditions and and that are named after their leaders, i. e., people of so and so. These groups have not yet had a principal influence upon the social structure of the tribe, though eventually they may have such an influence, especially if the group segregation becomes a permanent one.

28: Tessman--343 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 101

The Andoas are called andóa, the Kandoshis (of whom only the Muratos were known) are called kandóas, the Ketschuas ohúna or moéxen (the latter refers to the inhabitants of the highlands); the whites are called wíakutš or apa-tše, which, according to Karsten, means "papa," though the Peruvians interpret it as "Apache" (Indian tribe) and, in a metaphoric sense, "roughneck." "conqueror."

28: Tessman--343 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 142, 152

The Aguaruna man on Plate 61 is a fairly typical representative of his tribe. The soft, almost feminine features and the sweet smile are in diametrical contrast to the blood-thirsty character of the Chiwaros.

The Indian photographed--his name is Sanchuma--has perpetrated a number of murders.

28: Tessman--343 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

Men wear a loincloth, itípa (itipi according to Ribet). It is a cotton weave with a very pleasant pattern (simple longitudinal stripes of purple color with a black border against a dirty bright-yellow background). It is sewn together of two pieces, like the sleeveless shirt of the Tschamas. The loincloth has a height of 75 cm. and a width of 136 cm. The width results from the widths of the two single pieces, each one about 68 cm. wide. There are several belts to go with it, some ordinary, others better. In most cases an ordinary belt consists of a strip of fur or simply a string made of Astrocaryum (chambira) fibers.

28: Tessman--343-344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301, 291

The ornamental belts are often quite painstakingly made. Some of them are made out of twisted fur strips or out of a woven band (width: 4 cm.) to which are attached pearl strings with triangular pieces of shell from the Achatina snail. There is also a belt made of human hair which projects either only in one direction or in two directions. And there are [344] many other kinds of belts... such as wide ones made of fruit shells, seeds and pieces of vanilla.

28: Tessman--344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 177, 291

One may also see a poncho, that is to say, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the middle in order to pull it over the head. This piece of clothing is to be found (according to Karsten in his Blood Revenge, p. 25) among the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, where it is called awangeama. It is certain that this poncho has been imported from the Ketechua Indians.

28: Tessman--344 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

According to one informant, the Aguarunas pull the penis up with a string under the loin cloth.

Boys up to the age of 10 or 12 go naked.

The women are dressed with a long cloth (tarátše), which fully covers the loins and breasts. (See Plate 65, below.) In most cases it is dyed dark. Even little girls wear a small piece of cloth which later is to be replaced by the taratše.

28: Tessman--344-347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

28: Tessman--347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

'Chest ornaments are just as numerous as the head ornaments. The chest ornament is usually composed of many strands, which as a rule are stitched together at one point only, so that it can be easily pulled apart into its four components. This ornament is worn in such a fashion that the strands cross on the back, while the point where they are stitched together is placed in front. (See Plate 65, upper right.) But they also wear it the other way round. The following are the materials used for these chest decorations: fruit shells or seeds (often of Coix lacryma and of Erythrina), huairuru L., the latter frequently alternating with the shiny pieces of a yellow reed and with small feathers and very often decorated with the whole skins of the most colorful birds. They also use strands (in one instance 46 of them) of braided hair.

28: Tessman--347 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

The Chiwaros wear plenty of necklaces. There are necklaces of pearl interspersed with teeth, talons, feathers, seeds and mother-of-pearl pieces. They have other necklaces which consist of woven bands to which are attached by means of pearl strings half fruit-shells from which a feather emerges.

A special type of ornament are the pendants which are fastened to the breastcloth. In most cases it is a cross formed by pearl strings. At each one of the four corners there are seed-shells dangling on smaller strings of pearls. These seed-shells often rattle; often they have a fragrant aroma.

All of these ornaments are worn chiefly by the men. Only the necklaces are often worn by the women, and so are the pendants on their chestcloth.

28: Tessman--347-348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

Men wear woven rings as bracelets and anklets. Married women wear a woven ring on each upper arm. The anklets are generally woven very simply and without pattern. They are left in their natural whitish color. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., p. 18) they are called patáki. They have very beautiful bracelets [348] with woven patterns and small pendants on strings of pearls or seeds. For instance, the above mentioned triangular pieces of snail shell. The natives also wear rings made of teju skin. These rings are called iwana (i. e., teju). The iwana are worn by both sexes. They have no metal rings.

The earlobes of both sexes are perforated. In the hole they wear a rather long piece of wood (Chiwaro-Makas) or a roll of grass-blades, in many cases decorated with etched patterns. In one case an Indian kept his sewing needles in the roll. Aside from sticks they wear little sticks [AN: German meaning not clear at all.] to which is attached a tuft of yellow and red turako feathers. For festive occasions they wear an ear decoration made of the wing-cases of the buprestid or of the even more beautiful ones of the Rutilide Chrysophora chrysochlora Latr. These ear ornaments are always tied to the roll in the earlobe. They consist of two or three strands of wing-cases and are decorated at the end with a tuft of yellow and red toucan feathers or of white downs. There is no nose perforation. Some women have a perforated lower lip, and through this hole is placed a very thin and short blade of grass.

28: Tessman--348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302, 415

On festive occasions and during war expeditions the men paint their faces with lines and dots, which gives them a truly devilish appearance. The red paint is preserved in small bamboo containers: the bamboo section is sealed off at the bottom, and a piece of fur is used as a stopper on top. They also paint with genipap. According to Reiß and Karsten the Chewaros use for bodypainting a wooden stamp (formerly a clay stamp) in which the pattern is engraved. They dip the stamp into the dye and roll it over the body.

28: Tessman--348 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 304

There are no head presses for head deformation.

28: Tessman--348 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro-
116, 304

Aguaruna men and women make use of tattooing (síikab). Only facial tattooing, especially on the cheeks, is practised. Cf. Plate 64, Figs. 1, 5, and 6. Formerly the tattooing was done with the help of a bone of the spider-monkey.

28: Tessman--348 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302

The teeth are stained black.

28: Tessman--348-349 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302

The men wear their hair long. In the back it is braided into a pigtail, and there is a little pigtail at each temple. These little pigtails are called akaxik. The large pigtail is wound with a woven ribbon (called tsiimat or uakóhama). This ribbon has a length of from 33 to 85 cm., and it is patterned like the loincloth of the men. At both ends there are attached either toucan feathers and human hair or bird-skins hanging on pieces of bone that are decorated with seed-ornaments; the ribbon may also have other ornaments. The ribbon spirals around the pigtail in such a fashion that the ornaments come to lie on the back. The pigtail is often brought over the forehead. The women let their hair grow long without [349] braiding it. Soap is made out of a plant (?). Combs are made of small sticks, which are kept in place at the bottom by plaited work that is done in a pretty pattern. (See Plate 59, Fig. 3).

The house (höa) is a combination of a frame-house and a three-purlin house. It has ridge-purlins that touch the ground. At each one of the gable sides there is a semicircular projection. (See Plate 60, Fig. 2) The walls consist of upright panels of Iriartea-wood. Loopholes are frequently cut out, as may be seen on Plate 66. Very interesting is the nomenclature of the component parts of such a house. The ridge-purlin with its supports is called tšitšimeruke, the ridge-purlin itself is called tšitšimeruke-esari, while the term for the support is tšitšimeruke-axiami. The frame structure is called makui; its component parts have special designations: the longitudinal beam of the frame is called makui-esari, the cross-beam: makui-pauri or makui-yangeri; the upright supports are called makui-axiami. The side-purlin and its supports are called numbixi, the side-purlin itself: numbixi-esari and the supports: numbixi-axiami. The semicircular projections are called texeri, its roundliana: itingamori and its uprights: tšikitšik. The rafters of the saddle-roof are called awangeri, the three main spars of the semicircular extension: akuxkamori, the secondary rafters: texeri awangeri, the crossbeam to which the secondary rafters are tied on the top: anuxtukmori.

In each one of the semicircular extensions there is a door: wáitiri. Newly introduced are ridge-purlin supports, tixeraseri (from the Spanish tijeras), that rest in pairs on the frame. Their lower end is sharpened to a point, which is inserted into the

cross-beam close to the frame-supports, so that only two pairs of such ridge-purlin supports are required. Frequently they are used in addition to the ground-supported ridge-purlin uprights. There are no other cross-beams.

Refuge huts are called aák. They consist of two cross-beams, one being higher than the other. The spars are placed across the longitudinal beams. See cartogram no. 8.

The information given about the hõa was gathered from the Atschual Indians. If I remember it correctly, the houses of the Aguarunas were of like construction. In the Aguaruna territory I saw the most primitive huts erected on sandbars as an overnight accomodation. They slept on a layer of leaves. Where they had their heads, they had several of the fan-shaped leaves of the Carludovica palmata or a palm-frond. Cf. cartogram no. 8.

28: Tessman--349-350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

The bed (píaka) of the Chiwaros is a plank bed on four legs, as shown on Plate 60, Fig. 4. The beds are placed with their longitudinal sides along the wall. A bed consists of pieces of Iriartea-wood that are placed cross-wise. The bed has a long but narrow surface. The side toward the wall (where the sleepers have their heads) is raised considerably so that the bed slopes down to the front. [350] In front of the bed are two forked posts. One prong of the fork is higher than the other. When they go to bed, the Chiwaros place the head toward the wall and the feet over the crossbeam that connects the two forked posts. The edge of the bed is under the knees. Cf. cartogram no. 9. Between the foot-support and the bed there are small fires burning which keep their legs warm. Young unmarried people have special beds which are covered with a plaited mat. Sucking infants sleep in a hammock (tangáma) made of Ficus fiber. Occasionally they are attached to one of the prongs of the foot rest uprights and extended to the prong of another such upright.

28: Tessman--350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 562

Stools, tšimpúi, of the shape shown on Plate 59, Fig. 12 are chiefly used by men; the stools for women are lower. The various shapes of women's stools are shown on Plate 59, Figs. 11 and 14.

28: Tessman--350 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro

116, 354

The fireplaces may be anywhere in the house, but not in front of the doors.

28: Tessman--350 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 412, 287

The fire-fan (awáxin) is made of the feathers of the curassow bird; the quills are connected with two sticks (of the type shown on Plate 76, Fig. 13). Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 589) reproduces a fire-fan which is extremely beautiful: a handle is plaited to the simple fan. There are no plaited fire-fans.

The broom (matéi) is made of the ribs of the pinnate leaves of Astrocaryum (aff.) vulgare (chambira L.). But there are also brooms made of the leafy stems of a grass with broad blades.

28: Tessman--350 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 501, 177

"Canoe (See Glossary) and paddle: kaneitio, according to Karsten from the Spanish canalete (i. e., Indian paddle). Judging from the Spanish name, they must have been imported."

28: Tessman--350 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

Dogs are used for hunting. They keep chickens to eat their meat and eggs. Pork (pigs: kutsi) is eaten by both sexes. In the atšuim region, along the upper Cenipa, a very secluded part of the Aguarunas is said to have very large pigs.

28: Tessman--350 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 222, 262

Palm-cabbage is eaten, and so are the fruits of Oenocarpus bataua (unguki), of Mauritia flexuosa (átaõ), and of Euterpe (sahõ). The larvae of palmer-worms (mũndíf) and a certain ant (uek) are eaten. The Indians eat honey, too.

28: Tessman--350-351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 226

Fishing is just as important as hunting. They stupefy the fish with the poison of a wild leguminous plant (barbasco), called tímu by the Aguarunas and tímiŏ by the Atschual Indians. Another fish-poison is Clibadium (Aguaruna: máso, Atschual: mǎsgŏ). They also have a weir (Aguaruna: wašim, Atschual: wǎsimp). The fish-hook is called sau. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 53) it was formerly made of bone. Fish-nets (lika), according to Karsten, are several meters long. At the bottom they are weighed down with stones, on top [351] they are equipped with pieces of Ochroma-wood. They are primarily used to fence off watercourses, but also as casting nets. and even, when held by three men, as hand-nets. Before fish are stupefied the watercourses are obstructed with an angular fence, on top of which there is a seating platform. (See Karsten, Contributions, p. 56). From this platform the stupefied fish are caught. According to my information fish are also speared with a spear-point made of palm-wood.

28: Tessman--351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

Karsten (in his Contributions, pp. 36 ff.) reports on the hunting customs. My own information is the following: The blowgun(Aguaruna: úme, Atschual: uombi) is wound with liana fiber and has no resin coating. The small sight is made of resin. The mouthpiece is a piece of tubular bone of the white-bearded peccary. They clean their blowguns with a liana which has a cotton tuft in the middle. The small arrows (tsínsak) have points that are smeared with poison (tsias); the Atschual Indians buy the latter from the whites. We gather from Karsten's reports (in Beiträge etc., pp. 1 ff.) that only a few Chiwaros have the knowhow for preparing this poison. There are many prescriptions in connection with the preparation of this poison. According to my information, the quivers are made of bamboo. They call the quiver hinduk. The little arrows are reproduced by Rivet in L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 366. The bamboo-quivers have a tree-calabash at the bottom; the Chiwaro-Makas Indians have such a calabash also on top.

28: Tessman--351 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 224

They have a trap with pull-action (wéiši) for birds, and a spring-trap (tšína) for small mammals. See Plate 60, Fig. 5. They manufacture a large spring-trap in which jaguars are killed. They have well-camouflaged pitfalls with palm-wood points inside. According to Karsten the Chiwaro-Makas Indians call the spring-trap timbya, while the pull-action trap is called kuáka.

28: Tessman--351 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241

Banana--maxétši. They have only the non-poisonous type of manihot (see Glossary). White yam is called kŏngĕ by the Aguarunas and kingii by the Atschual Indians. Pale violet yam is kaímpi. Groundnut: njósi. Makabo =sangu (according to Karsten). Sweet potatoes: íntsi. Pumpkin: yui (according to Karsten). Guilelma-palm: uí.

28: Tessman--351 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 412.

They used to have stone axes (kanámp), but I have not seen any.

28: Tessman--351 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241

Holes are made and bulbs are harvested with the dibble: wẽi (shingi according to Karsten.)

28: Tessman--351 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

Karsten is our authority (in his Contributions, pp.1 ff.) for the following information: Indian corn, Plantain, and Guilelma palms are planted by the men; the other useful plants by the women. This division of labor is related to the Chiwaro belief that Indian corn, Plante, and Guilelma have masculine souls, while the other useful plants are endowed with feminine souls. About the Nüngi, i. e., the good demon of the earth, see Part III. Useful plants are planted in a ceremonial manner, and in this connection they use a great deal of fertility magic. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 5) the Chiwaros also plant beans (mika).

28: Tessman--352 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 263

Sugar cane is called pagáta in Aguaruna and paăto in Atschual language. The juice is extracted by chewing. They swallow the juice, or spit it out, or mix it with massato. But this mixing is done rather rarely. There is no alcoholic sugarcane beverage.

28: Tessman--352 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 273

Massato (nixamántsi) is obtained from manihot with the chewed sweet potato acting as fermenting agent. They drink it only infrequently. They may also add the juice of sugar-cane. Aside from manihot massato they have, according to Karsten (Beiträge, etc., p. 36) a manihot wine (sanucha shiki), which is made of toasted manihot.

28: Tessman--352 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 177

Tobacco (sángo) is taken in the form of juice: they let the leaves soak in water, and then drink the water or sip it through the nose. According to Karsten they have special earthenware glasses for this purpose.

In his Beiträge etc., pp. 56 ff. Karsten deals at great length with the tobacco and the ideas and customs connected with it. The original magic significance of tobacco is still apparent. As a pure stimulant tobacco is a new acquisition of the Chiwaros, which is proved by the fact that for this purpose the Indians use imported tobacco only. The men take the tobacco juice through the mouth or through the nose, the women through the mouth only. The Indians also smoke large cigars, which are placed in a bamboo holder. At a certain festival, when the boys reach the stage of manhood, smoke is blown into the mouths of the novices. This is, according to Karsten, the significance of the tobacco for the Chiwaros: 1) it is a panacea for all diseases, and 2) it is a means to increase the magic power; thirdly, it is an actual narcoticum which produces dreams.

There does not seem to be any coca, and Karsten does not talk about it either.

28: Tessman--352-353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 787, 757

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tessman--353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 757, 463

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

28: Tessman--353 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 263, 252

There are two kinds of salt. One is called wuõi by the Atschual Indians and wõi by the-by the Aguarunas; it is obtained from a salt lake on the Nieva. The other salt (kátsi) is obtained from salt rocks which are found along the Apaga. Salt is not mixed into the food during eating; rather they make paste by mixing salt, Capsicum pepper (hima in Aguaruna, himiã in the Atschual language) and atsámpi and eat the paste while they eat their food.

28: Tessman--353 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 252, 412

To grind the Indian corn they use a stone chopping knife (like 'M.O.G.", p. 166, Fig. 14) on a wooden board. They do not prepare any manihot flakes. They have tubular vessels with pestles.

28: Tessman--353 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 415

They serve their food on bowl-like plates.

28: Tessman--353 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 415

Intoxicating beverages are drunk out of earthernware bowls (pininga). See Plate 59, Figs. 9 and 10. They fetch their water in calabashes which have a hole cut in the smaller part. They store the water in similar calabashes from which the stem-end has been cut off.

28: Tessman--353 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

The one-year old buck is killed because it damages the manihot fields; but its meat is eaten only by a few old men. This is the reason for its unpopularity: since it has only two horns, this is taken as an indication that a sorcerer (túntši) is hidden inside. Only rarely do they eat tapir, since they assume that it is related to the one-year old buck.

28: Tessman--353 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 372

They make fire by rubbing two sticks, both of which are taken either from the liana (kangum) or the bixa. They do not use flints. Farabee tells a Chiwaro-legend concerning the origin of fire. Sr. F.T. Munia (probably should read: Muñoz) told him the story.

28: Tessman--353 [8] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

The men make the strings out of the fiber of Astrocaryum (chambira). Out of these strings the men knit bags with various techniques, but always with a bent bone-needle (see Plate 60, Fig. 1), the thicker end of which is perforated and threaded with the end of the string. An unfinished bag is shown upper right on Plate 68, a specimen for their knitting is shown on Plate 59, Fig 13. Furbags are shown at the lower right on Plate 68.

28:Tessman--353-354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 286, 462

Only men do the spinning. The spindle of the Aguarunas is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 15. According to Rivet (L'Anthropologie XVIII, p. 366) they use a long spindle. The whorl [354] consists of stone-nut (?) and it is set up from below. Only men do the weaving, and they even weave the cloth for the women. The loom touches the ground and is in a vertical position.

28: Tessman--354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 285, 462

Plaited mats (tšintšak-piaki) are made for the beds of the adolescents. The men plait the baskets, which, as a rule, are made in hexagonal meshes. They have carrying baskets (like the two shown upper left on Plate 68) and storage baskets which are more finely made and lined with leaves. Such a basket with cover is shown lower left on Plate 68. There are also smaller baskets of this kind. For the cruder baskets they use material coming from the Carludovica palmata (tšankīn), for the finer baskets the material comes from the Carludovica trigona (kapi). A funnel-shaped basket done in a different technique is shown lower left on Plate 68. In this one they keep fish and carry them home.

28: Tessman--354 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 323, 415

They produce cooking pots (itsinek) with a wide opening (Plate 59, Fig. 8) and pots with a narrower opening for the cooking of massato. The latter ones are called muetsa. Moreover, they have earthenware bowls (pininga) for intoxicating beverages. These pininga usually have the same coloring inside and outside. Their best and most original earthenware product is a bowl-like plate. They are red on the outside, covered with a paste of bixa (ipaku) and the juice of Apocynacee Couma guianensis, lechecaspi L. (naúm). Inside they are decorated with simple patterns (concentric circles, curves, and lines), and they are glazed yellow or green. No other tribe in Eastern Peru makes anything comparable to these plates (see color Plate VII, top). The resin which they use for this is called nétaka. They also have bowls with a double bottom with rattling fruit-shells inside.

28: Tessman--354-355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

One might be tempted to call the war the true religion of the Chiwaros...One is all the more inclined to say this, since warlike acts are in most cases acts of revenge for enchantments so that these warlike expeditions constitute religious acts of revenge against evil sorcerers. But whatever excuses and reasons one may discover, the fact remains that murderous thoughts have become a standard principle of the Chiwaro way of life. For example, one of the Aguarunas whom I had with me in the headquarter of the expedition said to me that "his heart was disquieted because he did not know whom he could kill now."

The Chiwaros live in a permanent state of war against parts of their own tribe, that is to say, Aguaruna is fighting against Aguaruna. And parts of the subtribes fight against other subtribes (for instance, the Aguarunas against the Uambisas). Of course, they also fight against other tribes and also against the whites. The Spaniards were rather badly beaten by the Chiwaros, who were never [355] completely subjected by the whites. The Chiwaros destroyed and ransacked whole settlements (like Borja), killed the men and abducted the women, etc. Later, they made raids on Peruvian outposts and killed a large part of the garrison. Today the Peruvian government, as centruies ago the Spaniards, does not dare to punish the most war-like of all the east-Peruvian Indians so that conditions along the Santiago today are just as insecure as they had been at the time of the Spanish colonization.

28: Tessman--355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 531

The spear (Aguaruna; nánki, Atschual: nángi) is their main weapon of war. It has an iron point, which is as a rule imported from Ecuador. Formerly they may have had a wooden point (palm-wood). The shaft (at least the Makas shaft) is a fine piece of craftsmanship (see Plate 61). I am inclined to regard these shafts of a brightly shining brownish-red and decorated with carved patterns the best artistic accomplishment of the Chiwaros. Next highest I rate the execution of the inside of their bowl-plates, and third in line of artistic achievement are the feathered circlets and the other body ornaments. There are also spears made of one piece of wood (see Plate 65, upper right).

In his book Blood Revenge etc. Karsten gives a description of war and war methods. Karsten tells us that the Chiwaros used to have spears with bone-points. The bone was later replaced by iron.

They do not have slings for the hurling of arrows. No slings at all. No clubs. A long time ago they started to import a dagger with short haft and a long, wide iron blade. (See Plate 59, Fig. 6) The dagger is worn in a scabbard on a belt. Two hollowed-out pieces of wood form the scabbard.

The Aguarunas, Uambisas and Makas Indians have a round shield (tandara, according to Karsten, see his Blood Revenge, Plate 4, right). It is not decorated with feathers. The wood is neither polished nor decorated. It gives the impression three disks were placed one on top of the other, the one in the middle being the smallest.

28: Tessman--355 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 712

They have fortress-like structures (kumbinta according to Karsten) which look like towers (see my photograph on Plate 65. Pitfalls (ñi) with palm-wood points at the bottom are placed close to the paths. They have spearing traps (tanibunchi, Karsten) against enemies, very much like the spearing traps of the Ssimaku (see p. 495 and Illustration 11 on Plate 88). Illustration in Karsten, Blood Revenge etc., Plate 2.

28: Tessman--355-356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727

Much has been written about their war trophies, the mummified human heads. See Category 727. The most complete and the most reliable information on this subject is in Karsten in his Blood Revenge, where he also discusses [356] the preparation of these heads and the ceremonies connected with them. The Chiwaros have also heads of sloths which are preserved in a similar manner. See Plate 63.

28: Tessman--356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 202, 534

They have a wooden signal drum (tundui). See Plate 59, Fig 1. It is a very functional instrument, sounding signals of warning and distress for a people that thrives on raids, war and murders. The drumstick is reproduced on Plate 59, Fig. 1a.

On festive occasions they use as musical instrument a double-skin drum (tambún), which has a short or an oblong shape, as shown on Plate 68 and on Plate 59, Fig. 4, respectively. They beat the drum with a bone or, though less frequently, with a piece of wood. The drumstick is attached to the drum by means of a string. During their dance festivals the Chiwaros wear rattles around their legs. They consist of plaited fiber strands; in short intervals thinner strings are braided into the fiber strands. The thin strings project with both ends to which the halves of fruit-shells are attached with knots. These shells rattle when they collide. See Plate 59, Fig. 5.

The musical bow (tomáŋgu) is kept in front of the mouth like a transverse flute; it is held at the end of the bow so that the string is turned away from the mouth. It is struck with a plectrum. According to Karsten the Makas Indians pluck the string with the fingers. The transverse flute (pinkui, Plate 59, Fig. 2) has two fingers holes at the end; it is blown with the nose or with the mouth. Another side-blown flute with four finger holes and a lump of wax "to prevent the hand from slipping" is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 7. An end-blown bone flute with two finger holes is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 16. A badly crafted reed-pipe with four thin tubes must be regarded a toy rather than a musical instrument. A guitar of very poor workmanship and having only two strings has probably been imported; I received several such specimens from the Santiago region.

28: Tessman--356 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 524

They have no tops, no whizzing disks, no ball games. Rope games are called uámbiši. As a doll they use an oblong calabash. They do not have any wooden or clay-made dolls in human shape.

28: Tessman--356 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 526, 578

According to Karsten wrestling is one of the program points of a victory celebration. According to my own information wrestling is a way of deciding an argument between two Aguaruna men. The two antagonists grab each other with folded hands behind the head, and each one tires to throw the other to the ground. Whoever succeeds in this is the victor, and this settles the dispute.

28: Tessman--356 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

They have no god. Karsten, too, says in The Religion etc., p. 125 that they know of no supreme being or creator. The earth-mother Nungüi can hardly be designated as a goddess: she is judging from Karsten's statements, a demon that has been singled out of the row of the other demons.

28: Tessman--356-357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 756

The soul is called wakaní. At the moment of death the soul leaves the body and goes to heaven, where it leads a better life (has plenty to eat, etc.) in the company of other souls. [357]

The souls of sorcerers enter animals, plants or some natural object, thereby becoming demons. This is at least the belief of the Makas Indians. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., p. 125) this is also believed of the souls of enemies that have been killed, evidently to the extent to which these enemies had been regarded as sorcerers. The souls are then called iguanchi, but at the same time still being regarded as wakaní. From Karsten's treatise I was not able to learn to what extent the thought prevails that the spirits in question are the souls of deceased sorcerers and to what extent these spirits have already a truly demoniac character: demons are always undetermined spirits, perhaps the souls of deceased persons. Wakani, according to Karsten, also means "shadow, image" and finally "higher being."

28: Tessman--357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 753

Magic is believed to be responsible for death caused by undetermined inner diseases and for death as a result of old age. All other deaths, deaths through drowning, snake-bite, wild animals, and accidents are regarded either as magic or as natural. According to Karsten (The Religion, etc., p. 310) the Makas Indians distinguish between sicknesses caused by magic and straight sicknesses (sungura). Karsten is not too clear on this point. On page 309 he states that there is no natural death, on page 310 he says there is, though only in isolated cases, a normal death caused by old age in addition to the magic death. It seems to me that the Makas Indians attributed magic qualities to such deaths as were caused by unknown inner diseases (this included blood-poisoning).

28: Tessman--357 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 562, 756, 789

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called ananténtšo or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

28: Tessman--357-358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 276, 784

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, Kaapi(natéma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (taintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcercer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

28: Tessman--358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

The healing sorcerer, in a cloud of tobacco fumes, sucks the spine out, chews it up and throws it away so that the spine may not return to its owner. The healing sorcerer does not use this spine for magic purposes, since every sorcerer has his own brand of spines.

28: Tessman--358 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 789

What Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 318 ff.) has to say concerning the magic of the Chiwaro-Makas Indians is very interesting and very important. Preparations are necessary for this magic. Aside from the personal monistic magic, which I have described there is also a transmission of magic through animals. In this case, the sorcerer has handed over the spine to a certain animal, or as Karsten put it, "the sorcerer has allowed his soul to enter the animal." The expression "soul" evidently refers to the magic substance, part of which was perhaps given to the animal. Other forms of magic are: to shoot the spines (rays) out of the eyes at any time, even in daytime. (Originally, the evil eye idea!) Another form: to put the spines into the food and drink of the victim; to hang the spines in bundles somewhere in the proximity of the enemy, so that the latter would accidentally come in contact with them. Certain preventives are in use. Against the evil eye, for instance, they grind up a medicinal plant and smear it on to the body with Bixa red. Preventive measures are also taken with regard to certain places where spines may easily have been planted. For instance, the roof of old forest huts may be removed and replaced with a new one, so that the spines that may have been hidden in the old palm leaves have no chance to drop down on the sleeping person.

Demons are also able to carry out acts of magic by sending off spines.

Sorcerers, while still living, have the power to transform themselves into jaguars in order to approach other people with magic.

28: Tessman--358-359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

Excellent material concerning the healing practices is once more given by Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 323 ff.). The treatments are administered in the darkness, after the sorcerer has prepared himself by fasting, the drinking of tobacco juice and of kaapí. [359] The sorcerer has put on black body paint. He conjures up the spirits that could have sent off the spines. He does much rattling with a bundle of certain leaves. He returns to the owner the spine which he has sucked out. The spine may also appear in the shape of a worm, etc. It is the task of the healing sorcerer to find out who the attacker is. In a state of trance he "sees" the attacker. He gives the name of the presumed attacker to the family of the patient. If the patient dies, and should additional victims perish, that is to say, in serious cases, blood revenge is the consequence.

28: Tessman--359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 796

Karsten has pointed out on several occasions that all the Chiwaro festivals have a religious connotation. However, religion enters only to the extent that the natives wish for great fertility, the acquisition of earthly goods, and a long life. Karsten has given us descriptions of the various festivals in a number of publications. The kusúpani festival takes place when the adolescents are promoted to the rank of manhood. They hope to make the young man strong and belligerent. The so called "little tobacco festival" is given for young girls after they had had their first menstruation. The "great tobacco festival" (noa tsangu) is prepared for women; its purpose is to make the women fit and strong for their duties and work. The greatest festival is the festival of the head-trophy (tsantsa). A detailed description of it may be found in Karsten's Blood Revenge. There are no secret rites or ceremonies in an ethico-religious sense. They simply want to obtain the help of spirits, which means, personal advantages especially in their dealings with enemies. During the Guilelma fruit festival, which takes place in March-April, they wish to increase the fertility of nature. Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XIX, p. 79) gives reproductions that show how the lips of the mummified heads are tied.

28: Tessman--359 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

Aside from human tsantsa there are also the mummified heads of sloths. See Plate 63. Karsten (Blood Revenge, p. 33) explains this custom by assuming that at a time when all humans were animals, the sloths had been the enemies of the Chiwaros. Rivet, however, points out (loc. cit., p. 86) that the mummified heads of the sloths are substitutes for human heads if the latter are unobtainable. Farabee, finally, assumes that the sloth-head gives the children a chance to practice. Karsten received his explanation from the Chiwaros, and it must be taken with a grain of salt, since the sloth is a very innocent creature that does not harm other animals. I incline to the belief that, while certain practical considerations may play a part, the sloth must have a certain significance in the Chiwaro religion.

28: Tessman--359 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 796

There are no other cultic rites. No masks. No secret cults. No sacred trumpets.

28: Tessman--359 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 304

Circumcision is not practised.

28: Tessman--360 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 841

The Chiwaros have no menstruation customs.

28: Tessman--360 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

The Chiwaro belief in demons is very pronounced. The demons form the center of their entire religious structure. The demons are called iwandji. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., pp. 126 ff.), all demons seem to have been the souls of evil sorcerers. The greatest demon appears in the shape of an ape, a bear or a doe, and it kills human beings. The Aguarunas told me that this demon was not dangerous but only a prankster. He lives in the forest. Sometimes he beats up adults when they are drunk, but he never kills them. Moreover, he abducts children and tries to lure them into the forest. When children are heard crying, the signal drum is beaten, whereupon the demon lets the child go.

28: Tessman--360 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 787

The Chiwaros are filled with all sorts of undigested superstitious beliefs. They have many religious particles, which they presumably receive from the high cultures of the Andes, but they have not been able to incorporate these scraps into the framework of their own religion. One such particle, for instance, is the belief that a chieftain is going to die when the sun goes down red.

They also believe that the Chiwaros formerly had been animals, the Aguarunas, for instance, crested orioles. See Karsten, La lengua de los Indios, p. 54. The same source also for folk-tales.

28: Tessman--360 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756

The medical practitioner is called wuišínõ (Atschual); he is always a sorcerer.

28: Tessman--360 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 778

Karsten (The Religion etc. pp. 142 ff.) talks about the medicines. One such medicine is the mummified human head (tsantsa); other medicines are shiny stones, the brown stone of the Earth Mother Nungüi, stones and lumps of hair out of the stomachs of animals (hunting medicine), seeds, etc., which are worn as pendants, jaguar teeth for warriors and, finally, the red and black body paint.

28: Tessman--360 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 757

The most important Chiwaro medicine is the rinsing of the bowels with a purgative. They begin with this at the age of boyhood to prevent sicknesses and to make the body strong. Purgatives guarantee longevity; in Loreto they are know as lavativas. They drink, for instance, a solution fo salt in warm water, and add the juice of sugar cane. Capsicum pepper is also regarded as a medicine in case of indigestion. Guayusa is another purgative. To tobacco they ascribe likewise healing powers. Tobacco is used after one has dreamt of a friend: they chew the leaves and spit them into the eyes of the friend. According to Karsten, the Chiwaros are very fond of enemas.

28: Tessman--360 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 624

The chieftain is called kuhaku. In the case of disputes within the group he has no executive, but only advisory powers. He has no greater number of wives than any other respected member of the community.

According to Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., pp. 7 ff.) the Chiwaro Makas Indians do not have any chieftains; they elect war leaders (unta) in the case of war.

28: Tessman--361 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 361

The single house is the typical form of Chiwaro settlement.

28: Tessman--361 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 768, 587

The estate is not destroyed, but passed on to the heirs. The estate is rather evenly distributed among the sons and brothers of the father, and other relatives may get something, too, if they wish. Even the wife is passed on as part of the estate: she goes to the older brother of her deceased husband, and she lives with him as early as one to two weeks after her husband's death.

28: Tessman--361 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 682

Murderous acts and cases of homicide occur within the smallest circles. Occasionally, a husband kills, when he catches his wife's seducer in flagranti. To escape punishment, a murderer always flees; but after a long period of time he is allowed to return and has to pay. This settles the affair.

28: Tessman--361 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 685

Men are rarely, women somewhat more frequently involved in thefts (in the fields!) Abuse is heaped upon the culprit, who must return the stolen goods, if she still has them. No other reparation is demanded. Lost objects, when found, are returned, and a reward is not customary.

28: Tessman--361 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro

116, 838

Onanism is said to occur, but there are no homosexual activities between male adolecents. One settler assumed that this was due to the strong laxatives (purgas) which the youngsters have to take when they are only twelve or thirteen years old, and which make them actually sick for a number of months. While there are no homosexuals with masculine tendencies there are some cases of extreme effeminacy. My informant knew of two such instances. One of them wears woman's clothing and is said to live along the Cahuapanas, another along the Nieva. The latter wears man's clothing, to be sure, but he likes to do all the work (making of pottery, preparing of Massato, etc.) that is generally done by the women. He asked one member of our expedition to address him with a woman's name and not with his masculine name. He lives with a settler and prostitutes himself as the passive partner to the settler's workers. He pays his lovers. He does not practise any active sexual intercourse.

28: Tessman--361 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 836

There are unrestrained sexual relations prior to marriage.

28: Tessman--361-362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 833, 595

Women are married off while they are still children, sometimes at the age of four, often before they are born, sometimes, however, at a later date. If the wife is still a child, then she will be brought up by her [362] husband, who will widen her vulva with the finger until at the age of twelve she is ready for coitus.

A Chiwaro has from one to four wives.

28: Tessman--362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 762

A woman is never asked whether she wants to marry a man or not; in most instances she is much too young anyway. The future husband, who has selected her, arranges the thing with the father or the brother of the girl. This explains why women hang themselves when they are forced to live with a man who may treat them badly or for whom they do not care. If the girl's family agrees to the marriage, the son-in-law-to-be goes on a one-week hunting expedition and collects game, which he turns over to his parents-in-law. The latter prepare a great feast, and the bride is handed over. The husband has no other obligations. Older girls who are not yet married are never virgins, and virginity is not expected anyway.

28: Tessman--362 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 684

Adultery is regarded as a serious crime. A husband is allowed to kill the adulterer if he catches him in the act. If the adultery is revealed at a later date, the scalps of the woman and her paramour are scratched with spines until blood is flowing all over their faces.

28: Tessman--362 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 587

According to Karsten (Contributions etc. pp. 75 ff.) the brother of the deceased marries the widow; only if there is no brother, the widow has a free choece with regard to her second marriage.

28: Tessman--362 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 844

As a rule, childbirth takes place in the bush, where two uprights with a crosspiece are erected, to which the woman clings with her hands. Other women support her. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife of reed-bark and formally buried with the placenta in a ditch covered with sticks, etc. The men, especially the child's father, are waiting in the proximity of the houses, and after the birth is completed, they rush into the bush to see the child and to give it a name. Now the mother goes home with the child to lie down on her bed, which is shielded by a wall of leaves. She turns her back against the fire, since this is supposed to speed up her recovery.

28: Tessman--362 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

Immediately after the birth the father cuts a Euterpe palm in order to take out the palm cabbage, which is given to the mother in the form of soup "so that her milk may flow plentifully." Both parents, but especially the mother, must avoid certain food stuffs that might be harmful to the baby. Neither father nor mother are allowed to step upon the tracks of jaguars or tapirs; no snakes should be killed; and more such precautions must be taken. There is no lying-in for men. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., pp. 64 ff.) the father is not allowed to go hunting or to cut down a bush; he is not permitted to kill a snake, and there are other things he is not allowed to do--for a period of from two to three years.

28: Tessman--363 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

In his Contributions Karsten reports on the various customs connected with birth, for instance, and this is interesting, that newly-born babies are brought into the house through the roof; inside they are received by an elderly man. Then follows a dance. This is chiefly the case with the Atschual Indians.

28: Tessman--363 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 845

Deformed babies are regarded as children by demons: they are buried alive.

Twins occur, and they are desirable since they help to increase the population more rapidly. There do not seem to be any special names for twins. Triplets are unknown.

28: Tessman--363 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 847

There is abortion in cases where the parents are too lazy to bring up a child. No abortion is prompted by the fact that the child stems from a father whom the mother does not love. As abortifacient they use the fruit of the Lecythidacee Grias grandifolia Pilger (sacha-mangue L.), called apei. The fruit is cut and thrown into water, the whole is drunk. They also use the leaves of the Verbena (yapáo) for the same purpose.

28: Tessman--363 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 552

Names refer to animals (for instance, intšamo, i. e., bat), to mountains, to the sun; only a few names are said to refer to plants.

28: Tessman--363 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 764

The burial of older and more respected persons (like family fathers) takes place in the house, from which the other inhabitants then move out. All other persons, with the exception of small children, are buried in the bush near the houses. All people receive a burial by interment. The corpse is clad with the loincloth, provided the cloth is not new; if it is new, an old one is substituted. The corpse, in a stretched-out position, is wrapped in Ficus fiber and tied like a bundle. It is, face up, placed upon Iriartea plates in the grave. It seems that this mode of burial is not customary everywhere, perhaps only on Agurauna territory, for my informants told me that other Indians place the corpse upon a plank bed in a special hut in the bush (like the Muratos do). Infant children are likewise wrapped in Ficus fiber, but buried in a big pot, which is buried in a corner of the house.

Karsten tells us (in his The Religion etc., pp. 142 ff.) that food and intoxicating drinks are placed (probably only once) upon the grave of a family father.

After approximately six months, or whenever one assumes that the flesh has disintegrated, the corpse is exhumed; the bones and the skull are cleaned and placed into a pot, which is kept on a bench in the house. The exhumation takes place in the case of infants and adults, of non-sorcerers and sorcerers.

28: Tessman--363-364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 153, 177

The character of the Chiwaros differs somewhat from that of the average Indian, but it is by no means better. Certain good character traits may be present, such as a good perceptive faculty or a greater vivacity and industriousness. But these good character traits are overshadowed by the [364] overwhelming bloodthirstyness, trickery, and deceitfulness of these Indians. By means of a prolonged severe education it might be possible to raise the level of these Indians, perhaps to a level above the other Indians, but I doubt that this will happen, since this education cannot become effective until all Chiwaros, through causes of a different nature, have become the victims of steadily advancing civilization. At the moment, however, one cannot even think that this bloodthirsty group will ever be tamed, since neither the Peruvian nor the Ecuadorian governments show the slightest inclination to carry out energetic measures against the Chiwaros. A strict military supervision over a period of several decades would be the basis for it; to this should be added a friendly, just, and absolutely social regulation of the barter commerce, so that all exploitation will be ruled out. But this is asking for too much in South America! The whole situation is aggrevated by the fact that the borderline between Ecuador and Peru has not yet been established, and the Indians are therefore between two hostile camps. Rivet mentions the Indian treacherousness, and he says that the missionaries have been unsuccessful. The Chiwaros let themselves be baptized several times in order to gain material advantages.

Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., p. 8) calls the Chiwaros impulsive and choleric.

28: Tessman--364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 124

I was accompanied by several Aguarunas and by one Atschual. Unfortunately, none of them was able to speak and understand Spanish well enough; the conversation therefore had to be done through an interpreter who knew Ketschua. Moreover, I did not have the time to check the information which I received.

28: Tessman--365 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1

116, 104

	Aguaruna	Atschual
1. tongue	ingi	angi
2. tooth	njši	ngyi
3. eye	hī	↑
4. ear	kuwiš	kuiš
5. head	mōk	mōk
6. hand	wuš	↑
7. water	yúmi	↑
8. fire	hī	↑↑
9. sun	itaš	↑
10. moon	nántu	nándš
11. earth (soil)	núnka	núnga
12. stone	káya	↑
13. house (dwelling)	hîna	hîa
14. pot for cooking	itšinek	kirōtšingan
15. canoe	kánu	↑
16. man	aíšmš	aíšmań
17. woman	nōa	↑
18. fowl, chicken	atášu	↑↑
19. dog	yahūa	↑

116, 104

20. jaguar	yahúa	←
21. tapir	pámõ	pamã
22. cayman, alligator	yantáno	yandána
23. stick	nómi	númi
24. manihot	máma	←
25. Indian corn	ša	←
26. plantain		pándam
27. tobacco	sãnku	←
28. one	tikídji	skítsik
29. two	hima	himẽr
30. three	kampátu	kombátam
31. white	tšamá	wuiyákuti ?
32. black	mokúðia ?	šuwuínjõ
33. red	kapántu	kiyákau ?
good (in connection with people)	poinkě	puẽnger
bad (in connection with people)	poinkendjo	inãbtjo
good (in relation to things)	múlji	
bad (in relation to things)	múyi	

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 126

Cartograms
Material Culture

1. Clothing for Men and Women
2. Ear Ornaments and Head-Presses
3. Ornaments for the Column of the Nose and Tattooing
4. Ornaments for the Sides of the Nose and Tooth-Filing
5. Ornaments for the Lips and Combs
6. Structure of Houses (Main Portion)
7. Walls and Projecting Wings of Dwellings.
8. Huts and Chicken Coops.
9. Sleeping Accomodations
10. Seating Accomodations and Brooms
11. Firefans and Saucers for Pots
12. Domestic Animals
13. Fishing Utensils
14. Weapons for Fishing
15. Blowgun, Quiver, Traps

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-2
116, 126

16. The most important edible Plants and their Cultivation (Manihot, Indian Corn, Groundnuts)
17. Sugarcane, Sugarcane Beverages, Tobacco and Kurupa.
18. Kaapi Beverage, Koka, and Guayusa.
19. Salt, Chopping Instruments, and Cornflakes Preparation.
20. Spoons, Drinking and Eating Utensils
21. Preparation and Use of Strings, Bags. Preparation of Fire.
22. Sex of the Spinners. Spinning Products. Shape of Spindle and Loom.
23. Weapons of War
24. Signal Drums, Double-Skin Drum, Rattles
25. Musical Bows, End-blown and Side-blown Flutes, Reed Instrument.

[830] Religious Beliefs

26. Belief in God; Activities of the Soul; Sacrifices to the Soul.
27. Residence and Manifestations of the Soul
28. Types of Sorcerers, Modes of Sorcery (if different, only of black magic). Cause of Death.
29. Weapons of the Evil Sorcerer.
30. The Victim of the Evil Sorcerer. Possibilities of Cures.
31. Magic Apprenticeship. Where does the Magic Power (the Weapons) of the Evil Sorcerer Go When he Dies? What Happens to the Missile When the Victim Dies.

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-3
116, 126

Transformation of the Evil Sorcerer.
32. Circumcision. Menstruation Customs. Cultic Rites. Masks.

Social Culture

33. Sexual Intercourse Between Men Prior to Marriage and Genuine Homosexuals.
34. Premarital Sex Relations. Engagement. Age of the Woman at the Time of Marriage.
35. Who Follows the Marital Partner--the Husband or the Wife? Adultery. Number of Wives.
36. Place of Childbirth. Position of the Woman in Labor-Pains. Behavior of the Father after the Birth. Abstention from Intercourse after the Birth.
37. Burial. Treatment of the Corpse.

Language Families, Cultural Families

38. Distribution of Language Families.
39. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Old Curture Family.
40. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Amazonian Cultural Family (Main Group).
41. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the West-Amazonian and the Ucayalian Cultural Groups.
42. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Cultural Families of the Sub-Andes and of the North.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Photograph 1 [16] A Salesian "Pioneer". The father Albino del Custo who has lived for 40 years in the forest, and who has completed admirable works such as a road 170 km long which he has opened and kept free from the constant advance of the forest through his energy.

Photograph 2 [17] The labyrinth of the virgin forest. The expeditionaries had to open a route with great difficulty through the great extentions of virgin or almost unexplored forest, where dangers represented above all by reptiles abounded.

Photograph 3 [17] The work of the missionaries. La Obra de Don Bosco maintains a series of missions in the interior of Ecuador which are fulfilling a great work of civilization. Here is the father Giovanni Giannassi who has worked for 18 yrs on a grammar of the Jíbaro language.

Photograph 4 [18] Wives of Jíbaro savages. They live near the Lupano River. This tribe is cannibal, but they only eat the flesh of Indians of other races.

Photograph 5 [18] All good friends. The author and his companions, Michele Car, Francesco Bornengo and Luigi Bosio; the first of these lost his way for a while and after a long search the others found him in the cabin in which they were photographed with their new friends the Jíbaros.

Photograph 6 [19] Bridge in the heart of the forest. It was extended across the Negro River through the great efforts and sacrifices of the Salesian missionaries; it is very beautiful and safe in spite of its rusticity.

Photograph 7 [20] A little Indian sultan. A savage of the Napocón River with his three wives who seem to live happily, sharing the task of serving their husband and master who does not trouble himself for anything except hunting and warfare.

Photograph [21] 8 Jíbaro woman. Her face is tattooed with a series of signs destined to conjure the evil spirits without fail; this happens to a great extent among the American tribes.

Photograph [21] 9 Typical representative. The Jíbaros are physically agreeable with well-proportioned figure and regular features. Sympathetic in their manner, they are characterized by an extreme love of independence.

Photograph [22] 10 Two examples of "Tchantchas." The Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales preserved these two examples of human heads reduced to a tenth of their regular size without injury to the regularity and fidelity of the features.

29: Vité--15 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 121

On the 29th of last December my companions: Michele Car, Francesco Bornengo, Luigi Bosio, and I, left Genoa in the boat [motonave] "Virgilio," to study the life and customs of the Jibaro Indians, and, in particular, to film a motion picture on this curious race.

29: Vité--15 [2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122

After fourteen days of navigation, we passed through the Panama canal and then followed the Pacific to Guayaquil where we disembarked at our first destination. After a short rest, the Andean railway which crawls along an incline of some 4,000 meters, took us to Quito, the capital of Ecuador and the highest in the world.

From there we went on to Cuenca which was to be the base of our expedition and where the Salesian missionaries have their principal see. Their civilizing work radiates across many kilometers of savage or almost unexplored lands up the heart of the formidable forests inhabited by the Jíbaros.

In Cuenca we made our preparations, taking measures against the excessive humidity of the forest, which could cause damage to the filming apparatus, our greatest treasure. The complete absence of roads obliged us to organize caravans with native porters, mules, horses, and guides who could open up a route in the vegetal labyrinth.

From this point we went on to Pan and Gualaqeo. We then coasted the Negro River for almost 200 kilometers to Méndez, another see of the Salesian missionaries. From Méndez we followed the course of the Tutangosa River to Macas, where another mission marked the last vanguard of civilization; then we went along the Lupanos River and entered into contact with the "unexplored jungle."

29: Vitá--15 [3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 175

The Jîbaros are located at present in the southern end of Ecuador, adjoining the northern boundary of Peru, in an almost unknown region. Much has been contributed to their study by the Salesian missionaries who were of great assistance to the expedition.

We have lived with the Jîbaros, and, as a result, have been able to acquire a complete knowledge of their customs and language.

29: Vité --15 [4] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 156

In regard to their mentality, it can be said that they do not possess the gift of natural poesy common to so many primitive peoples. They live in communion with nature, and from her they receive a great feeling for liberty and individualism. They live isolated from one another, and, at times, their dwellings are several hours distant from one another.

29: Vité--15-16 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 595, 462

The majority [KS: of the Jíbaros] are polygamous, probably because everything is so constituted as to make it unnecessary for the man, who is the head of the family, to work. The women themselves endeavor to be many in a family in order to divide the work which covers everything from the cultivation of a small garden up to participation in the hunt, in which they play the role of dogs, discovering and following the prey and frightening it with cries and noises up the spot occupied by the man, the lord of the forest. The latter then strikes it with an easy blow of his lance; he does not humble himself whatsoever to pick it up, because it must be carried on the woman's shoulders. They are very jealous [16] and very devoted to their children. They are not acquainted with our caresses and kiss.

29: Vité--16 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 136, 152

In this region where the rays of the sun scarcely penetrate, the road is rough and difficult, and there are nests of thousands and thousands of poisonous reptiles from which one must defend himself as best he can. Here lives the Jíbaro, the savage of the Ecuadorian forest, physically beautiful with a masculine and imposing beauty, congenial in aspect and at the same time terrible because he does not accept domestication.

29: Vité--16 [2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

While we were advancing through this region [KS: the jungle], at first confusedly and then very distinctly, we made out the echo of the beat of the "dúndulos", a kind of drum which the savages use to call to their neighbors with some fiesta in view.

Once precautions were taken not to offend their sensibilities, we prepared our apparatus certain of being able to gather the documentation of their characteristic and barbarous custom, the fiesta of the "tchantcha."

We were not wrong, for around the Jíbaro cabin which we reached after a fatiguing march, this fiesta, which many of the Jíbaros still practice, was in progress. As soon as the designated victim falls under the thrust of his lance, the Jíbaro cuts off the head which for him represents his most precious trophy and carries it to his house on the point of his lance.

From this moment preparations for the fiesta of the "tchantcha" begin. In the meantime the women make plans for providing a great quantity of smoked flesh of pigs, chickens, turkeys and fish, as well as chicha which is their predilect drink and which is prepared exclusively by the women; they masticate the root of the manioc and then spit it into clay vessels, leaving it to ferment several days until it is converted into a delicious drink which is very alcoholic and nutritive.

The hero of the fiesta meanwhile prepares the "tchantcha"; this consists of mummifying the severed head of the enemy, and, after a series of manipulations known only to them, to convert it into a little head, which although reduced a tenth of its normal proportions through the removal of the bones, preserves its primitive features perfectly and marvelously.

First they wash the head, and sew [20] the lips using a fiber strung on a thorn; then they place the head in a bowl of boiling water in which they have cooked beforehand leaves of various plants that grow in places only they know. The head remains for less than two minutes in the boiling water and emits a penetrating and very disagreeable odor.

Then an expert begins the operation of extracting the tongue and the muscles and the flesh around it. He carefully extracts all the bones, making use of knives of different shapes and sizes, while at the same time pulling the skin outward.

Next they fill the head, which has been stripped of bones, with a pap made with the soft part of certain roots, taking care that the contours of the skin retain their form. Finally they place the head, thus prepared, in a bowl with a kind of boiling oil made with seeds of other plants. After this proceeding, the head is reduced to a tenth of its natural size and mummified in an astonishing manner.

29: Vité--20-22 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 126, 727

The expedition witnessed the fiesta as a privilege, for no stranger has ever been admitted to it. It was viewed from a height and the filming apparatus was disguised so that the savages would not suspect the true object of our presence. And so we were present at the fanatic exaltation of the hero, who, seated in the middle of a circle formed by relatives and friends, has in his hand the "tchantcha" and the homicidal lance. Children are excluded from this circle, but the women take part.

After the witch in ceremonial dress has purified the soul of the killer by his exorcisms [22] the orgy commences. It lasts several days and at times for weeks until the provisions prepared for the fiesta are gone.

29: Vité--22 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 609

While the frenetic dance continued and the piercing and rending shouts of the savages reverberated in the air to the mournful sound of the "dúndulos," we decided to retire, for given their great xenophobia, it would not have been strange for these Indians to have been overcome by a sudden access of fury against us,--profane spectators of their fiesta.

We withdrew cautiously and readied for any emergency, by no means at peace with the echo of the "dúndulos" which made it clear that the orgy of blood followed its normal rhythm,--a sign that the Jíbaros have not preoccupied themselves with us.

In the dead of night, we arrived exhausted at the most interior of the Salesian missions where we were received fraternally and surrounded with affectionate attentions.

29: Vité- -22[2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122, 132

The appearance of the equatorial rains which arrived a month earlier than expected this year, prevented us from traveling across Ecuador and Brasil to the Atlantic. We were not able to continue our task after a month's sojourn in the interior of the country, and we had to return to Guayaquil where we embarked on our return to Italy.

29: Vité--22 [3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122, 136

We had gathered together precious material, not to mention a collection of snakes, among which was one that transmits a fatal poison simply by coiling his body, without biting or giving pain, and we had attended a unique ceremony of authentic savages.

30: Franco --140 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 114

In our preceding number we published an article by Felice Vité, member of the Italian Expedition to the Amazon, on the Jíbaro Indians of Ecuador and on their "Tchantchas", mummified heads reduced to a tenth their natural size. In the "Revista Municipal" of Guayaquil, we now find an article by the Director of the Museum of that city, Dr. Modesto Chávez Franco, on this same subject; it is preceded by a note from the editorial staff explaining that it is reproduced from the number of August 11, 1927; in view of the interest it had aroused that number was out of print and insistent requests had been made for its reprint.

As the article published by this Revista also appears to have awakened great curiosity, we believe it opportune to reproduce the report of the Director of the Museo de Guayaquil, with the exception of paragraphs which refer to the process of mummification used by the Jíbaros which are more or less similar to the account given in our Revista. We note that Dr. Chávez Franco adopts the orthography "Tzhantzhas", rather than the spelling we have preferred, believing it to be better adapted to the phonetic of the word.

30: Franco--140 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 171

"These reductions [KS: mummified heads] are one of the mysteries and secrets of our Indians and another of the coincidences of this race with the mummifiers of the other East. There is no one who does not marvel at this art of the forest dwellers. Our Jí-baros have the fame and "beat the record" of mummifiers; however they are not the only tribes who practive it in America.

30: Franco--140-141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 764

The making of the tshantzha is not only for vengeance or for trophy; it appears to have something of a religious nature through the rites that precede its preparation from the severing of the enemy's head to its complete desiccation, and in the other solemn and festive ceremonies which follow in the especially named 'fiesta of the Tzhantzhas.' They are certainly trophies of war, but they are not limited to this. There are tzhantzhas and even entire bodies that are mummified of whites and of blacks. God knows what unfortunate adventurers, explorers, missionaries or rubber workers fell the victim of some imprudence of aggression or sexual assault toward some Indian woman, since the savage is atrociously suspicious and vengeful not only toward his fellow creatures but even more so toward the intruders of his forest. The Museum of the 'Heye Foundation' of New York, as well as tshantzhas, possesses two rare examples of entire bodies: one of a Negro and another of a white with heavy beard of a Spanish or Austrian or Italian type; and, likewise, the head of an aged white man with thick [141] curly and gray hair. The entire bodies of the two have been reduced and preserved in admirable proportions to their size, being dolls of some 70 to 75 cms. Only the hands are a little large in proportion to the new body and the feet are a little deformed by the flexion of the toes upward.

Our Museum possesses two well made tzhantzhas, one of a man and one of a woman, still a girl, both natives. Unfortunately the second has begun to decompose and is somewhat worm eaten, but our constant care appears to have arrested the process. Probably the haste in the acquisition, or the concealment to which these species of contraband are exposed produced a counteraction to mummification which ordinarily would not have happened in the hands of the macabre artificer. What is very mysterious is the proportion in which the hair, the eyebrows and eyelashes and all parts covered with hair remain. It is not understandable how the hair can also be reduced in quantity and length in proportion to the new diminutive dimensions. It is all very well that the skin despoiled of all boney armature contracts gradually, and by means of the manipulations preserves its smoothness and form. But we have no explanation for the fact that a perimeter of 60 cms. of hair, for example, on being reduced to ten and crowding the pores, does not make motley disproportionate brushes of the hair, eyebrows and eyelashes on the compressed skin. Some say that the preparers pull the hair proportionately during the process. We do not believe this, because the eyebrows and eyelashes refute the statement. How is it, that the hairs of the eyebrows and eyelashes from 5 to 7 mm, for example are reduced not only to the proportional number of eyebrows of a new born, but, what is more admirable, at lengths of 2 or more mm only and the thickness of down of a child--

likewise of the down of the beard, of the length of the hair itself, of the down of the nasal fossae, or wherever it may be? Mysteries... ..

The appearance remains unaltered. There have been cases of immediate recognition in the tzhantzha of the person to whose cranium it belonged. A North American gentleman told us inthe Museum this anecdote: 'A traveler succeeded in obtaining a tzhantzha and it turned out to be that of a white man. In the midst of the horror this unhappy sight produced in him, he was tempted to smile when they asked a large sum for it.

'I knew thisman, he said. He was a Yankee carrilano, evil beyond imagination, a scoundrel for whom the penitentiaries would perhaps have given a good sum to carry to the electric chair. After one of his last infamies, he fled, and to be sure, flight and conscience drove him to the Eastern forests of Ecuador. Who knows whether he may not have accomplished there another of his deeds, or have died of hunger or by the arrow, but this is without doubt his head. Poor man....he was worth nothing in life, but is now valuable as a museum piece. The savages have given his head a value it did not have while he was living.'

30: Franco--141 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The head of the man that we have here appears to be of an elderly person for there are some gray hairs. He may not be a Jíbaro, but may belong to some other less cleanly tribe, for, in his hair, one can see great quantities of louse eggs and larvae which are also mummified, the poor things. The head of the female lends itself to reflection and detracts somewhat from the affirmation that the tzhantzhas were exclusively trophies of war, that is unless the ferocious warrier had carried his vengenace so far as to kill the wife of the vanquished; or perhaps it is the head of an adulteress punished with death. Ours is a girl of 12 to 14 years in appearance; it is well known that the marriages between these tribes are very premature. Because business-- now understood by the Indians in regard to the barter of guns, machetes and other weapons that the foreigners offer them--has whetted their natural malignity and made them lose respect for their natural dead, they avail themselves also of these heads in order not to have to await the late and dangerous event of a victory over their enemy, or the adultery of one of their odalisks.

The tahantaha has an almost black or deep reddish-ochre color perhaps because of desiccation at the fire, perhaps because, as some say, their preparers as a last touch give them an unction of pulverized charcoal. The masculine tahantaha of this Museum is elegantly adorned with a crown of diminutive feathers of pretty colors embedded in a band of very fine skin of some small rodent. They have placed some attractive little earrings of colorful feathers in the ears and at the neck a tiny necklace of beads. That of the woman does not have any decoration. The large perforations which the Jíbaros make in order to insert the little rods of bamboo or cuyel as earrings are not observable in the ears nor is the perforation in the lower lip of the woman, for the same purpose, observable here. The perforations in the lobes of the ears appear to have been almost as small as those of civilized women. This may be one proof more that the victims were not members of the Jíbaro tribe.

Through a white mountaineer, we have had the opportunity to see the reduced heads of cats, sloths, and other animals without horns, for those with horns do not lend themselves to reduction because of the irreducibility of these weapons.

30: Franco--141 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 778

The tzhantzha, we have said, fulfills a religious purpose; although its precise meaning is very difficult to interpret. The tzhantzha is a fetish that guarantees abundance, fertility, good fortune of the kindred and tribe, victory over enemies and evil to its owner, his family and friends; it bestows immortality, and serves as oracle to whomever interrogates it drinking the 'natema', an overstimulating and dream-producing vegetal liquor. If in repeated instances it fails in its power, the hair is shaved off and the head is thrown in the forest or river.

30: Franco--141-142 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The 'tshantsha-tucui' or fiesta of the tshantsha [142] is described by our orientologists as follows: When the warrior has killed his enemy he knows that he must prepare for the celebration of the fiesta, under pain of suffering a thousand evils that fate will bring him, personally, and in house and chacra. For this reason, from the moment he severs the head until its complete desiccation, he goes through all the rites and secret ceremonies, since the deceased himself will not leave him in peace if he fails to. As soon as he arrives with the trophy, an old man specialized in these functions, gives the Jívaro an emetic infusion of tobacco to drink; this starts a period of fast previous to the fiesta and feasts of several days. Then the owner begins a rigorous fast that sometimes lasts months and even several years and that consists in not eating zahino killed by arrow, or certain birds or other animals. He can only eat certain little birds killed by blowgun, yucca, bananas without pepper and smoked fish. He paints his body with black lines with the dye of Genipa; on his face he paints a black stripe from ear to ear, passing under his nose. He makes the sacrifice of going without his lance and abstains from sexual contact. The preparations are: to sow two or more chacras of yucca and bananas. In the course of the preparation of the field, the sowing, the gathering, etc. a year or more must pass. After the harvest the larger quantity of chicha is made; much hunting and fishing is done and the meat and fish are stored in leaves and dried in smoke. All these are provisions for the many guests and several days of festivity. The expense is so great that sometimes several relatives or friends unite to cooperate on the cost, or sometimes various owners of tshantshas unite to share the fiesta.

30: Franco--142 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

On the day appointed friends and neighbors come, some having made a ten days journey. They all wear their fiesta dress. As the initial rite, an ancient master of ceremonies sits down in the middle of the house. The Jíbaro enters now armed with his lance and carrying the trophy by its hair in his left hand. The old man rises, takes the tzhantzha and summerges it successively in a decoction of tobacco, in a receptacle with chicha, and in another with pure water. He makes the hero sit down and serves him these three liquids to his gratification. Thus, the fast ends and the hero is now free of all obligation to the deceased. He rises, takes his trophy and hangs it from the principal pillar of the house which is adorned with flowers, foliage, feathers, etc. etc. The old man begins to speak and launches upon a harangue in praise of the Jíbaro whom he calls 'brave and skilfull avenger of an offense' and full of insults and reproaches to the dead. When this is ended, the men take hands, form a circle around the head; at times as a very high honor the wife of the hero is admitted to this circle; then the enormous circle breaks to dance and unusual sardana inside the house, while other circles are forming outside, or the same but much extended circle enters through one door and leaves by another, encircling the house. The women also make their circles. From time to time the old man takes down the tzhantzha and hangs it on the neck of its owner, and the dancers pay homage to it on passing in front of it. All this goes on in the midst of the extravagant, shrieking clamor of the tundui, the drums, flutes and trumpets, etc.

30: Franco--142 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

Immediately following the old man distributes the provisions, and the 'piningas' filled with whitish chicha circulate. The orgy lasts for days. When the Indian is intoxicated, he withdraws, takes an emetic, bathes himself and returns stronger and fresher than before to the hubbub and the saraband. For these days the guests live at the expense of their host. On the evening of the sixth day great bowls of excellent broth, in which they have boiled ten or more fleshy hogs, are prepared. Each takes his portion and in the morning he receives a piece of raw meat as final refreshment and remembrance which he will carry to his house or take on the road.

30: Franco--142 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 555, 766

The warrior who has the greater number of trophies acquires the title 'Cocarama'. Cinctures for adornment in war and in the fiestas only are made with the hair of the tshantshas; and the owner never presents it or trusts it to anyone. His relatives bury him with the cincture when there is a lack of tshantshas; they do not keep the cincture, in this case, as a sacred remembrance of the valorous relative.

30: Franco--142 [4] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 171, 727

The custom of making tzhantzhas has not been confined to the Jíbaros. Its existence is evident in Tiahuanacu, in Pirúo, in Manab; and the conquest observed some mummified Inca kings. This proves the contact and perhaps unity of the present Jíbaros with the ancient tribes who were civilized. The puruhaes sacrificed to the Chimborazo twice a year a young and handsome Indian girl, as well as the first born; they they embalmed them and preserved them with great veneration in their houses in beautiful vases made for the purpose.

30: Franco--142 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 175, 727

Ancient chroniclers say that Huáscar had sworn to make a vessel for drinking out of Atahualpa's head, and that when Atahualpa triumphed, it was he who did so with the head of the vanquished chief. Velasco denies this, bearing in mind the delicacy and grace of Atahualpa who from an early age had been the idol of his parents and who was educated in exaggerated cleanliness and elegance. In these things Atahualpa was so demanding and lordly that he would not put his feet in their sandals of gold on the floor unless the floor was swept before him; he did not spit but in the hands of some great dame, and he only ate and drank select dishes prepared with the greatest cleanliness.

39: Franco--142 [6] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116. 764

Mummification was a custom from very remote times in America also, although not so perfect as in Egypt. The Incas appear to have perfected it somewhat. They extracted the viscera and substituted certain preservative herbs, coca among them, and in one of the cavities of the body they introduced a small receptacle full of balsam liquid which precipitated the desiccation; then they put the body in a large well-sewn basket made of cat tail [totora].

31: Danielsson--83 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 122

"The material for this study was collected during travels in Western Amazonas, October 1946--January 1947, as a member of the Finnish-Swedish Amazon Expedition, and during a second visit to the same area in March-April 1948. Dr. George A. Lundberg, University of Washington, suggested the study to me, and together with Dr. Stuart Dodd, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, has made many valuable suggestions. Dr. Rafael Karstein, [sic] University of Helsinki, Finland, specialist on the Jibaro anthropology and leader of the Finnish-Swedish Amazon Expedition, has supplied me with much information. For help in collecting material I am indebted to Father Juan Ghinassi and Sr. Guillermo Lopez, Chinimbi, Ecuador. I am also greatly indebted to Orabelle Connally for drawing the charts and to Lenore Dickson and Virginia Hertzler for critical and extensive proof reading of the manuscript and the proofs."

"As often has been pointed out, the advance of sociology depends principally on the development of objective techniques of determining social interaction in human populations and on the formulation of universal laws for describing this interaction. The principal obstacle to the development of these new techniques and to the formulation of general laws is the difficulty of undertaking experiments. This difficulty is, of course, chiefly one of ethical attitude. Sociological experiments are not yet in public opinion regarded as naturally permissible as experiments in the natural sciences. This attitude is a real and considerable difficulty. The idea underlying the present study is that while we are waiting for a change of public opinion sociometric studies among primitive peoples (the term 'primitive' here of course meaning 'not having a written language') might in some cases give us a substitute for experiments, or in any case that studies of this type might contribute to the basic work on sociological theory and method.

The characteristics to be sought among primitive peoples which would be favorable for the sociological researcher with the mentioned point of view in mind are the following:

1. Relative isolation from other primitive tribes and from other cultural groups, thus limiting the number of disturbing influences.

2. Small number of individuals, permitting not only a sampling, but a complete canvass.

31: Danielsson--83-84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 121, 571

3. A simple social structure, at least in comparison with the civilized [84] societies ('those having a written language'). The structure is generally simpler among primitive peoples of course principally due to the fact that indirect communication, in space and time, is very limited. As a consequence, in a primitive society basic sociological patterns underlying all human behavior could more easily be found.

As a primitive people, the Jibaro Indians from Western Amazonas, chosen for the present study, seem to fulfill these requirements."

31: Danielsson--84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 131, 181

"The location of the Jibaro Indians is shown on Map I. This region is mostly a plain land with dense tropical jungle and many rivers and streamlets. Some mountain offshoots from the Andes, however, are to be found in the western parts. The communications are difficult, and natural barriers divide the territory. The total number of the population is unknown, but a guess of something around 10,000 seems justified. The Jibaros are one of the few tribes in Western Amazonas that has managed to maintain their political and cultural independence. White settlements exist only along the fringe of the Jibaro country and in the form of some isolated garrisons on the Morona and Santiago rivers. On the whole the Jibaros have successfully resisted all civilizing impact."

31: Danielsson--84 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116

"The Jibaros are collectors of food, cultivators, hunters, and fishers. The staple food consists of manioc, plantain, and potato, to which occasionally is added game and fish. Pigs, fowls, and ducks are maintained as domesticated animals, but they are usually killed only at feasts and celebrations. Division of labor is practiced, the men doing the hunting, fishing, clearing of the fields and building of the houses, the women cultivating the fields and keeping the household. (2)"

"2. For a more complete and detailed description of the Jibaros, see Rafael Karsten The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas, Helsingfors, 1935."

31; Danielsson--84 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 134, 361

"As the rains are very heavy and frequent the uppermost thin layer of humus is washed away from the fields in a few years time. Consequently the Jibaros stay in the same place only as long as the fields are able to produce crops; and then leave to find a new dwelling-place. (This seems to be the real reason for their semi-nomadic character, frequently ascribed to the so-called 'wandering instinct.') Usually they move around within a very limited area."

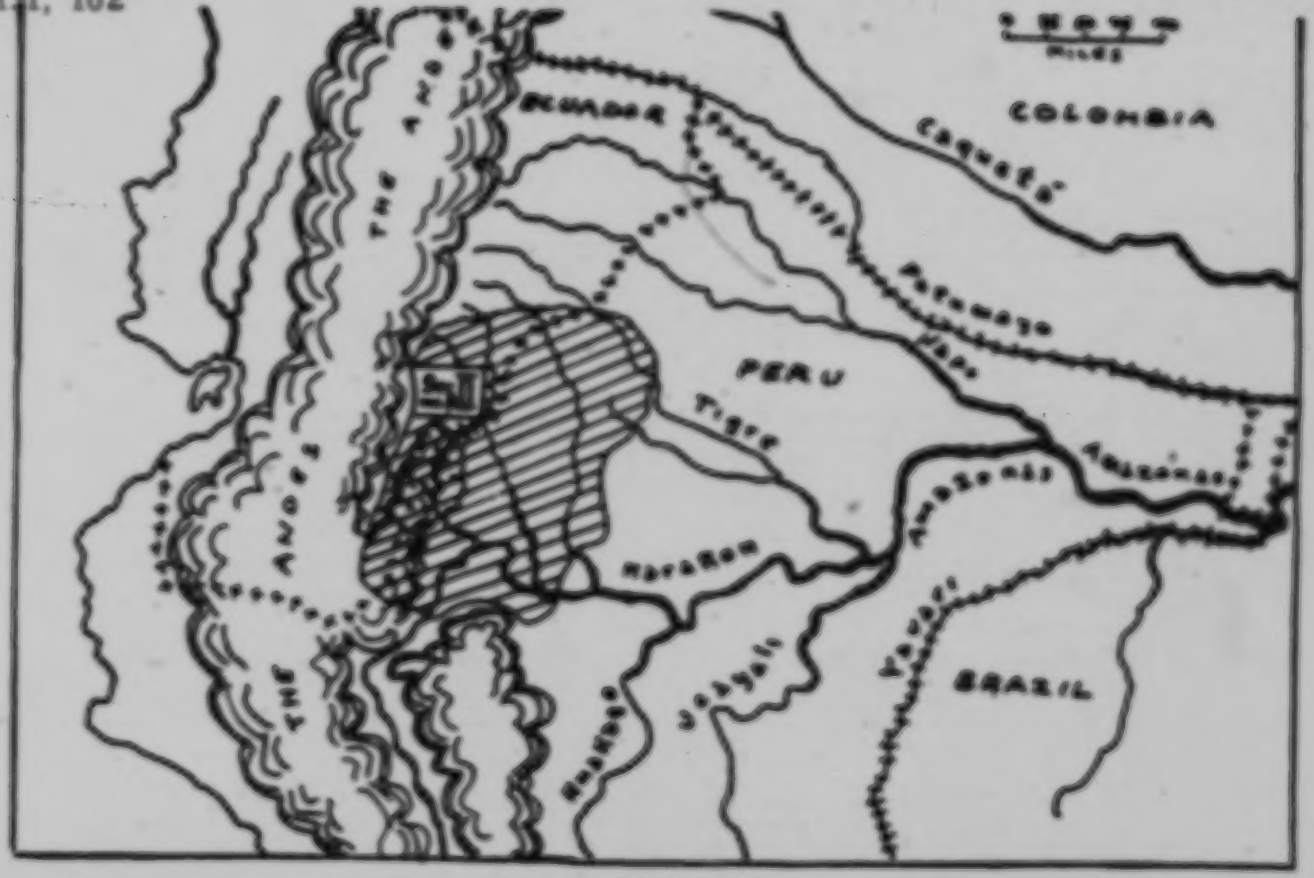
31: Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for describing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

31; Danielsson--85
116, 131, 102

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro



MAP I

31: Danielsson--86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 592, 162

"Each house-group is made up of various men and their wives and children. A usual combination is: the head of the family, some of his brothers and sons and some sons-in-law, each one with his wives and children. That the Jibaros practise polygamy seems to be easily explained by the fact that the continual wars and fights have greatly reduced the male population. The sex ratio for the adult population, for instance, for the groups studied is 69 men to 168 women. (See Table I)."

Ii: Danielsson--86 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 622, 103

"There is no permanent chief for the different geographical groups. (Each cluster of houses is named after the rivulets where they are situated, as for instance the Patucas, the Yurupanas, the Yaupis.) The family head is the highest authority and his power is limited to the members of his house. Only in time of war are chiefs appointed for larger units, but their power is provisional and confined to the war-period only."

31: Danielsson--86 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 721

"Great hostility exists generally among and between the various geographical groups, and wars of extermination are often waged. It is at these occasions that the head-trophies are taken and prepared, thus giving the Jibaros their popular name: The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas."

"The so-called 'fight-instinct' has frequently been mentioned as the cause of the warlike character of the Jibaros. There seem, however to be less mystical explanations, and the most common causes of fights and wars are probably the following: Violation of social mores, wish for revenge, damage through witchery, traditional rivalry, enmity, and stealing women.(3)[89]

It should, however, be noticed that there is a difference in practice concerning the killing within the same geographical group and between different geographical groups. In the first case, jus talionis is strictly followed. The same number from the enemy family is killed that was lost by the offended family. In the second case, namely, conflicts between different geographical groups, a complete war of extermination is carried out."

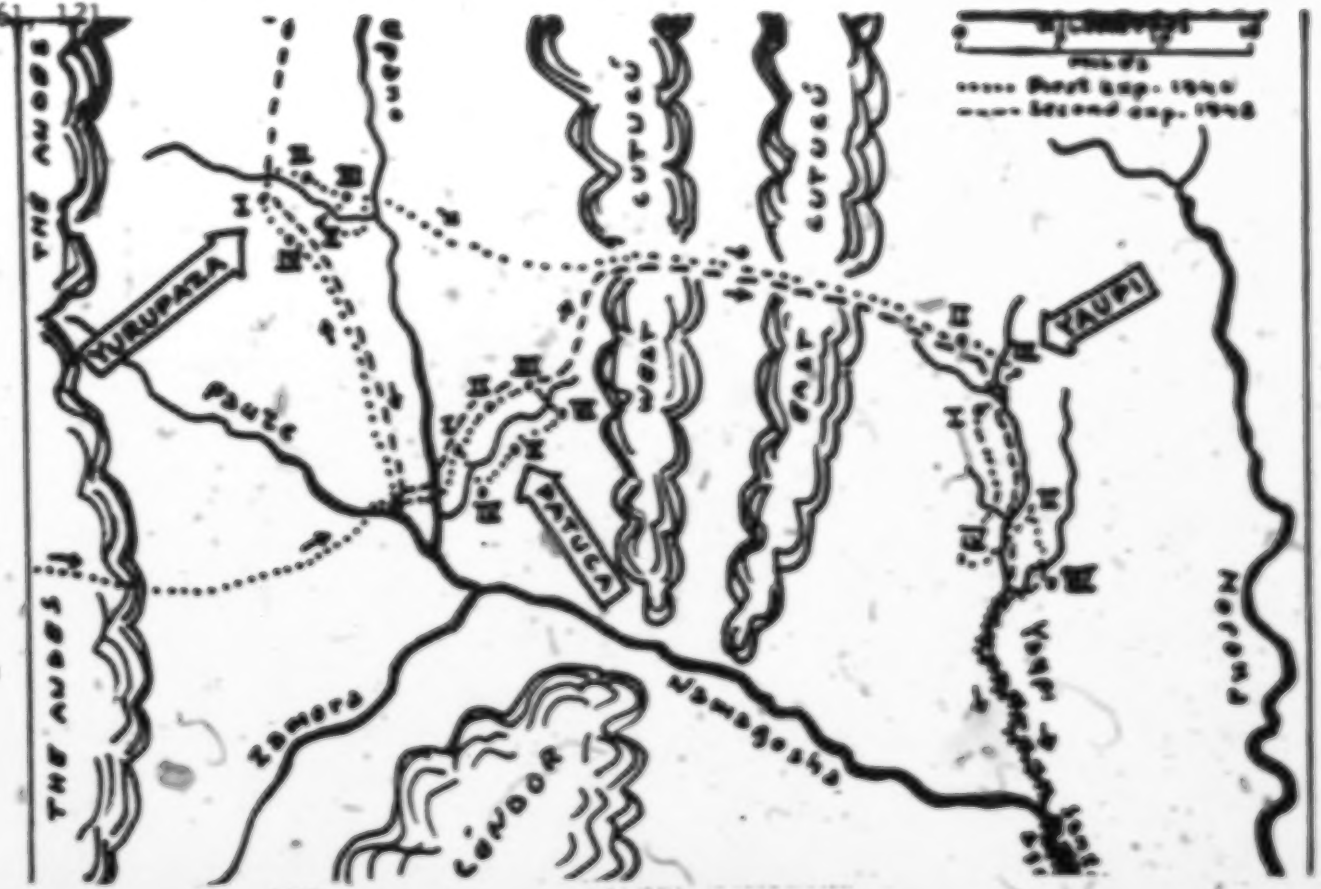
"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]

"3. [Footnote 3; pages 86-88] That controversies on account of such factors as listed here usually lead to open fighting and killing is of course due to the lack of an established common law maintained by functional groups (police, judges, wardens), as the Swedish philosophers Hagerstrom and Olivecrona have pointed out. An experiment was made among the Yurupaza Jibaros in collaboration with Father Juan Ghinassi and with the consent of the Indians themselves. A jail was built at Father Juan's courtyard, and the Indians agreed to bring there all delinquents whom they unanimously regarded guilty, instead of letting the involved parties fight it out as they had done before. (As a matter of fact the majority of the Indians usually have a clear idea about who is the guilty according to the mores.) This turned out to be a working solution. The Indians considered the mere act of confinement as such to be a sufficiently severe penalty (the lack of liberty [87] is the greatest misfortune and shame that can occur to a Jibaro Indian), and the time of confinement was of no importance to them. The common 'sentence' was one or two days. All attempts to give Father Juan also judicial power were, however, in vain. The Indians correctly pointed out, that in spite of the fact that he had lived among them for the last twenty years, he didn't know as much as themselves about the mores and traditions of the society. During the subsequent seven months seventeen Indians were sentenced to imprisonment, and Father Juan's last report says that the rate of fighting and killing has decreased considerably. None of the Indians had insisted on long

prison terms, but some of them suggested that Father Juan should insult the prisoners several times a day as an additional penalty. All the 'plaintiffs' declared themselves to be content with the arrangement of imprisonment as a penalty."

31: Danielsson--87 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro

116, 361, 121



31: Danielsson--88
116, 162

TABLE I

TOTAL POPULATION IN THE THREE GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS

Family number	Adults (Initiated) Men: Married	Adults (Initiated) Men: Unmarried	Adults (Initiated) Women: Married	Adults (Initiated) Women: Unmarried	Children (Not initiated) Boys: Unmarried	Children (Not initiated) Girls: Married	Children (Not initiated) Girls: Unmarried	Total male	Total female	Total number
					Patuca					
I	4	0	11	3	9	1	7	13	22	35
II	4	1	9	1	4	3	5	9	18	27
III	3	0	7	0	7	0	6	10	13	23
IV	5	0	18	2	6	2	9	11	31	42
V	3	0	8	0	5	1	[illegible]	8	12	20
VI	3	0	5	1	2	2	2	5	10	15
Total	22	1	58	7	33	9	32	55	107	162
					Yurupaza					
I	5	1	14	2	10	0	12	16	28	44
II	4	0	55	0	4	2	3	8	10	18
III	3	0	8	1	4	0	5	7	14	21
IV	3	0	77	0	5	1	7	8	15	23
V	5	1	12	2	12	2	10	18	26	44
Total	20	2	46	5	35	5	37	57	93	150
					Yaupi					
I	5	0	9	0	14	3	15	19	27	46
II	4	0	11	1	13	0	14	17	26	43
III	3	1	8	0	11	0	9	15	17	32
IV	3	0	4	0	6	1	7	9	12	21
V	4	0	11	1	6	1	8	10	21	31
VI	4	0	7	0	4	2	5	8	14	22
Total	23	1	50	2	54	7	58	78	117	195
Total	65	4	154	14	122	21	127	190	317	507

(1946-48) 1949
Jivaro

31: Danielsson--89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 173, 202

"Indirect communication is very limited, consisting only of some few standardized messages circulated by the signal-drum to overcome distance in space, and of some orally preserved traditions to overcome distance in time."

31: Danielsson--89 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 776

"Beliefs in spirits, both benevolent and evil ones, are common and some of these spirits are supposed to be located in plants and animals and are in these forms objects of worship."

31: Danielsson--89 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"The present study is of the 'atomic' type.(4) Each individual is regarded as a unit integrated in a system, in the same way as the atoms form certain patterns in the so-called material world. The interaction between these units is in our case described in terms of attraction and repulsion.

The field-work was made easy by the fact that the Jibaros are extremely aware of and outspoken about their relations to each other. The continuous wars and fights have sharpened their feelings of friendship and hostility. As an example of this can be mentioned the not uncommon habit of the family head of beginning the day with a loud and fierce recitation of the names of enemies, so that the family members may not forget them. Repulsions, which sometimes have been difficult to record in our civilized societies, turned out to be even easier to get than the attractions."

"4. The point of departure is to be found in the works of J. L. Moreno and George A. Lundberg, as presented in such publications as for instance: J. L. Moreno: Who Shall Survive? Beacon House, N. Y., 1934; and 'Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences', Sociometry, Vol. 1, 1937; Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939. 'Social Attraction Patterns in a Village', Sociometry, no. 3-4, 1938, and 'The Growth of the Social Sciences', The American Journal of Sociology, no. 6, 1945."

31: Danielsson--90-91 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 128, 571

"The cohesion within each group is shown in Table III. It is strikingly high. In all the geographical groups some few individuals have a central position chosen by the majority. Few or no choices are made by individuals from outside their own geographical group and few choices go to outsiders. The centripetal tendency is pronounced. The cohesion is computed by the following formula:

$$\frac{\dfrac{\dfrac{Ca + Ci}{I}}{Co}}{0} + \frac{O(Ca + Ci)}{ICo}$$

[91]

where the letters indicate:

I = Number of individuals in in-group
0 = Number of individuals in out-group who receive choices from the in-group
Ci = Number of choices coming in
Co = Number of choices going out
Ca = Number of choices among the members of the in-group"

" TABLE III
Cohesion Within Each Geographical Group

Group	Choices per capita per members of in-group
Patuca	21.00
Yurupaza	9.50
Yaupi	10.66

This centripetal tendency is graphically demonstrated in the Charts II, IV and VI. If we for instance take Chart VI, the I (the number of individuals in the in-group) is 3 (Ila, VI6D, and VI23D), 0=16, * Ci=26, Co=16, and Ca=6. The result according to the formula:

$$\frac{16(6+26)}{3 \times 16} = \frac{512}{48} = 10.67 \text{ "}$$

* Not indicated on the graph.

31: Danielsson--91-100 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 571

"In Charts II-VII [KS: see pp. 94-99] some dominant groupings are shown. For the sake of lucidity the relations between all the marginal individuals are not shown. Only for the central constellations with which we are primarily concerned is the complete web of in-and out-going choices charted.(6) [92]

In Chart II, the attraction pattern, Patuca, the central figure V120E, chosen by everybody, is a ceremony man. Priests in the proper sense of the word do not exist among the Jibaros, but there is always a special performer of the rites during the important feasts, the victory feast, the tobacco feast, etc. The term whuea is used for the ceremony man which means 'old man'. As indicated in the chart (three circles) V120E is also the oldest one in this geographical group, having lived three generations.

"6. Each Arabic figure refers to one person. The Roman figures indicate membership of family house, and the capital letters indicate relationship by birth. The number of the circles for each individual indicates the age, one for each generation of descendants that he has lived (as the Jibaros have no system for computing the age comparable to ours). Attraction and repulsion are indicated in the following way: after George A. Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939, page 352, which follows closely Moreno's original instructions in Who Shall Survive?, p.114-16, Beacon House, 1934."

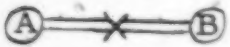
In Chart III, the repulsion pattern, Patuca, the individual V17D, has an equally central position. He is a sorcerer, with which word is meant a person trained in the magic arts, possessing the power of harming and curing people.(7) The great strength that he possesses is indicated by the fact that although he is repelled by all the individuals 1-16, he is in his turn indifferent. He regards them as inferior and harmless, as they do not have his knowledge of the magic arts.

In Chart IV, the attraction pattern, Yurupaza, the individual IV15C, is the chief in war, and 119C the ceremony man. At the time of the study a war is being waged against the Yaupis and IV15C, who is the most experienced one, has been appointed. In Chart V, the repulsion pattern, Yurupaza, a typical conflict situation, due to violation of traditional rights, is depicted. The family groups I and V are enemies of the two brothers III, 10D and III, 11D, and the hostility is mutual. The reason seemed to be a quarrel over the fishing rights in the river. (As can be seen on Map II family house III is situated between family houses I and V along the river). The difference between this repulsion pattern and that on Chart III, where the cause is sorcery, should be noticed. In Chart III the relations are repulsion-indifference, in Chart V repulsion-repulsion.

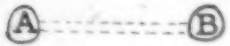
"7. The sorcerer is not always a professional man. The term medicine-man is generally used for a professional sorcerer."

31: Danielsson--91-100 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-3
116, 571

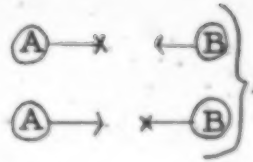
Mutual attraction



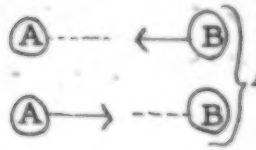
Mutual repulsion



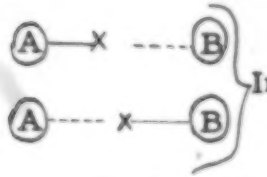
Mutual indifference



Attraction-Repulsion



Attraction-Indifference



Indifference-Repulsion

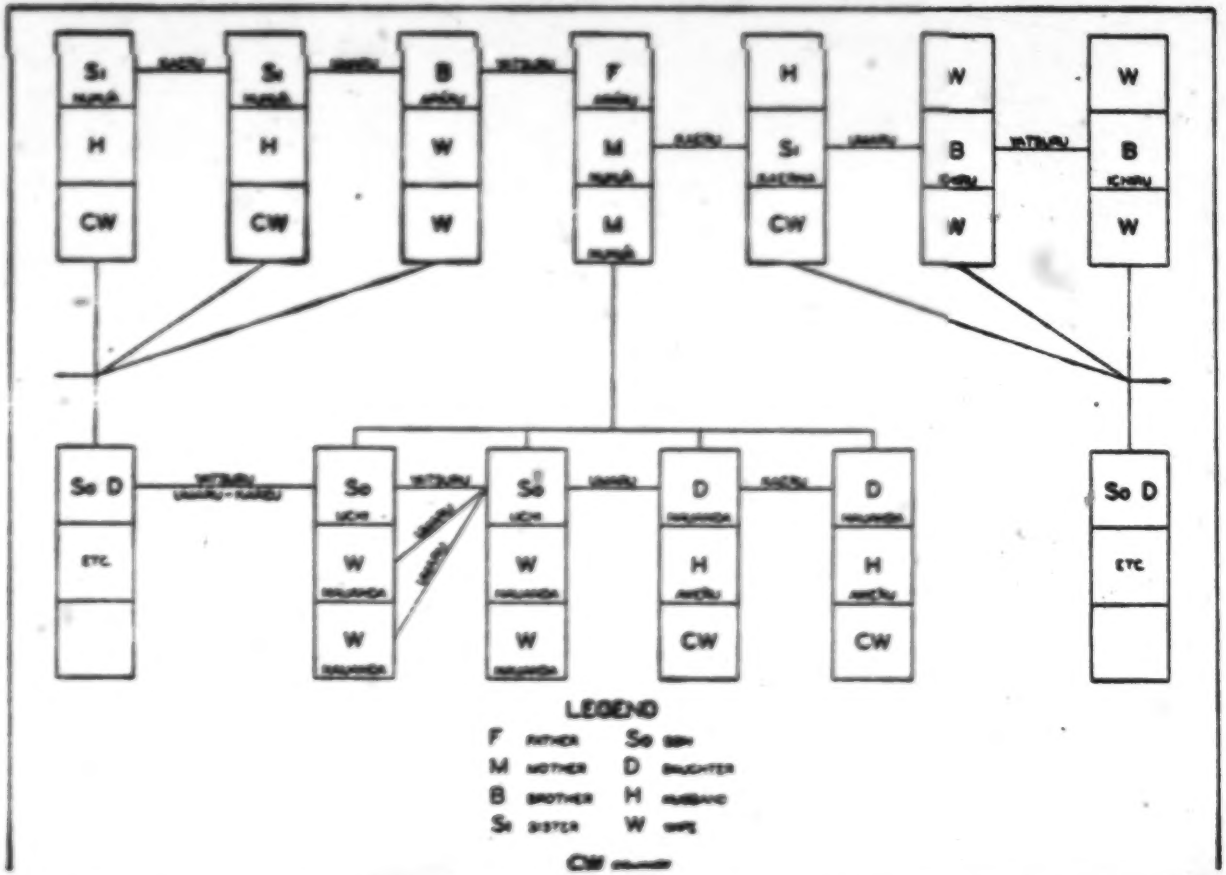
[100]*

* [KS: Pages 93 through 99 contain charts.]

In Chart VI, the attraction pattern, Yaupi, the clevage into two groups is very apparent and corresponding to the geographical locations. Individuals 2-12 all chose IIA, and individuals 13-22 all chose V16D. Those central persons are both chiefs in war. They chose each other, thus uniting the two groups, and individual V123D, the ceremony man. The latter is evidently chosen because of the support from the two key-persons, who are the 'power behind the throne.' (A separate inquiry indicated that the majority wanted IV14C as ceremony man.) The reason why two chiefs in war were appointed, was that the Yaupis were waging two wars at the same time, one against the Yurupazas and another against a group further down the Santiago river (not included in the present study). IIA was a specialist on war against the former group and V16D on war against the latter group. In Chart VII, the repulsion pattern, Yaupi, the key-persons have interchanged their positions, which indicates that they both are practising black magic towards their respective out-groups."

31: Danielsson--93 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 601

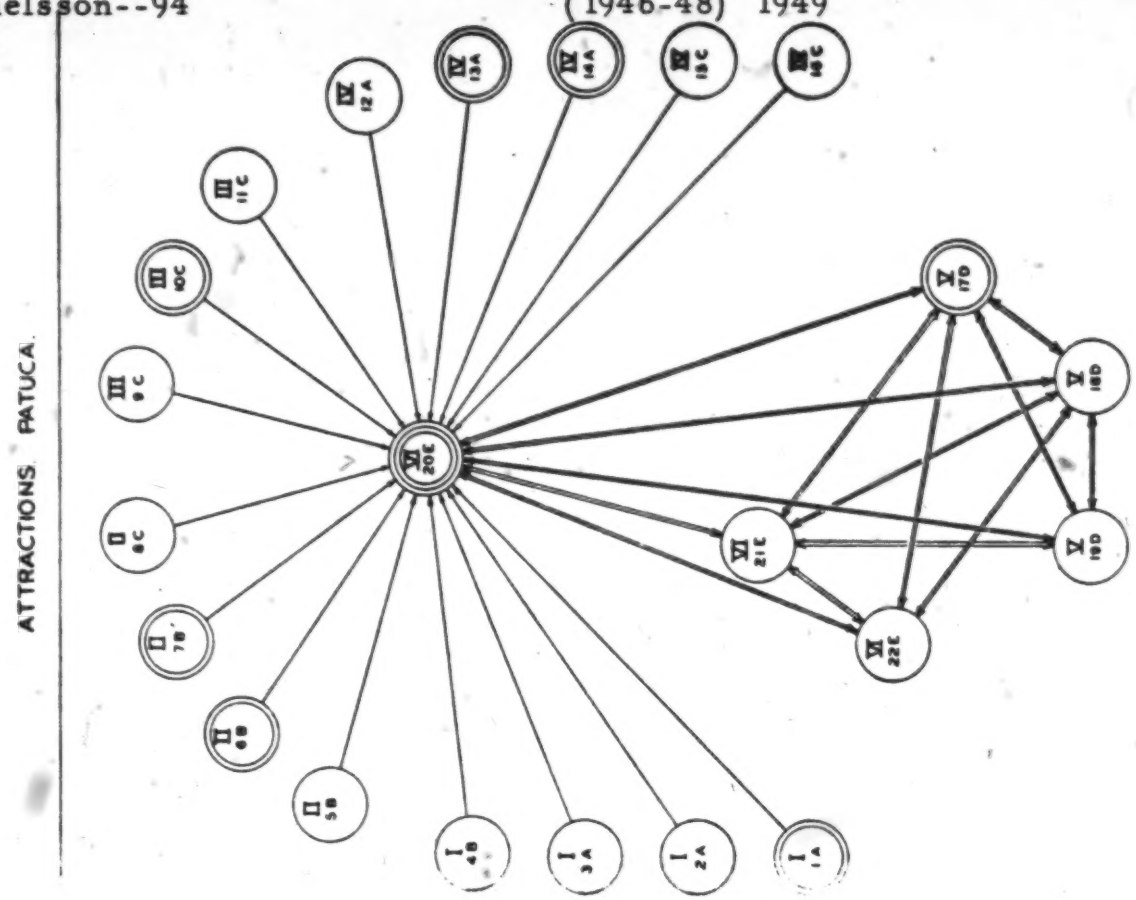
HOW THE JIBAROS DESIGNATE RELATIONSHIP



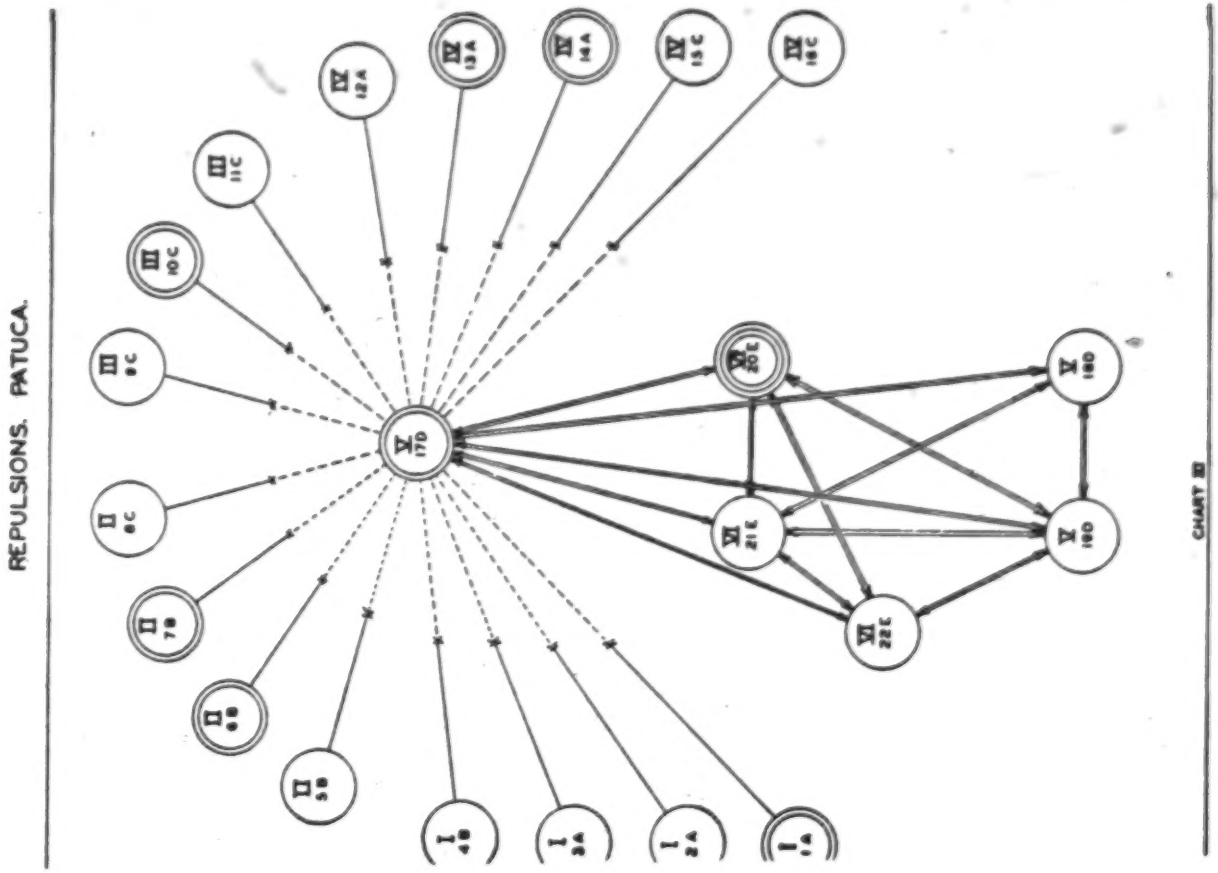
31: Danielsson--94
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

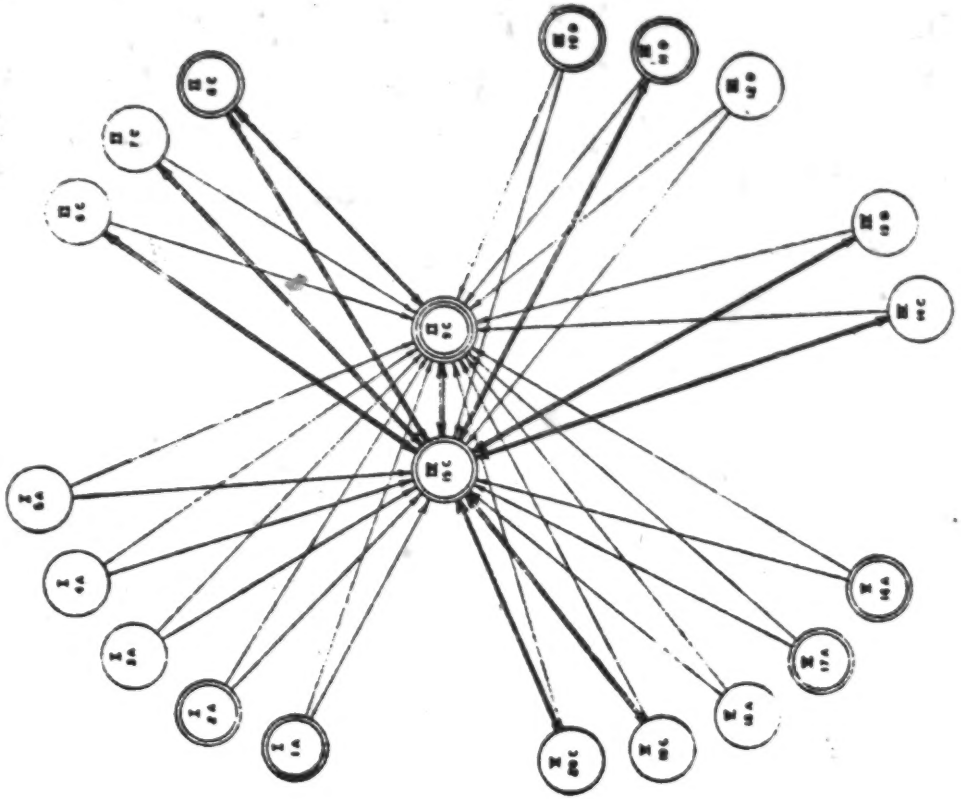
Jivaro



31; Danielsson--95 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



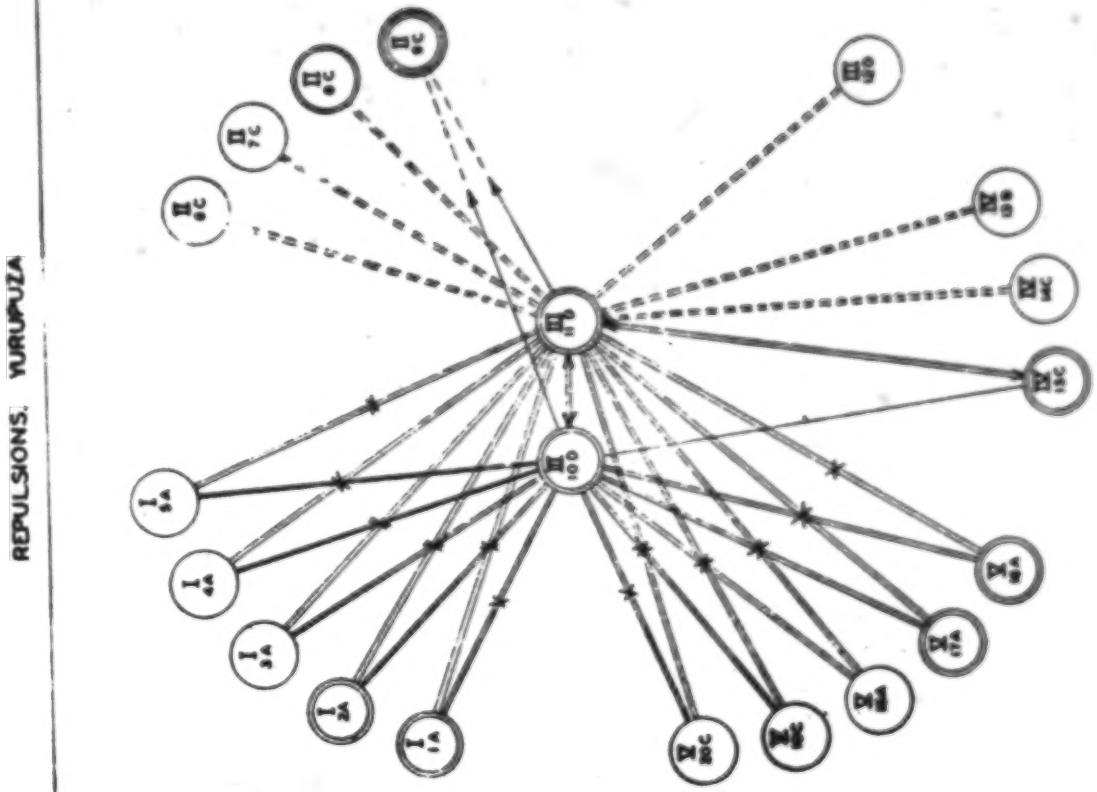
31: Danielsson--96 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



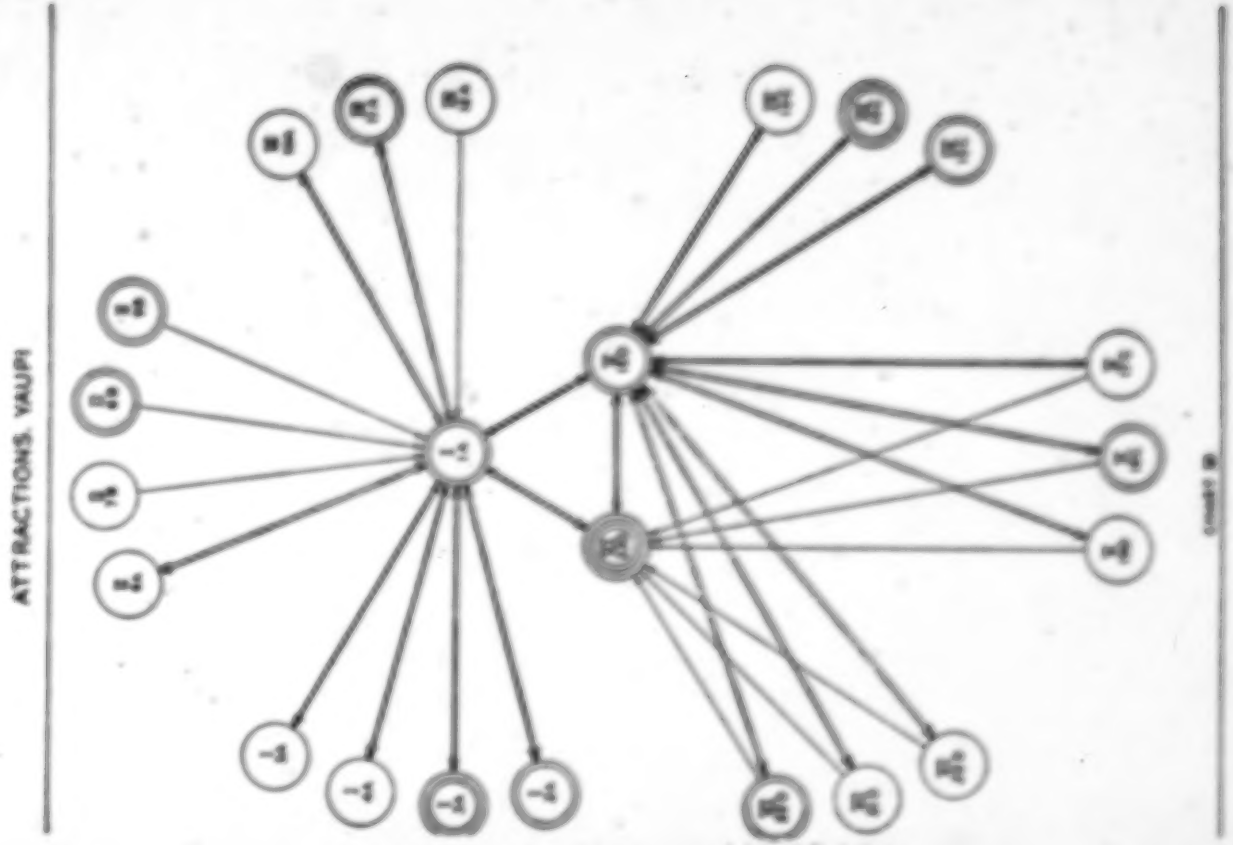
ATTRACTIONS: YURUPUZA

CHART III

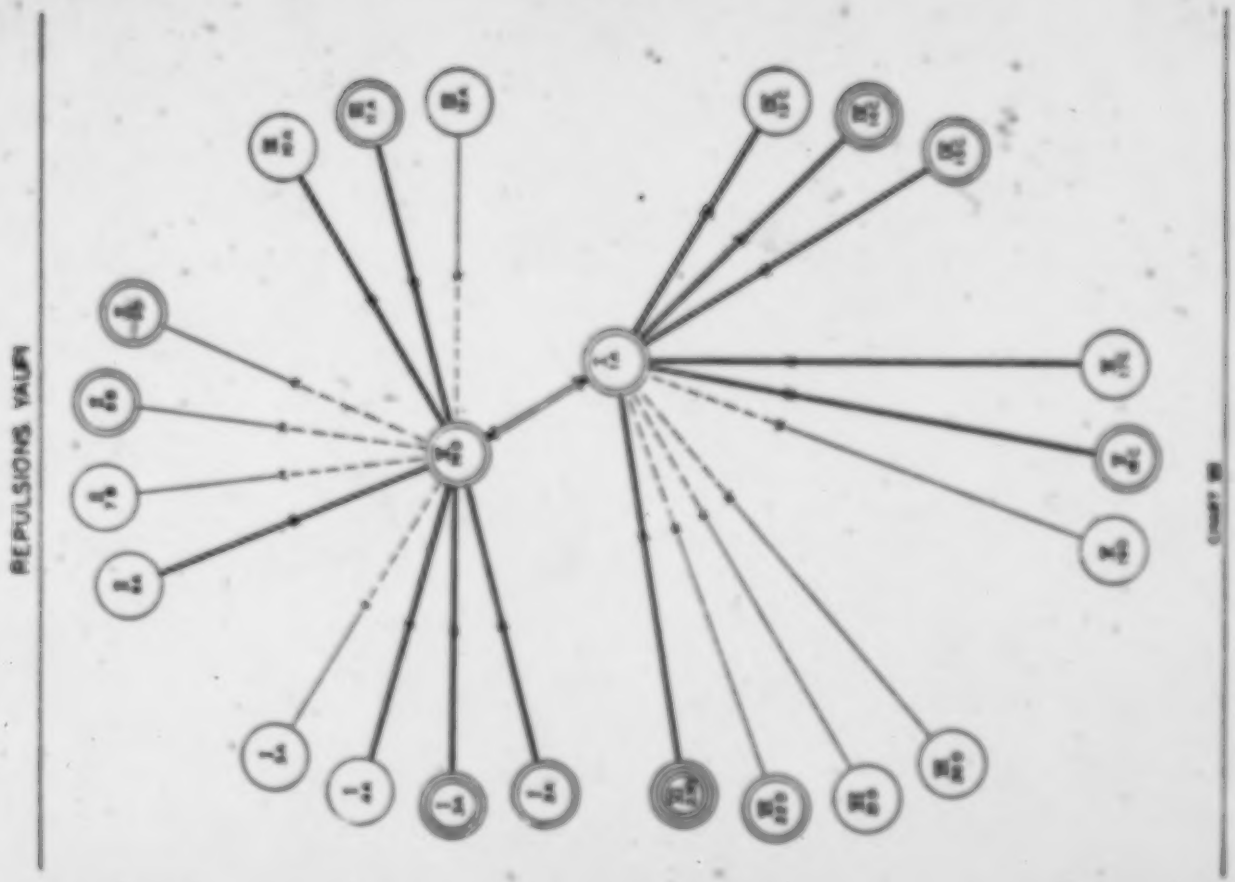
31: Danielsson--97 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



31: Danielsson--98 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



31: Danielsson--99 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



31: Danielsson--100 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571

"Let us now ask: What theoretical significance do these charts have, if any? I think the best answer would be: They seem to offer a possibility of operational definitions of conceptions for a long time dealt with in vague conceptual terms only. It seems obvious that such words as chief in war, ceremony man, and sorcerer can be defined from the positions in the charts (or from the figures in the tables). Definitions of the proposed types would be the following ones for instance:

1. Chief in war = an individual receiving more than 50% of the total number of possible choices and being at least of an age of two generations. (E.g. IV15C in chart IV, IIA and V16D in chart VI).

2. Ceremony man = an individual, receiving more than 50% of the total number of possible choices and being at least of an age of three generations or regarded as being among the 25% oldest individuals. (E.g. V120E in chart II, II9C in chart IV and V123D in chart VI.)

3. Sorcerer = an individual, exposed to more than 50% of the total number of possible repulsion choices and in his turn demonstrating at least 25% indifferent responses. (E.g. V17D in chart III and IIA and V16D in chart VII.)

We are of course here only trying to point out the possibility of a special type of definitions. The figures and percentages indicated as suggestions correspond to the conditions in the three geographical groups studied, but if used more generally, they have naturally to be changed and refined by further research."

31: Danielsson--101 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571

"The limitation of the study to the verbally expressed attractions and repulsions of the male adults in the area indicated, was deliberately chosen as it made it possible to cover the greatest number of geographical groups in the time at my disposal. This limitation, however, immediately raises some questions about the relation of the chosen group to other groups and to other factors, as for instance:

a) What is the correlation between verbal and nonverbal behavior?

b) What is the correlation between (a) attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and (b) patterns of other kinds?

c) What is the correlation between the answers of the men and the women?

d) What is the correlation between repulsions and geographical space?"

TABLE IV

Total Number of Visits of Tribe Members During Two Weeks in Patuca

Family paying the visit		Family receiving the visit					
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	Men	x	14	19	22	0	23
	Women	x	27	12	38	0	58
II	Men	17	x	14	23	0	27
	Women	5	x	24	39	0	31
III	Men	12	17	x	14	0	21
	Women	19	21	x	18	0	23
IV	Men	21	18	27	x	0	26
	Women	52	37	41	x	0	58
V	Men	0	0	0	0	x	31
	Women	0	0	0	2	x	28
VI	Men	7	5	2	8	17	x
	Women	12	8	9	3	19	x

The unit is one individual visit.

31: Danielsson--101-102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571

"The reliability of the verbal expressions as an index for non-verbal behaviors has of course to be checked separately in each case. This was done among the Patucas. The result is shown by a comparison between Table V, where all visits during two weeks are listed, and Table VII where the oral testimonials from the same group are listed. The overlapping is almost complete. The houses of which the members are indicated as enemies are not visited. Table IV gives at the same time a good measure of the degree of friendship. Family VI for instance of which the member V120E [102] has a central position in the attraction pattern on Chart II is paid the highest number of visits.(8)

"8. See, Charles B. Loomis: 'Sociometries and the Study of New Rural Communities', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

31: Danielsson--102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602, 582

"In our so-called civilized societies the correlations between the attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and the more formal patterns, such as familial relationships, economic status, occupation, club membership, etc., have to be taken into consideration. In the Jibaro society there are no formal patterns except the familial pattern. How the Jibaros designate familial relationship is shown on Chart I. The Jibaro family is patripotestal. The children use, for instance, the same word, aparu, for their biological father as well as for their paternal uncles. No parallel exists to this on the mother's side. The parents use the same word, nauanda, both for the daughters and the daughters-in-law. For the son-in-law, however, another term, aweru, is used than for the son, uchi. A marriage between cousins on the father's side or between a paternal uncle and his niece is regarded as incest, but on the mother's side marriages of these types are regarded as natural."

"As could be expected the blood relationship is highly correlated with attraction.(9) Table V shows the interaction within each family house, in all the three geographical groups, computed after the same formula used on page eleven:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

TABLE V

Interaction Within Each Family House

Patuca family no.	Percentage	Yurupaza family no.	Percentage	Yaupi family no.	Percentage
I	100.00%	I	100.00%	I	100.00%
II	66.66%	II	100.00%	II	92.22%
III	100.00%	III	100.00%	III	100.00%
IV	100.00%	IV	33.33%	IV	100.00%
V	100.00%	V	100.00%	V	100.00%
VI	100.00%			VI	100.00%

"9. Irwin T. Sanders: 'Sociometric Work with a Bulgarian Woodcutting Group', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

31: Danielsson--102-103 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 571, 602, 592

In all the groups not showing a 100% interaction (Patuca II, Yurupaza IV, Yaupi II) the reason seemed to be a recent incorporation into the family group of a son-in-law (among the Jibaros the son-in-law frequently [103] moves over to the house of the father-in-law). In these cases (II8C among B-members in Patuca II, IV13B among C-members in Yurupaza IV, and 116A among B-members in Yaupi II) (see Charts II, IV and VI) the arrival of the new-comer is resented by some of the old members of the family house."

31: Danielsson--103 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602

"Table VI shows the interaction between all persons related by birth, computed by the same formula as in the last case.

TABLE VI

Interaction Between Persons Related by Birth

Patuca relationship	Percentage	Yurupaza relationship	Percentage	Yaupi relationship	Percentage
A	100.00%	A	92.88%	A	93.05%
B	100.00%	B	100.00%	B	100.00%
C	90.00%	C	85.71%	C	90.50%
D	100.00%	D	100.00%	D	83.33%
E	100.00%				

The figures seem to be somewhat lower than in the previous case, but any definite conclusions are of course impossible to draw from such limited material. (It should be noted that the letters repeated for each geographical group have no reference to one another. Thus the members from the A-group in Patuca are not related to the members of the A-groups in Yurupaza or Yaupi)."

"The overlapping of the answers of the male and female adults was studied in one geographical group, the Patucas. The result is shown in Table VII. As seen, the correspondence is almost perfect. Whether this holds true for all the geographical groups, and whether the women to women patterns correspond with those for men, only further research can demonstrate. It seems, however, likely that the men's opinion in the present matter to a large extent determine the women's also in other groups. This is supposed not because of a complete submission of the women--which is far from true--but because of the strict division of labor and interests between the sexes. Formation of alliances and actions against enemies are part of the 'politics' and as such belong exclusively to the masculine sphere.

Eventually an attempt was made to determine the relation between repulsions and geographical space. As already has been pointed out (Part I, pp. 6-7), great hostility exists between the different geographical groups. In order to ascertain the degree of hostility all male individuals of the three previous groups (Patuca, Yurupaza, Yaupi) and of another Jibaro group, otherwise not dealt with in this study, the Huambizas, living farther down the Santiago River, were interviewed about their feelings toward the [105]members of their respective out-groups. The number and percentage of individuals in each group answering that all the members of the other geographical

groups were enemies are indicated in Table VIII, column I. The figures for those who answered that one or more individuals from the other groups were friends are given in column II in the same table."

TABLE VII

Correspondence Between Male and Female Verbal Responses on Patora

Kin Group		Expressed towards family I: Friendly	I: Hostility	I: Indifferent	II: Friendly	II: Hostility	II: Indifferent	III: Friendly	III: Hostility	III: Indifferent	IV: Friendly	IV: Hostility	IV: Indifferent	V: Friendly	V: Hostility	V: Indifferent	VI: Friendly	VI: Hostility	VI: Indifferent
I	4 men	x	x	x	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0
	14 women	x	x	x	14	0	0	14	0	0	14	0	0	0	14	0	14	0	0
II	5 men	5	0	0	x	x	x	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	0
	10 women	10	0	0	x	x	x	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	0	10	0	0
III	3 men	3	0	0	3	0	0	x	x	x	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0
	7 women	7	0	0	7	0	0	x	x	x	7	0	0	0	7	0	7	0	0
IV	5 men	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	x	x	x	0	5	0	5	0	0
	20 women	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	x	x	x	0	20	0	20	0	0
V	3 men	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	1	x	x	x	3	0	0
	8 women	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	x	x	x	8	0	0
VI	3 men	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	x	x	x
	6 women	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	x	x	x

The unit is one individual response.

Editorial note: Observe how this matrix (Table VII) of interfamily choices by sex groups more rigorously the finding of hostility to the extreme shown in Chart III. Chart III isolates the interpersonal hostility; Table VII shows the resulting interfamily hostility and shows its extreme degree relative to all hostile interrelations among all the families.

TABLE VIII

Feelings of Hostility and Friendship Between the Different Ceremonial Groups

Feelings of the male individual from		toward the groups of: Patora: all are enemies I	Patora: some are friends II	Yarapaua I	Yarapaua II	Yaupi I	Yaupi II	Huambisa I	Huambisa II
Patora	(22)	0	0	22	4	21	2	22	0
		0	0	82.0%	17.4%	91.3%	8.7%	100%	0%
Yarapaua	(22)	18	4	0	0	20	2	22	0
		81.81%	18.19%	0	0	90.9%	9.1%	100%	0%
Yaupi	(24)	20	4	22	2	0	0	22	1
		83.33%	16.67%	91.66%	8.34%	0	0	91.67%	4.17%
Huambisa	(31*)	31	0	31	0	31	0	0	0
		100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0	0

* The actual number during our short stay. A party was out shooting.

"As could be suspected there is a positive correlation between the degree of Hostility and the geographical space. It seems likely that a correlation as indicated in Table IX could be found in the whole Jibaro country.

TABLE IX
Correlation Between Hostility and Geographical Space

Geographical groups	Approximate distance	Hostility in percentage (as in Table VIII)
Yurupaza-Huambisa	50 miles	100%
Huambisa-Yurupaza	50 miles	100%
Patuca-Huambisa	40 miles	100%
Huambisa-Patuca	40 miles	100%
Huambisa-Yaupi	30 miles	100%
Yaupi-Huambisa	30 miles	95.83%
Yaupi-Yurupaza	25 miles	91.66%
Patuca-Yaupi	25 miles	91.3%
Yurupaza-Yaupi	25 miles	90.90%
Yaupi-Patuca	25 miles	83.33%
Patuca-Yurupaza	15 miles	82.60%
Yurupaza-Patuca	15 miles	81.81%

31: Danielsson--105 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 121

"In spite of the very limited area from which the material pertaining to the present study is gathered, some suggestions and hints seem to present themselves concerning at least the following problems of more universal scope:

1. The laws for different types of groupings, centripetal, centrifugal, etc.
2. The operational definition of 'key persons'.
3. The correlation between verbal and non-verbal behavior.
4. The correlation between attraction and blood relationship.
5. The relation between repulsion and geographical space.

These problems can of course be solved only by inventing hypotheses and having them tested out through further research.

What we mainly have wished to call attention to in this paper is, however, that in this principal task of sociology it seems apparent that excellent opportunities for gathering basic material and for testing new hypotheses in many cases may be offered by studies among so-called primitive peoples."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[Title Page]

Jivaro Souls

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10 [181] THE Jivaro proper (*untsuri Inaro*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

121 [183] 194 [96]

128 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956–57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

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114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sepa; the Rio Chigüaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cuvaimi; the Rio Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MakuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UtiII Akaʼa*, *KugulI*, and *Uata Akaʼa* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Mata* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hintal* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuagA*, *Tupi*, and *Naita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

[133] [103] [131] 115

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

2 [For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 210-212 -- Canalest]

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Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jívaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jívaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jívaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jívaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jívaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (**nugui**) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jívaro soul beliefs

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183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nuṇuf, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakanI*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekás* wakanI, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[8]

Arutam wakanI is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "WakanI" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanI [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[9] [164] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, [154] including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily [628] directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [357] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander [798] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may [806] keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

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large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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726 774 821 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

726 774 761 [978]

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

[787]

774 778 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[183] [921] [561]

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

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This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *new* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

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future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[13]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[14] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makančI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pagi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

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a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[16] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[18]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*šuar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. 775 825

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them. 776 775 825

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however. [776]

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist. 775 821

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 182 181

774 183 The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

774 182 181 The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

128 A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

114 774 [198] The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*Isarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

[196] Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *ardta* or *ardtam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

[178] [811] While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*Isarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "Isarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsaratama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jivaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Pirihri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jivaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jibaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Pirihri." Actually, *pirihri* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jivaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jivaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jivaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jivaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*uapai*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:480) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsaratama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nekás wakanî and thus, since he uses the term wakanî alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanî.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jivaro fieldwork in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jivaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jivaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jivaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I querried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[10] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jivaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "ekatan" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jivaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jivaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,000 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The untsuri huara comprise the Jivaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jivaro proper," "Jivaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jivaro," or "Shuara." This last term, huara, does not mean "Jivaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jivaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "Untsuri huara," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jivaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (ahuaro huara). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jivaroan culture so far has been on the untsuri huara or Jivaro proper. The other Jivaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achual), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jivaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ch Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following i or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following i or i plus a nasal consonant; velarized like Spanish *n* when i is adjacent)

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g English ng in sing (followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish p (voiced like English b when following a nasal consonant, aspirated when preceding e, palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish r
s Spanish s
t English ch
ts English ts in cats
v Spanish v (voiced like Spanish d when following a nasal consonant, palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant)
w English w (but voiced like English v when adjacent to i)
y Spanish y

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed pronunciation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

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* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even schoolboys raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from tobacco in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under his influence.

* One exception is the footfall arutam which only vocalizes silently when reached.

* Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a rare super arutam, *awsap*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

* The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

* Musak may be alternatively pronounced *musiki*.

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's soul is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the emerging soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens.

32:Warner E-5 (1954-1957) 1962 SDP Jivaro SDP

* Finally, due to the fact that the old drawings provide lasting records for these animals.

* Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larsen and David Beasley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Ignaruna and Shapishana Indians, respectively. I hereby acknowledge several Shapishana and Ignaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Tucumacha, Rio Negro, in January 1961, and continued on Aikana informant on the same subject in 1961 near the Rio Cinaipino, Rio Negro.

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A Visit among the Jivaro Indians
[Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern]

by W. Reiss

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[Title page]

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175 At the time of the conquest of Perú by the Spanish, the empire of the Incas extended from Chile to the Rio Mayo north of Pasto. It was only in a few places, however, that this nation ever eager to conquer, succeeded in subjugating the tribes of their dominion living on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. The nature of the country, the climate, and the nomadic way of life of the Indians set up almost insuperable difficulties for them. In the northern part of the empire, however, which had been subjugated only a short time and which now forms the republic of Ecuador, contacts had already been made with the Jívaro and Mâca Indians living on the tributaries of the Amazonas. The Spaniards sought to extend their conquests in this direction too, when they had taken over the legacy of the dynasty destroyed by them. The small bands of conquistadores were not satisfied with the tremendous stretches of land that had fallen to them with comparatively little effort; they wanted to subjugate more and more new territories, to capture new riches. Soon after the founding of Quito they made an alliance with the Mâcas, which was followed in a short time by a large number of expeditions. It sounds almost unbelievable when we hear that after just a few years a number of rather large cities were founded and rapidly began to flourish. Merely in the region of interest to us here the cities of Mendoza on the Rio Palora, Sevilla del Oro on the Rio Upano, and Logroño on the Rio Paute were founded in the year 1552. The wealth of gold and the ease of acquisition drew large numbers of settlers; monasteries were endowed and churches built, and the district of Mâcas was soon considered one of the richest and most prosperous of the great Peruvian empire.

101 175 Three Indian tribes, of which only one exists today, are mentioned as inhabitants of the extensive forests on the eastern slope of the Cordillera between the Pastaza and Paute rivers. They are the Mâcas, Huamboyas, and Jívaros. The first two seem not to have been very large; the Jívaros formed, and still form today, a large nation, which, to be sure, is made up of many individual tribes living in enmity for the most part, but which nevertheless /326/ join together against a common enemy and can order up a considerable number of fighters.

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As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

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175 Only rarely have the Jívaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

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The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Mácas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

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133 to the Amazonas as the Rio Pastaza. Our route soon leaves the highland of Riobamba, formed by the masses from volcanic eruptions which fill the deep depression between the ridges of the east and west Cordillera, which were built up out of older rock. The bipartition of the Cordillera disappears almost completely. The river cuts through at Cebadas, the last village, on the dividing line between syenite and mica schist, and higher up its bed lies wholly in the latter rock. The higher we climb, the narrower and wilder the gorge becomes, cultivated fields disappear, and in their place comes the tall páramo grass, the ichu of the natives. Toward the end of the second day of travel there appear in the background of the valley high, jagged peaks whose black ridges and crests tower up out of blinding white snowfields. These are the Cerros de Zhasquin, Yanaurcu, and Púlpito, which represent here the highest elevations of the East Cordillera. Suddenly the character of the valley changes: the narrow gorge turns into a wide basin filled with swamps and lakes, surrounded on both sides by high greenstone cliffs, almost open toward the east, since an almost imperceptible rise forms the watershed between two small lakes, Cazadoracocha and Cocha redonda, the first of which, in conjunction with Colaycocha, is the source of the Rio de Jchubamba, whose valley we have followed to this point, whereas the latter drains to the east as a tributary /328/ of the Rio Upano. At the entrance to this flat highland valley, whose whole configuration reminds one of the lakes at the source of the Inn and along the Maloya Pass, there are a few wretched huts: Atillo, at an altitude of 3,452 meters, inhabited only from time to time. The lakes Colaycocha and Cazadoracocha are at about the same level, and the watershed extends only to a height of 3,548 meters, whereas the surrounding mountains tower to a

132 height of about 4,300 meters. This region is unbelievably desolate and dismal; wrapped in rain and clouds almost the whole year, only occasional stunted tree-like underbrush grows here among the large areas of grass; the trade winds blow icy cold the greater part of the year. An average annual temperature of 8.80 C. in a country located so close to the equator is evidence

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132 of an inhospitable climate, the unpleasantness of which is heightened even more by the abundance of moisture which, rising from the plains of the Amazonas, falls here on the high mountains. Even the Indian, who otherwise loves the high páramos, stays here only a short time. The huts of Atillo serve the inhabitants of the small village of Suñag, located on the downward slope toward Mácas, as a sort of temporary shelter on their journeys to maintain the mission's contacts with the capital, Riobamba.

132 136 The Ecuadorian speaks of Atillo, of Colaycocha, and of the pass to Mácas only with a mysterious horror; poisonous vapors are said to rise from the small lakes, so that every bird flying over them falls dead. The dead birds are said to be found by the thousands on the shores of the lakes, especially of Cazadoracocha, which for this reason has retained the name of Hunter's Lake. Armed with baskets and sacks, the Indians go out to collect the fallen animals in order to sell them in the neighboring cities. This is one of those mysterious tales which, like the marvelous story of the fish spewed out of the volcanoes, can be traced to poorly observed facts, distorted by exaggeration and misunderstanding. That is, in Ecuador, as in almost all of South America, there is a number of snipe, ibis, and heron-like migratory birds which leave the hot country with the onset of good weather in order to seek their nourishment in the highlands. With the onset of bad weather they then return again to the hot country. These birds appear in masses in May or early June and stay until September. The animals seek the lowest passes to cross the Cordillera. Thus they follow the course of the Rio Cebadas in order to cross the watershed, lying between high mountains, toward the east near Colay and Cazadoracocha. In September, however, the trade winds, which press through the narrow pass with terrible force, often rage with hurricane-like violence. The force of the wind, which frequently a horseman can hardly withstand, throws back the birds, rising from the protected valley floor, as soon as they reach the top of the pass. The stronger animals can force their way through, but many of the weaker and smaller birds /329/ are overcome by

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132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzags along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

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491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

000 Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paira and Suñag, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /330/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild
186 Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived
797 in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos.
[487] Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
442 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

/331 cont./

354 [825] almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the 342 [353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bedrooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch 352 342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully 342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such 358 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained, everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing 291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

/331 cont./

29/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

299 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
291 are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
316 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
256 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
502 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
531 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
413 sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[386] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the
[237] hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
302 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
[529] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[386] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small
[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucum) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[234] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[234] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[144] tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy, in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

/333 cont./

000 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[727] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed
forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform
all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems
to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm
[462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men
fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for
cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the
forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work,
falls to the women.

582 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention.
583 That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its
mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being
able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may
also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into
his house and feed them.

628 Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair
[579] style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense
[302] of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedi-
cated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its
certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails
here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a
family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole
tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor him-
self must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must
be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack;
the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings
avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden
attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is
[202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack
succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the in-
habitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even
violent battles take place. Then the families living in the
neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 411 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[727] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

727 335 cont.
796 better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made
[237] of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear
[301] richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of
[534] which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is
[535] produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

[345] When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept
[354] off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to
342 decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as
768 after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience
763 of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A
[242] small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

787 If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important
223 decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and
[216] their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful
133 spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Many

/336 cont./ Master

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas
and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from
his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the
volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a
distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

/337 cont./

more comforts and, through that, increased production and efficiency as countervail. With more possessions the difficulty of frequently changing domiciles would increase; the desire to enjoy what was acquired would quench the eagerness for war. If one would sufficiently supply those living around the mission with iron goods and other desirable products, they would quickly gain ascendancy over the less-favored tribes, either by force or by advantageous barter; they would be a living wall of protection for the colony, without which its existence would be endangered. It should be possible, with kindness and true humanity, to educate the Jivaros to become useful members of human society, whereas under the circumstances now prevailing their slow, to be sure, but nevertheless certain decline is unavoidable.

33: Reise SD9 Jivaro

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[Title Page]

Herr W. Reiss: Ein Besuch bei den Jivaros-Indianern.

Der Zug der Eroberung *Perú's* durch die Spanier dehnte sich das Gebiet der *Incas* von *Chile* bis zum *Rio Mayo* südlich von *Pasto* aus. Aber nur an wenigen Stellen war an dieser erobernngslustigen Nation gegliedert, die an den östlichen Abhängen der *Cordillere* wohnenden Stämme ihrer Herrschaft zu unterwerfen. Die Natur des Landes, das Klima und die wandernde Lebensweise der Indianer setzten dem fast unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten entgegen. Doch aber waren in dem erst kurze Zeit unterworfenen südlichen Theile des Gebietes, welches gegenwärtig die Republik *Ecuador* bildet, lebendige Verbindungen mit den an den Zuflüssen des *Amazonas* lebenden *Jivaros* und *Mainas*-Indianern angeknüpft worden. Die Spanier suchten, als sie die Erbschaft der von Inca vertriebenen Dynastie antraten, ihre Eroberungen auch nach dieser Richtung hin auszudehnen. Dem kühnen Streifzuge der *Conquistadoren* gesellten sich die ungeheuren Landstrecken, welche mit verhältnißmäßig so geringer Mühe ihnen angefallen: fort und fort wollten die neuen Gegenden sich unterwerfen, neue Reichthümer erbeuten. Bald nach der Gründung *Quito's* schlossen sie ein Bündniß mit den *Mainas*, denen in kurzer Frist eine größere Zahl von Expeditionen folgten. Fast klingt es unglaublich, wenn wir hören, daß schon nach wenigen Jahren eine Anzahl großer Städte gegründet und in raschem Aufblühen begriffen waren. Allein in dem von hier interessirenden Gebiete wurden im Jahre 1538 die Städte *Mendoza* am *Rio Pulcre*, *Sevilla del Oro* am *Rio Upano* und *Logroño* am *Rio Pastaza* gegründet. Der Reichthum an Gold, die Leichtigkeit des Erwerbes mag Ansiedler in Menge herbei; Kinder wurden getauft und Kirchen gebaut, und der Distrikt von *Mainas* galt bald für einen der reichsten und blühendsten der großen peruanischen Reichen.

Drei Indianerstämme, von welchen heutzutage nur der eine existirt, wurden als Bewohner der ausgedehnten Wälder am Ostabhange der *Cordillere* zwischen den Flüssen *Pastaza* und *Pasto* erwähnt. Es sind die *Mayas*, *Huambisas* und *Jivaros*. Die beiden ersteren scheinen wenig natürlich gewesen zu sein; die *Jivaros* blühten und blühen auch heute eine große Nation, die allerdings in viele Stämme, meist in Feindschaft lebende Stämme sich gliedert, welche aber doch einen gemeinsamen Fürsten

gegenüber sich verteidigen und eine beträchtliche Zahl Sklaven stellen konnte.

Wie in allen von den Spaniern eroberten Theilen Süd-Amerikas wurden auch hier die Indianer zu Sklavenarbeit angehalten: die Ausbeutung der Goldminen wurde in rücksichtslosester Weise betrieben. Aber die unabhängigen Waldbewohner ertrugen eine solche Bedrückung nicht mit derselben Geduld wie die Indianer des Hochlandes. Ein Aufstand brach im Jahre 1599 aus, der mit der Vernichtung der ganzen Provinz endete, ja selbst die benachbarten Gebiete wählte nach Nord und Süd der Gewalt der Spanier entrin. Alle *Jivaros* verbanden sich zu gemeinsamem Handeln unter Quiroba, einem ihrer Anführer, und auch die *Mainas* und *Huambopas* wurden zur Theilnahme veranlaßt. Am gleichen Tage sollten die drei reichsten gesamten Städte zerstört werden. Quiroba griff *Logroño* unerwartet an, zerstörte die Stadt, tödtete alle in seine Gewalt fallende Männer, deren nur wenige entkamen, und führte die Frauen und Mädchen, 6000 an der Zahl, in die Gefangenschaft. *Sevilla del Oro* und *Mendoza* erlagen dem gleichen Schicksale nur durch die Zaghaftigkeit der benachbarten *Mainas* und *Huambopas*. Quiroba selbst mahnte zum Angriffe herbeizieilen. Aber schon war die Nachricht seines Sieges in die beiden Städte gedrungen. Die Bewohner von *Logroño* flohen und die verlassene Stadt fiel der Zerstörung anheim. Um *Mainas* wütete der Kampf. Gelang auch den *Jivaros* nicht die völlige Vernichtung des Ortes, zwangen sie auch dem herzuziehenden Ersatze weichen, so hatte ihre Erhebung doch solchen Schrecken verbreitet, daß die überlebenden Einwohner sich auf das Hochland zurückzogen, und daß an Stelle des reichen *Sevilla del Oro* von nun ab nur der kleine Flecken *Mainas* erhalten werden konnte.

Da alle Versuche zur Wiedergewinnung der verlorenen Distrikte mit Hilfe der Waffen mißlangen, so griff man zum Kreuze, um auf diesem Wege der scheinbaren Milde die Indianer von neuem unter das Sklavenjoch zu beugen. Bei manchen Stämmen hatten die Missionare Erfolg, die *Jivaros* aber wiesen alle Eindringlinge zurück und haben sich ihre Freiheit bis auf unsere Tage erhalten. Nur die kleine, von Quichua-Indianern bewohnte Mission von *Mainas* liegt mitten in ihrem Gebiete, ohne daß es den Weltgeistlichen oder *Jesuitenpatres*, welche abwechselnd ihr Glück dort versuchten, gelungen wäre, Proselyten zu machen.

Nur selten werden die *Jivaros* von wissenschaftlichen Reisenden besucht, so daß unsere Kenntnis dieses Stammes sich wesentlich auf spanische Berichte stützt. Der competenteste Kenner dürfte wohl Spruce sein, der längere Zeit in ihrem Gebiete lebte und weiter eindrang wie die meisten anderen Reisenden. Bei einem so wenig bekannten Volke dürften, so wage ich zu hoffen, auch die Beobachtungen eines, seinen Fachstudien nach, der Völkerkunde ferner stehenden Reisenden trotz all' ihrer Mangelhaftigkeit einiges Interesse gewähren und mir die Nachsicht der geehrten Versammlung für die nachfolgenden Bemerkungen sichern.

Die Bevölkerung der Republik *Ecuador* lebt ihrer grofsen Masse nach auf dem Hochgebirge der *Cordillere* in dem im spanischen Amerika als *Tierra frio* bezeichneten Theile des Gebirges. Kahl und nackt, der Kultur leicht zugänglich ist der bewohnte Theil des Hochlandes, in welchem zwischen etwa 2200 und 3000 Meter Höhe die meisten Ortschaften liegen. Rauhe, hohe Bergketten umschliefsen dies wenig ertragsfähige Land, während dichte, unabsehbare Wälder die Ost- und Westabhänge der *Cordillere* bedecken. Gegen Westen zu besteht Verbindung mit der Küste und den dort befindlichen Provinzen, ein Besuch der wenigen am Ostabhange des Hauptgebirgszuges gelegenen Ansiedelungen gilt aber stets für ein mühevolles und gewagtes Unternehmen. Auf den schlechtesten Wegen mufs die gefürchtete *Ostcordillere* überschritten werden, und dann folgt ein langer, an Entbehrungen reicher Marsch durch den Wald, bei dem bedeutende Flüsse zu kreuzen sind, deren Anschwellen oft schon die Reisenden dem Hungertode ausgesetzt hat. *Macas* ist von all diesen Orten wohl noch am leichtesten zu erreichen, zumal ein ziemlich beträchtlicher Theil des Weges für Maulthiere gangbar ist.

Riobamba, die Hauptstadt der *Provincia del Chimborazo*, bildet den Ausgangspunkt der Reise. Man verfolgt stromaufwärts den von Süden kommenden *Rio Chambo*, der in seinen oberen Theilen als *Rio de Cebadas* und *Rio Colay* bezeichnet wird. Der Flufs, nahe dem Kamme der *Ostcordillere* entspringend, vereinigt sich am Fufse des *Tungurahua* mit dem von Norden, vom *Cotopaxi* kommenden *Rio de Patate*, um dann, nach Osten sich wendend, die *Cordillere* zu durchbrechen und als *Rio Pastaza* dem *Amazonas* zuzufliefsen. Unser Weg verläfst bald das Hochland von *Riobamba*, das gebildet wird durch die vulkanischen Ausbruchsmassen, welche die tiefe Einsenkung zwischen den aus älteren Gesteinen aufgebauten Höhenzügen der *Ost-* und *Westcordillere* ausfüllen. Die Zweitheilung der *Cordillere* verschwindet fast gänzlich. Der Flufs schneidet bei *Cebadas*, dem letzten Dorfe, auf der Grenze zwischen Syenit und Glimmerschiefer ein, und weiter oben liegt sein Bett ganz in letzterem Gesteine. Je höher wir aufsteigen, um so enger und wilder wird die Schlucht, die bebauten Felder verschwinden und an ihre Stelle tritt das hohe *Páramogras*, das *Ichu* der Eingeborenen. Gegen das Ende der zweiten Tagereise treten im Hintergrunde des Thales hohe Felszacken auf, deren schwarze Kämme und Grate aus blendend weifsen Schneefeldern aufragen. Es sind diese die *Cerros de Zhasquin*, *Yanaurcu* und *Pilpito*, welche hier die höchste Erhebung der *Ostcordillere* darstellen. Plötzlich ändert sich der Charakter des Thales: die enge Schlucht verwandelt sich in ein weites, von Sümpfen und Seen erfülltes Becken, zu beiden Seiten von hohen Grünsteinfelsen umgeben, gegen Osten fast offen, denn eine fast unmerkliche Anschwellung bildet die Wasserscheide zwischen den beiden kleinen Seen *Cazadorococha* und *Cocha redonda*, von welchen die erstere, in Verbindung mit *Colaycocha*, den Ursprung des *Rio de Jchubamba* bildet, dessen Thal wir bis hierher verfolgt, während die letztere nach Osten zu entwässert, als Zufluſs

des *Rio Upano*. Am Eingange des flachen Hochthales, dessen ganze Configuration an die Seen am Ursprung des *Jun's* und an den *Maloyapaß* erinnert, liegen einige wenige ärmliche Hütten: das nur zeitweilig bewohnte *Atillo* in 3452 m Höhe. Die Seen *Colaycocha* und *Canaduracocha* liegen ungefähr in demselben Niveau, und die Wasserscheide erreicht nur die Höhe von 3518 m, während die umgebenden Berge bis etwa 4500 m Höhe aufragen dürften. Unglaublich öde und traurig ist diese Gegend; fast das ganze Jahr in Regen und Wolken gehüllt, gedeiht hier zwischen den großen Grasflächen nur hier und da verkrüppeltes baumartiges Gestrüpp; der Passatwind weht mit einiger Kälte den größten Theil des Jahres. Eine mittlere Jahrestemperatur von 8,9° C. in einem so nahe dem Aequator gelegenen Lande bekundet ein unwirthliches Klima, dessen Unannehmlichkeiten noch gesteigert werden durch die Fülle von Feuchtigkeit, welche, aus den Ebenen des *Amazonas* aufsteigend, hier an den hohen Bergen niedergeschlagen wird. Selbst der Indianer, der sonst die hohen *Puna*s liebt, hält sich nur kurze Zeit hier auf. Die Hütten von *Atillo* dienen den Bewohnern des auf dem Abstieg nach *Macas* gelegenen Dörfchens *Sucúa* gewissermaßen als Absteigequartier bei ihren Reisen zur Aufrechterhaltung der Verbindung der Mission mit der Hauptstadt *Riobamba*.

Der *Ecuatorianer* spricht von *Atillo*, von *Colaycocha*, von dem Fall nach *Macas* nur mit geheimem Grauen: giftige Dünste sollen von den kleinen Seen aufsteigen, so daß jeder darüber hinfliegende Vogel dem Tode verfällt. Zu Tausenden sollen die todten Vögel am Ufer der Seen, namentlich der *Canaduracocha*, welche daher auch den Namen des Jägersees erhalten hat, gefunden werden. Mit Körben und Säcken bewaffnet ziehen die Indianer aus, um die gefallenen Thiere zu sammeln, zum Verkauf nach den benachbarten Städten. Es ist dies eine jener dunklen Sagen, die, ähnlich wie die Wundergeschichte der aus den Vulkanen ausgeschleuderten Fische, auf schlecht beobachtete, durch Uebertreibung und Unverständniß entstellte Thatsachen sich zurückführen läßt. Es giebt nämlich in *Ecuador*, wie fast in ganz *Süd-Amerika* eine Reihe Bekassinen-Schnepfen, Ibis- und Reiherartige Zugvögel, welche beim Eintritt der schönen Jahreszeit das heiße Land verlassen, um ihre Nahrung auf dem Hochgebirge zu suchen. Bei Eintritt der schlechten Jahreszeit kehren sie dann wieder nach dem heißen Lande zurück. Im Mai oder Anfang Juni erscheinen diese Vögel massenhaft und bleiben bis zum September. Zum Uebergang über die *Cordillere* suchen die Thiere die niedersten Pässe. So folgen sie dem Laufe des *Rio Urbanda*, um bei *Colay* und *Canaduracocha* die zwischen hohen Bergen liegende Wasserscheide nach Osten hin zu überschreiten. Im September rast aber noch häufig mit orkanartiger Heftigkeit der Passatwind, der mit furchtbarer Gewalt durch den Engpaß sich hindurchzwängt. Die Gewalt des Windes, der oft kaum ein Reiter zu widerstehen vermag, wirft die Vögel zurück, sobald sie, aus dem geschützten Thalboden sich erhebend, die Höhe des Passes erreichen. Die stärkeren Thiere werden den Durchzug erzwingen, aber viele der schwächeren und kleineren Vögel

erlagen dem eisig kalten, oft Hagel und Schnee vor sich herwälzenden Winde. Von vielen vergeblichen Versuchen ermüdet, finden sie ihren Tod im See, an dessen Ufern sie sich anhäufen.

In der besten Jahreszeit, im Monat December, überschritt ich diesen Pass, aber dennoch litten die mich begleitenden Indianer, trotzdem daß Alle an Bergbesteigungen seit langem gewöhnt waren, von der durchdringenden Kälte und Nässe.

Kaum hat man das Ende des sumpfigen Hochthales erreicht, den niederen Bächen zur Seite der *Cocha redonda* entlangen, so ändert sich mit einem Schlage das ganze Bild. Man steht am steilen Felsabsturz, über dessen Wand der der genannten *Cocha* entströmende Bach in hohen Fällen hinabstürzt, eine tiefe, mit dunkelgrünem Walde erfüllte Schlucht liegt zu unseren Füßen und verkrüppelter Wald sieht bis zum Rande des Passes in die Höhe. Man atmet die würzige Luft, die milde Temperatur des warmen Landes und fühlt sich wie neu belebt; auch der schon mißmuthige, von Kälte erstarrte Indianer schöpft neuen Muth beim Blick auf die *Montaña*, das Land fabelhafter Fruchtbarkeit. Steil im Zickzack geht es an der Felswand hinab, mehrfach werden die Wasserfälle gekreuzt, bis der erste Thalgrund erreicht ist. Die Vegetation wird bei jedem Schritte üppiger, wir befinden uns in der Zone, welche Pöppig so vortrefflich in seiner Beschreibung der *Cepa* geschildert hat. *Sukay* (2608 m), ein kleines aus 15—20 Holzhütten und einer Kapelle bestehendes Dorf, fanden wir verlassen; sämmtliche Einwohner waren zur Ernte des Maises weiter thalabwärts gezogen nach *Chanale* (2670 m), *Chillos*, *Paratokonde*. Zwei kleine Tagreisen weiter abwärts im Thale liegen die 6—7 Häuser, welche den Ort *Pairu* (1617 m) bilden. Hier ist der Fuß der steilen Berge erreicht, nur langgestreckte Hügel setzen gegen Osten fort. Die *Flüsse*, zwar noch reißend, werden breit, auf kurze Strecken sogar schiffbar; eine unübersehbare Waldfläche dehnt sich vor den Blicken aus. Bis hierher fanden wir die schwierig passirbaren Bäche überbrückt, wenn auch die unserer Kettenbrücke als Vorbild dienenden Lianenbrücken zum Theil gefährlich erscheinende Uebergänge boten. Weiter abwärts aber mußten die Flüsse durchwatet werden, da die Jesuiten, um den Zugang zu ihrer Mission zu erschweren, die früher vorhandenen Brücken abgebrochen und die Canoes zur Ueberfahrt in *Macas* selbst in Verwahrung genommen hatten.

Macas, 1051 m über dem Meere, mit einer mittleren Jahrestemperatur von 20,5° C., liegt auf einer kleinen Hochebene mitten im Walde; ein großer quadratischer Raum, die Plaza, ist von Bäumen befreit. Auf der einen Seite liegt die aus hohen, säulenartigen Palmstämmen erbaute Kirche, das Convento, d. h. die Wohnung der Geistlichen und die Schule, die drei übrigen Seiten werden vom Walde begrenzt. Der Ort zählt etwa 300 Einwohner, Frauen und Kinder mitgezählt, dehnt sich aber über eine große Fläche aus, da die Häuser vereinzelt im Walde zerstreut liegen, oft weit von einander getrennt. Die Bewohner von *Macas*, wie auch die von *Pairu* und *Sukay* sind *Quechua-Indianer*, d. h. sie sprechen die Quechuasprache,

sind dem Namen nach Christen und leben unter der Herrschaft der geistlichen oder weltlichen Beamten der Republik *Ecuador*, deren Willkür und Bedrückung sie keinerlei Widerstand leisten. Die Herrschaft der Jesuiten war zur Zeit meines Besuches eine unumschränkte: körperliche Strafen werden wegen der geringsten Vergehen verhängt, jedes nicht die tiefste Unterwürfigkeit und Ehrfurcht athmende Wort wurde unerbittlich geahndet, jede Denunciation eines solchen Vergehens auf das zuvorkommendste entgegen genommen. Der Handel, der Feldbau lagen darnieder, die Verbindung mit dem civilisirten Theile des Landes war abgeschnitten und auch der Umgang mit den benachbarten wilden Indianern auf das strengste verboten. In tiefem Groll lebte diese kleine Gemeinde unter ihrem priesterlichen Tyrannen; die *Jivaros* aber blickten mit Verachtung auf die eine so unwürdige Behandlung ertragende Bevölkerung und wiesen mit Hohn jeden Versuch, sie zur christlichen Religion zu bekehren, zurück.

Wie bereits bemerkt, liegt *Mainas* weit vorgeschoben im Territorium der *Jivaros*. Ueberall im Walde, ja kaum eine viertel Stunde von *Mainas* entfernt, liegen ihre grossen Tambos. Schmale Pfade führen durch den dichten Wald, denen folgend man ganz plötzlich und ohne vorherige Anzeichen einer Kultur den freien das Haus umgrenzenden Platz betritt. Jedes Haus liegt einsam für sich, wie verloren im Walde, und wird meist nur von einer, selten von mehreren Familien bewohnt. Bei der Annäherung müssen Vorsichtsmassregeln beachtet werden, um sich einen freundlichen Empfang zu sichern. Schon aus grosser Entfernung wird durch Rufen der Besuch angekündigt, in der nächsten Nähe des Hauses aber im tiefen Schweigen marschirt. Es geschieht das, um die friedliche Absicht zu dokumentiren, denn bei einem Ueberfall schleicht der *Jivaro* still durch den Wald, stürmt aber mit lautem Kriegsgeschrei über den freien Platz auf das Haus los.

Die Häuser, die Tambos, sind wahre Waldpaläste, äusserst sauber und regelmässig aufgerichtet, mit glücklicher Benutzung des vom Walde gebotenen Materials. Das hohe, schön aus Palmblättern geflochtene Dach wird durch mehrfache Reihen schlanker Säulen, den entsteilenden Stämmen riesiger Palmen getragen; das Sparrenwerk ist zierlich angeordnet, so daß es als Verzierung gelten kann. Die Wände ringsum aus gespaltenem Bambus enge gefugt, füllen kaum den halben Raum zwischen Boden und Dachesaum, so daß die Luft freien Eintritt findet und doch gegen einen ernsten Angriff Schutz gewährt wird. Zwei Thüren weist jedes Haus auf, *die eine an der geraden Vorderwand, die andere in der Mitte der halbkreisförmig ausspringenden Rückseite*. Das Haus eines jungen Häuptlings war 87 Fuß lang, 60 Fuß breit und eines 35 Fuß hoch; ein stattlicher schöner Bau. Das vordere Drittel diente gewissermaßen als Empfangssalon. An den das Dach tragenden Palmstämmen war Schild und Trommel aufgehängt; besondere Vorrichtungen gestatten die sichere Aufstellung der Lanzen und Blasrohre, deren *Pfeilbücher* neben den *Feuern* Platz finden.

Einige aus Holz geschnitzte einfache Stühlchen vertreten die Stelle der Bänke, andere, aus gespaltenen Bambus gefertigte Bänke sind an den Wänden angebracht und mehrere Gestelle dienen als Ablagen für die Männer, um während des Tages Sieta [illegible] zu können. Eigentümlich sind diese letzteren Vorrichtungen, indem der Körper von etwa bis zum Knie dicht Platz findet, der Fuß aber, auf Stäben des bei hervorragenden Beinen, auf einem dünnen, durch 2 Gabeln getragenen Querstabe ruht. Unmittelbar vor diesem Fußgestelle brennt fortwährend ein stark rauchendes Feuer, fast die Schätze des Schwarzen verzehrend. Der Qualm des Feuers soll Schutz gewähren gegen die hier fast unerträglichen Moskitos. — Der mittlere Theil des Tambos ist Küche, Speise- und gemeinsamer Wohnzimmer, in welchem Geräthe und Töpfe in schönster Ordnung aufbewahrt werden. In rückwärts gelegenen, halbkreisförmig angebauten Theile endlich liegen die Schlafkoxen der Familien. Eine Anzahl von Betten, ähnlich dem beschriebenen Ruhebette, jedes mit einem, während der ganzen Nacht wohl unterhaltenen Feuer sind symmetrisch an den Seitenwänden angebracht. Jedes einzelne Bett ist an drei Seiten durch ziemlich hohe Bambuswände begrenzt und nur nach dem Feuerende zu offen, so daß gewissermaßen kleine, von einander unabhängige Schlafzellen gebildet werden. Jede der Hütte bewohnende Person hat ihre eigne Zelle, an deren Wänden das Privateigenthum, bei Frauen namentlich Putz- und Schmuckgegenstände, sorgfältig in zierlichen Taschen verpackt aufgehängt sind. Was vor Allem beim Besuche einer solchen Hütte auffällt, ist die Reinlichkeit und Nettigkeit, mit der das Ganze gehalten ist; jedes Ding steht an seinem bestimmten Platze, ist leicht und sicher zu erlangen und ist dabei so angebracht, daß es dem Raum zur Schmuck dient. — Der Boden ist eben und festgestampft wie eine Tenne und sauber rein. Lässt ich bei meinem Besuche Cigarrenasche fallen, so kam sogleich eine der Frauen, um den Boden wieder rein zu fegen. Es sind nicht alle Häuser gleich groß und stattlich, es herrscht nicht in allen die peinliche Ordnung und Reinlichkeit, wie ich sie eben zu schildern versuchte, aber selbst die weniger gut gehaltenen Wohnungen erschienen dem Reisenden, der jahrelang im Schmutze tropisch-amerikanischer Hinterlichkeit gewohnt hat, als beneidenswerthe Aufenthalt.

Reinlich wie die Wohnungen sind auch die Menschen, doch ist allerdings dieser Luxus in warmen Klima, bei halbwilden Menschen weniger kostspielig als bei uns. Es genügt im wesentlichen, daß die ganze Familie der Morgens vom Bade nach dem [illegible] Bache geht, dann die Kleidung spielt eine sehr untergeordnete Rolle. Die Männer tragen ein etwa 2½ Spannen breites Tuch, Bipe genannt, um die Lenden, welches meist durch einen breiten, aus Menschenhaaren gebrehten Gurtel (Anachelo) festgehalten wird. Die Frauen sind in ein gröberes Tuch (Tarache) gekleidet, welches von der Brust bis etwa zu den Knieen reicht, um die Hüfte durch ein Band gehalten wird, dabei aber so knapp bemessen ist, es oft eintritt, daß bei jedem Schritte an seitlichem Ausschnitte

das Bein hervortritt. Diese Gewänder, wenn man einfache Stücke Zeug so nennen darf, werden von den *Jivaros* gefertigt aus selbst gezogener Baumwolle und sind alle gleichmäßig dunkelbraun gefärbt. Das Gewebe ist sehr fest und dicht; der Werth eines Stückes ist groß, denn bei den primitiven Webegeräthen gebraucht eine Frau lange Zeit zur Anfertigung. Den Mangel an Kleidern ersetzen die sehr eitelen Indianer durch Bemalung: Das Gesicht wird durch querlaufende, oft mit Auszackungen versehene Linien in rother und schwarzer Farbe verziert, Brust und Unterleib mit schwarzen Zeichnungen, meist Quadraten oder einfachen Linien. Hie und da findet sich auch ein quer über die Brust sich erstreckendes, mit fortlaufenden Ornamenten versehenes Band, dessen scheinbar mühsame Herstellung auf die einfachste Weise bewirkt wird. Man bedient sich dazu etwa 2½ Zoll langer und ½ Zoll dicker Holz-Cylinder, auf welchen die Zeichnung tief eingeschnitten ist. Die Vertiefungen werden durch die mit Vogelfett angeriebene Farbe gefüllt und der Cylinder alsdann unter festem Aufdrücken mit der Hand über den nackten Körper hinweggerollt. Die Zeichnungen am Körper, deren Anfertigung längere Zeit erfordern, werden mit einem nach und nach schwarz werdenden Pflanzensaft aufgetragen; die Farbe hält sich 8—10 Tage lang und widersteht selbst energischen Reinigungsversuchen. Die rothen Linien müssen dagegen stets erneuert werden, zu welchem Zwecke jeder Indianer in einer zierlich geflochtenen Tasche eine kleine Büchse mit Farbe und den zugehörigen Pinseln bei sich führt. In derselben Tasche fehlt auch nie der aus langen Stacheln elegant zusammengesetzte Kamm und ein kleines Stückchen Spiegel. Spiegel bilden nebst Eisengeräthe die werthvollste Habe. Schenkt man einem Indianer einen noch so kleinen Spiegel, so wird er denselben sofort zertrümmern, um die Bruchstücke an seine Frauen zu vertheilen, oder an an seine Bekannten zu vergeben. In den durchbohrten Ohrläppchen tragen Männer wie Frauen gewöhnlich ein oder mehrere Rohrstäbchen, die Frauen außerdem unter der Unterlippe in einer, wie ein Nadelstich erscheinenden Oeffnung einen zahnstocherartigen, horizontal hervorstehenden Stift (Tacna), wozu mit Vorliebe Nähnadeln benutzt werden. Hierzu kommen noch Hals- und Armbänder, zum Theil mühsam aus Pflanzensamen, aus Muschelstückchen, von welchen jedes für sich durchbohrt werden muß, oder aus europäischen Porzellanperlen; auch die Männer verschmähen nicht ganz lieben Schmuck.

Sicher und Stolz, im Gefühl seiner Freiheit bewegt sich der *Jivaro*. Schön sind die nackten, ebenmäßig ausgebildeten Gestalten der Männer, die Frauen dagegen sind klein und gedrungen, aber gutmüthig und höchstens in frühester Jugend verführerisch, bei eintretendem Alter aber abschreckend häßlich, zumal sie alsdann weniger schamhaft, den durch harte Arbeit entstellten Körper mehr den Blicken aussetzen. Die Farbe der wohlgepflegten Haut ist bei Allen von einem hellern Rothbraun, als es den Indianern des Hochlandes eigen ist. Vielfach wird dieser Unterschied der Verwischung mit den bei Zerstörung der spanischen Städte gerachten

Weibern zugeschrieben, doch möchte der Schmutz der Quechua-Indianer dabei eine nicht unwesentliche Rolle spielen. Der Gesichtsausdruck ist meist gutmüthig und intelligent. Stets werden die Frauen mit Güte behandelt, auch bei fast allen Verhandlungen um Rath gefragt und die Kinder dürfen machen was sie wollen. Ich sage die Frauen, denn selten begnügt sich ein *Jivaro* mit einer Lebensgefährtin, er hat deren 2, 3 und 4 und kann es durchaus nicht begreifen, daß Polygamie bei ihm Unrecht sein soll, da er doch für seine Frauen und Kinder sorgt, während die christlichen Sittenprediger sich nur allzugerne dieser Pflichten entziehen. Manchmal leben mehrere Frauen mit ihren Kindern in ein und demselben Hause, manchmal hat der Herr und Gebieter mehrere weit von einander entfernte Häuser und in jedem derselben seine Frau oder seine Frauen. Das Band der Ehe wird heilig gehalten; bei Ehebruch hat der Mann das Recht, seine Frau zu tödten. Die Institution der Vielweiberei, so verwerflich sie auch von unserem Standpunkte aus sein mag, hat sicherlich seine Berechtigung unter Verhältnissen, wie wir sie bei den *Jivaros* finden. Bei einem unruhigen, kriegerischen Volke, welches häufig seine Wohnsitze verlegt, bei welchem die einzelnen Stämme, ja selbst die einzelnen Familien in Krieg und Streit leben, muß der Mann stets zur Vertheidigung seiner Person und seiner Habe bereit sein; er muß sich üben im Gebrauche der Waffen, dem Kampfe und der Jagd leben. Bei dem hoch entwickelten Freiheitssinne dieser Nation will keiner Diener sein; zu Sklaven gemachte Kriegsgefangene kann es bei der zugleich zu erwähnenden Kriegführung nicht geben. Wer soll das Feld bebauen? wer alle die Arbeiten verrichten, die der Würde des Kriegers nicht entsprechen? Da sind, so will es mir dünken, eine Anzahl anerkannter Frauen doch besser, als eine Schaar der Willkür des Herrn unterworfener Dienerinnen! Die Männer fällen die Bäume, richten das Haus und bereiten ein Stück Land zur Urbarmachung vor; das Bebauen des stets in einiger Entfernung von der Wohnung im Walde liegenden Feldes fällt, wie alle andre Arbeit, den Frauen anheim.

Eine Sitte bei der Wahl der Frauen verdient Erwähnung. Der Mann kann nämlich ein kleines, gar noch an der Mutterbrust liegendes Kind zur Frau nehmen; er hat dann den Vortheil, das Mädchen nach seinen Neigungen zu erziehen, kann dafür aber auch verpflichtet werden, die Mutter mit allen übrigen Kindern zu sich zu nehmen und zu ernähren.

Bisher habe ich es absichtlich vermieden, die Hauptsache zu erwähnen, da diese bedingt wird durch ein eigenthümlich entwickeltes Ehrgefühl, dessen Dienstes das ganze Leben des Mannes geweiht ist, an dessen Folgen die ganze Nation ihrem sicheren Untergange entgegen geht. Die schreckliche Sitte der Blutrache herrscht hier mit unerbittlicher Strenge. Für jeden erschlagenen Glied einer Familie sind die nächsten Verwandten, für jeden gefallenen Krieger ist der ganze Stamm verpflichtet, Rache zu nehmen. Entweder muß der Sieger selbst ermordet werden, oder ein Stammesgenosse, ein Verwandter muß als Opfer fallen. Der geschädigte Theil rüstet sich heimlich zu einem Ueberfall; lautlos wird der Wald durchzogen

mit Vermeidung aller Wahrzeichen, um in der Dunkelheit einen plötzlichen Ueberfall auf die unvorbereitete Behausung ausführen zu können. Wenn möglich, wird das Haus in Brand gesteckt und die Insassen erworben. Selten wird ein Ueberfall so vollständig gelingen, daß nicht einem der Bewohner Zeit bliebe, den Alarmzeichen mit der Kriegstrommel zu geben, oft werden sogar heftige Kämpfe stattfinden. Dann ziehen die in den benachbarten Tambos wohnenden Familien zur Unterstützung ihrer Freunde herbei, verbinden die sich neu entwickelnden Angreifer, wobei nur allzuleicht neue Glieder in die unendliche Kette der Blutrache verflochten werden.

Immer neue, immer mehr Opfer wird die schreckliche Sitte verlangen, alle Sicherheit muß schwinden, jeder Einzelne lebt fortdauernd in der Gefahr, überfallen zu werden: der Kriegszustand ist allgemein und permanent. Daher auch die Einrichtung der Häuser, deren eine Tür zur Flucht benutzt werden kann, während an der andern der Kampf wütet; daher auch die Eingangs erwähnten Gebräuche bei Annäherung an eine Wohnung, zu deren Schutz noch außerdem eine Schar halbwilder Jagdhunde gehalten wird. Der Streit zweier Familien muß Kämpfe ganzer Stämme herbeiführen, größere Gruppen von Stämmen werden gegeneinander in Feindschaft geraten; Krieg und Kampf wird zur Gewohnheit, zur Lebensaufgabe des Mannes. Eine längere Periode der Ruhe, des Friedens muß einer solchen Nation von Kriegern unerträglich sein. Ehrgeizige, kühne Anführer werden leicht Gefährten zu gemeinsamen Kriegszügen finden, die benachbarten Nationen werden überfallen und ausgeplündert. So führen diese Indianer unter sich einen Vernichtungskampf, der nach und nach ihrem eigenen Untergang herbeiführen muß. Trotzdem macht sich eine starke Entvölkerung im Gebiete der *Jivaros* bemerkbar, welche noch beschleunigt wird durch die zeitweilig mit großer Heftigkeit auftretenden Epidemien der durch die Europäer eingeführten Krankheiten.

Sei es nun, daß die *Jivaros* unter sich nicht allzu großes Vertrauen in die Wirksamkeit der eigenen Kampfbeziehungen setzen, oder daß andere Gründe vorliegen, einen thatsächlichen Beweis der vollführten Blutrache und der Tapferkeit zu verlangen, so viel steht fest, daß als Sieger nur derjenige angesehen wird, der den Kopf des Feindes als Trophäe aufweisen kann. Das ganze Streben geht also dahin, den Gegner zu enthaupten. Bei einem Ueberfalle ist dies leicht, bei einem regelrechten Kampfe aber schwieriger. Die Streiter sind bewaffnet mit Schild und Lanze und neuerdings mit großen Waldmessern. Der kreisrunde Schild, aus einem einzigen Stück weichen und leichten Holzes geschnitzt, hat etwa halbe Mannshöhe, die Lanze, aus dünnem, hartem Palmenholz (Chonta) mit einer aus Knochen oder Eisen gefertigten Spitze versehen, ist 6 bis 7 Fuß oder mehr lang. Die Schaaren rücken dicht aneinander heran, jeder Mann in gebeugter Stellung hinter seinem Schilde geschützt; in der rechten Hand ruht die Lanze, dicht an der Spitze gefaßt. Durch eine leise, regelmäßige Bewegung des rechten Armes wird der lange, horizontal

gehaltene Schaft in vertikale Schwingungen versetzt, um beim plötzlichen Vorstoß der Waffe Stetigkeit und Gewalt zu verleihen. Schild an Schild gedrängt kämpft, unter lautem Kriegsgeheul, Mann gegen Mann; jeder sucht sich zu decken, jeder sucht eine Blöße des Gegners zu ergattern, ohne sich dabei den Steinwürfen der Weiber und Kinder allzusehr auszusetzen. Trifft ein Lanzenstich, ist der Feind verwundet und wendet sich zur Flucht, so wird der Schild fortgeworfen, denn nun gilt es den Kopf zu erlangen. Deshalb tragen die Männer langes Haar. Der tapfere Krieger bietet seinem Besiegter die Möglichkeit, ihn beim Schopfe zu fassen. Langes Haar gilt somit als Zeichen des Kriegers, das freien Mannes; Weiber, Kinder und die wenigen Kriegsgefangenen müssen das Haar abschneiden. Ist ein Kopf erbeutet, so wird er im Triumph nach der Behausung gebracht, woselbst die Trophäe eine besonderen Zubereitung erfährt. Dies ist eine wichtige, religiöse Ceremonie. Die Kopfhaut wird abgezogen, Augen und Mund vernäht; in den so erlangten Hautsack werden heiße Steine eingeführt, wodurch die Haut austrocknet und zusammenschrumpft; immer kleinere heiße Steine kommen zur Benutzung, bis der Kopf, völlig eingetrocknet, auf die Größe einer Faust reduziert ist. Acht Tage lang soll eine solche Präparierung, welche der glückliche Besitzer selbst ausführen muß, bewerkstelligen. Während dieser ganzen Zeit darf er seine Hände zu keiner andern Verrichtung benutzen, wie einem Kinde muß ihm Nahrung gereicht werden.

Ist die Trophäe fertig, so wird ein großes Fest bereitet, zu dessen Behufe eine eigene Festhalle errichtet wird; alle Freunde und Bekannten helfen beim Bau, bringen Geschenke zur Bewirtung. Vor allem gilt es, das berauschende Getränk aus Tucawurzel zu bereiten, um dem Tage lang in steinernen Bassins zu verbringen. Die Tucu wird von Weibern gekaut und in großen Gefäßen der Gährung überlassen. Das so erlangte Getränk ist anfänglich von lieblichem Geschmack, die Mitte haltend zwischen Limonade und Mandelmilch, wird aber bei vorschreitender Gährung stark und berauschend.

Von nah und fern versammeln sich die Freunde zum Feste, aufgeputzt mit bunten Federn, mit langen, aus den glänzenden Flügeldecken großer Käfer angefertigten Ohrgehängen, mit schön gefärbten Bitten oder bunten Stirnbändern (Tucuhaut), mit Hals- und Armbändern aus Zähnen von Affen und wilden Tieren. Die Weiber tragen reich verzierte Binden um die Hüften, an deren Franzen Rasseln und Klappern befestigt sind, so daß beim stampfenden Tanzen ein großer Lärm entsteht. Ein Waffentanz wird aufgeführt, bei welchem alle vorhandenen Exuvien, dies ist der Name der Trophäenkopfe, im Triumphe aufgeführt werden. Die durch Tanz, Musik und Getränk erregte Begeisterung soll oft einen so hohen Grad erreichen, daß der Waffentanz in blutigem Ernste endet.

Sind die Vorräte zu Ende, ist der Exzeß ausgetobt, so wird das zum Feste gebaute Haus verlassen und verfällt — wenn nicht auch einiger Zeit eine andere Familie einzieht und die Aufbewahrung übernimmt.

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Wie nach einem solchen Fest, so muß auch nach einem Todesfalle das Haus verlassen werden. Um der Unbequemlichkeit des Umzugs entlehnen zu sein und wohl auch aus abergläubischer Furcht vor Sterbenden, werden Tuchkrucke rückseitslos im Walde umgemacht. Man baut dann eine kleine Lauhhütte, legt einige Nahrungsmittel bei und überläßt die Ihrem Schicksale.

Soll ein Kriegszug unternommen, soll ein wichtiger Beschluß gefaßt werden, so werden die bikanen Mächte angerufen und deren Eingebungen entwickeln. Der *Jivaro* zieht sich in die Waldeinsamkeit zurück, bereitet sich in dem Aufgrub giftiger Lianen und läßt dann das Resultat seiner schweren Tränen für einen Befehl der Götter. In dieser Ceremonie wird ein hervorragender Punkt gewählt, von welchem der Blick auf den *Sangay* fällt, der in den religiösen Anschauungen dieser Indianer eine große Rolle zu spielen scheint. Und wie könnte das Wunder anders bei dem furchtbar schönen Schauspiel, welches der schwarze, kahle, frei dem höchsten Berghimmel aufragende Kegel bietet. Unterbrochen wie der Stromboli arbeitet der 5200 m hohe Vulkan. Dichte schwarze Aschenwolken werden unter donnerartigen Getöse ausgeschieden, das Dunkle begleitet von den prächtigsten Feuergarben. Vom höchsten Gipfel bis zur Region der Wälder zieht ein glühend leuchtender Feuerstreif am Abhang herab, wie ein Strom geschmolzenen Metalles sich fortwälzend. Furchtbare Verwüstungen haben die Wasserfluten angerichtet, welche, hervorgerufen durch das Schmelzen der Gletscher beim Ausbruch eines neuen Lavastromes, das ganze Land von *Mitas* verwüstet. Auch von Erdbeben werden diese Distrikte nicht selten heimgesucht. Der Indianer kennt somit aus eigener Erfahrung die weltumspannende, furchtbare Gewalt des Vulkans, den er nur mit scheuer Ehrfurcht aus der Ferne sondert.

Ich möchte hier bemerken, daß nicht, wie dies hie und da behauptet wird, die immer Hitze des *Sangay* oder die unergründlichen Aschenmassen die Besiedlung verhindern; die wesentliche und einzige Schwierigkeit liegt im Gegenteil in der gewaltigen Verfinsterung des steilen Kegels, welches bis zur Meereshöhe von 2500 m herabreicht.

Die Sprache der *Jivaros* ist wesentlich verschieden vom Quechua, so daß die Indianer von *Zúchumbe* sich nicht verständigen können. Sie klingt sehr weich und hat etwas eintönig weiches. Beim Zählen werden die 5 Finger der Hand als Grundlage benutzt, *dann eine Hand = 5 etc.* gerechnet. Soweit höhere Zahlbegriffe vorhanden sind, konnte ich durch meiner unpolitischen Dolmetscher nicht erfahren.

Es mag mir noch man Gelegenheit gestattet sein, einige Worte über die Eigenart dieser Indianer und über die Möglichkeit, sie immer Kultur zugänglich zu machen, beizufügen. — Von spanischer und kleiner-amerikanischer Seite sind sie civilisatorische Versuche unternommen worden; es handelte sich bei allen Unternehmungen *immer* nur um Dienstbarmachung und Ausnutzung der Indianer. Das wissen die *Jivaros* wohl sie sind seinen denkbar jedem Eindringen in ihr Land Widerstand entgegen. Mit Gewalt können

die *Ecuatorianer* nicht anzurichten. Bleiben die Indianer aber sich selbst überlassen, so werden sie, wie ich bei Schilderung der Kriegsführung gezeigt, sich nach und nach selbst vernichten. Nach dem, was ich bei den *Jivaros* gesehen, will es mir nicht allzuschwer dünken, dieses Volk unserer Kulturentwickelung einzureihen. Intelligent, ehrgeizig, eitel, mit Sinn für reinliche, geordnete Häuslichkeit begabt, müßte es leicht sein, durch allmähliche Einführung europäischer Industrieprodukte die Bedürfnisse zu vermehren, den Wunsch nach Erlangung weiterer Bequemlichkeiten und dadurch eine erhöhte Produktion und Arbeitsleistung als Gegenwerth hervorzurufen. Mit erhöhtem Besitze würde die Schwierigkeit des öfteren Wohnungswechsels wachsen, der Wunsch, das Erworbene zu genießen, würde die Kriegslust dämpfen. Wollte man die Umwohner der Mission in geeigneter Weise mit Eisenwaaren und sonstigen wünschenswerthen Produkten versehen, so würden sie rasch das Uebergewicht über die weniger begünstigten Stämme erlangen, sei es durch Gewalt, sei es durch vortheilhaften Tauschhandel; sie würden zur lebendigen Schutzmauer der Kolonie, ohne welche ihre Existenz gefährdet wäre. Mit Milde und wahrer Humanität sollten die *Jivaros* zu nützlichen Mitgliedern der menschlichen Gesellschaft zu erziehen sein, während unter den jetzt obwaltenden Umständen ihr zwar langsamer, aber nichtsdestoweniger sicherer Untergang unvermeidlich ist.

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THE JÍVARO 000

People of the Sacred Waterfalls

MICHAEL J. HARNER

/p. 1/

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To the Jivaro, 000

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unsuri hard.

Amili, pahuanarum!

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INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the warriors *heart of* eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956-57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

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There was certainly no other tribe in South America about which less was known in proportion to what had been published. Part of this situation was due to certain aspects of Jívaro culture, particularly the making of tsantsa, which lent themselves to sensationalistic articles and popular books which were typically based upon a minimum or even an absence of actual contact with the Jívaro. Only two serious major works on them existed: the late Rafael Karsten's *Head-hunters of Western Amazonia* (1935), and M. W. Stirling's *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jívaro Indians* (1938). Yet much of what Karsten wrote was vague and highly opinionated, and Stirling's field data were fairly limited due to the short time he spent with the Jívaro. In addition, where the two authors overlapped in subject matter, their reports tended to be strongly contradictory.[1]

In view of this situation, I took both Karsten's and Stirling's works into the field with me and reviewed them sentence by sentence with Jívaro informants. Except for Stirling's data on material culture, I found that there was scarcely a paragraph of ethnographic information in either work that could be considered wholly accurate.

In time, it became evident that the erratic quality of information supplied by both anthropologists derived in part from their reliance on white men as interpreters. Karsten depended almost exclusively on Macabeo, the mestizo inhabitant of the village of Macas, for his communications with Indian informants. He also relied on them for second-hand information on Jívaro culture, as I ascertained by talking to Macabeos who had worked for him. I also found that the Macabeos had misconceptions of Jívaro culture which they believed in so strongly that they were willing to argue with the Indians about the latter's own culture. It was not too different in Stirling's case, although much more expectable,

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sions he was able to spend only a few short months with the Jivaro in comparison with Karsten's immeasurable work during several years. Stirling's interpreter was Santiago Baca of Méndez, whom I knew personally, and whom on one occasion I noted as an interpreter. Although a fine person, Baca hardly would let an Indian speak before he reinterpreted and expanded what had been said to fit his own preconceptions. The following portion of a letter from Stirling to me, dated June 30, 1962, in response to an article which I had just published on Jivaro soul beliefs,[2] shows the role of Baca in his work. I would like to add that I consider the letter a tribute to Stirling's scholarly integrity:

It is high time that adequate studies are finally being made of this significant group. When I made my rather hasty trip through the Jivaro country in 1950-51, the working conditions were far from ideal. The expedition was badly organized and from the standpoint of the ethnologist we were never able to stay in one place long enough to get proper results. I knew nothing of the Jivaro language, and depended entirely on the interpreter-Santiago Baca-for the esoteric information. What I recorded was what he understood from the informants. He was, incidentally, a political refugee and had lived 2 years with the Jivaro in hiding.

It is interesting to note that most of the Jivaro we encountered at that time insisted that they knew nothing of religious beliefs—that we would have to contact old Anguashu (on the Yuape [Yaupi] River). We finally did contact him, and he was the source of most of this type of material which I secured. I am sure that he was a good informant—very sincere and desirous of being precise—so the errors were probably the result of misunderstanding by the interpreter, since I tried not to fill in my interpretations of my own. I had Karsten's work with me, and after getting our own material I checked with Karsten's accounts. The Indians would agree with practically none of his ideas, in-

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114 121 ating that they had never heard of such a thing. Incidentally, I never learned with which group he worked—a fact which he appeared to keep secret. I assumed that either the Indians with whom he worked had different concepts, or that he possibly supplied interpretations of his own.

It does not seem probable to me that basic changes in fundamental beliefs could take place in 30 years, so I am inclined to agree with you that the errors in my account were the result of wrong interpretation.

121 128 Since the purpose of the present book is to provide a broad introduction to Jívaro culture rather than a detailed comparison with earlier publications, the reader will not find specific criticisms of Karsten's and Stirling's data in the following pages. These will be gradually provided in more specialized publications, which will also have the function of focusing on particular aspects of Jívaro life in greater detail. To the specialist who reads this work, however, I wish to say that statements that he finds here implicitly contradicting those of the two other authors may be taken, in fact, as explicit corrections of their accounts. A contradictory account here does not imply ignorance of their material.

Beyond this, of course, is the question of cultural change. [115] First of all, I wish to note that several of my most important elderly informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in 1916–18 and did not come into substantial first-hand contact with whites until fifteen to [114] twenty years later. The fieldwork by Stirling occurred later, in 1930–31, but as Stirling himself noted above, the basic source of difference with my own material was probably his interpreter. In addition, I made a special effort to secure field data that would reveal those aspects of Jívaro culture that had changed or remained stable during this century, and the final chapter of the book is devoted to that subject.

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124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [797] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

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fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that it must be done with sophistication involving constant rephrasing of the same questions in different contexts with various interpreters and informants and supplemented by as much participant observation as possible. It seems likely that at least as many errors in ethnographic research can be committed by the fieldworker who is under the delusion that he is "fluent" in the language, and who fails to check his results through interpreters, as by the researcher who recognizes his linguistic limitations and uses trained interpreters with sensible caution and patience.

The research providing the present data was conducted for a total of fourteen field months in 1956–57, 1964 and 1969, primarily in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and the Río Upano and its tributaries. Except where otherwise stated, the ethnographic data presented here refer to the culture of those Jivaro who in 1956–57 were not yet in regular first-hand contact with Ecuadorians or other whites.

The 1956–57 field investigation was sponsored by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc., of New York, with supplementary grants from the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, the American Museum of Natural History, and the American Anthropological Association (Smith, Kline and French Laboratories contract). The organization and study of the collected data upon my return from the field was facilitated by a University Fellowship in Anthropology from the University of California and by a summer grant from the Social Science Research Council.

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Fieldwork in the summer of 1964 was carried out under the auspices of the Associates in Tropical Biogeography of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the same institution. Sponsorship of the 1969 summer investigations was by the American Museum of Natural History, the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and the Columbia University Institute of Latin American Studies. 122

I am particularly indebted to Professor John H. Rowe of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, who first called my attention to the inadequacies of the published material on the Jivaro and who supported me in embarking on the initial field research,[8] when others felt that it was too perilous a project. Other colleagues who have been of particular assistance are Robert F. Murphy, James J. Parsons, Robert L. Carneiro and Kenneth Kensinger. My wife, Sandra, my son, James, and my daughter, Teresa, have helped make this work possible in such profound ways that they will probably never fully realize the depth of their contribution. 114

Ecuadorians and Americans in Ecuador who especially made possible the success of the fieldwork through their friendship and assistance were Dr. Alberto Flores González, Director of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, Sr. and Sra. Alfredo Costales Samaniego of the same institute, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Struck, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Ficke, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Drown, Mr. W. Ferguson and Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ferguson, and also Dr. Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who contributed linguistic information on the Jivaro language. Dr. Turner is not to be held responsible, however, for oversimplifications in the orthography used here.

My greatest debt, and one which I can never adequately 123

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123 acknowledge, is to the innumerable *huara* who guided me in my education in their culture. I value very deeply the sensitivity, intelligence, courtesy and hospitality with which they have consistently treated me. I feel no greater affection and respect for any people on earth.

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ORTHOGRAPHY

104 The Jivaro orthography used here assigns these approximate values to the following phonemes:

VOWELS

a Spanish *a*
e English *i* in *tie*
i Spanish *i* (nasalized when immediately preceding or following n); when immediately preceding a consonant, it is pronounced immediately following the consonant, except in the case of *r* or *s*)
u Spanish *u*

CONSONANTS

č Spanish *ch*
g Spanish *g* (restricted to a few Spanish loan words)
b English *b*
k English *b* (sounded like English *g* when immediately following m, n, or ŋ)
m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
n Spanish *n*
ŋ English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (sounded like an English *b* when immediately following m, n, or ŋ)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*

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ts German z in Zimmer

t Spanish *t* (sounded like Spanish *d* when immediately following m, n, or ŋ) 104

w English *w* (but sounded like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)

y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are marked with ˗. Such vowels tend to be voiced when the words are shouted loudly. Stress is on the penultimate syllable, unless otherwise noted. Diphthongs are *ai* and *au*.

The orthography is sometimes not adhered to in the case of tribal names which are now in current usage in Spanish-language publications in Ecuador, e.g., "Shuara" (*huarä*), and "Achuara" (*acuarä*).

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MAP 1 /p. 11/
Jivaroan and neighboring tribes

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Chapter I

THE JIVARO: BACKGROUND

195 181 648

I say truly to Your Highness that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.

Captain Hernando de Benavente —on the Jivaro in a letter to the Royal Audiencia of Spain, March 25, 1550

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Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *wetmei huarí*, the Jivaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *ahuari huarí* and the *tsawa huarí*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geographical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jivaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jivaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

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101 culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

It is not known how long the Jivaro have dwelt in the forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has 197 been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists[7] to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg[8] has suggested that Jivaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

198 Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jivaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Rio Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. ± 440 years and 1041 A.D. ± 180 years.[9] However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jivaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Iglamuin," was discovered southeast of the mestizo village of Huambi in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Vasucha," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra[10] in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of 199 the Rio Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric populations

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179 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

615 Today five Jívaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[1], the Achuara (Achuara, Achual); the Huambisa, the Aguaruna, and the "Moyna"[2] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri huni*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simply as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jívaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*huni*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "man" or "people" and is used by all Jívaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apach*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri huni*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*achuri huni*) to the east. An alternative term, *nunalya huni* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*mawa huni*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*nuka huni*" or "*yuhina huni*,"[3] while the Aguaruna call

128 them the "*pasuka tirey*."[4] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

181 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,850
133 persons in 1956-57,[5] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pongó

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MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri huará*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

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131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 1 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chigüaza region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[14] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jívaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jívaroans.[15] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

195 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

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highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jívaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[15]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xivaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[16]

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The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, into the Jívaro territory. These newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[17] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

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ribed as "cities," in 1551: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Pastaza (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora, and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[14] [75 648]

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldana reported in 1580: [76]

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[15]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[16] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all due to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas, and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebrations of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presupposes several points:
>
> (1) That the Indian nations of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish, because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop, something more than a parish of Indians.
>
> (2) That the Jívaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without knight or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes. [77]

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(1) That the conquered inhabitants of the Pastaza, where the city of Logroño was founded, remained very displeased with the unequal administration of its town, done because of their old rebelliousness.

(2) That even though they were paid for their labor, in iron tools and other goods, in accordance with the ordinances of President LeGuera, that procedure inducements did not allow their innate idleness, and they worked the gold mines with much reluctance.

Given these points, it is easy to understand with how much anxiety the uprising would be prepared. Above all, it is necessary to understand that the Jíbaros of the Morona, who were the leaders, had renewed their friendship and alliance with those of the Pastaza, to the interest of having, through them, the iron tools that they needed.

With the matters of government in these critical circumstances, there arrived orders from the royal Audiencia that there, as everywhere, they conduct the customary ceremony of the oath of allegiance to the King. The Governor, who did not miss an opportunity to enrich himself, wanted to take advantage of this. He proclaimed an edict in the capital, and had it announced in all the [regional] governments through his lieutenants, fixing the day well in advance, and imposing a large tax, under the name of a gift, for the solemn royal celebrations, he being the one having to go out to collect it in person in the three provinces, equally from the Spaniards as from the Indians.

As soon as this order was proclaimed, rebellion was also proclaimed in all the [regional] governments, with the greater activity among the Spaniards than among the Indians. Since they [the Spaniards] knew the purpose of asking such a big gift, they resolved to pay the cost of the celebrations themselves, although it might cost more, in order not to enrich the Governor by putting it into his hands. They spoke openly and resolutely about the case, and afraid of not being heard, they-tolerated in their meetings several leaders of a formal and declared conspiracy

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against the intention of the order. The Governor, fearing its effects, since all the Spaniards were stirred up, explained to them, by himself privately, that the gift was free and voluntary, and that each should only contribute according to his means. But he did not explain our intents this to the Indians; as a result, while the Spaniards had cooled down, the Indians remained upset.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order with resignation. The Jíbaros entered into many consultations, and already were resolved to throw off the yoke, retreating to the Morona. Seeing them with this determination, Quirruba [*Kirupana?* ("Big Frog")], chief of one of their settlements, very alert and capable, quieted them all down. He told them that that was not the sure way of liberating themselves permanently from the Christians: that if they were attempting to do that, they must entrust themselves to his direction, and must bind themselves to execute in secret all that which he would order, and not to think, for then, of making a withdrawal.

They accepted his proposition and swore to recognize him as their leader and liberator. He imposed two obligations upon them: first, inviolate secrecy on which everything depended; and second, that they seek not only the gold that the Governor ordered, but whatever more they were able to, in order that this might be the price of their liberty, feigning to seek gold with great enthusiasm to solemnize the royal celebrations.

Meanwhile, Quirruba asked, through messengers, for aid from all of the Jíbaros of the Morona; and having it assured, he insisted on involving the Macas and Huamboyas in the same conspiracy by means of secret emissaries, because his plan was to wipe out all the Spaniards of the [regional] government at the same time on the same day. He learned the day which the Governor had fixed for his arrival in Logroño, where Quirruba himself was to go personally with part of the army.

He designated two others in whom he had confidence as leaders of the undertaking: one for the capital of Sevilla del Oro, and the other for the town of Huamboya, in order that each one, aided by the local Indians and by the troops of Jíbaros that were

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distributed in three parts, that all might become blood and fire. The fear of being destroyed by the Jíbaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan, but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

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The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

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The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations, and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet, and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jeers, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a horn, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another horn, and burning his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and bound all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 195 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a nunnery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [582] [197] 195 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the *Jíbaros* of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the governorate that night, because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the ammunition was excessive, because each one was 195 648

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thinking more of saving his family and possessions than of the common defense, it was difficult to conduct it to advantage: nevertheless, the city and royal officials tried hard to make as much preparation as was possible, instructing the women, and placing them under arms in the locations of the most danger, not having forces or preparation for a battle inside the city.

The officials transported all of the royal treasury and its boxes to the main church, fortifying it as a citadel and final refuge. They also fortified the church of the nuns of the Conception, crowding into it all of the women and children. At nightfall, a portion of the inhabitants of the town of Huamboya, at Inquam down, entered the city, having seen all of the rest to Rinkumba and its environs. All of these fled, abandoning their houses and goods, because at dawn that day they learned, from a love sick Indian who had remained, that all the people of his nation had returned to the Cordillera de Cabello, fleeing the Jibaros, who were going to destroy everyone that night.

They returned to Sevilla del Oro with the reinforcement of these people, and passed all the night on watch, awaiting the enemy. Seeing that they neither appeared the next day, they began to doubt the existence of the conspiracy. They then were time to complete the defense somewhat more, to bring in a supply of food from the neighboring countryside, and to gather the Spaniards sprinkled in the mining camps and small settlements of the district.

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The reason that the barbarians postponed the appointed time by 24 hours was because the Macas, who were summoned to join with them and to lead them, as guides, to the city, did not appear at their appointed meeting place. Finding the Macas to be untrustful, they delayed the march, and sent word to Logroño to supply more troops. These arrived between midnight and dawn the next day, and together they marched against Sevilla del Oro, burning with desire to avenge themselves, not so much against the Spaniards, as against the Macas Indians, for having broken their promise.

The Spaniards worked themselves up into going forth were the

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175 648 726 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city, which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead, here, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they found, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made hold on that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[724] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and places, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to see fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 648 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 648 727 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in Logroño they did not exceed more than 11 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

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175 more than 15 thousand inhabitants, between citizens and mer-
648 chants from the outside, it is said that not a fourth remained, this
727 being almost all women and children, with very few men.

Upon the pitiful fall of this government [of Macas], the total
195 ruin of the territory of Yaguarzongo followed as a consequence,
648 and the almost total ruin of Jaén, of which I shall tell you in due time; and that of Loja and Quijos, which I have already reported. Even the highest and most secure provinces of the Kingdom [of Quito] experienced notable unrest on the part of the peoples upon notification of the horrendous catastrophe: it reached even to the barbaric nations of Popayan, and caused them, by its bad example, to commit the insolences and destructions to which I referred in speaking of its cities.

It was a special providence of Heaven that at nightfall the triumphant barbarians unexpectedly withdrew from Sevilla del Oro, the reason being unknown, they being able to have easily consummated the slaughter of everyone. The wretched remnant, informed of all that had happened in Logroño, remained fearing the return of the barbarians at any moment; and no longer capable of resistance, they only thought of saving themselves. Small parties of children and women, with an occasional man, were leaving on foot with a thousand hardships, and without any food, to take refuge in other cities of the Kingdom; and not a single person would have stayed, if an opportune relief had not shortly arrived from Quito.[10]

Those Spaniards who stayed retreated north to the upper Río Upano Valley and founded the refugee settlement of Macas. Some years later these people of Macas (commonly referred to as Macabeos) made sorties southward to mine the old placer gold deposits, but apparently these attempts ended in failure, due to attacks by the Jívaro.[11]

From 1599 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jívaro apparently had only intermittent and generally hostile contacts with whites. Some missionary and military

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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, 175
but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in 648
permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures [797]
reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when [431]
they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which [965]
included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been [727]
killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no mem- 179
ory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ni apačī* ["*ni*" white men]. 179
> They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to 829
> their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *huarū* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the 174
knees and elbows of the *ni apačī* was something like the [173]
shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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174 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *mula* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-mules (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-mules (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *si apachi*, although he thought it was possible.

175 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the sixteen-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

175 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Paute region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[23] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1837, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[24]

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173 648 177 439 [191] The Jivaro have an oral tradition regarding the circumstances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:

In the old days, all the Jivaro [*untsuri huará*] lived near the Río Paute. Then two Jivaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutunangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who were kilts like the *huará*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jivaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jivaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *huará* returned downstream and told their people:

[412] [411] [231] "We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] [412] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[291] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

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177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the Jíbaro.
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[193] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jíbaro families soon migrated north from the Río
Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began
to act as middlemen in the barter of Jíbaro products for steel
[319] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jíbaro from saline
springs, but soon also began to attend manioc celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jíbaro
[175] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance
at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase manioc.[20]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and
the first reported examples of manioc reached the outside
world at about this time.[20]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jíbaro until 1670. In this year,
499 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[199] to the south on the Río Zamora.[21] The Jesuit missionaries
introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo
men carrying calves and guinea grass (*granalote* in Spanish)
[231] on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[436] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline
[469] occurred in the trade with the Jíbaro for pigs. Being unable to
barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade
goods, the Jíbaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing
forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gual-
999 aquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

new permanent white settlement in the Jivaro region since 1930. These motives seem to have been tolerated by the Jivaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jivaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jivaro.[29] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1901, but it likewise was soon terminated.[30]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and inveterately bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jivaro in exchange for lance or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jivaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[31] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a cole on his back from Río-Bamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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people. Its fine cattle are known, by hearsay at least, throughout Ecuador, but it is rarely that any are driven up to the markets of the plateau. The long trail to Riobamba, the only route from the village to the plateau, is at all seasons of the year so deep in mud that cattle cannot stand the journey over it. One wonders, indeed, how and why such a settlement as Macas exists. But it must be borne in mind that the inhabitants, as in certain sections of eastern Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, as well, are of a type of which white men elsewhere can scarcely conceive. They are with few exceptions a people so long reduced, because of their inability to engage in trade of any importance, to a state in which they have no desires that cannot be satisfied by the land on which they live. Shelter and food are their chief wants. The few articles of their monotonous diet are easily grown. Their huts of bamboo slats . . . are easily constructed from material immediately at hand. On their infrequent trips to the plateau, they may carry with them a bit of gold washed from a nearby stream, a little crude alcohol distilled from cane grown on a river playa, a few homemade cigars, a little coffee or cacao, wherewith to purchase a few yards of cheap cloth needed for clothing. Their life is easy, tranquil and even plentiful within their conception of plenty. The region could undoubtedly support many more people in such a state of plenty and tranquility, but such a life could scarcely satisfy the desirable type of colonist, either local or foreign, who breaks old ties and traditions to set out to find a better life in new lands.[81]

Even as the above sketch was being published, however, a new wave of white colonists had begun to enter this western part of the Jívaro territory.[82] Mestizo workers who had accompanied the Salesian missionaries to Méndez were rediscovering the rich placer gold deposits which the Spaniards had mined in the sixteenth century on the lower Río Paute, lower Río Zamora, and lower Río Upano. Ecuadorians from the province of Azuay in the adjoining Andean highlands soon

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came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 175
Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usu- 648
ally attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as
individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were [411]
fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[22] probably
contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro
occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another,
directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [497]
built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province [797]
of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the
trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually,
Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed [411]
the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465]
particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which
they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the
colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423]
arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented
by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for
pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [791]
population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[781] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
101 the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
161 lost their lands to the new immigrants, and others fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguaza region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
667 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
[619] planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangosa), Huambi, Huambiniani, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 1). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,611 persons, as against 1,556 Jívaro in the same valley.[20]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitting contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

177 one journey of two or more days on foot, still discourages white penetration into the eastern interior.

Cases of contact between the interior Jívaro and whites are all very recent and highly localized in their occurrence. The largest intrusion was made by the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation in the early 1940's as part of an ill-fated oil exploration project. The company constructed a small airstrip near the Río Pastaza in the easternmost part of the Jívaro territory, but within a few years abandoned the site altogether when explorations failed to reveal economically exploitable oil deposits in the region. The project involved relatively limited interaction with the Jívaro.

177 In 1945, a North American evangelist missionary belonging
177 to the Gospel Missionary Union established a small outpost on the middle Río Macuma. The mission has a small airstrip supplied by single-engine plane since 1948. A subsidiary airstrip was built on the upper Río Cangaimi at the end of 1954.[10] At the time of the investigator's first fieldwork, the Macuma mission was beginning to exert some significant influence on the Jívaro families residing at the mission, but such contacts were still limited to the immediate locality, without any noticeable effect on the culture of the other Jívaro inhabiting the vast interior region east of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The Salesians had also founded a mission on the lower Río Yuqui, with similar localized effects.

101 Localities within the interior Jívaro territory which had
177 been least touched by white contact in 1956–57 are the areas from which the data are primarily drawn for the present study. These areas include: the upper Río Cangaimi, the upper Río Cumaimi, the upper Río Mangosiza, and the region between the Río Chiguaza and the headwaters of the Río Yuquipa and the Río Macuma (see Map 1). The last region is west of the northern end of the Cutucú mountain barrier

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but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 1,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe exterior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57. 101 177 128

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguasa region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*ačuarā huarā*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguasa and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*wampis huarā*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[24] 101 [129] 101 721

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri huarā* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the 166 101 [224] [226]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jívaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jívaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jívaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jívaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the eld-
[123] erly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jívaro coming back from Peru." The Jívaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jívaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge its actual demographic effects. 164

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jivaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jivaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jivaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jivaro then are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population, but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift that has occurred during the past half-century from large-scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jivaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to have expanded. 16 [721] [682] 101 628

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

14:Harner K-6.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has con-
628 tributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jivaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 The relative isolation of the interior Jivaro, however, had
499 not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighbor-
[611] hood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these
[946] products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jivaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jivaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jivaro
[464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jivaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu-
177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of
184 native-type goods among the Jivaro on the frontier, partially
43 because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jivaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34.Harner E-6.5 (1956-1969)1973 SDP Jivaro SDP

tools and firearms. These complementary inequalities in supply and demand between the frontier and interior Jivaro formed the basis for the trade that supplied the latter with European-type technological items. Such technological items constituted almost the sole aspects of Western civilization that had been adopted by the interior Jivaro in 1976-77.

.... 36.Harner E-6.9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

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I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Song by a man to his enemies
when he believes that they are
about to attack

595 The center of Jivaro life is the individual house, normally
951 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).

942 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kampanakú* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[912] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

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34:Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

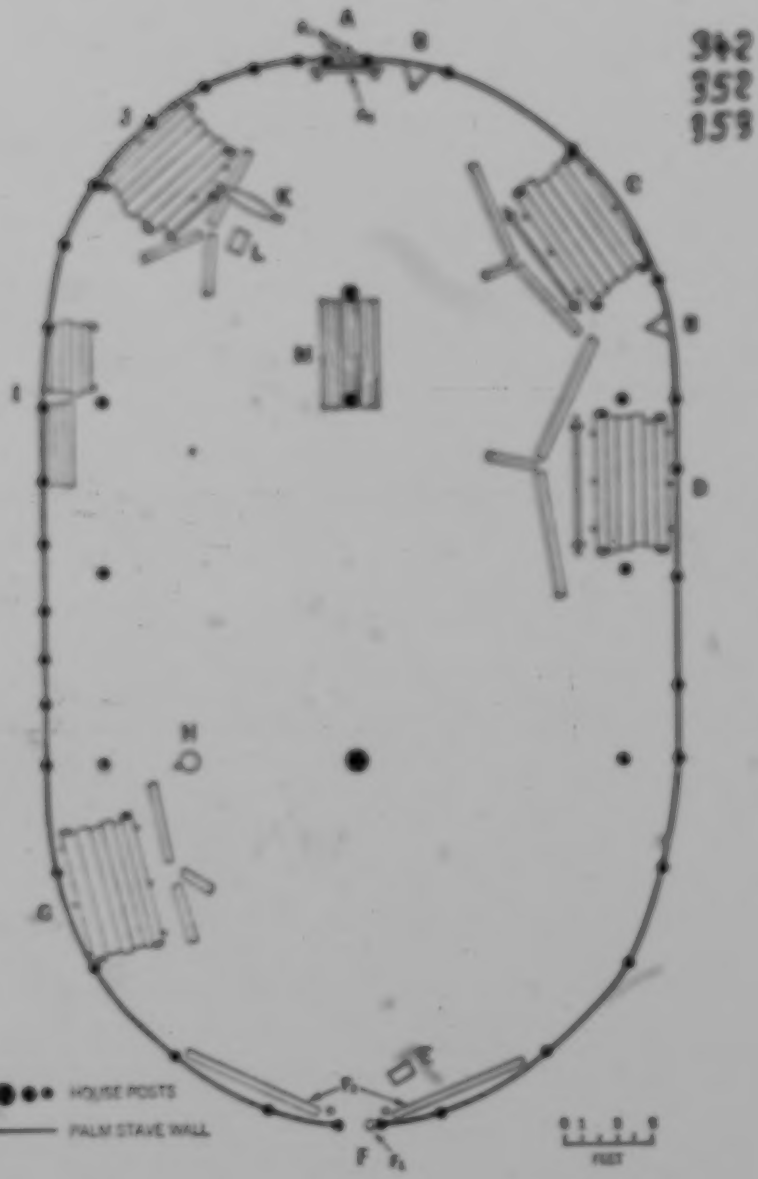

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FIGURE 1

Floor plan of a representative house (upper Río Cangaimi, 1957)

34 Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house

A_1 Removable door posts in upright position

A_2 Crosbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crosbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*tunepi*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house

F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)

F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*Zimpui*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. 342
The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a [712]
single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the door- 342
ways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn 712
wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even 362
though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually 342
after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for 356
abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity [313]
of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of [224]
wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 356 362 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly until the ninth year of occupancy.

342 361 If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure [224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In [628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous [768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 462 476 602 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 554 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 574 535 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occupies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [721]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tapamaia*), and the women's 562
(*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large
[202] wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness
[412] and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *bapinzuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both
513 in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 Each household has either a single large garden or several
[351] smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually
[146] located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

season,[1] and a diversified crop inventory all contribute to 24
making a continual supply of agricultural products possible throughout the year.

Crops grown for their tubers or corms include, besides sweet manioc, two varieties of sweet potato, *papa china* (from Spanish) [taro?], and three other members of the Araceae family (*sayu, tuka, wančup*), the carrot-like *maya* (arracacha?), and peanuts. Of these, manioc is grown in by far the largest quantity, and is the chief source of starch. The most important non-tuberous food plants are plantains and "white" maize. Other crops grown in relatively small quantities are squash, red peppers, tomatoes, onions, the "gold" banana (*guineo de oro* in Spanish), pineapple, papaya, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton. *Tsapay* (for heavy [222]
cordage), various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs, especially *Banisteriopsis* species and *Datura arborea*, are both cultivated in the garden and collected wild in the forest.

Gardens are abandoned after three plantings of manioc, in 241
other words, after about three to five years, because of the growing amount of labor required to clear the ever increasing numbers of weeds. New garden clearings are made nearby in virgin timber except when the actual household is being moved, in which case the gardens are planted at the new house location. This practice of shifting gardens, the so-called "slash-and-burn" or swidden technique, is made possible by the plentiful supply of land. The Jívaro recognize this method, despite the necessity of making new clearings, as involving less effort than attempting to cope with the weeds at the old site.

If a man clears the forest without the aid of neighbors, he 241
tends to make small clearings at different times, while the 595
rarer communal effort results in one large clearing. Whether [476]

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241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
595 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its
[554] number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: [illegible] bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

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may invite his neighbors to help him make a clearing, but this practice is infrequent. 241 476

All the above crops, except maize, are planted together in the same cleared plot. Manioc plants, which are the largest in the garden, are spaced slightly less than two yards apart throughout, with the smaller plants between them. A line of plantain and banana trees separates the garden from the forest. 244 [243] 241

Crop planting is done with two aboriginal tools and the machete. The former are a sharp-pointed planting stick thrust into the soil to make seed holes, and a flat-bladed palm wood digging stick used as a lever to excavate holes for planting and digging up manioc and other tubers and corms. The machete also functions as an excavating tool in planting. 412

Times of planting and harvesting overlap and thereby assure a constant reaping of agricultural staples. Sweet potato, *papa china*, and Araceae species are planted at any time of the year. Sweet potato and *papa china* mature in about six months, while the Araceae tubers and the carrot-like *maya* require a year. Plantain and banana are planted during a full moon at any time of the year, and are harvested twelve to fifteen months later. "White" maize and peanuts are usually sown semiannually at the blooming of the *šutsí* flower, maize maturing in seven months, the other crop in five. 241 244 [243]

The most important crop, sweet manioc, is planted and harvested daily in the same act. As the women dig up the manioc tubers, they place several cuttings from the same plant's stalk in the old hole and partially cover them with earth. Manioc matures in ten to twelve months, but the actual harvesting can, if desired, be delayed as much as an additional year. This continual replanting of the manioc crop on a year-round basis, as the individual plants are dug up, is an important factor in the reliability of Jívaro crop production. Thus the Jívaro, in a real sense, "store" much of [462] 241

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241 their food in a living state in the ground and only need to dig it up, as desired, to supply food and to make the large quantities of manioc beer which constitute a basic part of their diet.

273 The manioc beer (*nihamanči*) is prepared by first peeling and washing the tubers in the stream near the garden. Then the water and manioc are brought to the house, where the tubers are cut up and placed in a pot to boil (see Plates 4, 5 and 10). When the manioc has become soft, the pot is removed from the fire and allowed to cool. The manioc is then mashed and stirred to a soft consistency with the aid of a special wooden paddle (see Plate 6). While the woman stirs the mash, she chews handfuls and spits them back into the pot, a process which may take half an hour or longer. The mastication of the mash is considered by the Jívaro to be essential to the proper and rapid fermentation of the brew, and their view seems to be supported by Western physicians who have informally voiced the opinion that the enzymes in the saliva, as well as the bacteria in the mouth, probably hasten the fermentation process.

After the mash has been prepared, it is transferred to a beer storage jar and left to ferment. Although the fermentation takes place rapidly, the beer is usually too much in demand to be allowed to sit very long. In being served, the beer is strained through a tree-gourd sieve to remove manioc fibers, and about one part of water is added to two parts of beer. The resultant liquid tastes somewhat like a pleasingly [271] alcoholic buttermilk and is most refreshing. The Jívaro consider it to be far superior to plain water, which they drink only in emergencies such as when their beer canteens run dry while they are out hunting. Male informants, in addition, expressed the opinion that the beer is at its best if it has been chewed by a pretty girl rather than by an old woman. Beer is also made, in a slightly different fashion (see Plate 7), sea-

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sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons, of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exlusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

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574 serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burn-
273 ing cupul torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and
462 boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving
512 bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning
[252] cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife
[293] brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a
[224] large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring
[252] him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

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and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat. 273 462 512 574

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a copal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar: 273 462 512 313 [241]

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
512 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
313 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-
[535] law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[3] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

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poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

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Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 8) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the toucan, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

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[438]
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The blowgun and curare dart poison are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jivaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

[224]

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stuck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jívaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Perú, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

411 [224] [171] 411 224 [223]

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

224 [231] [411]

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, tapiri, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call partners without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

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223 edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.
224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go
512 hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as
461 follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he rests, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out.

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To assure success in hunting, young men (both married and unmarried) may join together in a small group under the supervision of an older master of ceremony (*uwa*) to inhale tobacco smoke for a three-day period during which they alternate the smoke-inhalation sessions with hunting in the forest with blowguns. During the ritual sessions, called *tampan*, the men take turns blowing tobacco smoke through guadua bamboo tubes into each other's lungs. It is believed that a man must entirely swallow the smoke he receives in order to be certain that he will not fail as a hunter.

A variety of fish and shellfish is present in streams and 225
rivers, but swift currents and the small size of many water-courses seem to limit the degree of emphasis on their exploitation in many localities. Fishing roughly contributes perhaps [146]
only a little over 5 per cent of the total diet, significantly less than hunting. Corvina, suckers, and sheat-fish are taken from main streams and rivers, while crayfish and fresh-water crabs are gathered in the shallows.

Fishing techniques range from simply seizing fish by hand to complex river-poisoning operations. The fish that are caught bare-handed belong mostly to a species (*nayumpi*) capable of fastening itself to the underside of river boulders by means of a suction pad appendage. Hook-and-line fishing is done from a riverbank. Any handy stick is used for a pole, while an iron trade hook is baited with a piece of manioc, ripe plantain, or an earthworm.

A few men possess rectangular throw nets for catching medium-sized fish. A pair of fishermen, or a man and his wife, enter the shallows about ten feet apart. One tosses an end of the net to his companion with a circular motion. As the net is drawn to shore, balsa wood floats support its top edge, while stone sinkers keep it vertical in the water. Good-

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225 sized fish are also caught in deeper waters with a special thin, long palm wood thrusting spear.

225 278 Fish poisoning is undertaken perhaps every few weeks to secure a large catch. Men, women, and children from several neighboring houses usually participate. They select a section of river where it is bisected by an island or sandbar, to which the men and boys construct a low dam of river boulders from one bank. This spare dam is constructed to form a lagoon where the poison can sufficiently take effect in the slowed current. Other men meanwhile build split bamboo grating-like fish traps at several low points on the dam and prepare the fish poison.

[824] Three types of plant piscicides are used: *timo* (in Spanish, *barbasco*), *mam*, and *payal*. *Timo* is considered the best of these, but is used in combination with *mam* for maximum success. Large quantities are required, and the fishermen often prepare six to eight bushel-sized baskets. They pound the plants to a pulp between river boulders and dump them into the water upstream. If all goes well, within twenty to thirty minutes stunned fish begin rising to the surface and float toward the dam. The men who constructed the traps seize the fish as they are washed onto the bamboo gratings. Everyone else, regardless of age or sex, wades into the lagoon and grabs for fish. Each person owns whatever he catches, although he often may give some of his catch to a less fortunate participant. Fish poisoning is sometimes pursued at night because the fish tend to be nearer the surface and therefore more susceptible to the poison. Both poisoning and netting are most effectively conducted during dry periods, when the rivers and streams are low and the current slow.

622 [146] Gathering activities contribute quantitatively relatively little to the diet, approximately 5 per cent annually, but do provide a variety of delicacies to supplement it. Various species

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of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*wakimu*, *tawalem*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampu*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *wampakit* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*ayant*) and a kind of grasshopper (*wampung*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utile*), royal, and other palms (*tinak*, *tsankat*, *ampakat*, *tsiwat*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakat, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [271]
tsawat) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*wesh*, *nalim*, *ipu*, *wasar*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [255]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [271]
stay roaming in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the gardens, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the 579
uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 265
planning a *tsanpa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [255]
[251]

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262 570 965 [251] [194] feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

231 [226] [291] At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. These are only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally important service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Located to look in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attacking party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *mesui*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

[226] [925] The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they receive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of *couvade*, in which she lies *sleeping* with the litter to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed pretreatment manioc in a special wooden dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

[995] [996] The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, peccaries, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 231
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [252]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [302]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; 177
and the *kayens mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [352]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

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412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [244] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*tarač̄i*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

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stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been men- [235]
tioned previously. [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *apâčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [824]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of minia- 531
ture drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, aver- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [273]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store
the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273]
[515]

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415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less-common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [914]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipī*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*taračī*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *taračī*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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824
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776
[787]

likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going [782] early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the [782] woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

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for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusï* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

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773 and encountered a woman washing off sweet potatoes, taro [?], manioc, and peanuts. This woman was Nuŋuí. There were many Nuŋuí there. The people asked that these Nuŋuí give them food because they lacked food and fire. One Nuŋuí had a fat little female baby. She said, "Take this little baby. It is of manioc." But she also said, "Don't beat my baby, or everything will disappear. And never leave her alone in the house, but always take her with you."

So the people took the baby, whose name was Čiki, back to their house. The woman of the family household told it, "Cause manioc to come here." So the baby said, "Let there be manioc." Immediately manioc filled the house. Then the woman said, "I desire a garden." The baby said, "Let there be a garden." At that moment a garden appeared with all kinds of food. Then the woman said, "Now I want a large beer brewing jar." Instantly there were many beer brewing jars. The woman then said, "I now want two of the brewing jars to be filled with beer." Immediately two of the jars were filled with manioc beer. "Now I want meat here." Then plenty of smoke-dried meat appeared. Then she said, "I want many fish." Instantly there were many fish.

These people always took the baby with them, as Nuŋuí had told them to do. As the baby grew bigger, the children of these people grew bigger also. So one day the women went to work in the garden and left the children to take care of the baby. One of the children said to the baby, "We would like to see snakes and boa constrictors." Immediately many snakes and boa constrictors arrived. Then they went away. Then a child said, "Now I want a demon [*iwanči*]." Immediately many demons came. Then one of the children said to the baby, "Why did you bring snakes and demons?", and threw ashes in the baby's eyes. The [261] baby began to cry. Then the other child said, "Now I want a dried monkey complete with its head [monkey heads, including the brains, are considered to be a particular delicacy]. Then many monkeys and other animals appeared, but without heads.

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Since all of these animals lacked heads, this child began to beat the baby, and the other child continued throwing ashes in the baby's eyes. The baby began calling for its Nuŋuí mother. It climbed up on top of the thatch roof and remained there crying and calling, "Come, mother, let us start eating the peanuts."

There was much guadua bamboo growing near the house, and at this moment the bamboo began waving as if there were a great wind, so that it almost touched the house. Finally the bamboo fell over onto the house and the baby grasped one of the trunks. Meanwhile the manioc in the garden started disappearing into the ground, and the women came rushing back to the house. By this time, the baby had entered a section of the bamboo and sat inside of it as though on a stool [the guadua bamboo often has a diameter of six inches or more]. The women asked what had happened, and the children told them. Immediately, a woman picked up a machete and started chopping up the bamboo to find the baby. She finally found the baby and told it to bring back lots of manioc. But all the baby said was "*Čiki.*" And it only brought forth *čiki* [an emetic].

Nuŋuí said, "I told you not to beat the baby. Now that you have beaten the baby, you will have to suffer a great deal." The entire garden and the trails then disappeared into the ground. This is the reason that nowadays we put stones in the garden, for these red stones appear in the women's dreams as babies. Thus we are giving Nuŋuí babies.

Besides providing domesticated plant food both originally and on a daily basis, Nuŋuí also is said to have given the Jívaro their knowledge of successful pottery making. A version of the myth is as follows:

In the old time there were two orphans, a boy and a girl, who broke a pot. The woman who owned it beat them, and they went off, crying, into the forest. They finally came across a trail. But it was not really a trail; it just looked like one. On the trail

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773 they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro
231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[224] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

782 Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

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members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824 [533] [539]

> Don't suck the blood of my husband
> And also don't suck the blood of my daughter.
> When you want to suck blood,
> Suck the blood of my enemies.
> When my husband comes,
> He will look very beautiful and very clear.
> But when our enemies come,
> They will come very pale
> And in the form of demons.[4]
> And you will know
> Who will die,
> Who will die.
> And when they enter this garden,
> They will have their blood sucked.
> All, all I can call,
> Even the plantain itself.
> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden. 824 [789] [861] [869]

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Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

533
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When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
194 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *niawá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

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and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jívaro 101
on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the 103
name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, 184
e.g., *nirui huará* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jívaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kanaim huará* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huará* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jívaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jívaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jívaro households are very close-knit economic and 361
social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society 592
as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one 592
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man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

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normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

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585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 574 272 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore 595 224 833 [82] most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

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on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the men, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting. 595 224 831 [92]

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies. 284 831 842 595

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt customarily employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vaginal abortives of any kind are known. 842 842 756 789

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes 842 789

[922] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-
[923] mortality remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

[924] The Jivaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *uaiko* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *uaiko* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *uaiko*, or two and a half years, is required.

[925] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a
[926] child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *uaiko* minimum is estimated for the next.

[927] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from rubatir, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

[928] Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

14:Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crouches, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 944
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crouches and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 946
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tomoroni* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this halluci- [774]
nogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp.
135-41), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival.
If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 533 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to 854
come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 533
539

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and 853
the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the 862
weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued [231]
and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

862 her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take
[231] place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a hotter variety.

854 The infant is wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, which is taken off and used, with water, to wipe the child clean of excrement. The cloth is then washed and dried over a fire for reuse. A baby's excessive crying may be interpreted as evidence that it is "very hot," i.e., has a fever, and the mother may bathe it in lukewarm water to cool the child sufficiently so that it will fall asleep. Sometimes a mother, on being awakened by a baby's crying, will scold and strike it in anger.

868 To teach the child to walk, the father lashes a stave railing around the three open sides of the mother's bed to create a simple "crib" which the child can grasp for support.

863 The attitude toward toilet training is quite relaxed. When a toddler starts to defecate or urinate in the house, it is taken outside; but it is not castigated verbally or otherwise. The mother simply digs up the soiled portion of the dirt floor and throws it out. The simplicity of this solution, together with the fact that adults themselves may urinate on the floor at night to avoid exposing themselves to possible attackers outside the house, helps one understand their attitude. Later, the
[861] child is simply told to go outside, but if it fails to do so, there is no condemnatory admonition. Finally, however, if the child is still failing to go out of the house by the time it is about five years old, then the mother will speak her disap-
[861] proval. As a last resort, she may spank the child lightly with a vine.

Children are encouraged to wash their hands and to bathe.
[861] They are told that if they do not wash their hands before eating, their growth will be delayed and stunted. Girls are

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

186 small households over a large area results in a very poor
203 communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

867 Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that
262 meat is not always abundant in the household, depending
855 on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

865 While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of
[867] and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may
861 be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of
[867] their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking,
[867] continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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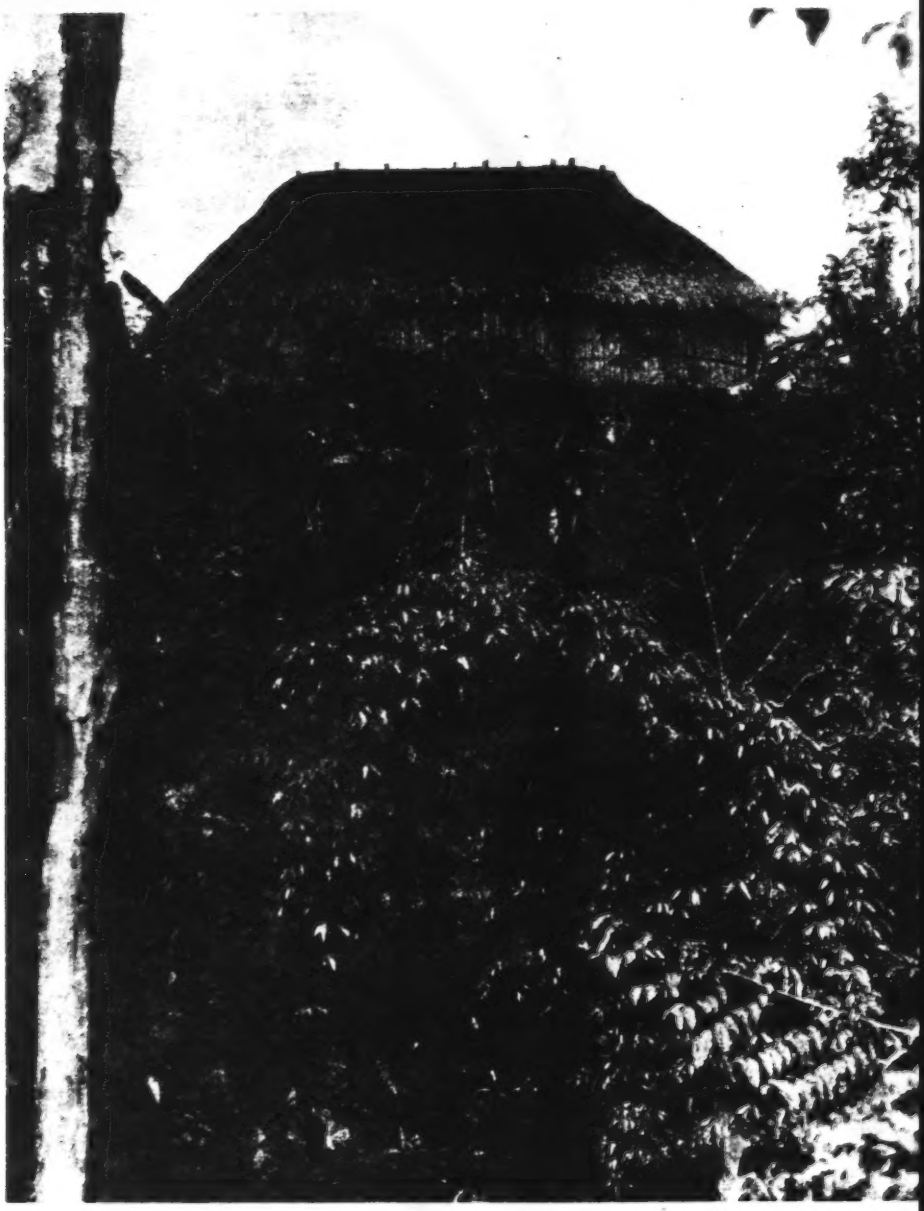
1. View of the middle Río Upano north of Hrambi, looking eastward (1956–57).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



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2. Side view of a Jívaro house and its surrounding garden (upper Río Yuquipa region, 1956–57).

/p. 90-B/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

3. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-C/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

8. Hunter returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blowgun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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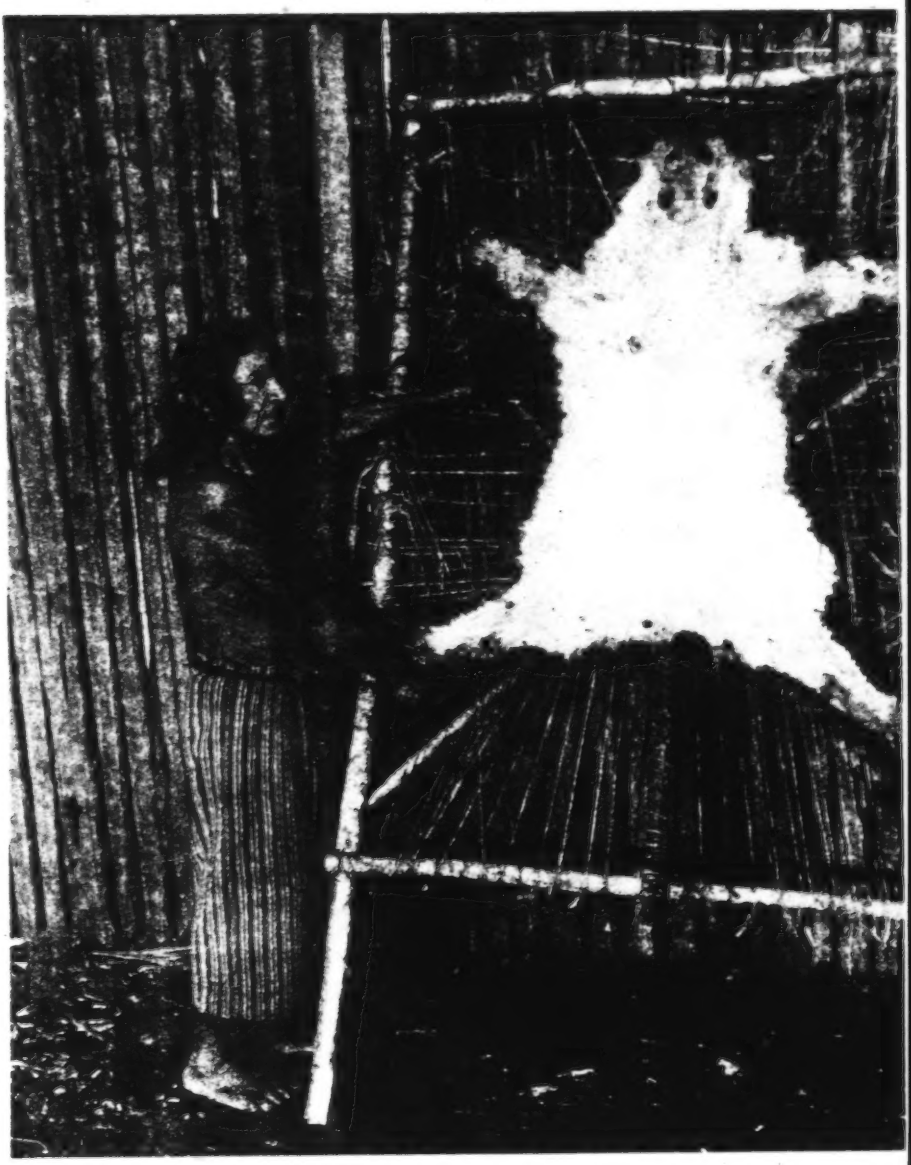
34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



142 9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro
291 (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río
302 Cangaimi, 1956–57).
281 /p. 90-G/
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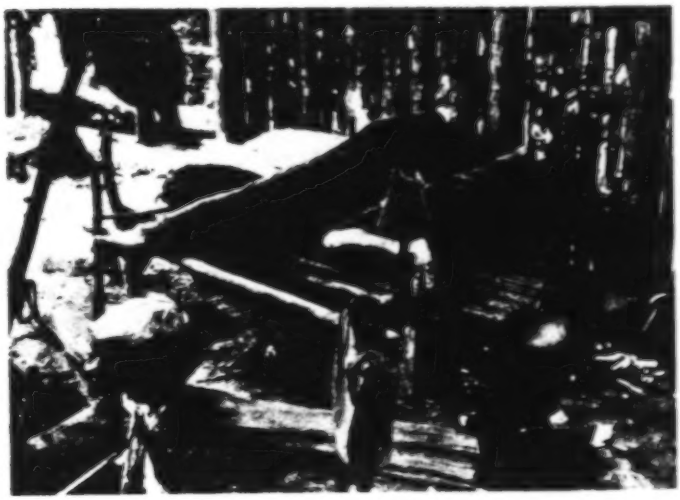
34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[231]
[854]
[721]

11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-H/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the
house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day
the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsen-*
tsenia and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the
adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and
dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile,
the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The
same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is
considered to compare in importance with the experience.
The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in
Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since
its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects
of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and in-
telligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the
child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer
in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep
the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the
house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of
refuse.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only 462
duty. 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only 868
the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her [323]
by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form [532]
and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with [826]
clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to [831]
touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blow- 224
gun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less 462
than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at 857
that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to 868
shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them [262]
himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 216
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasabi*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ni*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the elder (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband
brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing
[591] wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice
temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's par-
ents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where
the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usu-
ally the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced
so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to
act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the
household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate
pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pot-
tery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She
may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with
the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually
settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally
[601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*tsaka*) from either parent's side
[591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a
marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally
requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because
of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently
to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for
some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because
he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly
over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unsanctioned practice of polygyny
582 creating a high demand for unmarried women throughout
[595] interior Jivaro society, the preference for cross-cousin mar-
riage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers
become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few
[591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among
kinsmen that arise between brothers over the question of

34:Marcus E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SDP Jivaro SDP

593
with acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends 591
to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is
for a married man to side with his ši (father-in-law and father 593
of cross-cousins) and sai (wife's brothers and male cross-cous- 605
ins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The 606
potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from 593
his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, in- [601]
ducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (waše), her father may be dead, and he then commonly must instead ask her brother (his sai) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advan- [591]
tage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange 593
also can ensure friendly relations between cross-cousins of 605
the same generation, as may be seen in the following case de- [582]
scribed by one informant:

Tukupi and Ahuji are male cross-cousins (sai). Tukupi had an unmarried sister, Nampirú. Ahuji asked Tukupi for her (the father of Tukupi and Nampirú was dead). Tukupi gave her to Ahuji, and Ahuji and Nampirú became husband and wife. But then Ahuji did not want to give his own sister to Tukupi. Also Ahuji frequently beat Nampirú when he got drunk.

So Tukupi went to the house of Ahuji. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."

They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupi left. Thereafter, wherever they

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 605 met, they fought. Finally, Aleyá gave his sister to Tukupí. Thereafter, when Aleyá beat Tukupí's sister, Tukupí beat Aleyá's sister.

Tukupí said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupí and Aleyá.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other 602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest 606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her. For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even 576 in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for [992] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a [599] hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a *different* kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

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membership in some sort of corporate unit, as is commonly 602
found in unilineal descent societies. The Jívaro thus possess the most insecure of the basic types of kinship systems, and lack clearly defined descent groups which can protect their members from outside enemies and which can settle disputes among relatives.

The Jívaro version of the kindred seems even more insecure than most for the individual, for in disputes any serious reckoning of kinship is a source of considerable confusion, involving disagreements over degree of relatedness, even in the case of a single person. In any serious discussion of kin obliga- 601
tions among the Jívaro, all single-word, or elementary, kin terms of reference have added to them the modifier "true" (*nekás*) or "branch" (*kaná*) to pin down degrees of relationship (see Table 1 and Figure 2 for the elementary kinship terms). In the case of any specific relative, these modifying [602]
terms can often be substituted for one another, depending upon the degree of closeness of relationship which the speaker wishes to recognize in a given situation. The only kin 602
always defined as "true" relatives are a person's biological grandparents, parents, siblings, children, cross-cousins, and fathers of his cross-cousins. The only relatives who are always assigned to the "branch" category are affinal kin who, prior to marrying, were not considered by *egó* to be relatives of any degree. Since definition of degree of kinship is thus commonly manipulated at will, a person is often uncertain as to how his relatives will define their obligations and rights in any given dispute. The use of these "true" and "branch" modifiers almost doubles the varieties of relationship distinguished, so that many of the relatives in the kindred are unlikely to be defined as precisely the same, even by two siblings, in any particular crisis.

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TABLE I

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KINSHIP: ELEMENTARY TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TERMS OF ADDRESS

Key to abbreviations

Br	brother	Gs	grandson
Da	daughter	Hu	husband
Fa	father	Mo	mother
Gc	grandchild	Si	sister
Gd	granddaughter	So	son
Gp	grandparent	Wi	wife

The abbreviations also represent the possessive form; thus, MoBrDaSo is mother's brother's daughter's son.

[178]

O a formerly more common term
N a recently innovated term
A a term recently borrowed from the Achuara

601

MALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

FaFa, MoFa *apači* also GpBr (*apači* O; *apáčiru* O; *apačiči* N)

FaMo, MoMo *nukuči* also GpSi (*nukučí* O; *nukučiči* N)

Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu *apa* (*aparwa; apačī; aparwači; apa* N A)

Mo, MoSi, MoBrWi, FaSi, FaBrWi *nuku* (*nukuači; nukuá*); if *ego* marries a daughter of MoBrWi, FaSi, or FaBrWi, *tsatsa* (*nukuá*) is substituted for *nuku* with regard to the bride's mother.

FaSiHu, MoBr, WiFa *iči* (*iči*)

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *yači yatsuči*—younger to older brother; *umpá*—older to younger)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *umaí* (*makú; umači* N; *umaimi* O; *umaimiči* O; *umáčiru*)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu, WiBr *sai* (*saikma*)

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BrWi, FaSiDa, FaBrSoWi, MoBrDa, MoSiSoWi *wahe* (*umači*) 601

So, BrSo, FaBrSoSo, FaSiDaSo, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, MoSiSoSo, MoBrDaSo, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *uči* (*umpá; sukí* O; *aišmayči* O; *aišmayá* O; *aišmayru* O)

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, SiSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nawanta* (*maká; makuči*)

DaHu, BrDaHu, SiSo, FaBrDaSo, FaSiSoSo, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiDaSo, MoBrSoSo, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu *awe* (*aweči; awetá*)

SoWi, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *awe* (*aweči; awetá*)

Gs, Gd, Gc *tirayi* (*tirayi; tirayči*)

Wi *ekentu; mua* (*ekenturu* O). First wife: *tarimta*. Second wife: *učič mua*. Third wife: *yamai muatčmu*.

FEMALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

Terms are the same as for male speaking, except for the following:

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *umai* (*umači* N; *umaimi* O; *umaimiči* O; *umáčiru*)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *kai* (*kaičiru, kaiči*—younger to older sister; *maká*—older to younger)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu *wahe* (*umači*)

BrWi, FaSiDa, FaBrSoWi, MoBrDa, MoSiSoWi *yua* (*yuači; yuamči; yuačiru*)

So, BrSo, FaBrSoSo, FaSiDaSo, MoSiSoSo, MoBrDaSo, SiSo, FaBrDaSo, FaSiSoSo, MoSiDaSo, MoBrSoSo *uči* (*aišmayá; áišmayru*)

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601 DaHu, BrDaHu, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *awe* N (*aweći* N; *awetá* N; *antepá* O) *Awe* has replaced *antepā*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makučī*)

SoWi, SiSoWi, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nabatī* O(*nabáturu* O; *makú; aweći* N; *awetá* N) *Nabatī* is beginning to be replaced by *awe*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Hu *aeł* (*áełiru*)

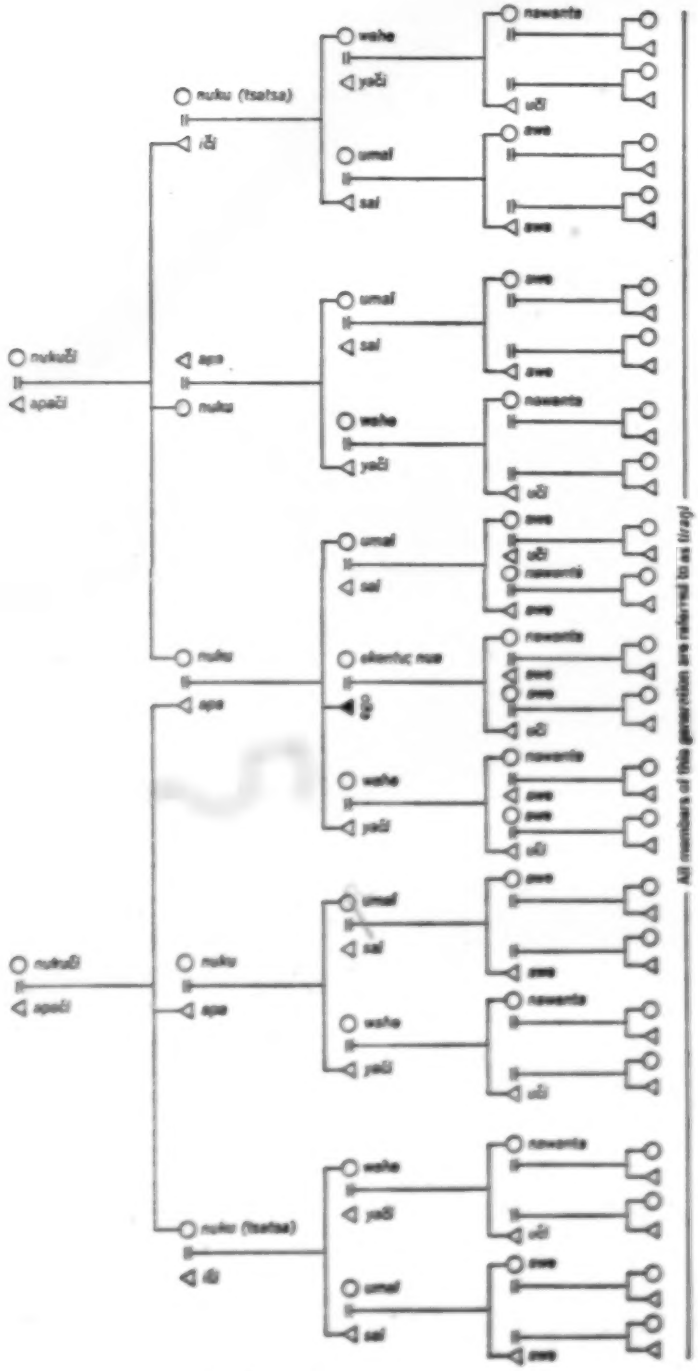
Co-wives are normally referred to by the *kai* term.

602 578 601 The utilization of these "true" and "branch" modifiers may be somewhat clarified by a few examples. According to the kinship rules, *ego* is expected to side with a true relative in a dispute with a branch relative of the same elementary category. However, *ego* must often decide at the time which of the two disputants is the "true" one and therefore deserving of his aid. No matter whose side *ego* decides to join, the abandoned party may be expected to accuse him of not living up to his kinship obligations. If *ego* does not join either party in the dispute, then both tend to level that accusation at him.

Similarly, another relative may manipulate the terminology when *ego* requests help from him. *Ego* may request aid from a parallel cousin, for example, saying, "You are my true 'brother' (*nekás yači*) and therefore you must help me in my dispute against this man who is only your branch 'brother-in-law' (*kaná sai*)." If the parallel cousin does not wish to accede to the request, he replies, "I wish I could help you, but

/text continues on p. 103/

601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All members of this generation are referred to as tirayi

/p. 102/

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601
602 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kaná*
578 *yaći*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

578 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this
601 manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to
609 save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may
574 subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his
628 relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being
867 ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not
578 surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or
628 more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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601

FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

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578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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(*wahe*) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during 836
which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl be- 836
comes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to 584
their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young 837
married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so [713]
common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tampunčī* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tampunčī*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 837
by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 831
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs 832
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [534]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

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527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hanse-*
[273] *matā*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high
[273] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[373] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527
533 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The
[535] content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these
533 *hansematä* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a
539 man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

533 While such *hansematä* songs have a courtship function
832 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in-
527 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities
527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre-
837 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly
273 a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

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which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untä*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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554 While the concept of the *untä* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement re-
ceives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untä* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *untä*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jívaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untā*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[2] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [714] [292]

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701 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and ag-
554 gressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his
[865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such
[562] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in
[581] making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his
554 neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset,
626 a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untá* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst
721 personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

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723
that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [279]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 925
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition [593]
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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own self-interest. By the time a *tsakaram* is achieving such 901
status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, in- 628
stead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually 921
send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *tsakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invi- 901
tation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another 921
tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-
Jivaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *tsakaram*
and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will
conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than
the zero-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only
a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire [926]
household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing [927]
women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred
for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to
do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond any-
thing that he could do directly. He will guide the *tsakaram* [927]
and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the [911]
attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide
a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such non-aware *hard* [909]
inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jivaro to
travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered
case, the assistance given by a *cuwa hard* (Shuaraha) in-
viter-guide made it possible for a Jivaro expedition to pass
down the Rio Santiago by canoe through the entire Shuara-
hina tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household
on the Rio Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uruñis*), more numerous than outstanding killers, 756
often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

[556] bewitching shamans (*uwsuri*, or *yakanli wuritin*: bad shamans) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*pusar wuritin*: good shamans) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

[556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables.

[446] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a dietary patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[491] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

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Several cases were encountered in which men gave their 956
daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary [583]
bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given [431]
gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually [431]
not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, [574]
and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans hire neighbors to help in land clearing more 756
often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly recip- 476
rocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure ex- 956
clusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing [776]
shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154-66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kusi*) makes the two men *awajri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 118-31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

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756 icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *amigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or 756 magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and 776 are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of [755] these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore 756 most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those 776 belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)- 648 speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the 177 Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *paŋii*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *paŋii* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *šuar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuarà believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *payü* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *payü* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

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Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *payü!* Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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756 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his
776 power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical
554 power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to
[431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shot-
[177] guns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspū*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of
776 the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts
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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods. 756 776 554

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual. 756 184 648 554

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3). 756 554

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret 756 [162] [463] [562] [554]

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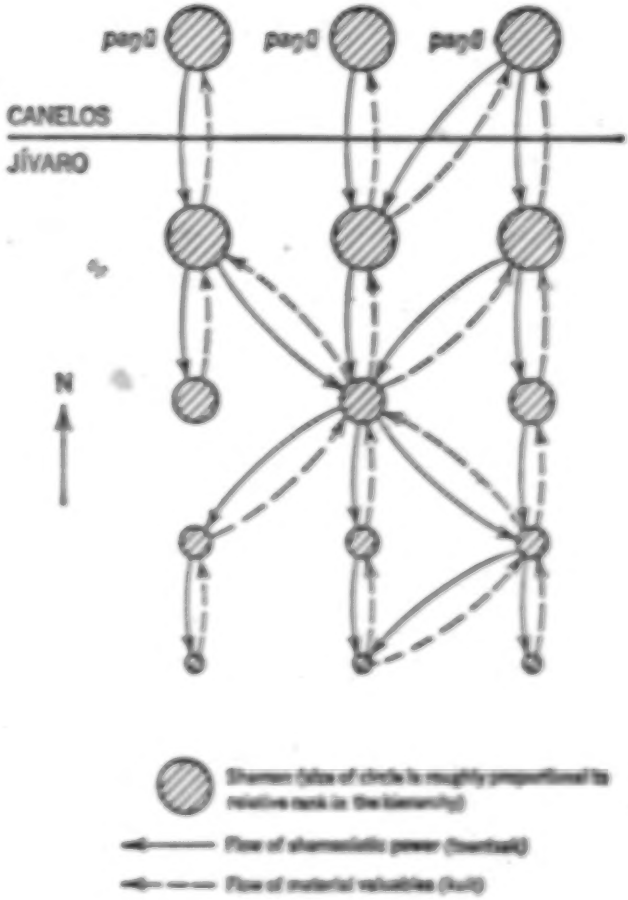

FIGURE 3

Schematic diagram of inter-tribal shamanistic hierarchies

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partnerships often link together four or five or more shamans in the same neighborhood, the higher partner supplying *tsentsak*, and his lower partners reciprocating with native and Western trade goods (*kuit*). Since bewitchers can create only bewitchers, while curers can create both bewitchers and curers (see pp. 155–56), the local hierarchies tend to have the forms shown in Figure 4. 756 754 756

Ex-shamans have testified that intra-neighborhood shaman partners who are bewitchers sometimes even go to the length of mildly bewitching disliked neighbors so that their curing shaman partners can profit in trade goods from treating the induced illness. The bewitching partner expects his curing shaman associate, in turn, never to tell a layman that the former was responsible for an illness or death. The curing shaman may even give his bewitching partner an occasional gift from his accumulated store of wealth, thus reversing the usual flow of *kuit* (see Figure 4, B). More frequently,

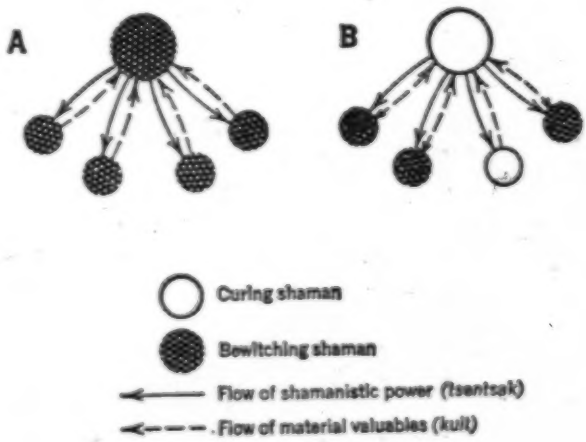

FIGURE 4
Schematic diagram of local shamanistic hierarchies

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the 441
case. 571

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *amigri* is a key aspect of the 441
system. A man becomes an *amigri* not to accumulate and 554
hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to 571
gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods 572
locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *amigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *amigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

These native traders are the chief means whereby the in- 438
terior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, 439
steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian 441
colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

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to the east and southeast. In its total extent, this network of Indian trading partners apparently stretches from the foot of the Andes in the west to near Iquitos on the Amazon in the east, and from the Río Napo in the north to the Río Marañon in the south. Its most complex and intensive manifestations occur in the isolated interior, where the native distribution system is uninterrupted by white traders or colonization.

Trade in the interior involves two kinds of commodities about equally: white-manufactured valuables (*apačī kuit*) and Indian-manufactured valuables (*šuar kuit*), the latter particularly from the Achuara tribe. The frontier Jívaro west of the Cutucú mountain range, who are in direct contact with the whites at Macas, Sucúa, and other smaller settlements, obtain the Western-manufactured items primarily by engaging in wage labor for the whites. These then are carried over the Cutucú range by means of several different foot trails.

The Achuara people to the east, lacking any such direct source of large quantities of steel cutting tools and guns, have to trade with the interior Jívaro to obtain them. The Achuara, for their part, have a near monopoly on the manufacture of blowguns and curare, and produce feather ornaments which are highly esteemed by the Jívaro. The Achuara also supply various monkeys, parrots, and marmosets, as well as such items as woven kilts, ornamental earsticks, and native beadwork. In addition, they are the sole suppliers of glass beads, which, for an unknown reason, are available in the Peruvian Amazon, but not in the Ecuadorian Oriente. Except for these glass beads and some .44 caliber cartridges, Achuara trade in items from Peru is severely limited, apparently because the only native-produced goods in which the Peruvians are interested are jaguar, ocelot, and especially peccary hides. The geographical isolation of the Achuara

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *amiči*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigü*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[4] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
431 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuit*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the
441 neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
574 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he
[431] has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior 439 region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following: 435

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*	438
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun	439
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison	442
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun	
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tawaspā*)	

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jívaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict 441 accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is 572 exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jívaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly un- 442 even. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that 441 572 593

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441 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading
572 partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amiči*)
593 in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsuči*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight
[602] with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner
628 involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if pos-
721 sible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading
[572] partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back. 441 [628] [721]

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *amigri* named Hintač was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *amigri*, Mukučam, of the *yaŋuntsa* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Aŋuašä, in the *čaŋuap* neighborhood. Finally, Aŋuašä then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos. [439]

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintač was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cusuimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *amigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kašinhint, in the Cusuimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kašinhint, in turn, traded with Wampútsurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampútsurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa. [439]

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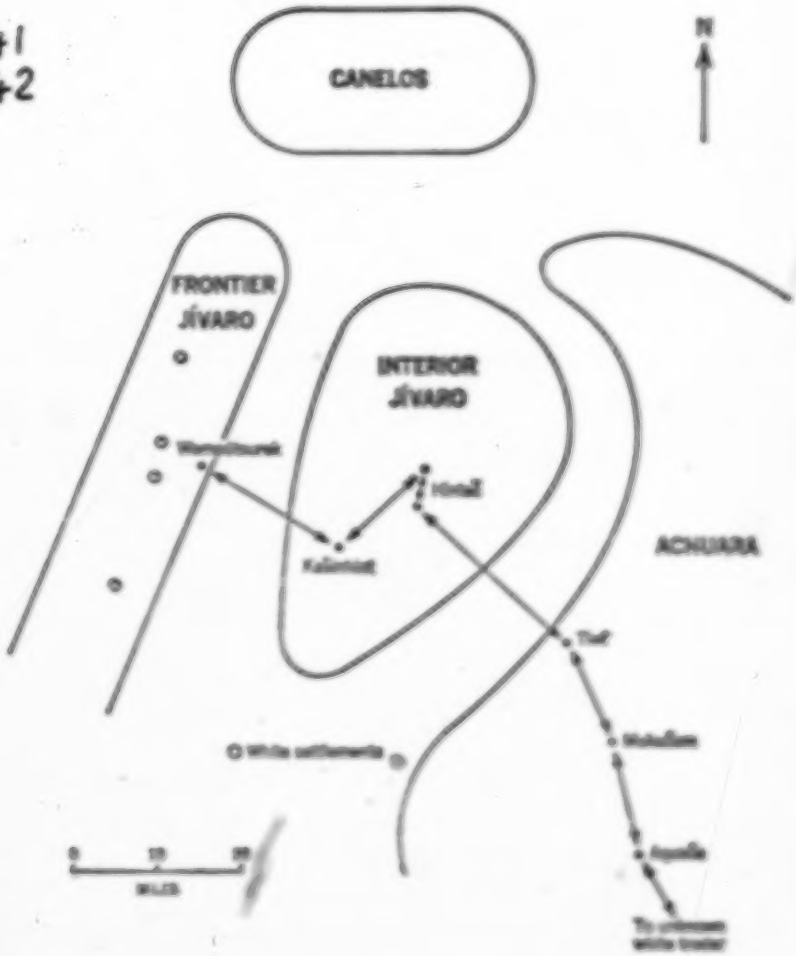

/p. 133/

FIGURE 5
Schematic diagram of a trading partnership chain

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Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an anaconda

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found [761]
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient spectre." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
901 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
756 and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
776 specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison,
761 or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
[753] contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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tion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 775
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 797
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each pacer with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tsu, tsu, tsu,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [296]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 296
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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276 likely, though, is that before the five days are up, one of the
787 members of the party will have recourse to drinking hallucinogenic *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) juice. Usually this is a person who has failed to see an *arutam* on a previous vision quest or who feels an urgent need to see one without delay.

276 *Maikua*, of which the Jivaro distinguish and use six different types, is recognized by them to be the most powerful and also the most dangerous hallucinogen with which they are familiar. In their pharmacopoeia, the hallucinogenic plants with which they are acquainted are ranked thusly in terms of their strength: (1) all six forms of *maikua*; (2) *natemá*, mixed with *yaki* (see pp. 133–34), and *paripara*; (3) *tsentsemá*, *paipiri*, and *tsiparu*. The last four remain to be botanically identified with certainty.

The psychotropic potency of *Datura* and certain other plants of the Solanaceae is well known to Western pharmacology, their hallucinogenic properties being due primarily to their high content of hyoscyamine, atropine, and scopolamine.[3] Preparations from these plants tend to produce, in large dosages, a state of excitation, delirium, and hallucinations, followed by a state of narcosis.[4]

The Jivaro obtain their hallucinatory experiences with *Datura* by ingesting the raw juice of the green bark of the stems. The effects begin to be felt within about three to four minutes of ingestion, probably because of the fast action of the atropine. The *arutam* seeker ingesting the *Datura* juice is
276 never supposed to do it without the presence of an adult
787 who is not taking the drug. It is the responsibility of the latter to provide psychological support or, in Jivaro terms, to "encourage" him, and also to hold him down, if necessary, during the first phase of the intoxication, when the drug taker tends to become delirious and is in danger of running off into the forest in his highly agitated state and, as a result,

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possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The 276
other pilgrims in the party do not take the *ukumare* them- 787
selves, partially so that they can protect the *nashua* drinker from running off. They also believe that no *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about 276
midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trem- 787
bling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid 776
thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.*

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, 791
the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has 794
accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he 798
goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest [776]
river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your *arutam*. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have

34 Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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12. Man wearing an *etsemar* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

11. Profile of the same individual.

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14. Man with *etsemat* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *etsemat* in place.

/p. 138-B/

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16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioa beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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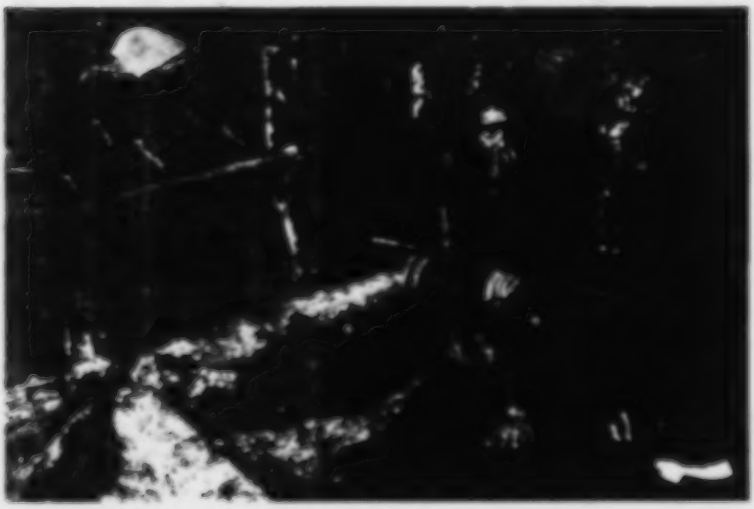
17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).



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18. The saline spring from which almost all of the salt used by the interior Jivaro is obtained. Those living within a day or two of the spring boil the water in pots and trade the resultant salt to more distant neighborhoods (near the upper Río Mangosiza in the eastern Cordillera de Cutucú, 1956–57).

/p. 138-D/

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19. Man wearing hair unbound, as is often customary when at home in the absence of visitors (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

20. Profile of the same individual.

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21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

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22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemä* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

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23. Snake *tsentsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natemä*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natemä* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

774 Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
778 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

778 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
774 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. 774
As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his 778
arutam leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a 721
wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[9] The [821]
departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to [761]
kill someone, *they would not be entitled to obtain new* *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

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774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
778 the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
[754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
[721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot *die* as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interper-
721 sonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natemi*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
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definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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774 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of con-
761 tagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two
[763] is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation
[821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[8]

774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jívaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587]
of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *tsunki*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mahanči*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*pani*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [711]
the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752]
accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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776 Before the avenging spirit, or *tsunki*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *tsunki* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *musiak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *musiak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jivaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *musiak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to* enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *musiak* cannot see out," thereby

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *musiak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *musiak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *musiak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *musiak* as well as containing it. As

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727 774 798 765 789 796 [562] in the case of the *awasum* soul, the *wuisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *wuisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *wuisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *awasum* souls. This power, transmitted from the *wuisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

765 628 727 721 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huwi* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is conveniently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the cabbish. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *huwai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] [796] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *wuisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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628 recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more 721 insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more 727 likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same 765 fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are [774] frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* [829] souls and *musiak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a 774 tree sloth. The true sloth is the only non-human creature 825 thought to be capable of forming a *musiak*. Because the tree [796] sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore [796] must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual [796] precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *musiak* of [784] the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an 765 inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head 727 before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot 796 be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, 774 but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a 796 previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *musiak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*tsamik nampu*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Oc- 796 casionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the 825

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796 825 [881] some function. Normally, however, the tsuc dish trophy is made and used by teen-age boys for their first tsuncta feasts, which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

794 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the wakái tsuánti, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in [826] the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief system.

795 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit with other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

engage in adulterous activities and eat what appears to be 995
food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of perpetual starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity 995
of abandoned gardens and house sites.[10] The Jivaro interpret 996
the presence of such creatures at these old living places as 825
evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*tsaar tsamik*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jivaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demons" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jivaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. [262]

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history 996
of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human 995
demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When a Jivaro child wanders into the forest and is not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was

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776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jivaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[852] almost always succeed, still therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called tsunpan. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the tsunpan are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a tsunpan flies inside a house, one of the persons there vows a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jivaro believe that since the tsunpan might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jivaro are uncertain, the tsunpan finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of rain.

776 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jivaro believe, they seem to be least concerned in the "true" one, the noble warrior, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
776 that seems to rank first in the Jivaro mind. The *arutam*
778 soul possesses himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

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imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endows assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 778 771

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; external and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *nuinak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *nuinak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jivaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*napuri*), normally of an epidemic nature, 753 [164]

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*uwišin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose Jívaro name is *natemā*, in order to enter the supernatural
787 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemā* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[10] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemā* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink-*natemá*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemá* drink among the 756
Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemá*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsuṇi, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright ana-
condas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nawará*) which are [778]

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776 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
756 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
778 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsunji.
823

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken
776 *natemá*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
276 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemá*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.
754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
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to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" 754
shaman (*tsunek*, or *yahauli wusiin*). If, on the other hand, 756
the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first 798
tsentsak, he will become a curing shaman (*peyer wusiin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual [834]
intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tsuri*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different [755]
kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jivaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural 779
and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is 276
that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking 789
the drug *natema*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

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the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemá*. When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemá* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754 776 825 [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [828]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, sees the
776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 darts, *asumak*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
[787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other 754
shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities 778
of *natemá*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another 276
drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is 755
a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is 778
shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical 753
dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to 755
that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to 276
treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to 787
witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemá*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun, 755
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755 he alters his *tsentsak* by whistling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing.
755 A shaman's curing songs tend to be self-encouraging ex-
539 hortations such as the following:
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I, I, I, I, I,
I, I, I, I.
I am like Tsunji.[16]
I am like Tsunji.
When I drink *natema*
All my body becomes cold.
And I easily suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds,
And thus I have power.
I drink *natema*.
I drink enough to have power.
All my body is cold.
Therefore I have power to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

There is a very large body of water.
Thus I am like a great body of water.
I have a crown, but of gold,
Brilliant.[17]
How beautiful it appears
When I drink *natema*.
Therefore it is easy to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds.
Therefore I cure easily.
I have the *tsentsak* of *natema*.
I am stated, but I am very cold
And there are many breezes.[18]
I, I, I, I.

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My *tsentsak* are like birds
And the wings and bodies are dreams.
With these I am now ready.
My *tsentsak* are sitting all over me[27]
And as I become cold
I shall have power.
I can easily suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am like some *paşé* of the Río Napo.[28]
Therefore I have power to suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

Wait, wait a moment.
Now I am going to become dizzy.
I will see when I am intoxicated.

755
778

When he is ready to suck, the shaman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak*, it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak*. He then "vomits" out this object and dis-

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plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the influence of *natemi*, and he sees them as a variety of zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemi*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

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The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemi* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

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[789]

natemi, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemi*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

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755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
776 regularly, he must drink *natemá* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemá*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Generally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who
[276] lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsumatá* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in
754 power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsumatá* from other shamans, particularly *pasa* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsumatá* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemá*, and, using his *tsumatá*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsumatá* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

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low. A shaman who has had his *nemesh* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
nemesh. The sudden loss of his *nemesh* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *nemesh* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the *nuaf* seriously disengages to build a small palm church over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm saws

36:Harner E-6. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 laid above it to protect the pottery cover from being crushed by persons walking above.

769 The bodies of deceased older children and wives are also buried in the house floor, although not in urns. A body is interred on its back and extended, with the arms at the sides, and wrapped in sections of split gundua bamboo. More split bamboo is laid on top before the earth is added. Graves are usually only about two-and-a-half to three feet deep, one man explaining, "When we live, we do not live far away from the surface of the earth, so when we are dead, we should not, either."

768 When the house owner dies, the dwelling is abandoned and his wife (wives) and children will go or be taken to live with other relatives, such as a potential husband (wife of the

769 deceased) or a son-in-law, until she remarries. She cuts her hair short as a sign of mourning, and ideally should not take a new husband until the hair has grown back down to her

766 shoulders. Since the house will no longer be used, the deceased

[769] head of the household may be buried either below ground or above it on a low scaffold. In the latter case, a large hollow log is hollowed out in a manner somewhat similar to a canoe, from which it takes its name (kemi), although canoes are not actually used for this purpose. The corpse is laid inside and the coffin top is covered with lashed-down bark from the same log. Finally, the log is placed on crossbars so that it is between, and in line with, the two main corner posts of the house, with the head towards the doorway of the women's end of the dwelling. A grave is in the same location. If several persons in a household die simultaneously in an epidemic and, as a result, the house is abandoned, they may all receive a scaffold burial.

766 Whether buried above or below ground, a man's corpse

766 is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,

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and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body 766
is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A 764
palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin travelling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragments.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is [778]
interred with him, under his back. Commonly, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her 764
usual shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer container are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging 765
above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and 774
a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and [262]
beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *wakan* (*wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, commanding man with renown as 768
a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he 774
wants them each to acquire one of his own *ewtsem* souls, [701]
which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is en- 766
wrapped in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 774

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766 against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned
774 house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is
[778] erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each
774 about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each
823 night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He
[276] then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

I was born to die fighting. 599

Jivaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the 626
interior Jivaro as to what is correct, normative social behav- 195
ior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them.

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis 954
among the Jivaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic ill- 682
nesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and 626
poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed

626 754 692 [276] [780] [629] [721] witchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jivaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [692] [278] Although not believed by the Jivaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, unusual poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquility.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or law organization, the Jivaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norm.

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), witching, or by avenging souls (*wainal*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *wainal*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft. 674 682 [186] [741] [995] 682 628

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of *intra-tribal* retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible. [721]

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 682 628 728

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
[491] accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
754 sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
562 is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
278 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death [593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extra-
836 marital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp
837 whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and re-
[301] fuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is
[435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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of the *tsunipá* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and 684
strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter. 301

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not
seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary 684
adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, 593
but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak 837
instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the
husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the 684
moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of varia- 837
bility from the norm in the actual manner of punishment.
Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate
the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife
is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the
act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the
incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall 839
no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. 684
They said that a man would never commit such an act if
the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and
they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men [837]
and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion,
whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of 684
adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is ex- 837
pected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks 593
the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at 586
the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called
father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife
sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he
should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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684 the does not then invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

586 If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
837 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*waiwe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *waiwe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *waiwe* (male cross-cousin
[605] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists.
[586] Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

684 Close, defined cases exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
589 elder brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his
elder parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his elder brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the elder son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the elder brother inheriting plural wives, or the elder son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

589 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's elder brother, or to the elder male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the elder brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the
[629] abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her elder daughter. If
685 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
428 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor
593 mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
[589] if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
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685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
[674] which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-*untsuri šuarā*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that
423 he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

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a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens. 423

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jívaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jívaro life. 578 628 682

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

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578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jivaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

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Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the oldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*uwi*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal affront if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the oldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *uwi* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

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"War," in the Jivaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 721 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political 965 structure, the inconvenient escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one [727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only [825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a tsantsa with a true ground (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of tsantsa may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 701 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or 727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he 554 asks an *uwi* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly 624 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *tsua*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the [796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of [342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *tsua* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[3]

726 702 [602] 726 [609] [576] [778]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This
[829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on
[226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *nemsa* which are
[251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are
[727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *wea*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[789] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien tribe's region, strict silence is maintained and scouts are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, make back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hostiles. The main body of men follows the scouts, but simply keeps to the trail itself. 726

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the scouts remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs lean-to's and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 A.M., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 2 or 3 A.M., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the scout outpost, the scouts are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former scouts go back down the trail to sleep in the lean-to's where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the scouts find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is attacked, but sometimes two may be assaulted simultaneously, and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy. [411] 727 583

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambisa attacked his house in the Río Yaupi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

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727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 wives among the Jivaro is uxo., rather than uxo-virilocal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also lose the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poisons, dogs, heads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa Celebrations

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (tsaurat)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal
778 from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuars, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the tsantsa involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own wiwen headband or etsemat and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no etsemat, he may use a section of *Cissus* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery
[776] cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[782] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws the latter into the river "as a gift for *pasi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

additional for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *hamai* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "neck" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *nanua* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *nanua* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chosen palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *hamai* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *nanua* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

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932 sometimes is also placed under each cyclid, filling any slight
765 spaces which may remain.

789 A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
789 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
789 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest
within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the
first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the
head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in
the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a
doubled *tucuna* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick
of *chonta* palm on the inside.

789 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s
796 house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
[559] man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with
[302] a heavy of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara.
The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in
his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell
them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebra-
tion (*tsanpes*) which is held at the newly built house of the
wea.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his
tsantsa, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for in-
spection by the *wea*, who pats the fabric, bends down and
sniffs each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent
smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid,
the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows,
accompanied at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors,
and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the
tsantsa celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious
ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *nemak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large manioc crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiy*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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574 765 796 excession would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125-150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pin and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

[353] [301] [595] [439] [764]

The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

765 778 774 578 796 [619] [273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*nuisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *nuisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *nuisak*, while it is resident in the

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578 765 796 [794] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Cuwi[5] tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Cuwi tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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Chapter VI

CULTURAL CHANGE

Information on cultural change among the interior Jívaro was obtained exclusively from elderly informants, a method which was necessitated by the lack of written records. By employing such time markers as the appearance of Halley's Comet (1910),[1] the end of visits by rubber collectors (ca. 1914–15), and the dates of the founding of various missions among the frontier Jívaro, of which the interior Jívaro were aware, approximate indications were obtained of the inception and duration of many of the changes. Such information usually consisted of reports of trends rather than of abrupt alterations in native cultural practices, the isolation of the interior area having protected the Jívaro there from the disruptive incursions of the gold miners, missionaries, and settlers to the west. 12 [177]

In the absence of adequate historical documentation, interviewing techniques were used which had already been developed in "salvage" or "memory" ethnography among North American Indians. Using such techniques, anthropologists in such areas as California had succeeded in making very useful reconstructions of bygone aboriginal cultures with no more than a few aged informants as their source of information. In the Jívaro case, the task was much easier, in that there was still a fully functioning native culture and a variety of good informants whose accounts could be compared in determining what changes had occurred during their lifetimes. 124

To check the reliability of the oral accounts of cultural

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124 changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported
114 changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

121 It should be pointed out that the material that follows
124 often includes consideration of causal factors from the informants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis
121 of causal relationships within their own culture. On the
124 contrary, I have found that the Jívaro are extremely aware of, and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and
151 normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I
181 proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jívaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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The introduction of machetes and steel axes has made woodworking and tree felling more efficient and rapid. The formerly tedious work of felling trees for garden clearings with the aboriginal stone axes has been described by Up de Graff for the Jivaroan "Antipas" (a neighborhood of the Aguaruna or Huambisa) among whom he resided in the late nineteenth century:

> If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to a pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.
>
> The first step in making a *chacra* [Spanish: garden] is to remove the undergrowth; the soft stems are cut with hardwood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works *for days and weeks* [emphasis supplied], until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable network of creepers among the upper branches . . .
>
> After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these

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fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[3]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

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There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

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178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

178 461 517 439 [592] [512] [412] [286] Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

[291] [281] [224] 178 591 The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

[851] [578] [583] [411] 178 411 [721] The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The [439] new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amuk*) between people in general, in preference to kinship
[601] terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to
[572] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga-
[576] tion, and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these
[571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of
[572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of
[431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts.
[753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an 178
important new development. This innovation, which is re- 756
lated to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to 554
acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking 178
the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, 756
evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, 554
shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the 648
Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, [721]
Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competi- [484]
tion between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced 177
considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this 178
more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Cane- 756
los tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. 554
Examples of such recently transmitted information include 648
new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession [776]
by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic compe- [775]
tition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in 178
supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 774
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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
[276] become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
[824] uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
[756] have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
[755] Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tunurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

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The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

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The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

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Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

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The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

179 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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digging of footholes in house floors as related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

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A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that ritual feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

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Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to talk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

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Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

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178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.

[727] In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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178 291 459 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jivaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jivaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jivaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jivaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1919.

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *aguaruna* *huara* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jivaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jivaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jivaro schoolteachers have been placed in the more remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *aguaruna* *huara* territory as far east as the Río Pastaza, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Pitiuk), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt inter-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prisons in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jivaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuars are nearby, feuding and
578 warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
699 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
183 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learning to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make examinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in ponds. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
698 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
375 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,850 *aucaes* *Jívaro* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in 177
the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has 178
been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious 648
to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. 233
Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, 433
the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured 439
goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such [464]
success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the
Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the
bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the
aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to
ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the
white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the 648
influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a 657
scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempt- 797
ing to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions
for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own 563
pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the [233]
forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare.
In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four [721]
hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa
when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
648 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will
563 undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from
the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
648 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept
721 through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as
the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
[123] staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the
Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently
determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed
five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most
slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us,
together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march
on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility
and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt
of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
423 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
563 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
648 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[657] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano
[797] Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white
standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands
are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the 429
Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This
basic cultural difference makes successful communication and 563
adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two
groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, 182
which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano 563
Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with
the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white 657
colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some 797
of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down 648
a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*šuarā*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

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A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only 182
spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the mis- 797
sionaries, since there has not been a branch of the govern-
ment concerned specifically with the protection of the rights 648
of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not 657
necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the
many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

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182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jívaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jívaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jívaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Karsten, 1954, p. 7, pp. 10–31; Harner, 1962, pp. 268–70. 000
2. Harner, 1962. The excerpt from M. W. Stirling's letter is reproduced here with his kind permission.
3. The first general report on the research is embodied in Harner, 1963.

CHAPTER I

1. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, p. 175.
2. Mason, 1950, p. 222.
3. Greenberg, 1960, p. 794.
4. Determinations by the Yale University Geochronological Laboratories, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Descriptions of the excavated pottery may be found in Herod, 1970.
5. Collier and Murra, 1943, pp. 61–62.
6. Jívaro is the name applied by Spanish speakers.
7. The "Mayna" Jivaroans have been reported in the Río Tigre region by workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Little is known about them, and it is not clear if their dialect is more closely related to Jívaro or Achuara, and whether they form a distinct group. [197]
8. Personal communication from David Beasley, Summer Institute of Linguistics, January 1961.
9. Personal communication from Mildred Larson, Summer Institute of Linguistics, January 1961.
10. This estimate is derived from a house count of Ecuadorian Jivaroans made from the air by personnel of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. To arrive at these population figures, the number of houses sighted was multiplied by an estimate of nine persons per dwelling. The aerial survey data were supplied by Glen Turner of the SIL (personal communication). Not included in this total are some 100 additional Jívaro emigrants residing in western Ecuador near the communities of Bucay and Santo Domingo de los Colorados.
11. The reader is reminded that the "ethnographic present" employed here refers to the period 1956–57. By 1969, only a few areas west of the Cutucú Mountains remained completely unpenetrated by white colonists.
12. The Huambisa appear to be very closely related to the *untsuri šuarā* in terms of dialect and details of culture. However, they

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000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

[114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jivaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jivaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women; the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; at other times houses often have no walls at all. The [171] permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jivaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were among the Achuara.

[127] 13. Cieza de León, 1943, pp. 295–96; González Suárez, 1890, p. 54. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jivaroan groups other than the Jivaro proper (*untsuri huara*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 174–77.

[231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jivaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jivaro is first definitely reported in 1683 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual introduction by a century or longer.

[135] 16. Velasco, 1842, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1842, p. 153; and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1842, pp. 153–57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 105–7; 203; 209–10; 286–288; and in Velasco, 1842, pp. 158–60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 43–44.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrueco, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jívaro; Compte, 1885, p. 56; Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 366, 420–21.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jivaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 329).

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28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 12, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunui and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

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reported by Danielsson (1949, p. 88) whose Jívaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 46 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Danielsson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielsson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yurupaza, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141) of Jívaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jívaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. A comparison of the SIL Jívaro house count with the census figures for the Jívaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yurupaza neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielsson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

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2. Murdock, 1949, p. 60.

[104]

3. In the Jívaro language *kakaram* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakaram* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

[178]
[171]

4. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jívaro culture antedates ca. 1910, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jívaro *amigü* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jívaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kumpa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jívaro without the implication of personal obligation.

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro.
2. Sollmann, 1957, pp. 381, 394.
3. Castaneda, 1968; and Harner, 1973.

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4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes silently when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s). [593]

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *antuay*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

9. *Muisak* may alternatively be pronounced *muiska*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [766]

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. [114]

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderosian et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *kakaram*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 24). [787]

16. The breezes are caused by his *tsentsak* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jivaro (see pp. 119–20).

CHAPTER V

1. Danielsson (1949, p. 92) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yurupaza neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay. [177]

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000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chigüana region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jivaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jivaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jivaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jivaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jivaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jivaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

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Born in Washington, D.C., in 1929, Dr. Harner spent the earliest years of his childhood in South America. He returned there to do fieldwork among the Jívaro Indians of Ecuador in 1956 and 1957 and the Conibo Indians of Peru in 1960 and 1961. In 1964 and 1969 he pursued additional field studies of the Jívaro and made an expedition to the Jivaroan Achuara tribe.

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[For additional information on the use of drugs for hallucinatory revelations, see 34: Harner, category 276.]

[For additional information on the use of drugs for hallucinatory revelation, see 34: Harner, category 787.]

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Chapter VI

CULTURAL CHANGE

Information on cultural change among the interior Jívaro 12
was obtained exclusively from elderly informants, a method which was necessitated by the lack of written records. By employing such time markers as the appearance of Halley's Comet (1910),[1] the end of visits by rubber collectors (ca. 1914–15), and the dates of the founding of various missions among the frontier Jívaro, of which the interior Jívaro were aware, approximate indications were obtained of the inception and duration of many of the changes. Such information usually consisted of reports of trends rather than of abrupt [177] alterations in native cultural practices, the isolation of the interior area having protected the Jívaro there from the disruptive incursions of the gold miners, missionaries, and settlers to the west.

In the absence of adequate historical documentation, in- 124
terviewing techniques were used which had already been developed in "salvage" or "memory" ethnography among North American Indians. Using such techniques, anthropologists in such areas as California had succeeded in making very useful reconstructions of bygone aboriginal cultures with no more than a few aged informants as their source of information. In the Jívaro case, the task was much easier, in that there was still a fully functioning native culture and a variety of good informants whose accounts could be compared in determining what changes had occurred during their lifetimes.

To check the reliability of the oral accounts of cultural

1: Karsten--13-15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"In this work I present the results of these researches, which were carried out in the years 1916-1918 and 1928-1929. Of the four years that I have travelled in Western Amazonas about three have been spent in close contact with the Jibaros. During repeated visits among different Jibaro tribes I tried to acquire as complete a knowledge as possible of their whole material and intellect-[14] ual culture, including their religion, mythology, and language. For this purpose I made a point, first of all, of studying such Jibaro tribes as, besides being comparatively easy of access, have most faithfully preserved the ancient customs and beliefs of the people. These, it seems to me, are the tribes living between the rivers Upano and Morona, which are the most numerous in the Ecuadorian Oriente and, in spite of their contact with the whites, have wonderfully resisted the influence of civilization. Among these tribes I have in fact spent most of my time, making excursions in different directions from the village of Macas on the Upano, which for a long time served as the basis for my research. I also frequently visited the northern Jibaro tribes living beside the small rivers Copataza, Arapicos, and Chiguaza, affluents of the upper Rio Pastaza. A special expedition was, moreover, undertaken to the distant Achuares, a savage Jibaro tribe inhabiting the geographically little known regions between the Pastaza and the Morona. The main object of this expedition was to inquire how far the culture of the Pastaza tribes differs from that of the Jibaro tribes living between the Upano and the Morona.

Repeated visits were made to the Quichua-speaking Indians of Canelos on the river Bobonaza, who are closely related to the Jibaros proper. Lastly, in 1929 I made an expedition to the Aguarunas at the Rio Apaga, south of the Marañon, and was able to establish their affinity with the Huambizas on the Morona. My project to visit the latter Indians on the same expedition could not be realized. The Huambizas were at that time very hostile to the whites and, besides that, had been greatly decimated owing to wars with Peruvian soldiers. In 1915 a Peruvian garrison at the upper Morona had been treacherously attacked by the Indians who were enraged on account of some offence, and the majority of the soldiers massacred. In 1928, shortly before I arrived in Ecuador the last time, there had been a new encounter between the Huambizas and the Peruvians in which a great many of the Indians had been killed. I was told that on the upper Morona there were now only a few families left of the Huambizas, who had formerly been one of the most numerous of the Jibaro tribes. Besides this, the Huambizas had been at war with their own kinsmen, the Aguarunas, who had in consequence retired from the Morona to the regions south of the Marañon. It seemed to me therefore of little use to visit the Huambiza Indians, the culture of which, as I had been able to establish before, is the same as that of the Jibaros on the Upano. [15]

However that may be, I have during my three years of travel among different

1: Karsten--13-15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 121 (1928-29)

Jibaro tribes been able to take a fairly complete survey of the whole Jibaro culture of which a full account is given here."

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"My researches among the Jibaros--just as my previous ethnological studies in the Gran Chaco--have been carried out according to the principle 'intensive study of limited areas', and I am convinced that this is the only right method to be followed for the purpose of obtaining ethnological results of scientific value. Not even the material culture of a people can be properly studied during a visit of a few days or weeks; for a right understanding of it a knowledge of the whole psychology of that people is necessary which, again, can only be acquired during a prolonged stay among them. From considerations of space I am compelled to condense my description of the material culture of the Jibaros as much [18] as possible. Still it will, I hope, clearly appear to the reader to what extent for instance the industrial art of the Indians, their agricultural and hunting practices, war customs, and a great many other customs and occupations which to us have a purely practical or social significance are permeated by magical and religious ideas. To such extent in fact is this the case, that those parts of my book which deal with the material culture and social life of the Jibaros will at the same time throw much interesting light upon their religion. --Apart from the limitation just mentioned, it has been my aim to study the social organization, the customs and beliefs of the Indians in every detail, since it is precisely the details that have value for comparative ethnology and sociology and alone give us the means of penetrating into the psychology of a primitive people.

1: Karsten--17-19 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 121 (1928-29)

In studying various rites and customs of the Indians I have, moreover, not been content with ascertaining the external facts, but I have, as far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying these customs, the reasons why they are practised. The importance of discovering the motives prompting the Indians to practise a certain custom is quite obvious, and every reader of my work will find that without knowing them, many facts recorded by me would remain unintelligible and be likely to be entirely misunderstood. Thus--to mention one instance--who could understand the peculiar rules of fasting observed by the Jibaros unless the curious line of thought upon which they are founded were exactly indicated by themselves? It has sometimes been said that savage peoples as a rule do not know themselves why they practise a certain custom, and that it is useless to inquire about the ideas which have lead them to it, since these may have been forgotten long ago. This remark does not, at any rate hold true of the Jibaros. On the contrary, what struck me greatly during my investigations was the accuracy with which most older members of the Jibaro community were able to assign the motives underlying social customs and religious rites. Consequently the explanations offered by me as to these customs and rites are almost invariably given by the Indians themselves and may therefore be regarded as ethnological facts. Where, on the other hand, my interpretation is only my own conjecture, this is expressly indicated. My chief object in this work, however, has not been to present theories but to state bare facts.

Those of my readers who are interested in knowing how the facts here stated with regard to the Jibaros fit into the whole system of native ideas, customs, and institutions which we can trace in South America, [19] I beg to refer to my work The Civilisation of the South American Indians (1).

When I say that most older members are able to assign the motives underlying customs and rites, this statement requires some further explanation. Old persons certainly possess the best knowledge of such things; but there are some customs which only old men know about, and others respecting which only old women can give information. It may be important to point out this expressly. When I started upon my first expedition to South America in 1911 one of the leading ethnologists of England gave me the advice never to have dealings with the women among the tribes I visited. 'They know nothing', he added, 'and it only arouses the jealousy of the men when one enters into conversation with the women'. Both in the Chaco and in Western Amazonas I have in fact obtained some of my best information from the women, who turned out to be equally as good informants on Indian customs as the men, sometimes even better. This particularly holds

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"1. Kegan Paul & Co. London, 1926. A. Knopf. New York."

true of the Jibaros, among whom the women play the main part at certain important ceremonies and consequently alone are able to give detailed information about them. Of this kind are, for instance the customs connected with agriculture and the ceremonies performed at 'the feast of the women'. The songs or prayers which on these occasions are addressed to the great Earth-mother Nungüi form the exclusive intellectual property of the women, whom consequently the ethnologist has to address if he wants to obtain detailed information about them.

It is of course conceivable that in some cases the real origin of a custom may have been partly or wholly forgotten and that a new explanation has been substituted for the idea from which it has originally sprung. I have reason to believe that this has only exceptionally been the case with the Jibaros. One of the advantages which the study of a great and independent people like the Jibaros offers is that the ideas upon which its customs and ceremonies are founded can as a rule be regarded as genuine and, in a relative sense, 'primitive'. However this may be, my aim has only been to find out the present meaning attached to the customs recorded by me."

1: Karsten-- 37 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
121 (1928-29)

"I was ready to start on my journey down the rivers. According to my original project I had first to visit the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Achuares, who lived somewhere on the midle [sic] course of the Pastaza in the interior of the country. Thereafter I wished to continue my journey along the Pastaza down to the Marañon for the purpose of visiting the Cocama Indians and certain other tribes living on this great river. For reasons to be mentioned later I was not, however, able to carry out the latter part of the programme."

1: Karsten--71 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"The expedition which I undertook to Western Amazonas in 1928-1929 had for its chief object a further study of certain particular customs, a general survey of the whole Jibaro culture, and, last but not least, a visit to the country of the Aguarunas, the southernmost tribe of the Jibaro people. In this chapter I propose to give a short account of this expedition which covered nearly the whole enormous area inhabited by the Jibaros, taking me along the Bobonaza and Pastaza down to the Marañon and further to one of its southern affluents, the small river Apaga."

1: Karsten--541 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 121 (1928-29)

"I started to study the Jibaro language from the beginning of my stay among the Upano tribe, with first my interpreter from Macas and later Jibaro Indians as teachers. Gradually I compiled a vocabulary of more than a thousand words, which was carefully verified many times with the aid of my Indian friends. Similarly, in conversation with the Indians I tried to catch the most important grammatical and syntactic rules which are stated here. During my last stay among the Jibaros in 1928-29 I again revised my vocabulary, making certain corrections and additions. I thus venture to hope that the mistakes which are almost inevitable in a book treating of the language of a savage people are here reduced to a minimum."

2: Stirling--X-XI (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 121

"The following account makes no pretense of being a complete description of the ethnology of the Jivaros. An effort has been made to present a maximum of factual material with as little theoretical speculation as possible. The author has tried to indicate the position of the Jivaros in the general aboriginal cultural pattern of northwest South America. Rather than attempt broad comparisons, the writer has selected a few characteristic topical subjects, such as supernatural beliefs, war customs, and head hunting, in an effort to demonstrate that these practices instead of being peculiar to the Jivaros are traits which were formerly typical of a wide area in the northern Andes. The method of appraoch has been primarily historical; this chronological study bringing out several interesting [XI] points, such as population changes and the apparent post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun."

3: Simson--385 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 121

"*These notes were chiefly taken during a very short stay at a Jívaro Settlement on the borders of the River Pintuc (or Pindo), one of the tributaries on the left bank of the Upper Pastassa, in Ecuador, and refer mainly to that portion of the tribe inhabiting this region."

26: Brüning--46 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 121

In 1902 an expedition to the Marañón River was organized in Chiclayo. The purpose of this expedition was the search for a convenient communication between the Pacific Coast and the watercourses east of the Andes. I had an opportunity to participate in this expedition. When the money allotted to the enterprise ran out, I continued the expedition at my own expense. During this trip we had brief encounters with the primitive Indians who live on both banks of the upper Marañón River and its tributaries. The following information is based partly upon my own observations, partly upon information which I received from the whites who live as rubber traders among the natives.

29: Vité--15 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 121

On the 29th of last December my companions: Michele Car, Francesco Bornengo, Luigi Bosio, and I, left Genoa in the boat [motonave] "Virgilio," to study the life and customs of the Jibaro Indians, and, in particular, to film a motion picture on this curious race.

31: Danielsson--83-84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 121, 571

"As often has been pointed out, the advance of sociology depends principally on the development of objective techniques of determining social interaction in human populations and on the formulation of universal laws for describing this interaction. The principal obstacle to the development of these new techniques and to the formulation of general laws is the difficulty of undertaking experiments. This difficulty is, of course, chiefly one of ethical attitude. Sociological experiments are not yet in public opinion regarded as naturally permissible as experiments in the natural sciences. This attitude is a real and considerable difficulty. The idea underlying the present study is that while we are waiting for a change of public opinion sociometric studies among primitive peoples (the term 'primitive' here of course meaning 'not having a written language') might in some cases give us a substitute for experiments, or in any case that studies of this type might contribute to the basic work on sociological theory and method.

The characteristics to be sought among primitive peoples which would be favorable for the sociological researcher with the mentioned point of view in mind are the following:

1. Relative isolation from other primitive tribes and from other cultural groups, thus limiting the number of disturbing influences.

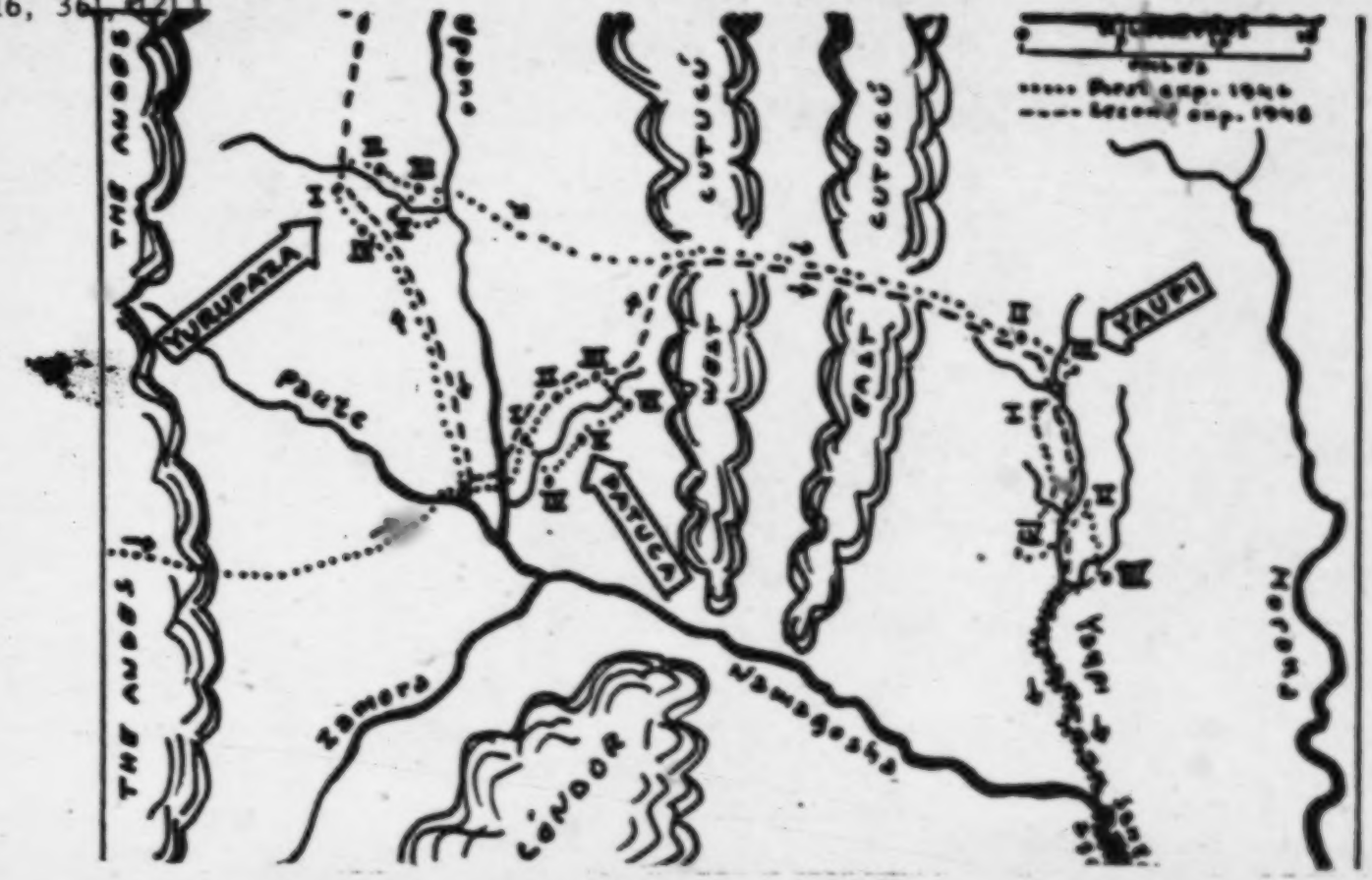
2. Small number of individuals, permitting not only a sampling, but a complete canvass.

3. A simple social structure, at least in comparison with the civilized [84] societies ('those having a written language'). The structure is generally simpler among primitive peoples of course principally due to the fact that indirect communication, in space and time, is very limited. As a consequence, in a primitive society basic sociological patterns underlying all human behavior could more easily be found.

As a primitive people, the Jibaro Indians from Western Amazonas, chosen for the present study, seem to fulfill these requirements."

31: Danielsson--87 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro

116, 361 [21]



31: Danielsson--105 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 121

"In spite of the very limited area from which the material pertaining to the present study is gathered, some suggestions and hints seem to present themselves concerning at least the following problems of more universal scope:

1. The laws for different types of groupings, centripetal, centrifugal, etc.
2. The operational definition of 'key persons'.
3. The correlation between verbal and non-verbal behavior.
4. The correlation between attraction and blood relationship.
5. The relation between repulsion and geographical space.

These problems can of course be solved only by inventing hypotheses and having them tested out through further research.

What we mainly have wished to call attention to in this paper is, however, that in this principal task of sociology it seems apparent that excellent opportunities for gathering basic material and for testing new hypotheses in many cases may be offered by studies among so-called primitive peoples."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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10 [181] THE Jivaro peoples (*aucanos*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied
121 and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in
[183] the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been
194 discovered a deep-rooted belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls
[161] which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs, with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[2]

128 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset
127 it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[4]

114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río
[133] Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangosa and the Río Sepa; the Río
[103] Chigüaza; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusimi; the Río
[131] Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Baeza on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *Mukaimpíi*, *Tsukimpíi*, *Uíiti*
115 *Akaíra*, *Kugnii*, and *Uata Akaíra* of the Río Tutanangosa; *Mata* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintai* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Huaga*, *Tupi*, and *Naina*, all from the Río Tutanangosa region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

2 [For continuation of footnotes, see Category 116, pp 260-262 — Gma 1957]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jívaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jívaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[18] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jívaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*akulan*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jívaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jívaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jívaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jívaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jívaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*ahuara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jívaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jívaro proper. The other Jívaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achúal), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e *English i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ĉ Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following ĉ or l plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following ĉ or l plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish *ñ* when i is adjacent)

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ẽ*; palatized when following *ẽ* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ẽ* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization. 121 ●

[2] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[3] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[4] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[5] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 174 [194]

[6] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[7] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delicious person under its influence. [176]

[8] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. [187]

[9] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. [178]

[10] There is also a rare super arutam, *awsag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [126]

[11] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 126

[12] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. 174 [191] [182]

[13] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *maisha*. 174

[14] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [175]

[15] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 174 115 114

[16] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens. 175 [241]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

INTRODUCTION

101

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 175
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri šuarä* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the [135] fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 175
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers 648 [727]
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 There was certainly no other tribe in South America about
• 121 which less was known in proportion to what had been published. Part of this situation was due to certain aspects of Jívaro culture, particularly the making of *tsantsa*, which lent themselves to sensationalistic articles and popular books which were typically based upon a minimum or even an absence of actual contact with the Jívaro. Only two serious major works on them existed: the late Rafael Karsten's *Head-hunters of Western Amazonas* (1935), and M. W. Stirling's *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jívaro Indians* (1938). Yet much of what Karsten wrote was vague and highly opinionated, and Stirling's field data were fairly limited due to the short time he spent with the Jívaro. In addition, where the two authors overlapped in subject matter, their reports tended to be strongly contradictory.[1]

In view of this situation, I took both Karsten's and Stirling's works into the field with me and reviewed them sentence by sentence with Jívaro informants. Except for Stirling's data on material culture, I found that there was scarcely a paragraph of ethnographic information in either work that could be considered wholly accurate.

In time, it became evident that the erratic quality of information supplied by both anthropologists derived in part from their reliance on white men as interpreters. Karsten depended almost exclusively on Macabeos, the mestizo inhabitants of the village of Macas, for his communication with Indian informants. He also relied on them for second-hand information on Jívaro culture, as I ascertained by talking to Macabeos who had worked for him. I also found that the Macabeos had misconceptions of Jívaro culture which they believed in so strongly that they were willing to argue with the Indians about the latter's own culture. It was not too different in Stirling's case, although much more expectable,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

since he was able to spend only a few short months with the Jívaro in comparison with Karsten's intermittent work during several years. Stirling's interpreter was Santiago Baca of Méndez, whom I knew personally, and whom on one occasion I tested as an interpreter. Although a fine person, Baca hardly would let an Indian speak before he reinterpreted and expanded what had been said to fit his own preconceptions. The following portion of a letter from Stirling to me, dated June 30, 1962, in response to an article which I had just published on Jívaro soul beliefs,[2] shows the role of Baca in his work. I would like to add that I consider the letter a tribute to Stirling's scholarly integrity:

114
121
[124]

It is high time that adequate studies are finally being made of this significant group. When I made my rather hasty trip through the Jivaro country in 1930–31, the working conditions were far from ideal. The expedition was badly organized and from the standpoint of the ethnologist we were never able to stay in one place long enough to get proper results. I knew nothing of the Jivaro language, and depended entirely on the interpreter-Santiago Baca—for the esoteric information. What I recorded was what he understood from the informants. He was, incidentally, a political refugee and had lived 2 years with the Jivaro in hiding.

It is interesting to note that most of the Jivaro we encountered at that time insisted that they knew nothing of religious beliefs —that we would have to contact old Anguasha (on the Yaupe [Yaupi] River). We finally did contact him, and he was the source of most of this type of material which I secured. I am sure that he was a good informant—very sincere and desirous of being precise—so the errors were probably the result of misunderstanding by the interpreter, since I tried not to fill in any interpretations of my own. I had Karsten's work with me, and after getting our own material I checked with Karsten's accounts. The Indians would agree with practically none of his ideas, in-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 sisting that they had never heard of such a thing. Incidentally, I
• 121 never learned with which group he worked—a fact which he appeared to keep secret. I assumed that either the Indians with whom he worked had different concepts, or that he possibly supplied interpretations of his own.

It does not seem probable to me that basic changes in fundamental beliefs could take place in 30 years, so I am inclined to agree with you that the errors in my account were the result of wrong interpretation.

121 Since the purpose of the present book is to provide a broad
128 introduction to Jívaro culture rather than a detailed comparison with earlier publications, the reader will not find specific criticisms of Karsten's and Stirling's data in the following pages. These will be gradually provided in more specialized publications, which will also have the function of focusing on particular aspects of Jívaro life in greater detail. To the specialist who reads this work, however, I wish to say that statements that he finds here implicitly contradicting those of the two other authors may be taken, in fact, as explicit corrections of their accounts. A contradictory account here does not imply ignorance of their material.

Beyond this, of course, is the question of cultural change.
[115] First of all, I wish to note that several of my most important elderly informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in 1916–18 and did not come into substantial first-hand contact with whites until fifteen to
[114] twenty years later. The fieldwork by Stirling occurred later, in 1930–31, but as Stirling himself noted above, the basic source of difference with my own material was probably his interpreter. In addition, I made a special effort to secure field data that would reveal those aspects of Jívaro culture that had changed or remained stable during this century, and the final chapter of the book is devoted to that subject.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of 124
first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that [122]
it must be done with sophistication involving constant re-
phrasing of the same questions in different contexts with
various interpreters and informants and supplemented by as
much participant observation as possible. It seems likely that [122]
at least as many errors in ethnographic research can be com-
mitted by the fieldworker who is under the delusion that he
is "fluent" in the language, and who fails to check his results
through interpreters, as by the researcher who recognizes his
linguistic limitations and uses trained interpreters with sensible
caution and patience.

The research providing the present data was conducted for 101
a total of fourteen field months in 1956–57, 1964 and 1969,
primarily in the following river valleys occupied by the
Jívaro: the Río Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Can-
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Jívaro who in 1956–57 were not yet in regular first-hand
contact with Ecuadorians or other whites.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported
114 changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

• 121 It should be pointed out that the material that follows
124 often includes consideration of causal factors from the informants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis of causal relationships within their own culture. On the
121 contrary, I have found that the Jívaro are extremely aware of,
124 and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and
151 normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I
181 proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jívaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jivaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jivaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

• 121 In any case, the culture of the Jivaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

1: Karsten--15-16 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 122 (1928-29)

"It should be taken into consideration that travelling in Western Amazonas, and especially in Eastern Ecuador, is connected with tremendous difficulties owing to the bad condition of the roads, or more correctly speaking, the complete lack of roads, a fact which, of course, is apt to make such journeys physically extremely trying. ... the Jibaros, regarding the whites as their natural enemies, always receive a visitor with great distrust. It has indeed been said that their hatred of the whites and their warlike and treacherous character makes it a very perilous enterprise for a white man to go among them, since he can never live safely in their midst. I have found this opinion exaggerated; the hostility of the Jibaros as a [16] rule only turns against those who have actually done them harm. From my own experience I am able to testify that for a white man who approaches the Indians peaceably it is quite possible even to acquire their friendship. But on the other hand it is quite natural that a savage race, systematically ill-treated and abused for many centuries by 'civilized' European adventurers, should inevitably look upon every new-comer of the white race with suspicion, and that only gradually can he earn their confidence. The Jibaros as a rule do not like white strangers visiting them, and when they do receive them they expect the guests to leave as soon as possible. The questions with which one is almost invariable [sic] received are, 'Why do you come to us?', and 'When will you leave?', and -- last but not least--'Do you bring sickness with you?' The last question is particularly characteristic of the Jib-

aros. There is in fact nothing these savages fear so much a [sic] mysterious diseases imported by the whites, especially dysentery, small-pox, and other epidemic diseases which in former times made frightful ravages among them. If a member of the family happens to fall ill with any sickness shortly after an apachi (white man) arrives in the house, the latter is sure to be made responsible for this calamity. If a death should take place, the visitor's life would certainly be in danger, since the enraged Indians would not hesitate to kill him if they were in a position to do so."

1: Karsten--23-24 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 122 (1928-29)

"I arrived in Ecuador in August 1916, proceeding from Panama. It was during the great war, and I had in many respects to experience the obstacles such a war puts in the way even of a peaceful traveller and explorer. The Ecuadorian government and the authorities in general, however, showed me great complaisance and courtesy, and official letters of recommendation were given me which facilitated my journeys in the Oriente. I shall always gratefully remember the valuable services which were rendered me by the Chilean minister in Ecuador, Señor Victor Eastman-Cox, who among other things introduced me to members of the Ecuadorian government. Still more do I feel obliged to a man whom the expressions of my gratitude can no longer reach, namely, the Swedish Consul in Quito, Mr. Ludovico Söderström. During the whole time of my first long residence in Ecuador 'Don Ludovico' was a great help to me, among other things by keeping my ethnographic collections, which were destined for the museum of Gothenburg, Sweden. On some [24] of my short sojourns in Quito I was kindly invited to stay in Mr. Söderströms house. When I visited the country on my second expedition to Ecuador and Peru, my old friend was no more. He had died one year previously, in 1927, at an age of no less than 87 years, of which nearly 60 had been spent in Ecuador."

1: Karsten--71 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
122 (1928-29)

"After repeated visits to the Indians of the Upano--where, among other things, I was present at a great 'tobacco feast'--I proceeded to Canelos, to see old friends and to make certain investigations. Canelos was also to be the starting-point for my expedition down to the Marañon. For this purpose I had to make the necessary arrangements with my Indian companions, who are indispensable on expeditions of this nature. To find native servants willing to accompany me on my long journey, however, proved extremely difficult."

2: Stirling--X (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 122

"The ethnographic material for the present account was secured in the field in 1930-31, principally from Jivaros on the Paute, the Upano, the Yaupe, the Chinganasa, and the Alto Marañon Rivers, when the writer was a member of the Latin-American expedition, to which he is indebted for the opportunity of making his field studies. This area constitutes a fair cross section through the Santiago drainage, the heart of the Jivaro country. In his field work the writer was fortunate in having the services of an unusually intelligent and able interpreter, Santiago Baca of Mendez.

Much assistance in the field was also rendered by the late John Verrill, and especially by Mr. William Larner. The writer would also like at this time to acknowledge courtesies rendered by Ecuadorian officials, particularly Lt. Durán of Mendez. He was also received most courteously by Mons. Comin of the Salesian mission at Mendez and by Mr. Charles C. Eamigh of the gospel mission at Chupianza. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Joseph Sinclair, who kindly put his extensive bibliographic material at the disposal of the writer, and to Mr. Wolfgang von Hagen for supplying the writer with maps and other information. Dodd, Mead & Co., owners of the copyright, have generously permitted the quotation of several interesting passages from Head Hunters of the Amazon by F. W. Up de Graff."

21: Davar--359 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 122

"Traversing the Amazon basin was only a part of our Cycling expedition round the World, but it was easily the best part of it. I do not propose to narrate here the hardships we encountered, or the dangers that befell us, or the adventures that came our way; or the wonderful things we witnessed. There will be proper time and place to narrate them in all their splendour. What I propose to deal with is our experiences among the wild tribes of Peru, who go under the general name of 'Jivaro' or 'Khivro' as the explorers are wont to pronounce this word, and who have been noted for a peculiar custom, which is a record by itself of the shocking levity to which customs and ceremonies among the primitive societies can descend."

After fourteen days of navigation, we passed through the Panama canal and then followed the Pacific to Guayaquil where we disembarked at our first destination. After a short rest, the Andean railway which crawls along an incline of some 4,000 meters, took us to Quito, the capital of Ecuador and the highest in the world.

From there we went on to Cuenca which was to be the base of our expedition and where the Salesian missionaries have their principal see. Their civilizing work radiates across many kilometers of savage or almost unexplored lands up the heart of the formidable forests inhabited by the Jíbaros.

In Cuenca we made our preparations, taking measures against the excessive humidity of the forest, which could cause damage to the filming apparatus, our greatest treasure. The complete absence of roads obliged us to organize caravans with native porters, mules, horses, and guides who could open up a route in the vegetal labyrinth.

From this point we went on to Pan and Gualageo. We then coasted the Negro River for almost 200 kilometers to Méndez, another see of the Salesian missionaries. From Méndez we followed the course of the Tutangosa River to Macas, where another mission marked the last vanguard of civilization; then we went along the Lupanos River and entered into contact with the "unexplored jungle."

29: Vité--22[2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122, 132

The appearance of the equatorial rains which arrived a month earlier than expected this year, prevented us from traveling across Ecuador and Brasil to the Atlantic. We were not able to continue our task after a month's sojourn in the interior of the country, and we had to return to Guayaquil where we embarked on our return to Italy.

29: Vité--22 [3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122, 136

We had gathered together precious material, not to mention a collection of snakes, among which was one that transmits a fatal poison simply by coiling his body, without biting or giving pain, and we had attended a unique ceremony of authentic savages.

31: Danielsson--83 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 122

"The material for this study was collected during travels in Western Amazonas, October 1946--January 1947, as a member of the Finnish-Swedish Amazon Expedition, and during a second visit to the same area in March-April 1948. Dr. George A. Lundberg, University of Washington, suggested the study to me, and together with Dr. Stuart Dodd, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, has made many valuable suggestions. Dr. Rafael Karstein, [sic] University of Helsinki, Finland, specialist on the Jibaro anthropology and leader of the Finnish-Swedish Amazon Expedition, has supplied me with much information. For help in collecting material I am indebted to Father Juan Ghinassi and Sr. Guillermo Lopez, Chinimbi, Ecuador. I am also greatly indebted to Orabelle Connally for drawing the charts and to Lenore Dickson and Virginia Hertzler for critical and extensive proof reading of the manuscript and the proofs."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *u*, palatalized when following *ñ* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
t English *ch*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
u Spanish *u* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant, palatalized when following *ñ* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (NSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided immeasurable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Arutam may also be pronounced *arutam*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1970) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adherents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Tigre valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *ayahuasca* (Banisteriopsis caapi) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from smoking in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

* One exception is the football arutam which only wounded adults, when [illegible].

* Persons who have seen Shuam can be supernaturally well singled out by this sign alone.

** There is also a rare super arutam, *umung*, whose soul is not so much retained and dissipated from the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

** The arutam soul resides in the body of a person in one his/her [illegible] permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

** Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near absenting with [illegible] conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The function of [illegible] for the [illegible] can be seen in the desire of the individual to [illegible] his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

** Muscle may be alternatively pronounced *muchi*.

** When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has conquered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's soul is delayed in escaping through the mouth. Then the murderer begins to cook some farina to escaping soul too much time.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa-[illegible] surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to emphasize that any example from [illegible] the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

** The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

34.Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

[465] [436] [999] 123 124 [411] [628]

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed information was through interpreters. However, unlike my predecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial vari-

[191] [799] [122]

34 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of 124
first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that [123]
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Research Council.

34:Harner K-6.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Fieldwork in the summer of 1964 was carried out under the auspices of the Associates in Tropical Biogeography of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the same institution. Sponsorship of the 1969 summer investigations was by the American Museum of Natural History, the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and the Columbia University Institute of Latin American Studies. 122

I am particularly indebted to Professor John H. Rowe of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, who first called my attention to the inadequacies of the published material on the Jívaro and who supported me in embarking on the initial field research,* when others felt that it was too perilous a project. Other colleagues who have been of particular assistance are Robert F. Murphy, James J. Parsons, Robert L. Carneiro and Kenneth Kensinger. My wife, Sandra, my son, James, and my daughter, Teresa, have helped make this work possible in such profound ways that they will probably never fully realize the depth of their contribution. 124

Ecuadorians and Americans in Ecuador who especially made possible the success of the fieldwork through their friendship and assistance were Dr. Alberto Flores González, Director of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, Sr. and Sra. Alfredo Corralés Samaniego of the same institute, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Stuck, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Fiske, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Drown, Mr. W. Ferguson and Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ferguson, and also Dr. Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who contributed linguistic information on the Jívaro language. Dr. Turner is not to be held responsible, however, for oversimplifications in the orthography used here.

My greatest debt, and one which I can never adequately 125

1: Karsten--17 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 123 (1928-29)

"....the basis for my studies of the Jibaros living on the Upano has been the village of Macas, the inhabitants of which --mestizos partly of Jibaro origin--live in close contact with the Indians. Some of the 'Macabeos' know the Jibaro language well, and it was a great help for me that in the beginning I could use them as companions and interpreters on my trips to the Indians. But since it is obvious to me that the culture of an uncivilized people can be properly studied only by one who knows its language, I started learning the Jibaro language from the very beginning, just as I had earlier learned the Quichua language, and within a comparatively short time knew it sufficiently well to be able to converse with the Indians on common topics. I may say that after I gained the confidence of my savage hosts I found them as a rule excellent informants, very willing to tell almost everything I asked them about, and accurate even in small details. Although I have been present at the most important feasts of the Jibaros and know much from personal experience, there are still of course certain customs which I have not witnessed with my own eyes but only know through the accounts of the Indians. In such cases I always tried to verify the statements of one informant by those made independently by another, the substantial agreement between them being to me a confirmation of their truth. In the same way I have been anxious always to verify the information incidentally given by the inhabitants of Macas or by white settlers living in the country of the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--62 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
123, 579 (1928-29)

"From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaëma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house."

8: Dickey--201[3] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 123, 609

"Five of us, including one white woman, lived with a Jivaro tribe numbering nearly two hundred for six weeks. The only contretemps suffered by our party came when we had exhausted all our excuses for not partaking of the vin du pays, the far from delectable chicha mascada, which was offered to us constantly, and is a drink evolved from yuca root mixed with the saliva of toothless, elderly Indian ladies. Apart from that, our treatment left nothing to be desired."

10: Anthony--147 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 123

"Accompanied by Mr. George K. Cherrie, the veteran of many a South American expedition, I spent about a month in the 'Oriente' and during that time saw a little of these Indians and was told a great deal concerning their customs by the few scattered families of whites who live on the edges of the Jivaro territory."

32:Harner E-9 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of I. radiation and [illegible] settlement, money was used as well. In visiting remote households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess muzzle-loaders and rely on [illegible] replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more [illegible] isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved accepting the [illegible] of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host situation was continually [illegible] to his advantage and an amicable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly with gunpowder and other goods for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is a characteristic of this population, what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the complexity of Jivaro supernatural concepts, what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro people live in a dense tropical rain forest environment under the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-stated anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is complete lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Vigilance and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives, hunting as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autochthonous systems of verbalized thought we have noted in their culture. The other three are the system of crop fertility (magic) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of consciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [997] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households • 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly way, since almost all Jivaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Long-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved entering the hosts of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my hosts viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed information was through interpreters. However, unlike my prede- [191] cessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who [195] had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial ver-

Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Fieldwork in the summer of 1964 was carried out under the auspices of the Associates in Tropical Biogeography of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the same institution. Sponsorship of the 1969 summer investigations was by the American Museum of Natural History, the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and the Columbia University Institute of Latin American Studies. 122

I am particularly indebted to Professor John H. Rowe of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, who first called my attention to the inadequacies of the published material on the Jivaro and who supported me in embarking on the initial field research,[8] when others felt that it was too perilous a project. Other colleagues who have been of particular assistance are Robert F. Murphy, James J. Parsons, Robert L. Carneiro and Kenneth Kensinger. My wife, Sandra, my son, James, and my daughter, Teresa, have helped make this work possible in such profound ways that they will probably never fully realize the depth of their contribution. 114

Ecuadorians and Americans in Ecuador who especially made possible the success of the fieldwork through their friendship and assistance were Dr. Alberto Flores González, Director of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, Sr. and Sra. Alfredo Costales Samaniego of the same institute, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Stuck, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Fiske, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Drown, Mr. W. Ferguson and Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ferguson, and also Dr. Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who contributed linguistic information on the Jivaro language. Dr. Turner is not to be held responsible, however, for oversimplifications in the orthography used here.

My greatest debt, and one which I can never adequately 123

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 123 acknowledge, is to the innumerable *tsaná* who guided me in my education in their culture. I value very deeply the sensitivity, intelligence, courtesy and hospitality with which they have consistently treated me. I feel no greater affection and respect for any people on earth.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jivaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jivaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jivaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jivaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the elderly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier
[123] to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jivaro coming back from Peru." The Jivaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jivaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

34:Marner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cenepa, 1956-57).

293
415
291
516
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857
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• 123
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/2- 90-8/

198 As of this writing, the Inca bridge is being constructed as
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe once convinced that the
668 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuares, that the white soldiers were about to initiate such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
• [123] staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

192 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
623 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
[198 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
491 relying on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
648 pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
657 ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
777 pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

14 Marner E-6, 9 [1956-1969]1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one comming from the Río Chiguaza region against the Achuars in 1971. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

2. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

3. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Canelos are the only people within the past five centuries known to make the trance. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuars and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Canelos, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuars and Huambisa (Wallis, 1969, pp. 37-40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the trance was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of enslaved dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro or tourist (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 80-81; Stirling, 1938, pp. 100-08, and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are real), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

4. Name of the visitor. The visitor's name is usually learned from repeated accounts or from persons who have interacted with the Achuars in trade.

NOTES TO

1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

2. Vázquez Coronado, 1892, p. 42; Crespo, 1882, p. 56, and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Sucúa in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968.

1. I am indebted to Peter Weichselbaum and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

6: Fiorney--333 (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 124, 197

'Contribution to the study of the Jívaro or Šuar Language' by Bertrand Fiorney

This abstract was made between August 1 and October 30, 1936 in the eastern region of Ecuador inhabited by the Jivero Indians of the Achual group. These Indians live on the banks of the lagoons and rivers which flow into the river Pastaza, on its right bank. Later during my trip into the territories of the Aguaruna and Huambisa peoples, noting simply some differences in pronunciation, especially as regards the letter r. It seems to me that these groups, separated by several days of march overland or by water and belonging to the Jivero tribe, have no difficulty in understanding each other during their rare encounters.

Lacking an interpreter at the beginning of my investigation, I communicated by signs. Later an adult Jivaro from the river Huasaga who knew several words of kiltua, served as interpreter with Mr. Ramon Olalla, the taxidermist of the Mission as intermediary.

I was accompanied by several Aguarunas and by one Atachual. Unfortunately, none of them was able to speak and understand Spanish well enough; the conversation therefore had to be done through an interpreter who knew Ketechua. Moreover, I did not have the time to check the information which I received.

31: Danielsson--89-90 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 124, 186

"From the total population (see Table I) in the area studied (see Map II) all male adults were interviewed. (Adults are all who have passed the initiation rites.) Each one was asked separately by the interpreter whom he regarded as a friend and whom he regarded as an enemy, the [90] same Jibaro words always being used, winya pingera (friend, good people) and winya tuna (enemy, bad people). The interviews were repeated a second time. Only in 6 % of the cases was there variation in the replies. Those cases were more thoroughly questioned and the results so secured were accepted."

Jivaro Souls

MICHAEL J. HARNER
University of California, Berkeley

101 [181] THE Jivaro proper (western Shuar) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in
121 [183] the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been
[184] discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls
[186] which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

126 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset
129 it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio
[133] Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sapa; the Rio
[103] Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusimi; the Rio
[131] Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *Mukumpit*, *Tsukumpit*, *Uhlit*
115 *Akaio*, *Kagudi*, and *Uwia Akaio* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Waio* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hiwiai* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Wuagi*, *Tuapi*, and *Nuita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see Category 116, pp. 290-292 — Ana 1957]

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of [illegible] settlement, money was used as well. In visiting [illegible] household, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder [illegible] may, since almost all Jivaro men today possess [illegible] replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. [illegible] listed gifts of the tribal territory especially [illegible] my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my best informed and cooperative informants had big to his advantage and an amicable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly with gunpowder and other goods for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two [illegible] reservations. First, as a summary, it omits considerations of the high degree of personal variability which is characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were asked about a variety of the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the [illegible] of Jivaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro people live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-stated anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Survey as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the system of crop fairy (nuqui) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of unconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

since he was able to spend only a few short months with the Jivaro in comparison with Karsten's interminate work during several years. Stirling's interpreter was Santiago Baca of Méndez, whom I knew personally, and whom on one occasion I served as an interpreter. Although a fine person, Baca hardly would let an Indian speak before he reinterpreted and expanded what had been said to fit his own preconceptions. The following portion of a letter from Stirling to me, dated June 30, 1962, in response to an article which I had just published on Jivaro soul beliefs,[2] shows the role of Baca in his work. I would like to add that I consider the letter a tribute to Stirling's scholarly integrity:

It is high time that adequate studies are finally being made of this significant group. When I made my rather hasty trip through the Jivaro country in 1930-31, the working conditions were far from ideal. The expedition was badly organized and from the standpoint of the ethnologist we were never able to stay in one place long enough to get proper results. I knew nothing of the Jivaro language, and depended entirely on the interpreter-Santiago Baca-for the esoteric information. What I recorded was what he understood from the informants. He was, incidentally, a political refugee and had lived 2 years with the Jivaro in hiding.

It is interesting to note that most of the Jivaro we encountered at that time insisted that they knew nothing of religious beliefs—that we would have to contact old Arguashu (on the Yuape [Yaupi] River). We finally did contact him, and he was the source of most of this type of material which I secured. I am sure that he will a good informant—very sincere and desirous of being precise—so the errors were probably the result of misunderstanding by the interpreter, since I tried not to fill in any interpretations of my own. I had Karsten's work with me, and after getting our own material I checked with Karsten's accounts. The Indians would agree with practically none of his ideas, in-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [795] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of 124 •
first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that [122]
it must be done with sophistication involving constant re-
phrasing of the same questions in different contexts with
various interpreters and informants and supplemented by as
much participant observation as possible. It seems likely that [122]
at least as many errors in ethnographic research can be com-
mitted by the fieldworker who is under the delusion that he
is "fluent" in the language, and who fails to check his results
through interpreters, as by the researcher who recognizes his
linguistic limitations and uses trained interpreters with sensible
caution and patience.

The research providing the present data was conducted for 101
a total of fourteen field months in 1956–57, 1964 and 1969,
primarily in the following river valleys occupied by the
Jivaro: the Río Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Can-
gaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and the Río
Upano and its tributaries. Except where otherwise stated, the [121]
ethnographic data presented here refer to the culture of those
Jivaro who in 1956–57 were not yet in regular first-hand
contact with Ecuadorians or other whites.

The 1956–57 field investigation was sponsored by the 122
Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc.,
of New York, with supplementary grants from the Depart-
ment of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology
of the University of California, Berkeley, the American
Museum of Natural History, and the American Anthro-
pological Association (Smith, Kline and French Laboratories
contract). The organization and study of the collected data
upon my return from the field was facilitated by a Univer-
sity Fellowship in Anthropology from the University of
California and by a summer grant from the Social Science
Research Council.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter VI

CULTURAL CHANGE

Information on cultural change among the interior Jivaro was obtained exclusively from elderly informants, a method which was necessitated by the lack of written records. By employing such time markers as the appearance of Halley's Comet (1910),[1] the end of visits by rubber collectors (ca. 1914-15), and the dates of the founding of various missions among the frontier Jivaro, of which the interior Jivaro were aware, approximate indications were obtained of the inception and duration of many of the changes. Such information usually consisted of reports of trends rather than of abrupt alterations in native cultural practices, the isolation of the interior area having protected the Jivaro there from the disruptive incursions of the gold miners, missionaries, and settlers to the west. 12 [199]

In the absence of adequate historical documentation, interviewing techniques were used which had already been developed in "salvage" or "memory" ethnography among North American Indians. Using such techniques, anthropologists in such areas as California had succeeded in making very useful reconstructions of bygone aboriginal cultures with no more than a few aged informants as their source of information. In the Jivaro case, the task was much easier, in that there was still a fully functioning native culture and a variety of good informants whose accounts could be compared in determining what changes had occurred during their lifetimes. 124

To check the reliability of the oral accounts of cultural

/p. 194/

124 changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported
114 changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

121 It should be pointed out that the material that follows often includes consideration of causal factors from the in-
124 formants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and reporting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis of causal relationships within their own culture. On the
121 contrary, I have found that the Jívaro are extremely aware of,
124 and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and
151 normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I
181 proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jívaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data. 121 129 151 181

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[1] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes. 177 439 178 412 [411]

1: Karsten--513 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
126 (1928-29)

"The myths were told me by different Jibaro Indians in their own language and I afterwards, with the aid of interpreters, translated them first into Spanish and then into English. In order to give the reader an idea of the prose language of the Jibaros, I relate two of the myths in the original."

Explanation of Plate 59

Fig. 1 Signal drum, Fig. 1 a drumstick; Fig. 2 transverse flute; Fig. 3 comb; Fig. 4 double-skin drum; Fig. 5 anklet rattles; Fig. 6 iron dagger in scabbard, side view and front view; side-blown flute, seen from the side and from the front; Fig. 8 cooking pot; Fig. 9 drinking bowl; Fig. 10 eating bowl; Figs. 11 and 14 stool for women; Fig. 12 stool for men; Fig. 13 knitting pattern for a strap bag; Fig. 15 spindle; Fig. 16 end-blown bone flute.

[p. 341] Explanation of Plate 60

Fig. 1 bone needle used for manifacturing strap bags, Chiwaro; Fig. 2 skeleton frame for a Chiwaro dwelling (the semicircular projection in the rear omitted); Fig. 3 trap with pull action, Kandoochi; Fig. 4 Chiwaro bed; Fig. 5 trap with spring action, Chiwaro-Aguarune; Fig. 6 trap with pull action used by the Kichoe; Fig. 7 skeleton structure of Kichoe dwelling.

Caption of Plate 61

Seantechume, an Aguarune. The frame is made of the decorated shafts of four spears.

Caption of Plate 62

A kandoochi (Murato).

Caption of Plate 63

Mummified Sloth Heads, Chiwaro.

Captions of Plate 64 [346]

Tattooings
Figs. 1, 5 and 6: Agoreona men

Caption of Plate 65

Pile-building, used to look out for enemies, Chiwaro (upper left); Chiwaro-Aguaruna with spear (upper right); below: Chiwaro group.

Caption of Plate 66

Chiwaros in front of their house along the Morona River.

Color Plate VII, Caption Translation

Drinking bowl of the Chiwaros (above).
Drinking bowl of the Monitschi (center) and bowl of the Kokama (below).

Caption of Plate 68

Upper left: carrying baskets; lower left: storage basket with cover; next to it a basket to store fish and a double-skin drum; right: bag with strap; above: unfinished plaited bag; below: fur bags with straps.

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 126

Cartograms
Material Culture

1. Clothing for Men and Women
2. Ear Ornaments and Head-Presses
3. Ornaments for the Column of the Nose and Tattooing
4. Ornaments for the Sides of the Nose and Tooth-Filing
5. Ornaments for the Lips and Combs
6. Structure of Houses (Main Portion)
7. Walls and Projecting Wings of Dwellings.
8. Huts and Chicken Coops.
9. Sleeping Accomodations
10. Seating Accomodations and Brooms
11. Firefans and Saucers for Pots
12. Domestic Animals
13. Fishing Utensils
14. Weapons for Fishing
15. Blowgun, Quiver, Traps

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-2
116, 126

16. The most important edible Plants and their Cultivation (Manihot, Indian Corn, Groundnuts)
17. Sugarcane, Sugarcane Beverages, Tobacco and Kurupa.
18. Kaapi Beverage, Koka, and Guayusa.
19. Salt, Chopping Instruments, and Cornflakes Preparation.
20. Spoons, Drinking and Eating Utensils
21. Preparation and Use of Strings, Bags. Preparation of Fire.
22. Sex of the Spinners. Spinning Products. Shape of Spindle and Loom.
23. Weapons of War
24. Signal Drums, Double-Skin Drum, Rattles
25. Musical Bows, End-blown and Side-blown Flutes, Reed Instrument.

[830] Religious Beliefs

26. Belief in God; Activities of the Soul; Sacrifices to the Soul.
27. Residence and Manifestations of the Soul
28. Types of Sorcerers, Modes of Sorcery (if different, only of black magic). Cause of Death.
29. Weapons of the Evil Sorcerer.
30. The Victim of the Evil Sorcerer. Possibilities of Cures.
31. Magic Apprenticeship. Where does the Magic Power (the Weapons) of the Evil Sorcerer Go When he Dies? What Happens to the Missile When the Victim Dies.

28: Tessman--829-830 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-3
116, 126

Transformation of the Evil Sorcerer.
32. Circumcision. Menstruation Customs. Cultic Rites. Masks.

Social Culture

33. Sexual Intercourse Between Men Prior to Marriage and Genuine Homosexuals.
34. Premarital Sex Relations. Engagement. Age of the Woman at the Time of Marriage.
35. Who Follows the Marital Partner--the Husband or the Wife? Adultery. Number of Wives.
36. Place of Childbirth. Position of the Woman in Labor-Pains. Behavior of the Father after the Birth. Abstention from Intercourse after the Birth.
37. Burial. Treatment of the Corpse.

Language Families, Cultural Families

38. Distribution of Language Families.
39. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Old Curture Family.
40. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Amazonian Cultural Family (Main Group).
41. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the West-Amazonian and the Ucayalian Cultural Groups.
42. Distribution of the Cultural Elements of the Cultural Families of the Sub-Andes and of the North.

Once precautions were taken not to offend their sensibilities, we prepared our apparatus certain of being able to gather the documentation of their characteristic and barbarous custom, the fiesta of the "tchantcha."

We were not wrong, for around the Jíbaro cabin which we reached after a fatiguing march, this fiesta, which many of the Jíbaros still practice, was in progress. As soon as the designated victim falls under the thrust of his lance, the Jíbaro cuts off the head which for him represents his most precious trophy and carries it to his house on the point of his lance.

From this moment preparations for the fiesta of the "tchantcha" begin. In the meantime the women make plans for providing a great quantity of smoked flesh of pigs, chickens, turkeys and fish, as well as chicha which is their predilect drink and which is prepared exclusively by the women; they masticate the root of the manioc and then spit it into clay vessels, leaving it to ferment several days until it is converted into a delicious drink which is very alcoholic and nutritive.

The expedition witnessed the fiesta as a privilege, for no stranger has ever been admitted to it. It was viewed from a height and the filming apparatus was disguised so that the savages would not suspect the true object of our presence. And so we were present at the fanatic exaltation of the hero, who, seated in the middle of a circle formed by relatives and friends, has in his hand the "tchantcha" and the homicidal lance. Children are excluded from this circle, but the women take part.

After the witch in ceremonial dress has purified the soul of the killer by his exorcisms [22] the orgy commences. It lasts several days and at times for weeks until the provisions prepared for the fiesta are gone.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Photograph 1 [16] A Salesian "Pioneer". The father Albino del Custo who has lived for 40 years in the forest, and who has completed admirable works such as a road 170 km long which he has opened and kept free from the constant advance of the forest through his energy.

Photograph 2 [17] The labyrinth of the virgin forest. The expeditionaries had to open a route with great difficulty through the great extentions of virgin or almost unexplored forest, where dangers represented above all by reptiles abounded.

Photograph 3 [17] The work of the missionaries. La Obra de Don Bosco maintains a series of missions in the interior of Ecuador which are fulfilling a great work of civilization. Here is the father Giovanni Giannassi who has worked for 18 yrs on a grammar of the Jíbaro language.

Photograph 4 [18] Wives of Jíbaro savages. They live near the Lupano River. This tribe is cannibal, but they only eat the flesh of Indians of other races.

Photograph 5 [18] All good friends. The author and his companions, Michele Car, Francesco Bornengo and Luigi Bosio; the first of these lost his way for a while and after a long search the others found him in the cabin in which they were photographed with their new friends the Jíbaros.

Photograph 6 [19] Bridge in the heart of the forest. It was extended across the Negro River through the great efforts and sacrifices of the Salesian missionaries; it is very beautiful and safe in spite of its rusticity.

Photograph 7 [20] A little Indian sultan. A savage of the Napocón River with his three wives who seem to live happily, sharing the task of serving their husband and master who does not trouble himself for anything except hunting and warfare.

Photograph [21] 8 Jíbaro woman. Her face is tattooed with a series of signs destined to conjure the evil spirits without fail; this happens to a great extent among the American tribes.

Photograph [21] 9 Typical representative. The Jíbaros are physically agreeable with well-proportioned figure and regular features. Sympathetic in their manner, they are characterized by an extreme love of independence.

Photograph [22] 10 Two examples of "Tchantchas." The Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales preserved these two examples of human heads reduced to a tenth of their regular size without injury to the regularity and fidelity of the features.

1: Karsten--15 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 127 (1928-29)

"Since this work is wholly founded on my own investigations and personal observations of Indian life, I very seldom refer to the writings of other travellers, and only in exceptional cases shall I correct such mistakes as I have found in the litterature on the Jibaros.

A considerable part of my results have been previously published in the following essays and works: --'Mitos de los indios Jibaros (Shuāra) del Oriente del Ecuador', in Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Historicos Americanos, No: 6. Quito-Ecuador, 1919; Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora, I:3. Abo, 1920; Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der südamerikanischen Indianer (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora, I:4). Abo 1920; 'The Religion of the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador', in Boletin de la Academia Nacional de Historia, Vol. iv., Nos. 10 and 11. Quito-Ecuador, 1922; La lengua de los indios Jibaros (Shuāra) del Oriente del Ecuador (Oversikt av Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar. Bd. LXIV. 1921-1922); Blood-Revenge, War, and Victory-Feasts among the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador. Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 79. Washington, 1923. The Civilization of the South American Indians. (London, Kegan Paul, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926); Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians (Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum. III, 2, 1930)."

2: Stirling--IX [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 127

The chief value of the present work is the assembling and presentation for the first time in English of most of the known early source material. This, together with the illustrations, constitutes the principal justification for the publication of the present volume. The translations are the work of Marion Stirling. They have been made as literal as possible in order to preserve the style of the original writers, which in many cases is cumbersome and involved. Frequently entire accounts are written without punctuation. When it has seemed necessary a certain amount of punctuation has been supplied for the sake of clarity.

The collection of source material has been greatly facilitated by the nineteenth century researches of such scholars as Jiménez de la Espada, Gonzáles Suárez, Francisco Maria Compte, Fernando de Montesinos, and Luis Torres de Mendoza."

2: Stirling--IX[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 127

"Among modern ethnographers the works of Rivet and Karsten are outstanding. The latter has recently compiled in a single volume the bulk of the material contained in his previous scattered publications in various languages.(1) Rivet's report (2) suffers from the fact that he did not have the opportunity of doing field work among the Jivaro and as a result could not check the errors of his authorities. It seems to the writer that Karsten's report loses some of its value through the application of too much anthropological theory in such fashion that it is often difficult to detect which information has been obtained directly from the Indians and which is a result of the author's interpretations."

"1. Karsten, 1935
2. Rivet, 1907."

Jivaro Souls

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THE Jivaro proper (*aushiri tsaro*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Sepa; the Río Chiguaza; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UtiII Akaïu*, *KugutI*, and *Uata Akaïu* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Matu* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintai* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HwayA*, *Tugi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 210-212 -- analyst]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsarutama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Piribri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Piribri." Actually, *pirtpirt* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nungui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nĕkás wakanI and thus, since he uses the term wakanI alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanI.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jívaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jívaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[18] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jívaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*akutan*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jívaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jívaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jívaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jívaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jívaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*achuara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jívaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jívaro proper. The other Jívaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achúal), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ć Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *h* (palatized when following é or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following é or i plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish *ñ* when i is adjacent)

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ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ê*; palatized when following *ê* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
ʃ English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *e* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph. 121

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 194 [194]

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [176]

[7] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. [187]

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. [178]

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *awsag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [126]

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 126

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. [182]

[12] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muisha*. 114

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [115]

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 115 114

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens. 115 [241]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[17] Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

[18] Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larson and David Beasley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Huambisa beliefs, respectively. I briefly interviewed several Huambisa and Aguaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Varinacocha, eastern Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara informant on the same subject in 1957 near the Río Cangusni, eastern Ecuador.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguasa region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*ačuarā šuarā*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguasa and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsunu šuarā*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[36]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri šuarā* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

[114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jívaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jívaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women, the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; at other times houses often have no walls at all. The [171] permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jívaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were among the Achuara.

[127] 13. Ceza de León, 1943, pp. 295–96; González Suárez, 1890, p. 54. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jivaroan groups other than the Jívaro proper (*untsuri šuara*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 174–77.

[231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jívaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jívaro is first definitely reported in 1683 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual introduction by a century or longer.

[135] 16. Velasco, 1842, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1842, p. 153; and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1842, pp. 153–57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 105–7; 203; 209–10; 286–288; and in Velasco, 1842, pp. 158–60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 43–44.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrueco, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jívaro; Compte, 1885, p. 56; Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 366, 420–21.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jívaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 329).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

31: Danielsson--90 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 128, 571

"In Table II we find an index of interaction for all the three geographical groups taken separately. The following formula was used:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

Table II
Interaction for Each Geographical Group

Geographical group	Possible choices	Made choices	Percentage
Patuca	462	348	75.32%
Yurupaza	380	312	79.61%
Yaupi	506	190	37.54%

The low figure for the Yaupi group is explained by the fact that it is broken up into two parts (see Charts VI and VII), each one with an interaction index over 75% (families I-III: 76.20% and families IV-VI: 78.33%). Compared with the Vermont study (5) interaction within each geographical group is very high. In the Vermont study interaction was never higher than 56%, and in the studies made in our civilized societies the figure is usually below 30%."

"5. Lundberg, George A.: 'Attraction Patterns in a Village', Sociometry, no. 3-4, 1938."

31: Danielsson--90-91 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 128, 571

"The cohesion within each group is shown in Table III. It is strikingly high. In all the geographical groups some few individuals have a central position chosen by the majority. Few or no choices are made by individuals from outside their own geographical group and few choices go to outsiders. The centripetal tendency is pronounced. The cohesion is computed by the following formula:

$$\frac{\frac{\frac{Ca + Ci}{I}}{Co}}{0} + \frac{O(Ca + Ci)}{ICo}$$

[91]

where the letters indicate:

I = Number of individuals in in-group
0 = Number of individuals in out-group who receive choices from the in-group
Ci = Number of choices coming in
Co = Number of choices going out
Ca = Number of choices among the members of the in-group"

31- Danielsson--91 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 128, 571, 621

" TABLE III
Cohesion Within Each Geographical Group

Group	Choices per capita per members of in-group
Patuca	21.00
Yurupaza	9.50
Yaupi	10.66

This centripetal tendency is graphically demonstrated in the Charts II, IV and VI. If we for instance take Chart VI, the I (the number of individuals in the in-group) is 3 (IIa, VI6D, and V123D), 0=16, * Ci=26, Co=16, and Ca=6. The result according to the formula:

$$\frac{16(6+26)}{3 \times 16} = \frac{512}{48} = 10.67 \text{"}$$

* Not indicated on the graph.

Jivaro Souls

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10 [18] THE Jivaro proper (*aucuri tsaraci*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in 121 [183] the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been 194 discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls [96] which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs, with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

● 128 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset 127 it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio [133] Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sepa; the Rio [103] Chiguaso; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusuimi; the Rio [31] Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MakaimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *Utitl* 115 *Akaru*, *Kugutl*, and *Uata Akaru* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Matu* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hintal* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuagA*, *Tupi*, and *Naita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

7/A [For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 270-272 --Cinalysis]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding. 124 [167] 173 [411] [518]

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here. 128

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society. 105

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (*nuyai*) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs 183 182 [128]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunul, witchcraft,
182 or kinship.
128

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaroto be
774 the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekas* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[8]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul.
[196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl
[787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only an existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has
[154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be
[761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is
[164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession
[152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is for-
[154] tunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con-
[761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain
[562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that
[628] intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac-
[852] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred
[788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander
[778] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil-
[785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco
[876] water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

774 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid-
787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind telling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32 Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *arúta* or *arútam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ẽ*; palatized when following *ẽ* or i plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
ʃ English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ẽ* or i plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization. 121

[2] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[3] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[4] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[5] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 174 [194]

[6] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[7] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [176]

[8] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. [180]

[9] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. [178]

[10] There is also a rare super arutam, *amasag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [126]

[11] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 126

[12] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. 174 [191] [192]

[13] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muisha*. 174

[14] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [195]

[15] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 174 175 174

[16] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens. 175 [241]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 sisting that they had never heard of such a thing. Incidentally, I
121 never learned with which group he worked—a fact which he appeared to keep secret. I assumed that either the Indians with whom he worked had different concepts, or that he possibly supplied interpretations of his own.

It does not seem probable to me that basic changes in fundamental beliefs could take place in 30 years, so I am inclined to agree with you that the errors in my account were the result of wrong interpretation.

121 Since the purpose of the present book is to provide a broad
128 introduction to Jívaro culture rather than a detailed comparison with earlier publications, the reader will not find specific criticisms of Karsten's and Stirling's data in the following pages. These will be gradually provided in more specialized publications, which will also have the function of focusing on particular aspects of Jívaro life in greater detail. To the specialist who reads this work, however, I wish to say that statements that he finds here implicitly contradicting those of the two other authors may be taken, in fact, as explicit corrections of their accounts. A contradictory account here does not imply ignorance of their material.

Beyond this, of course, is the question of cultural change.
[115] First of all, I wish to note that several of my most important elderly informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in 1916–18 and did not come into substantial first-hand contact with whites until fifteen to
[114] twenty years later. The fieldwork by Stirling occurred later, in 1930–31, but as Stirling himself noted above, the basic source of difference with my own material was probably his interpreter. In addition, I made a special effort to secure field data that would reveal those aspects of Jívaro culture that had changed or remained stable during this century, and the final chapter of the book is devoted to that subject.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarä*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*šuarä*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apačī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri šuarä*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*ačuarä šuarä*) to the east. An alternative term, *muraiya šuarä* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsumu šuarä*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas šuarä*" or "*yukina šuarä*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call
• 128 them the "*patuka širaŋ*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguasa region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*ačuarä šuarä*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguasa and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsumu šuarä*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[38]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri šuarä* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nuŋuí and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128] •
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter 1

THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

175
181
648

I say truly to Your Highnesses that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.

Captain Hernando de Benavente —on the Jívaro in a letter to the Royal Audiencia *of Spain, March 25, 1550*[1]

101
13

Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untsuri šuarā*, the Jívaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *ačuarā šuarā* and the *tsumu šuarā*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful
101 conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

1: Karsten--27 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
131 (1928-29)

"There are some Jibaro communities on the left bank of the Pastaza, but the majority of the Jibaro tribes inhabit the great forests between the said river and its western tributary Morona as well as the regions between the latter river and the Santiago."

2: Stirling--1 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 131

"The territory of the Jivaros can be encompassed between latitudes 2° S. and 5° S., and longitudes 76° and 79°. Topographically this includes part of the headwaters of the Tigre, the lower headwaters of the Pastaza, the Morona excepting for its lower reaches, all of the drainage of the Santiago, including the Upano, the Paute and the Zamora, and the lower reaches of the Alto Marañon from the Nieve River to and including the Apaga."

3: Simson --385 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 197

"The Jívaros speak a language of their own, Jívaro, and occupy the country generally from the Upper Pastassa to the Santiago, both rivers included, down to the Pongo de Mauseriche, on the Marañon. Most of those, however, at Pintuc understand and speak Quíchua."

3: Simson--389-390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 144, 197

"Canelos, the once attractive Spanish settlement, but now forlorn Indian village is situated on the left* bank of the Bobonaza, one of the most important, if not the largest, of the tributaries of the Upper Pastassa, and is inhabited by a mixed tribe of Indians, in whom the chief element is Jívaro; though [390] some of the better traits of these seem to be wanting in them. Their language is Quichua."

"* Professor Orton in 'The Andes and the Amazon,' says on the right, but he never went there."

10: Anthony--147 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 131

"In southern Ecuador the Andes form a broad strip, running north and south, made up of numerous short ranges which extend in all directions and make it exceedingly difficult for the traveler to discern any definite system of main mountain ranges. When the easternmost edge of this strip is reached, however, a lofty barrier of high, wind-swept peaks marks the beginning of Amazonian drainage, and the region eastward from their Atlantic-facing slopes is known as the 'Oriente.' It is in the 'Oriente' that the tribe of the Jivaros make their home."

12: Rivet--337 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 131

The Jíbaro country should be considered exclusively as the more or less triangular-shaped region bounded on the west by the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes, on the north-east and east by the great Pastaza River from the point where it crosses the Cordillera to its confluence with the Marañon, on the south by the Marañon itself, from the mouth of the Pastaza to that of the Santiago, and then by the chain of mountains which runs west to east between the valleys of the Santiago and the Chinchipe, called the Cordillera of the Condor (see the map).

This vast territory corresponds, in going from the north to the south, to the following provinces of Ecuador in the inter-Andean valley: the province of Tunguragua, capital: Ambato; the province of Cañar, capital: Azogues; the province of Azuay, capital: Cuenca; the province of Loja, capital: Loja.

Needless to say, the boundaries that I have indicated are not absolute. The Pastaza river to the north-east is naturally not an insurmountable barrier for the tribes who wander on its right bank, likewise to the south, the Amazon and the Cordillera of the Condor can not keep out the incursions of the savages living on the right bank of the Marañon River or in the basin of the Chinchipe River. Certain tribes have even established themselves in a definite manner to the south of the Amazon.

I have tried, by making use of all the documents that I have been able to procure, to determine approximately the geographic location of a certain number of tribes. I do not think that this determination is complete or definitive. In fact, such work will be possible only when all those vast territories have been explored; at the present, except for the rivers which can easily be navigated in canoes and the course of which is known well enough, the Jibaro country is still very little known. To get an idea of the uncertainty of our information, it suffices to compare the two most recent and most complete maps of these regions: those of Wolf and of Vacas Galindo (see note 1, page 338 - page 7, note 1, of my typewritten copy). Into the areas found between the navigable streams the white man struck out against almost unsurmountable obstacles: the absolute absence of roads, the difficulty of transporting supplies, which must be done on human backs, the rarity of inhabited places and the difficulty of revictualling, the hostility of the savages, the continual rains, the insalubrity of a warm and humid climate, the frequency of torrents which must be forded or swum, the bites of mosquitoes, all contribute to discourage the explorer. Hardy rubber-hunters venture alone into the virgin forest, spurred by the certainty of considerable profit, or perhaps rare missionaries still animated by a sincere need for apostleship. [351]

The few villages where the Whites have tried to settle are: Canelos, Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora. Each of these communicates with the inter-Andean region. The Canelos road crosses the Eastern Cordillera by the gap that the Pastaza River opens

there at the north foot of the Tunguragua volcano. From Baños to Canelos, one must count on eight days of travel, six of which have to be made on foot (1).

1. Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 161.

12: Rivet--351 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 131

Macas is reached by a road which runs from Riobamba to Hatillo (2 days on horseback), to Suña (1 day on horseback), to Chanala, Paira and Guilca (about 5 days on foot) (1).

From Cuenca to Gualaquiza, by the village of Sigsig, la Portada and Chiguinda, four days are enough for the journey when the season permits making the stages by horseback (2).

Finally, from Loja to Zamora, only two days on foot are necessary.

Direct communication between these diverse villages is very difficult. From Canelos to Macas by the montaña, that is to say the virgin forest, ten days are necessary, and from Gualaquiza to Zamora one ought to count on about five or six days of travelling.

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1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas del Oriente, 2nd edition, Quito, 1890. First map.
2. Luis Cordero. Una excursión a Gualaquiza. Cuenca. August 4, 1875.

12: Rivet--351 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 131

Canelos is a little village, which in 1890 had a population of about 800 people. It is situated on the left bank of the Bobonaza, a left-hand tributary of the Pastaza, 145 kilometers as the crow flies from this confluence. Downstream from Canelos, a day's trip by river, one encounters the small inhabited center of Pacayacu (85 inhabitants); two days from Pacayacu, Sarayacu (1) (460 inhabitants), and finally two days by canoe from Sarayacu, the village of Juanjiri, almost uninhabited, as is Andoas, a former settlement found at the juncture of the Pastaza and Bobonaza (2). I have not been able to procure either the mean temperature nor the altitude of Canelos, but the German explorers, Reiss and Stübel, found at the juncture of the Pintuc river and of the Pastaza, 20 or 25 kilometers SW. of Canelos, a mean temperature of 20°4 and an altitude of 981 meters(3).

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1. This Sarayacu should not be confused with another village of the same name situated on the Ucayali. See Castelnau. Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, vol. IV. Histoire du Voyage, Paris 1851, in-8°, page 371.
2. Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas, op. cit. Maps 4 and 7.
3. Teodoro Wolf. Geografía y Geología del Ecuador. Leipzig, 1892, page 651.

25: Vigna--35 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 131

The "Shuaras or Jíbaros" occupy the eastern zone of Ecuador, which lies between the Pastaza River to the north, Morona to the east, Marañón to the south, and Andean cordillera to the west. This region is comprised exclusively of virgin forests and geographically is located between the meridians: 77 and 78.5; and the parallels: 2 and 4.5 Greenwich.

In area, this zone is approximately some thirty thousand square kilometers. (Exact measurements cannot be given, for up to this date no one has dared to measure the Amazonian forests and current aerophotometric studies have not yet provided us with authentic figures.)

26: Brüning--46 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 131, 166

The Indians are inhabitants of a region which extends along the upper course of the Marañón River, from Yusamaro downward to Puerto Meléndez at the Pongo de Manseriche. They live in this region in small and widely dispersed settlements close to the banks of the River. I have been informed that their chief settlements are located farther up along the tributary rivers. Beyond Yusamaro no Indians are said to remain anymore, yet formerly their settlements are said to have extended to the Pongo Rentema. They had moved down to the Marañón River on account of the quarrels they had with the whites or, rather, the mestizos. Their settlements can not be called permanent anyway. Despite the fact that the Indians live at one place for a long time, and in relatively permanent dwellings at that, they are said to leave their settlements frequently for no special reason in order to reestablish themselves again at some distance from the former settlement.

"The Chiwaros are divided into several sub-tribes, three of which are important: the Chiwaro-Aguarunas, the Chiwaro-Makas, and the Chiwaro-Atschual. The fourth division, the Chiwaro-Uambisa, is smaller; it may be a tribe mixed of Aguaruna and Makas Indians.

The Aguarunas live farthest to the south, in general along the right bank of the Marañon in the large bend which this river makes when it leaves the Cordillera. My information concerning the Chiwaros are based, if not indicated otherwise, on the Aguaruna tribe which I have studied. The Chiwaros show an inclination toward group formations. There could be mentioned, for instance, the Nantipa (or Antipa) along the left bank of the Marañon, but this is nothing but a special group which, due to continuous warlike entanglements, separated from the main group under the leadership of a chieftain (nantipa).

Along the middle course of the Santiago live the Uambisa (also Bambisa, Guambisa, Huambiza); along the upper Santiago and probably also along the Morona River there are the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, who are probably the nucleus of the tribe and the original bearers of the name Chiwaro. Along the upper Morona a part has separated from the main group, but this part does not deserve the designation of sub tribe, etc.
The Aguarunas call the Uambisas uampís or šiwá, while the Chiwaro-Makas Indians are called uákis by the Aguarunas.

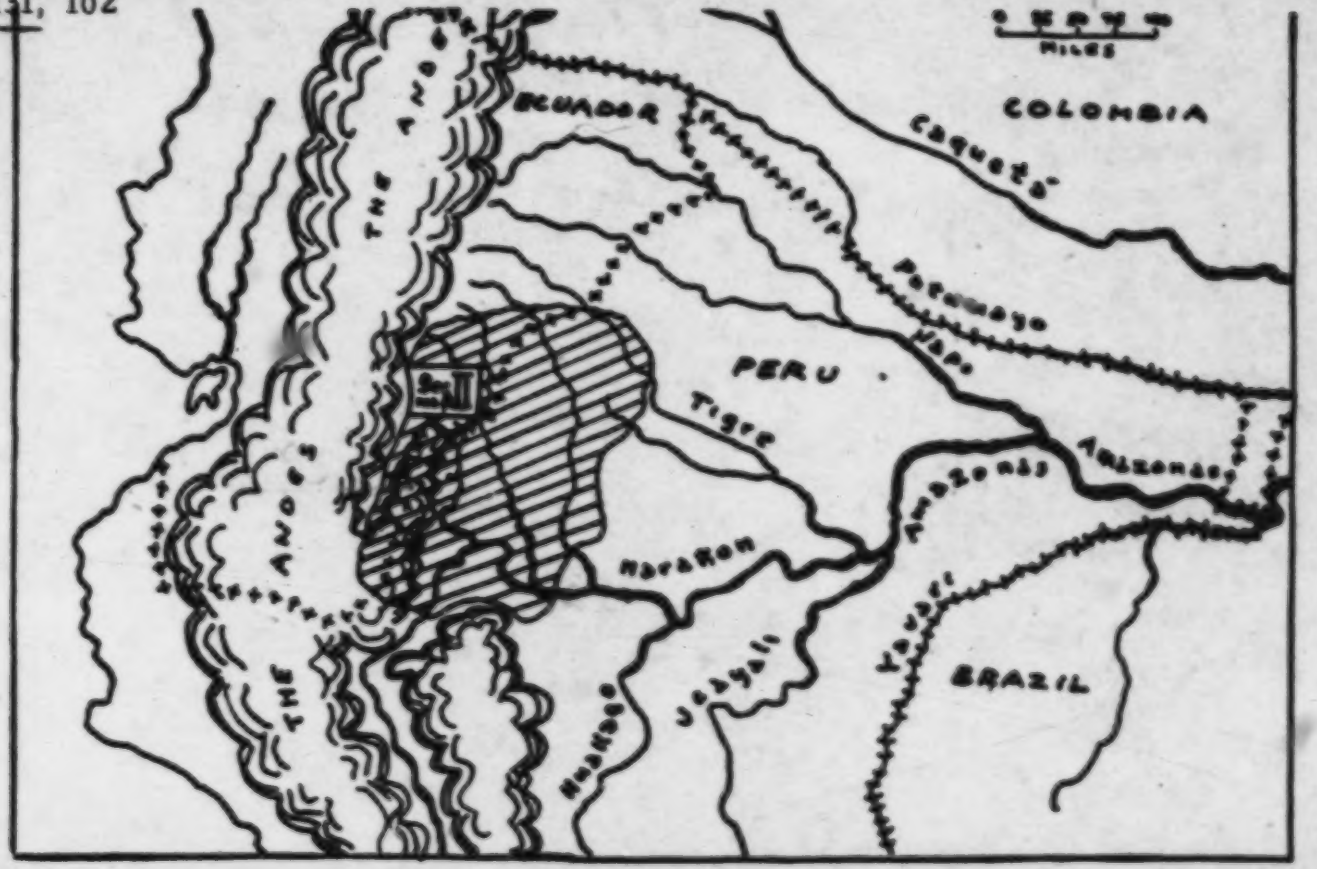
28: Tessman--342 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-2
116, 101, 131

The third large sub-tribe is that of the Atschual (or Achuaros, Aisuari); they live chiefly along the right bank of the middle Pastaza, especially along its tributary Huasaga. They call the Chiwaro-Makas Indians šuer and the Uambisa and Aguaruna Indians patukma."

31: Danielsson--84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 131, 181

"The location of the Jibaro Indians is shown on Map I. This region is mostly a plain land with dense tropical jungle and many rivers and streamlets. Some mountain offshoots from the Andes, however, are to be found in the western parts. The communications are difficult, and natural barriers divide the territory. The total number of the population is unknown, but a guess of something around 10,000 seems justified. The Jibaros are one of the few tribes in Western Amazonas that has managed to maintain their political and cultural independence. White settlements exist only along the fringe of the Jibaro country and in the form of some isolated garrisons on the Morona and Santiago rivers. On the whole the Jibaros have successfully resisted all civilizing impact."

31; Danielsson--85 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 131, 102



MAP I

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro Souls

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THE Jívaro proper (*aushuri Iuara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jívaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jívaro behavior.[3]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956–57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jívaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jívaro proper.[5]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jívaro: the Río Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Sepa; the Río Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jívaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UtiII Ahalu*, *KugaII*, and *Unia Ahalu* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Malu* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintal* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HwoyA*, *Tupi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp. 270-272 --Analyst]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*šuarā*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apačī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri šuarā*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*ačuarā šuarā*) to the east. An alternative term, *mnaaiya šuarā* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsumu šuarā*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas šuarā*" or "*yukina šuarā*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call
128 them the "*patuka širaŋ*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

• 131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguasa region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

173 The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
648 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
177
439 In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri šuarā*] lived near the
[131] Río Paute. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *šuarā*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have
[412] pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of
[411] the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs
[231] to Macas. The two *šuarā* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy
[412] with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

533
539

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
• 131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
194 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *niawá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

1: Karsten--39 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
132 (1928-29)

"At Canelos, which is situated at a height of about 800 m. above sea-level, the temperature is quite tolerable, but from Sarayacu downwards the heat increases daily, becoming at last extremely trying for one travelling by canoe."

"The Amazon basin's situation in the center of the torrid zone, together with its low altitude and the orientation of the continental ranges, permitting the direct influx of the Atlantic trade winds, gives it a clearly equatorial climate of the continental type. According to the classification of Emmanuel de Martonne, equatorial climates should have, in general, a mean temperature of 25° [GCB: Centigrade], a relative humidity of 80 excepting in the dry period, uninterrupted heat, frequent storms, and an annual precipitation of more than 1,500 millimeters, but in continental [GCB: regions], naturally [70] some of these characteristics vary a little. Thus, the humidity is less, while the temperature, on the other hand, is higher and the rain does not fall as regularly.

However, the Ecuadorian Oriente cannot be regarded as having a complete [GCB: climatic] uniformity, since the slopes of the Andes and the plains proper differ, on the one hand, in relief, and on the other, in the greater nearness of the former to the cordillera, where the trade winds release a great part of the moisture which they have collected [GCB: in their course] from East-Southeast to West-Northwest. These factors have resulted in the establishing of two zones with well marked climatic differences: that of the Andean slopes and that of the plain near the Amazon.

(a) The Andean Slopes: In this sector, the altitude, which often exceeds 400 meters, causes a decrease in temperature, as we have seen, thanks to the data, even though meager, furnished by the bulletin of the Astronomical Observatory [71] of Quito. But

on the other hand, because of the fact that this region adjoins the wall of the Andes, against which are condensed immense masses of water vapor gathered up by the trade winds from the Atlantic, the humidity is considerably increased, in comparison with the amount released over the plains proper. Not very far from the Andean cordillera is the belt of maximum rainfall. In this belt are points where the rain gauge might measure more than 5,000 millimeters annually, according to J. Colony and Joseph Sinclair. For this reason, the area might well be classed among those of the super-humid type.

Here [GCB: climatic] conditions are defined, then, only by the scale of the rain gauge. There is a summer and a winter--less rain in the first case and a maximum in the second. These conditions, which are directly inverse to those on the Pacific coast, coincide with the astronomic conditions of the Southern Hemisphere. The [72] winter season lasts from March to October, becoming intense in June and July; the rest of the year is summer. The rains are true deluges which leave great areas flooded, and swell even the smallest streams to fantastic heights. The following numerical data confirm this assertion:

'In all sections on the slopes of the Cordillera Oriental, precipitation is very considerable. We do not know at what average altitude on the slope of the Cordillera the precipitation is greatest. In Mera during the first five years [GCB: of the record] the

precipitation had a total mean of 4, 555 millimeters. Durin
of 5, 530 millimeters of rain fell; in 1932 the precipitation w
1933 5, 051 millimeters. Assuming that these observations a
quantity of rainfall varies in no small proportion. The mon
variable; a dry period hardly can be distinguished; the data
similar [GCB: publications] are not confirmed by measuren
general rule the greatest precipitation is expected between t
August. In 1932 the maximum precipitation [GCB: for any c
--fell in May. Almost the same quantity--690 millimeters-
the same year]. The minimum--319 millimeters--fell in Se
imum--609 millimeters--fell in July; the minimum --242 m

In the same settlement of Mera, in 1927, 4, 869 millimete
days. In Tena [GCB: another settlement] the totals for eigh
4, 885 millimeters in 1929; 4, 475 in 1930; 3, 466 in 1931; 3, 23

"1. 'Contribuciones al conocimiento de la Vegetacion y de
Ludwig Diels. Translated [GCB: into Spanish] by Dr. Reina
Universidad Central, No. 304 Quito-Ecuador."

3, 327 in 1934; and 3, 828 in 1935. These totals average 3, 902 millimeters for the eight years. In [GCB: the settlement of] el Puyo, an average of 3, 945 millimeters fell during the period from 1915 to 1928, according to data taken by [74] Nicolas Martinez. In La Victoria, on the slopes of el Abitagua, near the Topo river, at an elevation of 1, 240 meters, the [GCB: average] rainfall was 2, 863 millimeters. From other points in the Oriente we do not have complete annual figures; but to give a rough idea of the amount of difference between some months and others, we have compiled the charts, however incomplete, which are presented below.

The winds which control and cause these rains are the trade winds. The wall of the Cordillera Oriental impedes their passage, except in small sectors of the mountain basins whose valleys face toward the Oriente. For this reason the trade winds are not found either in the mountains or along the coast. Sometimes these winds are changed into hurricanes, leaving swaths through the midst of the forest which mark the direction they have followed.

With this respect to temperatures on these slopes or outliers, they [75] generally do not exceed 25 degrees [GCB: Centigrade], nor do the variations, whether daily or monthly, undergo too sudden changes. Summing up his observations at the Hacienda Río Negro at an elevation of 1, 250 meters above sea level on a terrace of the Pastaza river, Ludwig Diels writes in the above mentioned work:

5: Reyes and Teran--69-92 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-5
116, 132

'During my stay, I noticed that [GCB: the temperatures] each day followed a similar course. Toward 7 [GCB: a. m.] the temperature reached 16-17 degrees [Centigrade]; after mid-day, between 13 and 15 o'clock [GCB: 1 and 3 p. m.] it reaches 23 to 27 degrees; at night, at 19 o'clock [GCB: 7 p. m.] 20-23 degrees. During the morning there was generally heavy evaporation [GCB: mist?] which was dissipated about 10 a. m.; it then cleared up, and the sun would appear toward noon; in the afternoon it would regularly become cloudy; toward 5 to 6 p. m. it ordinarily began raining, sometimes in the form of a storm which increased in intensity up to 7 and 8 p. m., diminishing slowly and generally lasting until sunrise.'

According to the information of travelers, this course of [GCB: the day's time] is characteristic of the eastern slopes. More precise measurements are available only from Tena, situated 8 kilometers to the east of Topo, at an elevation of 1,100 meters. They pertain to several years (1922-26 and 1932-33).

The temperatures found on the Upper Pastaza are about equal [GCB: to those of Tena] in their distribution. The difference between the highest and the lowest monthly temperature is, in Baños, 1.8 to 2.6 or degrees; in Mera, 1.5 to 2.1 degrees; perhaps in el Topo it may be even somewhat less. The general characteristics of the course of the temperatures are illustrated by the values for Mera, at an elevation of 1,100 meters,

in 1933.

In Tena, at an elevation of 512 meters, the hot month of the year has a mean average temperature of from 24.1 to 25.8 degrees [GCB: Centigrade.] The coolest month has temperatures which average 2.1 to 3.7 degrees lower. The coolest time of the year falls between June and July. [87] [Intervening pages are charts.]

Complete data are lacking even for one year, and with greater reason, for cycles of greater magnitude, so that it is risky to formulate general conclusions. However, by means of the above figures it may be seen that the months of high temperature coincide with those of the eastern summer, culminating in December. In the same way, the months of least temperature coincide with those of the winter in the same hemisphere, reaching major emphasis in June and July. The rains, on the other hand, become increasingly heavy following the March equinox, and attain their maximum in May and June, although their cycle is less regular than the thermal one.

(b) Amazon Plain If the climatic data of the zone we have called that of the Andean slopes are thus so meager, we may well understand the situation in this other region, whose domination by man has not yet even begun. Suffice it to say that [88] Rocafuerte, at the confluence of the Aguarico river with the Napo, still lacks a small meteorological station. Located at an elevation of 180 meters, Rocafuerte is today the most remote military base of Ecuador in its campaign to dominate the inhospitable forest.

The data referring to Iquitos, on the left bank of the Amazon, at an elevation of 80 meters above sea level, were collected by Wilhelm Sievers and may serve as a means of estimating the climatic conditions of the Amazon plain proper. At 3.44 degrees, South latitude, Iquitos has an average annual temperature of 26 degrees [GCB: Centigrade], with a variation of only 1.7 degrees; in fact, November, the hottest month, does not go above an average of 26.9 degrees, and June, the coldest, does not go below 25.2 degrees. The averages of the extremes also fall within a very narrow range--32.4 and 18.4 degrees--but the winds from the South bring with them in June and July, nevertheless, a considerable cold spell which [89] constitutes what is called el inviernito [GCB: little winter] of Saint John.

According to Hann, the total annual precipitation [GCB: at Iquitos] is 2,840 meters; according to Votz, it totals 2,623, but what chiefly characterizes the rainfall is that no month passes without abundant precipitation. Even the driest months, August and July, receive more than 100 millimeters--117 and 167 respectively. As for the most humid months, March and December, the totals are 291 and 300, [GCB: respectively.] Thus there is no well defined season of rainfall, but the year has four periods of maximum precipitation: one in March, a second in December, a third, of 254 millimeters, in May, and a fourth, of 221, in September. It may be said, nevertheless, that the type of the annual rainfall is that of the eastern hemisphere, since in the months from

December to March fall 1,112 millimeters of rain, or about 42 per cent of the year's total. The winds are generally cool and from the southwest from June to [90] November, and warm and from the northwest during the rest of the year.(1)

If by means of the above data this [GCB: Amazon plain] region is compared with the former [Andean slopes] zone, the following differences are immediately apparent: in temperature, the figures for the second [GCB: or plain] region are higher than those of the first, commonly exceeding 26 degrees [Centigrade], while in rainfall just the opposite occurs. Here [GCB: in the plain] the precipitation rarely exceeds 3,000 millimeters.

To sum up several aspects of the climate of the great Amazon Basin, we cannot resist quoting the following paragraph which through its excellent metaphor brings home a profound geographic truth. 'The mist in the Llanganati is omnipresent. This is easily explained. A muddy tropical caldero [GCB: caldron or basin] with an area of about three million (?) square kilometers, like that of the Amazon, [91] which lies at the foot of the Llanganati, we can easily understand, must be incessantly evaporating millions of tons of water, resulting in the formation over itself of an enormous continent of clouds. But this 'continent' moves, advances and attacks without repose, like

"1. 'Geografía de Bolivia y Perú' por Wilhelm Sievers. Colección Labor, Número 288."

a cosmic nebula which comes to battle and destroy itself against the Andes to give birth to the immense Amazon. But above all, the cold and elevated granite masses of the Llanganati, advancing as they do toward the east, are the ultimate condensing agents which force all these dynamic masses of clouds, progressing enslaved from East-Southeast to West-Northwest in the arms of the tradewinds, to precipitate themselves in the form of torrents of water, as they erode the high Andes and level their peaks.(1)"

"1. 'Viaje a las misteriosas montañas de Llanganati' por L. Andrade Marin. Quito, 1936."

20: Dyott--181-182 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 132, 241

"At the first streak of dawn, Napi took his departure. There was no elaborate leave-taking. Conversation simply reached a crescendo, and after the climax, the final word, 'pumata' was spoken in subdued tones. With this brief farewell the visitor disappeared down the pathway and the jungle swallowed him up.

After breakfast, Johnston and myself joined the ladies on their daily excursion to the family banana patch, as there was not much chance of hunting when issues of life and death were at stake. Kuashu was the only man to accompany us, the others remaining at home engrossed in their warlike preparations.

It was a very dreary morning. Rain threatened any moment and the water-logged clouds dragged themselves wearily over the tree-tops. Within ten minutes after starting, we found ourselves on the edge of a substantial clearing, half of which was planted with yuca and banana, the remain- [182] ing portion being barren. It was not even ready for planting, as the trees had only recently been felled. Some of the clearing had received a preliminary burning off, but most of the wood was still green. Huge trunks lay prostrate on the ground, and as we clambered over them Johnston remarked that the word 'clearing' was very inappropriate for a place so littered with obstructions."

20: Dyott--186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 132

"We were about ready to start back to the house when the rain suddenly descended upon us. Without word or warning it came tumbling down vertically out of the clouds, beating on the leaves of the trees and producing a terrible racket. Our friends immediately discarded their clothes, wrapped them up carefully so as not to get wet, and with big banana leaves over their heads, to act as umbrellas, beat a hasty retreat.

Radiantly beautiful as the jungle is when bathed in sunshine, it becomes the most dismal place conceivable when rain falls. The gloom which pervaded everything seemed to penetrate even into Kuashu's house and to be cooped up in its forlorn interior the entire afternoon was rather trying."

18: Hermessen--448 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 132

"The mean temperature at Jamboé was approximately 22° C. (71.6° F.). The diurnal variation was small but sufficient to render the nights agreeably cool. The atmospheric humidity was probably high. The annual rainfall I judged, by the aspect of the vegetation and other indications, to be between 80 and 90 inches; and this was evenly distributed, there being no well-defined wet and dry seasons. "

29: Vité- -22[2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122, 132

The appearance of the equatorial rains which arrived a month earlier than expected this year, prevented us from traveling across Ecuador and Brasil to the Atlantic. We were not able to continue our task after a month's sojourn in the interior of the country, and we had to return to Guayaquil where we embarked on our return to Italy.

/327 cont./

133 to the Amazonas as the Rio Pastaza. Our route soon leaves the highland of Riobamba, formed by the masses from volcanic eruptions which fill the deep depression between the ridges of the east and west Cordillera, which were built up out of older rock. The bipartition of the Cordillera disappears almost completely. The river cuts through at Cebadas, the last village, on the dividing line between syenite and mica schist, and higher up its bed lies wholly in the latter rock. The higher we climb, the narrower and wilder the gorge becomes, cultivated fields disappear, and in their place comes the tall páramo grass, the ichu of the natives. Toward the end of the second day of travel there appear in the background of the valley high, jagged peaks whose black ridges and crests tower up out of blinding white snowfields. These are the Cerros de Zhasquin, Yanaurcu, and Púlpito, which represent here the highest elevations of the East Cordillera. Suddenly the character of the valley changes: the narrow gorge turns into a wide basin filled with swamps and lakes, surrounded on both sides by high greenstone cliffs, almost open toward the east, since an almost imperceptible rise forms the watershed between two small lakes, Cazadoracocha and Cocha redonda, the first of which, in conjunction with Colaycocha, is the source of the Rio de Jchubamba, whose valley we have followed to this point, whereas the latter drains to the east as a tributary /328/ of the Rio Upano. At the entrance to this flat highland valley, whose whole configuration reminds one of the lakes at the source of the Inn and along the Maloya Pass, there are a few wretched huts: Atillo, at an altitude of 3,452 meters, inhabited only from time to time. The lakes Colaycocha and Cazadoracocha are at about the same level, and the watershed extends only to a height of 3,548 meters, whereas the surrounding mountains tower to a

132 height of about 4,300 meters. This region is unbelievably desolate and dismal; wrapped in rain and clouds almost the whole year, only occasional stunted tree-like underbrush grows here among the large areas of grass; the trade winds blow icy cold the greater part of the year. An average annual temperature of 8.8° C. in a country located so close to the equator is evidence

/328 cont./

132 of an inhospitable climate, the unpleasantness of which is heightened even more by the abundance of moisture which, rising from the plains of the Amazonas, falls here on the high mountains. Even the Indian, who otherwise loves the high páramos, stays here only a short time. The huts of Atillo serve the inhabitants of the small village of Suñag, located on the downward slope toward Mácas as a sort of temporary shelter on their journeys to maintain the mission's contacts with the capital, Riobamba.

132 136 The Ecuadorian speaks of Atillo, of Colaycocha, and of the pass to Mácas only with a mysterious horror; poisonous vapors are said to rise from the small lakes, so that every bird flying over them falls dead. The dead birds are said to be found by the thousands on the shores of the lakes, especially of Cazadoracocha, which for this reason has retained the name of Hunter's Lake. Armed with baskets and sacks, the Indians go out to collect the fallen animals in order to sell them in the neighboring cities. This is one of those mysterious tales which, like the marvelous story of the fish spewed out of the volcanoes, can be traced to poorly observed facts, distorted by exaggeration and misunderstanding. That is, in Ecuador, as in almost all of South America, there is a number of snipe, ibis, and heron-like migratory birds which leave the hot country with the onset of good weather in order to seek their nourishment in the highland. With the onset of bad weather they then return again to the hot country. These birds appear in masses in May or early June and stay until September. The animals seek the lowest passes to cross the Cordillera. Thus they follow the course of the Rio Cebadas in order to cross the watershed, lying between high mountains, toward the east near Colay and Cazadoracocha. In September, however, the trade winds, which press through the narrow pass with terrible force, often rage with hurricane-like violence. The force of the wind, which frequently a horseman can hardly withstand, throws back the birds, rising from the protected valley floor, as soon as they reach the top of the pass. The stronger animals can force their way through, but many of the weaker and smaller cirds /329/ are overcome by

/329 cont./

132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzags along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunui and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

2: Stirling--1 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 133

"In general the country is mountainous, as it includes the lower slopes of the eastern Andes to the point where they fall away into the vast Amazonian plain. Parts of this great stretch of territory are comparatively level, particularly in the lower valley of the Sangiago. Lying as it does just below the Equator, the region is one of heavy rainfall and the entire country is cloaked with a dense tropical jungle. For the most part the climate is healthful and, considering the latitude, the temperatures are fairly cool. Travel is difficult and disagreeable during the rainy season, which extends from March until October. Travel overland is by means of rough foot trails, while the rivers, which in large part are navigable by canoes, form the principal avenues of travel. Conditions in this respect have apparently changed but little since the first of the Conquistadores set foot in Jivaro country."

5: Reyes and Teran--45-47 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133

"The surface elevation of this immense region [JKM: Ecuadorian province of Oriente] varies from about 4,000 meters--average height of the eastern cordillera of the Andes--down to about 120 or 100 meters in the region of the Amazon. The general slope indicates the direction followed by the tributaries of the great river, which is commonly from northwest to southeast.

According to almost all the geographers who have analyzed it [GCB: the Cordillera Real], the numerous outliers or branches which spread out from it, [46] act as dividing lines for the rivers which form our [GCB: Ecuadorian] principal river systems of the Oriente. Thus, the cordillera of Pisambilla divides the basins of the Coca and the Aguarico, tributaries of the Napo; just as the cordilleras of Galeras and Guacamayos divide the basins of the Coca and Napo. [GCB: In the same way] the Llanganati extend between the Napo and the Pastaza; the cordillera of Sangay between the Palora and the Upano; that of Logrono between the Upano and the Paute or Namangosa; that of Yahuarsongo between the Paute and the Zamora, and that of the Condor between the Santiago and the Chinchipe.

Between these outliers, which range in elevation from 2,000 to 3000 meters, are enclosed valleys and plains which constitute the most advantageous part of the Amazon basin. In this zone are located almost all the settlements and ranches of our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Oriente. Below these outliers, [47] begins the uniform plain which loses

itself in the Amazon, where neither the climate nor the composition of the soil permits men to settle."

5: Reyes and Teran--59-61 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133

"Basin of the Pastaza

This river forms another hydrographic basin which, with that of the Tigre, composes our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Central Oriente. The Pastaza, which collects the waters of two interandean basins--the Patate and the Chambo--opens to the east of Ambato the deepest breach in the Cordillera Oriental. This breach undoubtedly constitutes the best route to gain access to the heart of the forest and the best field of study for the geologist who desires to become acquainted with our remarkable volcanic phenomena. To the north of the Tungurahua river, the Pastaza runs between walls of modern lavas, forming narrow channels and cataracts, like the bed of the Agoyan, so that this Cyclopean sweep well deserves the name of an heroic current up to the point [60] where it reaches the plain and directs itself toward the southeast.

On its left side, the Pastaza receives the waters from the Topo river (which descends from the Llanganati), and the waters of the Puyo, Bobonaza and Pinda rivers, which have their sources in the eastern sierras of Mera. And on the right side, in return, the Pastaza receives the Lusin and Palora rivers, which descend directly from the Andes, and the Huasaga, which arises in the same forest. While the current of the Pastaza is rather fast, the river is navigable for about 430 kilometers, up to [GCB: the town of] Andaos; but steamboats can ascend only as far as Huasaga (190 kilometers). The mouth of the river is about 402 kilometers to the west of Iquitos.

5: Reyes and Teran--59-61 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-2
116, 133

The Tigre, which is also included in the Central Oriente, has its sources at some distance from the Andes, so that it may be regarded as solely a river of the plains. From its left side it receives the Pucacuro river, and from its right the Corrientes. The Tigre is at some distance from our [GCB: Ecuadorian] centers of settlement, for which reason we do not know [61] much about its geographical characteristics. Few rivers like the Tigre have a better bed for navigation; steamboats can ascend it without danger as far as Piedra, 593 kilometers from its mouth."

"The Basins of the Morona and Santiago

These two complex hydrographic basins form what we might call the Eastern Oriente, or more properly, the Oriente Azuayo, because further to the south we still have to deal with the basin of the Chinchipe, which despite its easterly position, cannot be included in this group because of special characteristics which necessitate a separate study. The Morona, navigable for about 300 kilometers, has its source at the Macuma on the heights called Cutucú which divide the waters of the Upper Pastaza and the Santiago, a few hours to the northeast of Macas. [62]

Like the Tigre, the Morona is detached from the Andes, and its character is clearly that of a plains river. From the same cordilleras of Cutucú arises the Morona's main tributary, the Mangosisa, which, united with the Miazal, forms the Unda-Mangosisa; from the confluence of this river with the Macuma, (on which is located Puerto Proano, 555 kilometers from the Amazon), is formed the real Morona, which offers easy navigation, since its course is not marked by sharp drops.

The Santiago embraces a complex hydrographic network whose remote sources are quite distant from the true Santiago, the name by which it is known only well within the forest. It is formed by the [GCB: confluence] of the Paute and Zamora rivers, which collect the waters from the interandean basins of Cuenca and Loja, which in return receive immense tributaries. The Paute, once free of the cordillera, where it is preferably known as the Namangosa, unites with the Upano, a much larger stream which

rises in the Laguna Negra, [63] on the Macas-Riobamba pass. Located at the junction of these two rivers is the flourishing settlement of Mendez.

The valley of the Upano is astonishingly fertile and holds the most important eastern settlements. The Zamora, in forming its great northern convexity as it seeks the Paute (or Namangosa) follows a general direction contrary to that of the great eastern rivers. On its left margin it receives the Yacuambi, the Bomboiza and the Gualaquiza, which carry down a good quantity of gold from the high, cold regions of Matanga or of Shingata. On these streams are the rich placer mining locations which have attracted so many miners to the Oriente Azuayo.

The navigation and importance of the Santiago as a route of descending to the Marañón river are the subject of much controversy, for between the mouth and the navigable channel of this great river are two major obstacles--the pongo [GCB: narrow and dangerous rapids] of Chico and that of Manseriche; moreover, both tributaries--the Paute and the Zamora--run exceedingly swift gorge-like channels for most [64] of their length."

5: Reyes and Teran--66-68 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133, 502

"Navigation [GCB: of the eastern Amazon] really begins at the end of the pongo of Manseriche, east of the mouth of the Santiago river, where once was located the old Spanish settlement of Borja, capital of the famous province of Mainas.... Becoming as narrow as 30 meters in these gorges, the river is proportionately widened on the plain as each voluminous tributary pours into it from one or the other of its banks. [67] La Condamine estimated that its width at the village of Omaguas, between the Tigre and the Nanay rivers, was 765 meters, and he did not find its depth to be more than 100 fathoms. At the mouth of the Napo its width was calculated by the same authority as 1,840 meters, while the width of the mouth of this tributary was fixed at 1,250 meters. But these dimensions vary considerably with the crecidas [freshets]; it is then that an immense zone along its muddy sides, reaching about 5 kilometers in width, is covered by its waters. As the river subsides, the water still remains in the concavities of the terrain, and sometimes forms brazos [arms] which contain islands, or sometimes forms numerous lagoons, which in periods of dryness remain isolated from the running waters.

The possibilities of navigation along the [GCB: eastern] Amazon increase or diminish according to whether one is concerned with the dry period or the period of the freshets. In the former, steamers can ascend only as far as the mouths of the Morona, and in the latter, [68] somewhat farther east, as far as old Borja. The two settlements

of major importance along the northern banks of the great river are Iquitos, at the mouth of the Nanay, and Nauta, between the mouth of the Nanay and that of the Tigre. By law and by geographic necessity, Ecuador can never renounce access to this section of the Amazon."

12: Rivet--337-338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133

The Jîbaro country is crossed by three great watercourses which run nearly parallel in a general N.N.W.-S.S.E. direction and enter the Amazon on the left bank. In going from West to East, these are: the Santiago, formed by the joining of the [338] Upano River (1), which originates on the southern slopes of the Sangay volcano, renowned for its constant activity, and the Paute River, or Namangasa River, coming from the plains of Cuenca, and with the Zamora River, which drains the waters of the Loja Valley; the Morona, whose origins are found to the north and northeast of the village of Macas; and finally the Pastaza, formed by the Chambo River descending from the region of Riobamba and by the Rio Patate coming from the region of Ambato, which, meeting at the northern foot of the Tunguragua Volcano, cross the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes through an enormous gap.

1. I accept here the opinion of the Dominican Father Vacas Galindo, who has lived in Macas for a number of years as a missionary and who has just published on behalf of the Ecuadorian government a very interesting map of the republic of Ecuador on a scale of 1: 1,500,000: Mapa Geografico-historico de la Republica del Ecuador, by Rev. Father Fray Enrique Vacas Galindo. Quito, 1906, chez Henry Barrère, 21, rue du Bac, Paris. Wolf, on the contrary, admits that the Upano forms the Morona: Carta geografica del Ecuador by Dr. Teodoro Wolf, 1:445,000: Geographic Institute of H. Wagner and E. Debes. Leipzig, 1892.

12: Rivet--352 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133, 161

Macas in 1890 had a population of 350 "macabéos" (1), a name given generally to the white settled in these eastern regions. It is situated a little ways from the right bank of the Upano, at an altitude of 1,051 meters, according to Reiss and Stubel (2).

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1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Map 4, page 31.
2. Wolf, op. cit., p. 592.

Gualaquiza is hardly more important; in 1875, there were only 100 whites in this village and 80 Jíbaros (1); in July, 1906, the Salesians counted more than 500 individuals of all races (2). It is built on the left bank of Gualaquiza River, which, ten kilometers lower, runs into the Bomboiza. The mean temperature is 22°5 and the altitude 730 meters (3).

As for Zamora, it is located on the right bank of the river of the same name, near its juncture with the Bambuscara. Although I have been unable to procure any exact information, one can surely state that this village is even smaller than Gualaquiza.

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1. Cordero, op. cit., page 28-29.
2. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May, 1907.
3. "Carta del misionero Salesiano D. Jacinto Pancheri", published in the newspaper El Republicano of Quito, Nos. 94, 98, 106 and 117, 1893-94.

18: Hermessen--435 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 133, 642

"Rising in the western foothills of the Cordillera Oriental the Rio Zamora flows through Loja, where it is joined by the Rio Malacatos. (5) Ten miles farther north, in confluence with the Rio de las Juntas, it breaks through the Andes and enters the province of Oriente, the Amazon region of Ecuador, comprising a northwestern part of the basin of the great river. Vast in extent and largely unknown, unexplored and unmapped, this territory has always been a bone of contention among the republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. But although the particular portion of it which I visited, on a reconnaissance of the Rio Zamora, was supposedly under the sovereignty of Ecuador, no evidence of administrative authority was to be found there, nor did the savages of the Jîbaro tribe who live there acknowledge allegiance to the government at Quito."

"5. Not to be confused with another river of the same name, rising at Cajanuma on the Pacific side of the Cordillera Occidental and discharging into the Rio Catamayo, which latter, under the name of the Rio de la Chira, reaches the sea near Payta, Peru."

"The topography of the surrounding country, and the geographical position we occupied in the world, are worth commenting upon, because practically every map I have seen of Ecuador shows this area incorrectly. Macas, for instance, is placed at the head waters of the Morona instead of the Santiago, the Upano being an affluent of the latter stream. In a way, such errors can be understood, because the whole grouping of hills and rivers in this part is contrary to what one might expect.

Macas lies between two ridges of thickly forested hills. To the west, there is a fairly high range which reduces its elevation as it extends south, cutting the Marañon at the Pongo de Guaracayo. To the east, another range of hills springs out of the plains north of Macas, without any connecting link between it and the main cordillera of the Andes. These hills bow slightly eastward, reach their maximum development almost due east of Macas, and then maintain their altitude fairly steadily all the way south to the Pongo de Manseriche. The Morona rises east again of this ridge to the north of Macas, away from the Andes; or more correctly at the base of a very low spur running out from Sangai in a more or less north-easterly direction. The valley of the Morona is more unhealthy than that of the Santiago. The Pastaza River lies still further east again, beyond the Morona. One of its principal affluents, the Palora, cuts in back of the low spur ridge where the Morona rises, describes a circular sweep about the northern and western slopes of Sangai and rises on the south flank of the great volcano. A compass bearing taken on Sangai from Macas placed it at 42 1/2° west of north.

20: Dyott--149-150 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 133

The magnetic declination for this locality according to Sinclair and Wasson, is 6°19' east. Mr. J. Sinclair, whose friendship I have the privilege of claiming, visited this district in 1921 with Mr. Wasson, and together they did some extraordinary survey work of great value. They [150] give the elevation of Macas as 3,580 feet and that of Sangai as 17,459."

20: Dyott--150 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 133, 823

"While on the question of elevations, I should point out that such spectacular wonders of the Ecuadorean scenery as Sangai and Tungurahua, can never be credited with any permanent elevation above sea-level because they are constantly changing, either building up or breaking down. With the cessation of activity, lava welling up from below starts solidifying in the crater. Ice and snow piles up on top of this again, until a more or less permanent condition results. Then comes a violent convulsion within the heart of the earth. The accumulation of years is blown sky-high and distributed over the countryside. When the dust clears away, behold 200 feet or more of the summit has gone.

The Indians we came in contact with regarded Sangai with awe and superstition. Some expressed the belief than when dead, they would go down into its fiery throat, but this we found out was one of the many absurdities implanted in the simple minds of their forefathers by those jolly missionary fellows at the time of the Spanish conquest. The Indian's real ideas of death are nothing like so prosaic as this."

6

Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro Souls

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THE Jívaro proper (*untsuri huara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jívaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jívaro behavior.[3]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956–57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jívaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jívaro proper.[5]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jívaro: the Río Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Sepa; the Río Chigüasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jívaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UtitI Akaʼu*, *KugutI*, and *Uʼnta Akaʼu* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Maʼu* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintat* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuayA*, *Tugi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 270-272 -- Analyst]

/326 cont./

175 Only rarely have the Jívaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

/327/

The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Macas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

/327 cont./

133 to the Amazonas as the Rio Pastaza. Our route soon leaves the highland of Riobamba, formed by the masses from volcanic eruptions which fill the deep depression between the ridges of the east and west Cordillera, which were built up out of older rock. The bipartition of the Cordillera disappears almost completely. The river cuts through at Cebadas, the last village, on the dividing line between syenite and mica schist, and higher up its bed lies wholly in the latter rock. The higher we climb, the narrower and wilder the gorge becomes, cultivated fields disappear, and in their place comes the tall páramo grass, the ichu of the natives. Toward the end of the second day of travel there appear in the background of the valley high, jagged peaks whose black ridges and crests tower up out of blinding white snowfields. These are the Cerros de Zhasquin, Yanaurcu, and Púlpito, which represent here the highest elevations of the East Cordillera. Suddenly the character of the valley changes: the narrow gorge turns into a wide basin filled with swamps and lakes, surrounded on both sides by high greenstone cliffs, almost open toward the east, since an almost imperceptible rise forms the watershed between two small lakes, Cazadoracocha and Cocha redonda, the first of which, in conjunction with Colaycocha, is the source of the Rio de Jchubamba, whose valley we have followed to this point, whereas the latter drains to the east as a tributary /328/ of the Rio Upano. At the entrance to this flat highland valley, whose whole configuration reminds one of the lakes at the source of the Inn and along the Maloya Pass, there are a few wretched huts: Atillo, at an altitude of 3,452 meters, inhabited only from time to time. The lakes Colaycocha and Cazadoracocha are at about the same level, and the watershed extends only to a height of 3,548 meters, whereas the surrounding mountains tower to a
132 height of about 4,300 meters. This region is unbelievably desolate and dismal; wrapped in rain and clouds almost the whole year, only occasional stunted tree-like underbrush grows here among the large areas of grass; the trade winds blow icy cold the greater part of the year. An average annual temperature of 8.8° C. in a country located so close to the equator is evidence

/329 cont./

132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
● 133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzag: along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zamas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

/336 cont./ Mastes

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[734] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas
and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from
his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the
volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a
distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 sensuousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties. In all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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MAP I /p. 11/
Jivaroan and neighboring tribes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*šuarā*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apačī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri šuarā*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*ačuarā šuarā*) to the east. An alternative term, *nuraiya šuarā* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsuunu šuarā*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas šuarā*" or "*yukina šuarā*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call
128 them the "*patuka širaŋ*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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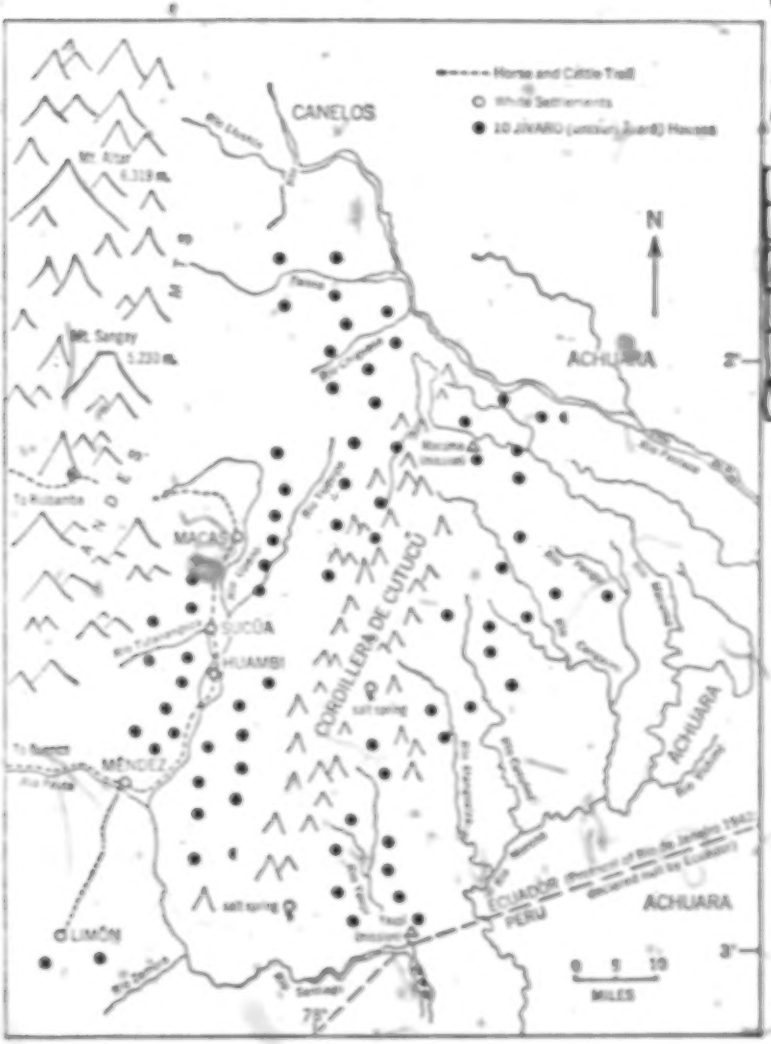

MAP 2.
Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri huará*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguasa region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 133 1. View of the middle Río Upano north of Huambi,
137 looking eastward (1956–57).

31; Danielsson--84 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 134, 361

"As the rains are very heavy and frequent the uppermost thin layer of humus is washed away from the fields in a few years time. Consequently the Jibaros stay in the same place only as long as the fields are able to produce crops, and then leave to find a new dwelling-place. (This seems to be the real reason for their semi-nomadic character, frequently ascribed to the so-called 'wandering instinct.') Usually they move around within a very limited area."

2: Stirling--1 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 135

"To the misfortune of the Indians, the headwater streams of the Santiago are auriferous This probably first attracted the Incas to their territory and later the Conquistadores, who were not long in locating the source of the precious metal which they found in such abundance in possession of the natives of the highlands of ancient Peru."

2: Stirling--41 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 135, 669

"The gold in the headwater streams of the Santiago brought the Jivaros in contact with the Spaniards at an early date. During the sixteenth century they apparently did not offer much resistance to the intrusions of the Spaniards, although they were continually fighting among themselves in much the same manner as they do at the present day. It took some time for the Spaniards to establish themselves as natural enemies, but after enduring the encomienda for about 30 years the Jivaros finally arose in a united revolt which freed them permanently from foreign rule, in spite of the fact that continuous efforts have been made since that time to exploit their territory."

5: Reyes and Teran--63 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
135

".... the Yacuambi, the Bomboiza and the Gualaquiza, carry down a good quantity of gold from the high, cold regions of Matanga or of Shingata. On these streams are the rich placer mining locations which have attracted so many miners to the Oriente Azuayo."

5: Reyes and Teran--107 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135, 487, 177

"The scarcity and rudimentary state of communication routes has obliged people living in the Ecuadorian Oriente to seek their economic well-being largely through mining rather than through agriculture, in spite of the fertility of these lands. And among the minerals, it is the exploitation of gold which today mainly concerns those [GCB: white men] who venture into these regions. Gold also is the concern of a large number of natives whose labor is exploited by the whites."

5; Reyes and Teran--113 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135

"Another great potential source of wealth possessed by the Oriente is petroleum."

18: Hermessen--448 (No date) 1917 Jívaro
116, 135, 325

"The Zamora, like all the other rivers coming from the Cordillera Oriental, is auriferous, (32) and the Jíbaros have some idea of gold washing. A few grams of the metal which I got from one of them had been amalgamated, but how I could not discover. Mercury for the purpose may have been obtained from Loja or Gualaquiza, (33) or it may have been found in the alluvial deposits of the region, as it sometimes occurs, in a disseminated state, in such formations. (34)"

"32. Wolf, op. cit., pp. 310 and 597.
33. A town of Oriente inhabited by whites. See inset on map, Fig. 1.
34. Ibid., pp. 253 and 314."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

INTRODUCTION

101
Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 175
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri huarä* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the [135] fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 175
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the mar- 648
kets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers [727]
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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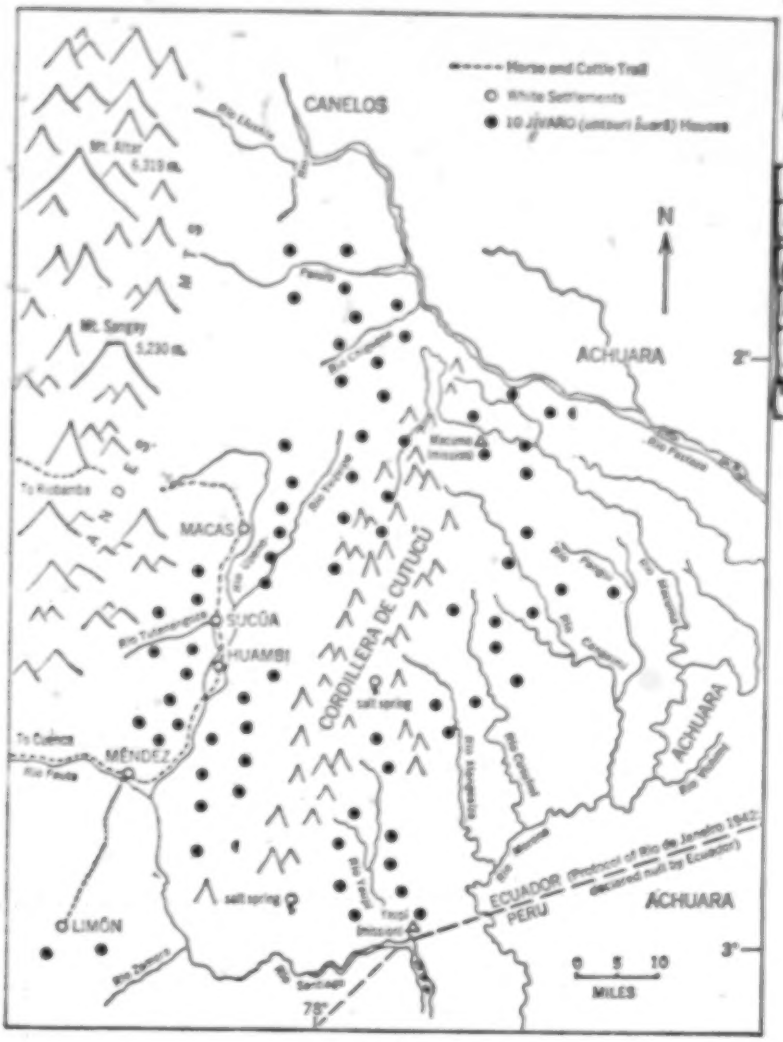
Horse and Cattle Trail
White Settlements
10 JÍVARO (untsuri šuarā) Houses
CANELOS
Río Llanchama
Mt. Altar
6,319 m.
Mt. Sangay
5,230 m.
N
ACHUARA
Río Pastaza
Río Tigre
Río Corrientes
Río Pastaza
Río Curaray
Río Tigre
Río Conambo
Río Pucuno
Río Tigre
Río Sucusari
Río Pucuno
Río Tigre
Río Pastaza
Río Tigre
Río Pastaza
Río Tigre
Río Pastaza

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jivaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[13]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xívaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[14]

The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, into the Jívaro territory. These newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[15] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

[114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jívaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jívaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women; the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; at other times houses often have no walls at all. The [171] permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jívaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were among the Achuara.

[127] 13. Cieza de León, 1943, pp. 295–96; González Suárez, 1890, p. 54. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jívaroan groups other than the Jívaro proper (*untsuri šuarä*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 174–77.

[231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jívaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jívaro is first definitely reported in 1683 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual introduction by a century or longer.

[135] 16. Velasco, 1842, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1842, p. 153; and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1842, pp. 153–57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 105–7; 203; 209–10; 286–288; and in Velasco, 1842, pp. 158–60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 43–44.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrueco, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jívaro; Compte, 1885, p. 56; Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 366, 420–21.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jívaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 329).

1: Karsten--34 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
136 (1928-29)

"During the 'summer' small stinging flies or mosquitos are a real plague in Eastern Ecuador, and especially in the region of Canelos. In order to protect an esteemed guest from this molestation it is customary that the host of the house places at his feet a piece of a termite nest which has previously been set on fire, when it produces a thick, disagreeable smoke. I found this arrangement excellent, although frequently it had the disadvantage of driving out, not only the molesting flies, but also the guest himself. At any rate my own eyes could not stand this disgusting smoke, to which I preferred even the mosquitos. When travelling on the river, where these little winged demons are particularly molesting, the Indians generally take such a smoking object with them in the canoe to have some protection for their bare limbs."

1: Karsten--39-40 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
136 (1928-29)

"Similarly nature becomes ever more luxuriant. The mosquito plague is dreadful in these regions in the rainy season. Clouds of these little pests constantly swarm around us, anxious to suck our blood and torment us in every way. In vain I anoint my hands and face with an antiseptic ointment; only for a moment can it keep off the tor-[40] mentors. I realize the futility of the theory, set forth by some traveller in South America, which explains the Indian custom of body-painting as a means of keeping off mosquitos and flies. Animal life, and expecially [sic] bird life, grows ever richer. The great macaw, for instance, which requires a hot climate, only makes its appearance from Sarayacu downwards. This beautiful parrot as well as the smaller parrots, the tucan, and many other kinds of bird contribute towards giving life to the forests. Frequently, in the course of our journey, we stop to shoot a big turkey, a macaw, or some other bird which we have sighted in a tree close to the river bank, or to fish. Of big animals the tapir and the boar or wild pig are the most common. Even the jaguar is frequently seen in these uninhabited regions, although it generally takes to flight at the sight of an approaching canoe. On the Pastaza I found an especially rich animal life, large herds of peccary pigs and water hogs or capivaras being most often seen. On the river itself the numerous tortoises and alligators attract particular attention, whereas the great water boa or anaconda, although quite common in all rivers of Western Amazonas, is only seldom seen."

2: Stirling-104-105 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 136

"In the forests of the Santiago wild game is very abundant. Among the larger mammals are to be listed the tapir, the capybara, the paca, the peccary, wild hogs, the giant ant bear, deer, and monkeys. Several members of the cat tribe are also to be found, the puma occurring in the higher mountains while the jaguar and ocelot are very abundant in the lowland jungles, as well as in the eastern foothills of the Andes. In the rivers are to be found both the manatee and the fresh-water porpoise. The most striking members of the reptilian family are alligators, turtles, the giant boa constrictors, and anacondas."

2: Stirling--105 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 136, 262

"Bird life is remarkably abundant and varied. The principal food birds are the greater and lesser pawil and toucans of several species. The Indian does not scorn for food purposes the various members of the parrot family, or in fact almost any bird which he might be able to kill.

Various insects are also utilized for food purposes. A certain variety of giant red ant is a favorite delicacy, these as a rule being eaten in a parched form. In addition to this, large white grubs are secured in quantities from rotten wood and are considered to be a particularly choice morsel of food. Frogs, lizards, and snails are likewise frequently eaten.

It is seldom necessary for the Jivaro to go hungry. With his skill in woodcraft and his knowledge of the wild plant and animal life of the jungles in which he lives, he is able as a rule to find food at all times on comparatively short notice."

4: Up de Graff--255-257 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 136

"One day we came to a place where the river had cut a new channel and left the still warm water in a loop of the old bed. Here we had a chance of making some highly interesting experiments with that freak of nature, the electric eel. The water at this point was teeming with these fish and with rays, both of which are considered as great delicacies by all who inhabit the banks of the Amazon rivers. The former grow to an average length of three to four feet, being as many inches [256] thick. They seem to have no entrails except one straight canal, about the thickness of the little finger, which runs along the underside of the body from the head to the vent. Their general appearance is similar to the common fresh-water eel; they are slow swimmers, and therefore an easy prey to the spear. They are so heavily charged with electricity that a man cannot possibly retain his hold of a metal instrument if it comes in contact with their skins, or even with a metal pail in which one is swimming. Of course I was carrying with me no electric instruments with which to test their voltage, so could only measure the force of the shock they can give by touching the fish myself. With my machete I attempted to cut the head off one which had been speared and landed. I might just as well have tried to cut a trolley-wire with uninsulated pliers. The machete flew out of my hands and my arm was temporarily paralysed.

We finally picked up a small eel two feet long, and put it in a pail of water. We satisfied ourselves that it was perfectly safe to touch the fish, the pail or the water with a wooden stick, tending to prove that electricity is generated, and that the shock is not

due to any form of vibration.

Their [KS: electric eel] peculiar internal organism makes it possible to prepare them for eating by simply slicing them as one does a loaf of bread, no cleaning being necessary. Their meat is pure white and firm, and they make an excellent dish when fried. In this respect they are superior to the rays of which we also caught many.

It has occurred to me that the risk of swimming any stream infested with electric eels would be very great, for, as the natives of the Amazon basin confirm, they attack and kill other living things with the strong current with which nature has charged them. Two or [257] three such shocks as I myself received would be enough to paralyse the muscles of the whole body and cause death by drowning. In saying that these fish attack other creatures, I do not wish to infer that they are either carnivorous or vicious--merely that they use their natural powers instinctively in self-defence."

"On the evening of October 23rd Morse and I went off up-stream a few hundred yards to take a look round the next bend, the party having halted for the night earlier than usual, to make a careful search in the forest for indications of the recent presence of the enemy. We had a curious experience with an anaconda (the fourth and last which I found alive in the Amazon basin). I think the incident is worth recording, as being unique in all my travels, and as showing how inoffensive these great reptiles are during their period of dormancy. I cannot do better than quote from my original impressions:

'Having sighted the great reptile coiled up on a fallen tree which lay half in the water, half on the bank, we paddled quietly up to within a yard or two for closer inspection. It lay in a pyramid of coils, apparently sleeping. Surprised that it did not move, we splashed [259] water on it to wake it up; there being no result, I started to prod it with my paddle, and still meeting with no success, I lifted my paddle and brought it down on the snake's side with a resounding whack that actually broke the blade. It squirmed a little, but soon lay still again. Determined to get a closer view, I climbed out on to the log and kicked the fat black coils. It showed some signs of animation, so I got back into the canoe and continued to prod it. Finally it awoke, slipped into the water while still half rolled up, and swam leisurely away on the surface, giving us a good chance to judge its length. Comparison with the twenty-four foot canoe showed it to be some thirty feet long. Its indifference to our attacks was amazing, in view of our previous experiences

of the same species on the Yasuní. Moreover it did not appear to have eaten recently, no swelling being apparent.'

I did not enlarge very much at the time on the impression which the experience made on my mind, but it has stayed with me ever since in a very vivid form. It would appear that at one season of the year this otherwise alert, powerful, swift-moving creature lives in a state of slothful torpor from which nothing but the rudest shock will awake it. The contrast is astounding, and in this particular case all the more so, as there seemed to be no outward sign of any reason for the anaconda's dormancy. It was long and thin (thinner indeed than the three others I had seen). It might have been expected to uncoil and lash out at the first sign of our approach, but instead it behaved like a tame angle-worm."

4: Up de Graff--291 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 262

"Turtles were plentiful, and we found large quantities of eggs in all stages of incubation; those which contained fully formed live turtles proved even better eating than those not so far advanced."

4: Up de Graff--292 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136

"Barely three feet long, as thick as a man's thumb, its disproportionately large diamond-shaped head poised on its slender neck (the trade-mark of the venomous snakes) it attacked and chased with surprising temerity so large an antagonist as a man, evidently confident of its power to kill.

Examination showed it to be jet-black, except for the usual light underside. Its head was armed with the customary pair of fangs, about three-quarters of an inch long, and embedded in the membrane of the roof of the mouth were three other pairs, each one a little less developed than the last. Should they lose their fangs, these snakes have the necessary equipment to replace them. Perhaps they cast them periodically, as they do their skins. This specimen was the largest poisonous snake I ever saw in the Amazon basin."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

5: Reyes and Teran--100-102 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 136

"The fauna is purely tropical. The richness of its species is surprising, not only in their great variety, but in the number of individuals within each class. All the zoological orders are richly represented, above all, the insects, birds and fishes. Only with respect to the great mammals is this area surpassed by the Asiatic or African forests.

Among the best known animals, the monkeys--not the great four-handed ones--animate the woods in numerous hordes. The tapir or danta, because of his corpulence may be considered the king of the forest. Among the feline animals the jaguar, tigrillo and puma are outstanding. The common bear and the ant-eater [oso hormiguero] are much [101] pursued for their meat. The guatuza, a well developed species of rabbit, armadillos, squirrels, sahinos or wild pigs and many other quadrupeds populate the forest.

The birds are perhaps the representatives of the Oriente's zoology which attract most attention, because of their showy plumage and sonorous calls. 'They are granivorous or fructivorous, and for this reason all migrate, from the Maranon river to the first slopes of the cordilleras, following the maturation of the fruits, from the warmest lands to the coolest. It might be said that each tree has its parasite bird, which prefers its particular fruits; and the Jivaro Indians, very skilled in hunting with the blowgun

[cervatana] know well what is the season of the parrots, when is that of the turkey hens, and above all, when is the season for an infinity of small birds, which fly in hundreds from tree to tree eating flowers or fruits.'[102]

Migration is therefore a characteristic phenomenon of the birds of the Amazon woods.

Among the reptiles--the animals which perhaps constitute the greatest danger of the forest--are found enormous snakes such as the boa and anaconda, whose size has been much exaggerated. Turtles, which lay their eggs on the islets or beaches of the minor channels along the rivers; frogs, salamanders, poisonous serpents, although to a lesser degree than along the coast, are frequently encountered in these woods. And finally, there are the insects, which inject a note of varying color into the infinite green of the forest. The most beautiful and rare species of butterflies appear from 10 o'clock in the morning to three o'clock in the afternoon, although they commonly fly among the crowns of the giant trees and are therefore quite difficult to chase. Because of this fact the collecting of these insects is an expensive proposition."

"Our most frequent visitors were not human beings at all, but bats, which sailed in and out of our house as they pleased when night came on. Johnston had the greatest antipathy for them, although they were quite harmless. He objected to their flying so close over his face. He disliked feeling the wind made by their bony wings as they fluttered to and fro, wheeled about in the darkness and [148] flitted past again. At first it was only a few odd ones that visited us, but as soon as news spread abroad in the bat world that ripe bananas were to be had for the asking on the 'Playa," their numbers began to swell nightly.

We had all kinds of bananas hung up in our larder, from the coarse plantains for cooking, to the more delicately flavoured fruit varieties. When morning came, we would see ample evidence of the midnight marauders. They would greedily gnaw off the skins of all ripe fruit, and then consume only a portion of the meat inside. Johnston, getting desperate at their ever-increasing numbers, swore loud and long that he would put an end to their depredations by barricading every crack through which they could enter. He went to great pains to accomplish this by hanging up nets and leaning branches covered with big leaves against the open sides of our dwelling. Of course, it was quite futile to take such precautions, for hungry bats will creep through tiny openings, if food is to be had inside. The trouble starts when they want to get out. After a good meal they feel so lazy they won't bother to go home, but just hang up comfortably wherever they happen to be and go to sleep. This is an

advantage bats have over men. We can only hang up our hats.

Johnston spent a good hour one evening in his efforts to render our abode bat-proof, but when daylight returned, the sight which greeted our eyes was unique. The inside of our house was a picture. Bats hung from the roof in shoals. They were suspended from our camp beds, they clung to every convenient rafter, row upon row like so much black drapery, still and motionless. Having been forced to remain all night, the mess they made was inconceivable, and it took us the best part of a morning to get rid of them and their litter. After that experience, Johnston voted for the policy of the open door. 'Why not sleep outside and give the house over to the bats?' he suggested."

26: Brüning--65 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 136

The natives chiefly eat the following animals: two types of monkeys, a) the howling monkey (named cotomono by the whites and yakúm in Aguaruna) and b) the spider monkey (called maquisapa by the whites and wáši by the Aguaruna Indians); various types of turkeys, kúyo, onç [e], of which I have seen five; a hocko hen, paujiles, pívi, másu; a trumpeter bird, (tsiva), and many other birds whose names I do not know. In general, they do eat all birds, even the tiniest humming-birds. I have seen it how the Indians skinned a bird, speared it with a pointed stick and, without drawing it, roasted it over the fire and ate it. There is only one bird which they do not eat: they call it cáça. It has the shape of a pheasant, congregates in larger flights and emits a sound which lies halfway between croaking and screeching. The meat has a somewhat bitter taste, as I was able to find out for myself, but it is not so bad that somebody who is half-starved should reject it. [AN: The scientific name is Opisthocomus hoazin.] Of the larger mammals the following are not eaten: cattle, tapir (pamáu), ronsoco (ungumióg) and doe (hápa). [AN: It would be better to say: stag, species of the genus mazama.] The rubber collectors informed me that the Aguaruna Indians identify the doe with the devil. Ronsoco is a large rodent (Hydrochoerus capybara). Could it be that these animals are not eaten simply because they could not be killed with the blowgun--the only aboriginal weapon?

29: Vité--16 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 136, 152

In this region where the rays of the sun scarcely penetrate, the road is rough and difficult, and there are nests of thousands and thousands of poisonous reptiles from which one must defend himself as best he can. Here lives the Jíbaro, the savage of the Ecuadorian forest, physically beautiful with a masculine and imposing beauty, congenial in aspect and at the same time terrible because he does not accept domestication.

29: Vité--22 [3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122, 136

We had gathered together precious material, not to mention a collection of snakes, among which was one that transmits a fatal poison simply by coiling his body, without biting or giving pain, and we had attended a unique ceremony of authentic savages.

/328 cont./

132 of an inhospitable climate, the unpleasantness of which is heightened even more by the abundance of moisture which, rising from the plains of the Amazonas, falls here on the high mountains. Even the Indian, who otherwise loves the high páramos, stays here only a short time. The huts of Atillo serve the inhabitants of the small village of Suñag, located on the downward slope toward Mácas, as a sort of temporary shelter on their journeys to maintain the mission's contacts with the capital, Riobamba.

132 The Ecuadorian speaks of Atillo, of Colaycocha, and of
136 the pass to Mácas only with a mysterious horror; poisonous vapors are said to rise from the small lakes, so that every bird flying over them falls dead. The dead birds are said to be found by the thousands on the shores of the lakes, especially of Cazadoracocha, which for this reason has retained the name of Hunter's Lake. Armed with baskets and sacks, the Indians go out to collect the fallen animals in order to sell them in the neighboring cities. This is one of those mysterious tales which, like the marvelous story of the fish spewed out of the volcanoes, can be traced to poorly observed facts, distorted by exaggeration and misunderstanding. That is, in Ecuador, as in almost all of South America, there is a number of snipe, ibis, and heron-like migratory birds which leave the hot country with the onset of good weather in order to seek their nourishment in the highlands. With the onset of bad weather they then return again to the hot country. These birds appear in masses in May or early June and stay until September. The animals seek the lowest passes to cross the Cordillera. Thus they follow the course of the Rio Cebadas in order to cross the watershed, lying between high mountains, toward the east near Colay and Cazadoracocha. In September, however, the trade winds, which press through the narrow pass with terrible force, often rage with hurricane-like violence. The force of the wind, which frequently a horseman can hardly withstand, throws back the birds, rising from the protected valley floor, as soon as they reach the top of the pass. The stronger animals can force their way through, but many of the weaker and smaller cirds /329/ are overcome by

/329 cont./

132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzags along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

273 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
512 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
313 with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.
[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[3] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192, 137, 241 (1928-29)

"The following trees and plants are cultivated by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians; the names in the Jibaro and in the Quichua language are indicated with Jib. and Qu. respectively:

Manioc (Manihot aipi, Jib. máma or tsanímba, Qu. lúmu) of many different classes, plantain (Jib. pa'ándama, Qu. palánda), batatas(Convolvulus batatas, Jib. ínchi, Qu. kumál), mani or earth-nuts (Jib. nussi, Qu. ínchi), beans (Jib. mika, Qu. poroto (1), sanahoria (Daucus carota, Jib. maya, Qu. sanahoria), maize (Jib. sháya, Qu. sára), mandi (2), (Jib. sángu, Qu. mandi), a kind of sweet potato (a vine), (Jib. kingi, Qu. papa chambo), pumpkin (Jib. yui, Qu. sapallu (3), the chonta palm (Jib. uí, Qu. chunta-rúru), and the sugar cane (Jib. pa'ata, Qu. huiru).

The Indians also cultivate the Capsicum or Indian pepper (Jib. hímya, Qu. uíchu), the naranhilla (Solanum quitense, called narangi in both languages), and the tomato which the Jibaros call kukuchi.

The gourd tree (Jib. tsáppa, Qu. pilchi) is also cultivated, but only because of the dishes and water-bottles which are prepared from its large fruit, and which the Indians use in their daily life."

"1. Spanish poroto.
2. A plant producing a fruit similar to the manioc.
3. Spanish zapallo."

I: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

"Of the numerous cultivated plants which play a part in the magical medicine and the religious customs of the Indians the following deserve to be mentioned:--

First of all we have the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsańgu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. natema, Qu. aya huasca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huańtuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians.

How the tobacco, the natema, and the maikoa are used, will appear from descriptions given later on.

Varvasco is a common name for certain poisonous plants which play an important part in Indian fishing. They will again be dealt with in the chapter on the Indian fishing practices.

Tsinsímba is the name of a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, to which a magical power is attributed. The leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva (in the same way as the leaves of the tobacco), and given to the women and children at certain feasts to make them strong and active.

There is another similar plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called chikí. The root of the plant is warmed up in a clay pot half-filled with water, together with some leaves of tobacco, and the drink is given to a woman at the 'feast of the women'. This

drink has the effect of a vomitory and is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman.

Among the magical plants cultivated by the Jibaros and Canelos Indians must also be reckoned the roucou shrub (Bixa orellana; Jib. ipyaku, Qu. manduru), the fruit of which affords the red dye which the Indians use for painting the face and the body.

Of the plants mentioned above, the following are regarded as 'women', that is, as being animated by a female wakani (aya): the manioc, the camote, the sanahoria, the bean, the earth-nut, the sweet potato, the mandi, the pumpkin, the gourd tree, the tsinsimba, the chiki, and the roucou shrub; whereas the following are regarded as 'men', that is, as animated by a male wakani or aya: the plantain, the maize, the chonta palm, and the narcotic plants tobacco, Banisteria caapi, and Datura arborea, as well as the varvasco.

Consistently with this idea we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Mama (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nussi (earth-nut), Ipyaku (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paandama (plantain), Ui (chonta palm), and Maikoa.

As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the

plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

"1. Varvâscu. This name includes two or three different plants which are also used in fishing, the fish being stupefied with the poisonous juice squeezed from the root. The plant used for the arrow-poison is probably Cracca toxicaria, a small, leguminous bush containing an alcaloid called rotidona. In order to get the juice, the root is crushed with a club and boiled for a while in a special pot; when the poison is extracted, the roots are taken out, leaving the liquid.

2. Hámbi lállu is a bush, growing wild; its poisonous properties are obtained as follows:--a piece of the stem is cut off, the bark removed and thrown away, the wood substance crushed and boiled for some hours. [147]

3. Pála huásca is a big flat liana, about 12 to 15 cm. in breadth, which creeps up the giant trees of the virgin forest. Because of its flatness it is called 'the shovel-liana' (pala ='shovel'). A piece of the stem is cut off, crushed with stones and boiled for some two hours in a special pot.

4. Cáñu huásca, a liana of about the same size as the pála huásca. Along the middle of this liana there runs a deep channel from which it takes its name (cáñu ='channel'). Cáñu huásca is prepared in the same way as the pála huásca.

5. Payángshi is a big yellow liana creeping under the earth. A small sprout protruding from the earth indicates its presence. It is prepared in the same way as the lianas already mentioned, a piece of the stem being cut off, crushed and boiled.

6. Ilúchi is a small shrub. There are two species of it, differing in size, the larger being called hátun ilúchi (1) about 1 1/2 m. long, the smaller one, uchílla ilúchi, about 1/2 to 1 m. long. The root of both these shrubs is used; the bark is useless, and is therefore scraped off and thrown away; the yellow substance under it is taken out and boiled for a while.

7. Tunísbpa huásca (tunísbpa = 'mixed') is a shrub which is so called from its resemblance to the shrub ilúchi. When it is used for arrow-poison the bark is scraped from the stem and boiled.

8. Apa huásca (ápa = 'old', 'ancient') is a big liana prepared in the same way as the pala and the cañu huásca.

9. Cüílin huásca (cüílin = a bird of the tucan family) is a small liana, about 3 to 4 cm. in diameter and is prepared in the same way as ápa huasca and the other lianas.

10. Hámbi huásca is a long thick liana creeping up the biggest trees of the virgin forest. At the top it is thicker than at the lower end, and the thick parts of the stem are especially used. A number of small pieces are cut off by two Indians, so many that they are quite a burden. These pieces are prepared in the usual way, i.e. crushed

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"1. hatun = 'big', uchilla = 'small'."

with clubs and boiled for a while in a small pot. The woody pieces are then taken out leaving the liquid.

11. Líspúngu múyu. Líspúngu is the name of a tall, thick tree of the forest with fruit about the size of that of the gourd tree. The fruit is cut up, the small seeds taken out, ground, and boiled separately in a special pot. Then the liquid is strained through a piece of linen and the essence carefully pressed out. [148]

12. Hámbi múyu. Of this plant there are three species, of which two are used for the arrow-poison. The one is a tree called hátun hámbi múyu the other is a shrub called uchilla hámbi múyu: of both the red and comparatively small fruit is used. In preparing the hátun hámbi múyu, the fruit is cut open, its seeds taken out and ground. A considerable quantity, say a small wooden basin full, of these ground seeds is boiled in a special pot, then it is strained and the essence, which is white, pressed out just as in the case of the líspúngu múyu.

In using the uchílla hámbi múyu the small red fruit is cut open and the seeds taken out and ground.

13. Tarapútu cara is a vine the leaves of which are similar to those of the tarapoto palm. There are several varieties of this vine and all of them are used in preparing the arrow-poison. The black bark is scraped off the vine with a knife until the desired quantity has been obtained; this is then boiled.

14. Cicuánga caspi, 'the tucan tree' (cicuánga = 'tucan') is a beautiful high tree. A certain quantity of the bark is scraped off and boiled.

15. Hámbi cára cáspi. A small shrub. The rind is scraped off and prepared exactly in the same way as the Cicuánga cáspi.

16. Yána hámbi cáspi. A small shrub. The root of it is used, being crushed with a club and boiled, just as was done with the rind of the hámbi cára cáspi and other shrubs.

17. Chilíca cáspi. A big tree. The bark is scraped off and prepared in the same way as the previous ones.

18. Chíhun cáspi. A shrub. The root is cut into small pieces and boiled for about half a day in a special pot until its poisonous juice is set free, in the form of a concentrate.

19. Ahuiríngri caspi. The ginger shrub (Zingiber officinale?). The root is cleaned and boiled for about two hours.

20. Hámbi pahuága. A big tree. The thick bark is detached from the stem, crushed with stones and boiled.

21. Mándi. There are two species of this plant. The one is small with edible fruit and leaves, and cultivated by the Canelos Indians for its nutritive value. The other one is

bigger and poisonous and only used in the preparation of the arrow-poison. The rind of the stem is taken, carefully cleaned, and then boiled.

22. Pála pánga rúya. A small shrub of which the root is used. Up to ten roots are taken, the small fibres separated and boiled in a special [149] pot on a slow fire for a long time--nearly two days; a concentrated poisonous liquid results.

23. Huaránga quihua. A small plant of which the root is boiled.

24. Hámbi útchu, Indian pepper (Capsicum). The Indians cultivate different species of Capsicum. The one called hámbi útchu is small, yellow in colour, and so strong that it cannot be used as spice. It is exclusively used in preparing the arrow-poison. The whole fruit is boiled for a while and then mashed.

25. Matíri útchu, another kind of Capsicum. This is bigger than the hámbi útchu, red in colour, and also used as spice. When it is used for the preparation of the arrow-poison the seeds are taken out, mashed, and boiled in a little water.

Of these liquids and mashes nearly all, after being boiled separately, are placed together in a large pot for further boiling.

The exceptions are:--

No. 10. Hámbi huásca--the liquid obtained is evaporated over a little fire until only a small concentrate is left, and this is dropped into the large pot, a little at a time.

No. 12. 2nd species--uchílla hámbi múyu--of which the ground seeds are placed in

the large pot without being boiled first.

After thus learning the different plants which yield the ingredients necessary for the arrow-poison, we must examine somewhat more closely how the poison is prepared and what ideas the Indians associate with it."

1: Karsten--153 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
192, 137 (1928-29)

"1. Yarrier, one of the biggest lianas of the virgin forest (probably identical with the tarapútu cara of the Canelos Indians). A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off with a knife and boiled in a pot with other poisonous ingredients.

2. Yariráhua; 3. Tsaueimera; 4. Papúra; 5. Nupáma; 6. Machápi; are all thick lianas of about the same size as the Yarrier just mentioned. They are all prepared in the same way, a quantity of the bark being scraped off and boiled with the poisonous ingredients obtained from the other plants.

7. Páingis is a smaller liana about 2 to 3 cm. in diameter. It is prepared in the same way as the other lianas.

8. Eimera is a small wild shrub. The Jibaros use the root of it, scraping off some of the rind which covers it, and then preparing it in the same way as the rinds obtained from other plants.

9. Yeistseása (seása ='poison') is another small shrub with poisonous properties. A quantity of the rind is detached from the stem and beaten with stones. The juice is thus pressed out and then boiled.

10. Tachira is likewise a shrub. The rind is scraped from the stem and boiled with the rest of the poisons."

1: Karsten--155-156 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
137 (1928-29)

"1. Seása kunápi. Kunápi (in Quichua tzigta), a shrub of which there are various species. Some of them are only slightly poisonous and are used by the Indians as ordinary medicines. A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, the decoction being taken as a remedy for catarrh, head-ache, and other ailments. The species which the Jibaros call seása kunápi is more poisonous than the others and is exclusively used for improving the arrow-poison. The rind of the shrub is boiled and the poisonous liquid extracted, just as is customary in regard to other plants used in the preparation of the poison. [156]

2. Ambi (in Quichua pucúna útchu), Indian pepper (Capsicum) of the particularly strong and poisonous variety which the Canelos Indians also use as an ingredient for the arrow-poison."

"The most interesting of these narcotics is no doubt the one which is called natéma by the Jibaros and aya huasca by the Quichua-speaking Indians. This is a poisonous vine, --containing an alcaloid, like the maicoa--the scientific name of which, according to the English botanist R. Spruce, is Banisteria caapi(1), of the family Malpighiaceae. The same traveller states that the plant also grows on the Rio Içanna, on the Uaupés and its affluents in north-west Brazil, as well as on the cataracts of the Orinoco, being used everywhere by the natives in the same way, for magical and divination purposes (2). In Ecuador the liana is best known under its Quichua name aya huasca ('the vine

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"1. In Eastern Ecuador there seem to occur different species of the Banisteria. At any rate the Canelos Indians told me that they use three kinds of aya huasca which they distinguish as the puma aya huasca, the ahuiringri aya huasca, and the tunchi aya huasca. The last-mentioned is particularly used by the medicine-men (tunchi = the magical arrow).

2. R. Spruce, Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes. London, 1908, II. 414 sqq., 423."

of the souls')(3); it is thus [433] called for instance by the Indians of the Napo, Curaray, Bobonaza, and Pastaza. The Jibaros call both the vine itself and the narcotic prepared from it natéma. The Secoyas on the Rio Aguarico and the savage Avishiris between Napo and Curaray also know the use of the plant. Similarly, the primitive Colorados and Cayapas in western Ecuador cultivate the aya huasca, using it as a magical medicine and for divination."

"3. On the Napo I was assured that the natives call the vine in question haya huasca ('the bitter vine'), which answers to the fact that the drink prepared from it is exceedingly bitter in taste. On the other hand, at Canelos the form aya huasca seems to be the most common, and this name ('the vine of the souls') well accords with the ideas the Indians have about its power of summoning the souls or spirits of the dead."

1: Karsten--438 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
137 (1928-29)

"Equal in importance to the natéma (aya huasca) and still stronger in its effects is the narcotic which is called maíkoa (maikoma) by the Jibaros and huántuc by the Canelos Indians. It is prepared from a shrub, the scientific name of which is Datura arborea of the family Solanaceae. Its poisonous properties may be compared with those of beladonna or opium, and even seem to surpass them. Insensibility, hallucinations, and even temporary madness seem to be the regular effects produced by this narcotic drug. The species Datura in Ecuador grows both in the tropical virgin forests and in the sub-tropical mountain regions, but there are at least two sub-species of it, D. arborea and D. stramonium. The beautiful bell-shaped flowers of the former sub-species are larger and nearly white in colour; of the latter smaller and of yellow-red colour. Both of them are equally poisonous. The half-civilized Indians of the Sierra, when they want to harm their enemies, practise nefarious magic by means of the flowers of the D. stramonium. It is the other sub-species which is used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The beautiful shrub is everywhere specially cultivated, and is usually found among other garden plants outside the houses."

4: Up de Graff--257 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 137

"It may be worth mentioning that it was here that I discovered for myself, with no previous knowledge on the subject, that those beautiful coffee coloured seeds which are picked up both on the Atlantic and on the Pacific shores of the two Americas, and are known as sea-beans, grow in huge quantities along the banks of the Upper Amazon and its tributaries. They grow in a pod like peas on a plant and when seeding time comes round large numbers of them fall into the water and begin their journey of several thousand miles. They are, of course, treasured by many people as a gift from the sea, which, strictly speaking, they are not. Doubtless they abound on the banks of many other tropical rivers. We put them to no practical use, but it was at least amusing to find 'sea-beans' over three thousand miles from the sea by the course they have to follow."

4: Up de Graff--257-258 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 137

"Many a time, on that journey up the Santiago, exploring the vicinity of our camp, while the Indians were out with their blow-guns after game, we came across fine vanilla-plants. These plants grow there in profusion, clinging to every kind of tree. The pods are twelve inches in length, being fatter and more fragrant than the ordinary commercial article. Their flower is like a small orchid, to which family they belong. The dark humid forests of the Amazon produce enormous numbers of beautiful specimens of every member of this same family, from the huge scarlet bell-shaped variety of the plant which weighs upwards to [258] a hundred pounds to the tiny purple specimens, somewhat like a violet in form, which cling in great masses to the roots of the trees and vines. Curiously enough, I was never able to find one that gave off a pleasant scent, though many times did I come across beautiful blooms with disagreeable odours. For the orchid collector, this would indeed be a wonderful hunting ground."

"In regard to the flora, it would be difficult to find in any part of the earth a more dense and abundant vegetation. However, not all of the area which the Ecuadorians call the Oriente has identical vegetation. If one descends from the páramos [high cold regions] of the eastern cordillera toward the Amazon region, between the elevations of 3,200 and 1,600 meters, approximately, one finds an intermediate or mixed zone of wooden slopes [Vertientes boscosas] very similar to [94] the western coastal plain. This zone has the identical subtropical flora and fauna, although naturally, the wooded slopes have a thicker growth, a more rugged character, and an extent vastly greater than those of the Pacific zone.

The most distinctive feature of the flora of the eastern Andean slopes probably is the ishpingo or cinnamon tree (Nectandra cinnamomoides), in search of which the first white man, Gonzalo Pizarro, went into the interior from Quito. (1541). Thus he opened the route which was to lead one of his companions to discover the Amazon. From this tree, part of our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Oriente takes the name of Canelos or country of the Canela.

According to Gonzalez Suarez, 'these trees are as tall as olive trees; their blossoms open like buds [capullos] in which is the substance which in fragrance and taste is very similar to cinnamon. The best and most fragrant [95] fruit is generally that of the trees which are cultivated in orchards such as the Indians of Quijos had before the

Conquest. They used it as a kind of money in the transactions they used to have with the other towns of the province of Quito in the time of the Incas. Atahualpa, in Cajamarca, sent Pizarro several bunches of these fragrant flowers.

In this same zone, particularly toward the South, are found the best chinchonas [GCB: Peruvian bark trees] of the few which still remain in Ecuador, including among them the most valuable ones in the world. This famous tree, more commonly known by the name of cascarilla or quina, constituted a great source of wealth our country [GCB: Ecuador] prior to the time when the English and Dutch established their celebrated plantations in India and in some of the Sunda Islands, respectively, taking the first specimens from the [GCB: Ecuadorian] Lojanos woods. [96]

In the region of Mendez is found the alcanfor [GCB: camphor tree] whose resin frightens away the most terrible enemy of wooden constructions--the comején [wood-borer].

The Caucho [GCB: rubber tree] (ficus elastica) is found growing wild. Its exploitation attracted in particular an enormous number of adventurous Colombians and Peruvians. These people, besides devastating this valuable tree, were the cause of the most serious conflicts between the nations disputing the dominion of the forest. When the product of this tree was quoted at high prices [GCB: in the world rubber market] the customhouse at Iquitos took in as much revenue as that of Guayaquil.

The Tagua [GCB: ivory nut tree] (phitelepa macrocarpa) which is so successfully grown on the coast, is not made use of here [GCB: in the interior] in spite of its abundance. From Julapas to the Arapicos river, in the Macas region, there is a huge stand estimated to total almost one hundred million hectares. [97]

The zarzaparilla [GCB: sarsaparilla] (Smilase obliguata ruisiana) is a climbing vine which grows wild. Its exploitation [GCB: in the Ecuadorian Oriente] has started an active trade with Brazil, the United States and Europe in medicinal products.

The Copal [GCB: tree yielding a transparent resin] (Himenea courbail verrucona) is a tree whose resin is used for illumination.

The Cacao [GCB: chocolate tree] (Teobroma cacao) is found abundantly in the wild state. Its presence suggests that the cultivation of domestic varieties would be both easy and profitable.

The Vainilla [GCB: vanilla plant] is an aromatic plant which grows best in the basin of the Upano river. Its exploitation, like that of the caucho [GCB: rubber tree], has been so foolishly and irrationally conducted that the search for it is becoming daily more difficult.

The barbasco (Jacquinia armillaris tac) is a shrub whose poisonous root [98] is made use of to fish by poisoning the waters. The immoderate use of this practice is likely to have disastrous consequences for the breeding of fish in the rivers of the Oriente.

The natema, climbing vine of the passifloraceous family, is a powerful narcotic. An infusion from its stem frequently is used by the Jívaro to treat sickness or to obtain prophetic dreams.

Precious woods, valued for their texture as well as for their beautiful coloration and agreeable odor, are innumerable. But those most exploited are cedar, ebony, mahogany, oak, lignum-vitae [guayacan] etc. (1)

The plants briefly cited above are only those which have been the object of primitive exploitation. In few regions [GCB: of the world] can the botanist and the naturalist [99] find a more vast and extensive field for his studies, as the varieties of vegetation are infinite.

Below the altitude of 500 meters, is the domain of the humid tropical forest, although it would be an error to suppose that it occupied all the land under this height. For while the forest predominates, it nevertheless is frequently interrupted, and alternates with thickets of perennial and stiff foliaceous plants, and with clumps of trees and brambles.

This humid tropical forest is poor in low-growing ligneous plants. For here the

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"1. Data from 'Album-guia de la Region Oriental Ecuatoriana' por Alfonso Rumazo González."

light reaches the ground with difficulty; the earth is covered with dead leaves, mossy sod, and shady plants such as ferns, whose perpetual growth and decomposition through heat and humidity constitute the best fertilizers for arboreal species. Above this zone, which we may call the lower plane of the forest rise the palms of middle height, and above these, the tall giants of the forest, with [100] high crowns, whose branches have no leaves except at great heights.

Lianas and epiphytes [GCB: varieties of vines] are also an essential part of the tropical forest. Of these, there are two classes: the low, which is nourished by the dampness, and the high, which entwines itself around the treetops."

18: Hermessen--444-445 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 137, 276

"Although wild cacao trees (Theobroma cacao) were abundant on the Zamora, the Jíbaros did not appear to have any practical knowledge of the alimentary value of the fruit, for there were many trees to be seen along the river with pods rotted on them. Rubber trees (probably Sapium verum, Hemsl.) were also common enough, and the latex, obtained in the [445] usual way by making incisions in the trunk, was utilized in various native articles."

26: Brüning--66 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 252, 137

There is a great variety of wild-growing edible plants, and it would be of great help to the traveller in the primeval forests of the upper Marañón if he would know these plants, for he is frequently forced by circumstances to make use of the prevailing flora. With what keen appetite have we not often devoured some inconspicuous fruit which the Indians designated as edible! Hunger is always one of the most formidable enemies for travellers in this region of the globe. During my short stay with the Aguaruna Indians I learned to know as edible the tender shoots of two palm trees. The names of these palms were tuntuám and uyáy. In order to reach this food one has to cut the entire tree (which brought anguish to my soul, but hunger is all powerful). These shoots are eaten raw or cooked in water. If you cook the shoots, you may drink the water as soup. The taste was similar to that of white cabbage.

26: Brüning--66-67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 137

I have eaten the following wild-growing fruits (or I have watched others eating them): the nut [67] of the ivory-palm before it was fully matured. The Indians calle it tšapi, the whites tagua. The fruit of a passion-flower, called antšímuntše: It tastes well, similar to our goose-berry. Furthermore, the fruit na(h) ahálp which has the size of a small orange and the yellow color of an orange; its skin, however, has greater thickness and firmness. Its stone is so big that there is little space left for the sweet watery meat. We found this fruit at the eastern foot of the mountain, a little above Nazaret on the Marañón. Along the Marañón tributaries we found a fruit which is called pacáy in the Quichua language and huava along the north coast of Peru. Along the Marañón, however, these fruits can be found not on large trees but on low shrubs. Moreover, the pod was at the most 10 cm. long, while along the coast it had a length up to 50 cm. Otherwise the two fruits seemed to me the same. The Indians call this fruit which grows in their territory wámbokiš. It consists of a dark-green, leatherlike pod in which there are the black beanlike seeds bedded in a white, cottonlike, sweet mass. The white mass is the edible part. The aforementioned are according to my information, the articles of food provided by the primeval forest. But there are certainly more.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

133 1. View of the middle Rio Upano north of Huambi,
• 137 looking eastward (1956–57).

34:Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

2. Side view of a Jivaro house and its surrounding garden (upper Río Yuquipa region, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-9/

14:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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317
258
438

16. The saline spring from which almost all of the salt used by the interior Jivaro is obtained. Those living within a day or two of the spring boil the water in pots and trade the resultant salt to more distant neighborhoods (near the upper Río Mangosiza in the eastern Cordillera de Cuenca, 1956-57).

/p. 139-40/

34:Harner E-4, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

179 been made possible by the development of trade with the
189 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowgum
298 and curare. Formerly, blowgum and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by hosting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[919]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
229 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
179 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

179 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading-partners from the frontier Jivaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
179 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
298 firearms, blowgun and poisoned darts are rarely used any
411
814

1: Karsten--87 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 141 (1928-29)

"The warlike customs and the harsh life of the JIBAROS has influenced them physically as well as mentally. For a people of the tropical virgin forests they are rather strongly built and muscular. The independent and arrogant character of the Jibaro Indian also shows itself in his bearing, gestures, and his manner of speech, and makes him seem taller than he really is. Regarded from a European point of view he is rather below medium height, but hardly shorter than other Indians of Western Amazonas. The height however varies considerably. The tallest Jibaro Indian I met measured 174 cm., the shortest--the great chief Nayapi at Puyu--only 146 cm. Five other men measured by me showed a height of 154, 158, 160, 163 and 165 cm. The women are of course shorter. Their height seems to vary roughly between 142 and 152 cm."

4: Up de Graff--195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 302, 141, 482

"Passing on to the women of the tribe, there are a few outstanding characteristics to be noted. Their hair is not allowed to grow much below the shoulders, in direct opposition to our own more modern practice. They stand about 5 feet 3 inches on an average, are well-built and strong, move with the grace of a jaguar (I select this animal as being a native of the same woods), and are as much at home in the water as on the land. They do all the packing when the family is on the move, being capable of lifting 100 lbs. to their shoulders and moving through the forest with perfect ease."

12: Rivet--358 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 141, 152

Physically, the Jíbaro represents the most handsome and most robust Indian type that I have seen in the Republic of Ecuador. Their fiery manner, even arrogance, makes them appear bigger than their brothers of the Sierra. In reality, this is simply an illusion, for those that I have met were of small stature and the two individuals that I studied were respectively $1^{m}63$ and $1^{m}59$ (1) (fig. 3). Their body is in general very well developed; the muscles of the limbs give an impression of suppleness and of strength. Their skin is light brown (2) (no. 22 according to my two subjects by the chromatic scale of Broca). The cephalic index according to my measurements was 82.0 for one and 84.1 for the other. Their craniums would therefore be classified among the subbrachycephalic.

1. These two Jíbaros came to Riobamba from the region of Macas. The complete measurements that I took on them will be studied later.

2. A great many authors have pointed out the clear tint of the Jíbaros and the presence of the beard among a certain number of them, characteristics that they have attributed to the mixtures resulting from the abductions of the white women from Logroño and Sevilla de Oro. The same remark has been made about the Ayulis (Vargas, op. cit.). I have not ascertained the fact from any of the individuals that I have examined.

14: Meyers--85-86 (No date) 1937 Jivaro-1
116, 141

"The following measurements were taken from Jibaros occupying the land between the Rio Marañon and the Rio Aipona. The Aipona is really a loop of the Maranon, dropping to the south, then rejoining the parent stream further down its course.

The party started from Trujillo, Peru, taking the train to Cajamorca. From there a railroad blaze was followed to Limoń. From Limoń to our objective, dugout canoes were used.

The major purpose of the expedition was to obtain 'tsantsas', or dried heads. Four weeks were spent among the Jibaro who, though warriors by profession, are not as savage as generally believed. Although they were a little afraid of my instruments at first, presents and bribes made them see the light. [86]

maximum length male	190.0mm.	maximum length female	182.8 mm.
minimum " "	169.8mm.	minimum " "	168.0mm.
maximum breadth male	152.6mm.	maximum breadth female	152.0mm.
minimum " "	137.2mm.	minimum " "	137.2mm.
maximum aricular height male	148.0mm.	maximum aricular height female	143.3mm.

14: Meyers--85-86 (No dates) 1937 Jivaro-2
116, 141

minimum aricular height male	132.1mm.	minimum aricular height female	132.5mm.
maximum cephalic index male	84.25	maximum cephalic index female	86.92
minimum cephalic index male	73.60	minimum cephalic index female	70.79
average cephalic index male	78.65	average cephalic index female	83.48
maximum length height index male	81.91	maximum length height index female	82.80
minimum length height index male	73.80	minimum length height index female	75.90
average length height index male	77.11	average length height index female	80.05
maximum nasal index male	69.5	maximum nasal index female	64.7
minimum nasal index male	48.0	minimum nasal index female	50.1

14: Meyers 85-86 (No date) 1937 Jivaro-3
116, 141

average nasal index male	60.6	average nasal index female	51.4
maximum stature males	1920mm.	maximum stature females	1727mm.
minimum stature males	1490mm.	minimum stature females	1450mm.
average stature males	1772mm.	average stature females	1673mm.

mean average for both groups 1722mm."

25: Vigna--36 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 141, 152

The Jíbaro, barbarous and savage as the forest of which he feels incontestable king, is born and bred in a constant fight against the untoward elements of atmosphere, climate, marvellous tropical vegetation and under brush, and the innumerable adversities of nature. He is physically very well-developed, and though not very tall (1.60-1.70 m.), he is robust, muscular and well-proportioned. In bearing he is noble and haughty.

26: Brüning--49 [2] (1902) 1928 Ifaro
116, 141

I saw the first Indians in Nazaret on the Mochingis. They were only a square loin cloth (itipe). I was favorably impressed by the muscular and evenly built upper part of the body. The Indians are of sub-medium stature and slender rather than corpulent. Their facial expression is friendly rather than stern, and one is inclined to trust them. Their bearing is straight and erect. This favorable impression disappears if they put on shirt and trousers, which some have adopted.

1: Karsten--87 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142 (1928-29)

"The colour of the skin is light brown, perhaps lighter than is the rule among the Indians of the Amazon territory. The hair is black, coarse, and generally straight, the eyes dark brown, the nose regular and straight, seldom aquiline, in some individuals somewhat broad and flat, the mouth and the lips normal, and the chin slight. The form of the skull places the Jibaro Indian among the brachycephalic races. The face is round or slightly oval and the features as a rule regular and pleasant. Protruding cheek-bones occur in some individuals, but is not a common feature, and there is no prognathism. On the whole the average Jibaro Indian is a fine-looking fellow, making an agreeable impression."

I. Karsten--87-88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142, 152 (1928-29)

"His proportionately built and well-developed body bears witness to the mobile life he leads and the continual physical culture to which he subjects himself from very childhood, just as his vivid look radiates that intelligence and energy which is one of his chief mental characteristics. At the same time his whole personality and his vehement speech and gestures give expression to those strong emotions and passions [88] which have made the Jibaro Indians famous and which they have especially shown in relation to their enemies."

1: Karsten--88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142 (1928-29)

"The average height of the CANELOS INDIANS is about the same as that of the Jibaros proper. Since they are a mixed race they show anthropologically a greater variety of types than the latter. Whereas some show an approximation to the robust type characteristic of the mountain Indians, others, in regard to the build of their body and the features of their face, stand nearer the forest Indians. The Canelos Indians are wont to make journeys to the Sierra and are accustomed to the harsher climate prevailing in the mountain regions, but in their whole mode of life they are, like the Jibaros proper, a typical people of the tropical virgin forests."

4: Up de Graff--193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 142, 304, 481

"The personal appearance of the Antipas is briefly as follows: The men are shorter than we are, averaging avout 5 feet 6 inches, are muscularly built, and many are covered with the scars of spear wounds, the marks of warfare; they are swifter of foot than we, compare well with monkeys in agility (they are wonderful tree climbers) and are all apparently well-nourished and well-conditioned. From childhood up they have their front teeth filed to a sharp point and coated with a jet-black shining vegetable pigment which produces the same effect as nitrate of silver. The hair on the top of their heads is the only hair on their bodies, but that is magnificent. It falls on an average to their waists, sometimes even as far as their knees, is jet-black, straight and glossy. They wear it flying loose like a thoroughbred's mane before it is cropped, only occasionally winding it round their necks as, for example when they are weaving or cooking, and coiling it on the tops of their heads, as a Turk would his turban when travelling or hunting in the forest. They seldom adorn it with feathers or other ornaments. Their skins are more chocolate than red-brown. Technically speaking, they cannot be described as 'red-skins' under any circumstances; occasionally we met with signs of their having mingled with the colonials of Borja whose women their ancestors carried off into captivity. Their eyes are invariably black when uninfluenced by this intermarriage with the white race. We met a few with a trace of whiskers. Their toes are splayed like those of all bare-foot savages, and they make considerable use of them as secondary hands."

4: Up de Graff--194 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 142

"As for the facial characteristics of these men they resemble the Mongol type far more than they do the North American Indian; the form of their face, their eyes, and the lack of hair on their chins are reminiscent of the Chinese."

12: Rivet--358-359 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 142

The face is wide, as is the forehead which is straight and fairly high, the brow ridges are not pronounced, the eyes are large and horizontal, the iris dark brown (no. 1 by Broca's chromatic scale in my two subjects), the cheek bones laterally widened. [357] The nose is straight, wide, and flat. I have found as the nasal index: 85.7 and 74.3. One of my Indians was therefore platyrrhine and the other mesorrhine. The mouth is not large and the lips are not thick; there is no prognathism. The neck is short. Their hair, a beautiful black, is coarse, rough to the touch, stiff, straight, and hanging. They do not have beards or moustaches.

13: Rivet--75-76 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 142

It is impossible to determine exactly the age of the victims. It seems, however, that most of the tsantsas are skins of men in the prime of life. White hair has only been found on two of the mummies described by Collini and on my specimens (e) and (f); but it is important to note that the Jívaros, like all the Indians of Ecuador,[76] rarely have white hair. (1) A tsantsa described by Virchow, which came from an individual about 50 years old, showed no trace of it. (2)

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1. In Ecuador, I have often heard the following saying. "An Indian with white hair is more than a hundred years old".

2. Virchow. Eine prïparirte Kopf- und Gesichtshaut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

The hair in general is very pretty; its length varies from 32 to 65 cm. The hair usually hangs loose but sometimes is braided. It is smooth, coarse and strong, but also [77] supple. It always shows a tendency to a certain waviness without ever being curly. Usually it is jet black, shiny. Sometimes it is very dark chestnut, rarely light auburn. Sometimes it shows red lights, but I am not sure whether this coloring, which is always found near the roots and parts next to the face should be attributed to an impregnation of the red coloring which they use in tatooing. Virchow has made a very careful study of the hair of a tsantsa. I quote from his memoir (1) the following details, "Although to the naked eye the hair was ebony black, the microscope revealed quite a number of light hairs with little color. Certain hairs were large and yellow, and showed, beneath a thin, colorless layer, a light yellow substance in which were found very small yellow-brown grains of pigment in short rows, usually fuseform, and in the center an abundant medullary substance of rather angular shape, slightly more granular, and usually of brown-yellow color. Most of the hair, on the other hand, had a completely colorless cortex. Small black isolated grains were scattered through it uniformly in the center, more com-

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1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit. p. 79-80

pactly on the periphery; the cuticle was a little thicker, and instead of a medullary substance there was often only a series of clear spaces. It was only in isolated examples of especially thick hair that a dark brown medullary substance occurred. In general, this was small and in no case really black. Only a few rare examples appeared completely black or brownish black; but even with these the pigment was more compact at the periphery. On the darkest examples, there was only a narrow transparent circle around a very small and black medullary substance.

"The hair varied a great deal in diameter. The finest examples were circular in cross-section; the coarsest examples were oval, flattened, [78] lenticular or reniform in cross section; and quite a number had triangular cross-sections with rounded angles; these were almost always coarse specimens with a brownish black marginal zone, a lighter center, and a smaller dark medullary substance. The medullary substance of the oval or flattened hairs was either quite small or quite light.

13: Rivet--78 (no date) 1908 Jivaro
116, 142, 727

The skin is usually like oiled black leather, but sometimes it is deep brown or even light brown; in cross-section it has a light brown pigment. Extremely tough and resistant, it is not brittle. Frequently one sees reddish areas or lines of tattooing. Moreno Maiz, on his cross-sections made transparent by turpentine treatment, observed that it had preserved all the anatomical elements(sudoriparous ducts and glands, pilous roots, sebaceous glands, dermis, and epidermic layer) (1). Generally, there is neither beard nor moustache. Sometimes however, there are some stiff, rough hairs on the upper lip and cheek, and Example B even shows a little moustache and a short beard.

The eyebrows are quite often long and thick. On Example E, some hairs measure 2 cm. They are almost always black, but sometimes they are chestnut.

The eyelids are inverted and closed. Quite often the traces of a seam sewing them together are visible. One can sometimes perceive a few black eyelashes.

The nasal-buccal region is always projected very far in front like a snout. The nose, the end of which is turned up and often flattened, is widened, and there is a break at its root, as if it had been jerked forward and upward. The nostrils have wide openings, pointing almost directly forward, allowing the fairly numerous hairs within the cavity to be seen; sometimes they are completely obliterated by a kind of pitch. Rarely, there is a perforation in the septum and immediately below this a median orifice.

1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 187.

18: Hermessen--440 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 142

"The men were rather under middle height, thick-set, and with broad, well-developed chest and large hands and feet. They had mahogany-tinted skins and tolerable regular features. Several of them had their teeth stained black."

20: Dyott--157 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 555, 142

"We watched Kuashu as he sat talking to his sons. He was an unusually muscular fellow, in spite of his forty-five years of age. His hair was turning grey, and elaborate ornaments indicated that he was a personage of some importance. He had been a great warrior in his time, and was still full of physical vigour: we could see as much from the very emphatic way he had of speaking."

20: Dyott--190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 142, 563

"Johnston commented on the fact that Kuashu had evidences of quite a strong growth of hair on his chin. I had told him that, surprising as it might be, none of these forest dwellers ever grow beards. He therefore wanted some explanation for the phenomena exhibited by Kuashu's face.

In the sixteenth century, when a few Spanish settlements flourished in what is now called the Ecuadorean Oriente, the Indians resented the slavery imposed upon them by the Spanish invaders, and finally united in a combined effort to rid themselves of their common foe, who seemed to be endangering their existence. A wholesale revolt against the whites ensued, and several villages were completely annihilated. This, as I have already stated, was the fate that befell Sevilla de Oro, and the Spanish women living there were taken prisoners and carried off into the forest wilderness, where they became the mothers of subsequent Jivaro children. This infusion of Spanish blood shows itself in the bearded faces which are occasionally met with in this area."

22: Hamy--389 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 142, 175

"However incomplete and vague the descriptions of the Jivaros may be, we must reproduce them with whatever details the travelers can give. They describe the Jivaro as being of slim build, the men being a little taller than average, and the women a little smaller. The body is well formed; the limbs are quite muscular, robust and agile; the constitution is strong and healthy. Nothing has been said of the form of the head; the face appears to be orthognathous or slightly prognathous; the forehead is bare [découvert], the nose aquiline, sometimes slightly upturned; the eyes are small and black, horizontally directed and very lively; the lips are fine and the teeth ivory white. The hair, usually very black is sometimes of a reddish brown; the beard is thin and when it is more apparent, it is attributed, like the light coloring of several individuals to the crossing of these with the Spaniards. There is nothing, extremely characteristic, unfortunately, in this picture of the Jivaro."

26: Brüning--49 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 142

The color of their skin is a dark brown. I noticed very little difference between the color of the covered and the naked parts of their body. They themselves maintain that the color is caused by the sun.

The cheekbones are strongly protruding. The inner corner of the eyelids are slightly pulled down, but not to such an extent as with the Chinese. In general they have a wide mouth. They have a somewhat hanging lower lip. The teeth are well developed and healthy. The bridge of the nose is narrow and sometimes somewhat bent; the sides of the nose are wide and look inflated; therefore, upon first sight, they appear flat-nosed. Across the toes the feet are wide, and the big toe is usually somewhat protruding.

The hair of the head is strongly developed in both sexes. Males and females wear it long. It seemed to me that their hair was not as thick and coarse as that of the coastal Indians. It is dark black and has, when wet, a blueish hue. I did not notice any facial hair growth. But there is rather plentiful hair about the genitals and less of it in the arm-pits. This is true of the male Indian. I did not have an opportunity to study the situation with respect to women, since they do not denude themselves in the presence of strangers.

28: Tessman--343 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 142, 152

The Aguaruna man on Plate 61 is a fairly typical representative of his tribe. The soft, almost feminine features and the sweet smile are in diametrical contrast to the blood-thirsty character of the Chiwaros.

The Indian photographed--his name is Sanchuma--has perpetrated a number of murders.

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
(237) shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[834] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[144] tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro oontent himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

3. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-C/

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[482]

4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

/p. 90-D/

14:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

8. Hunter returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blow gun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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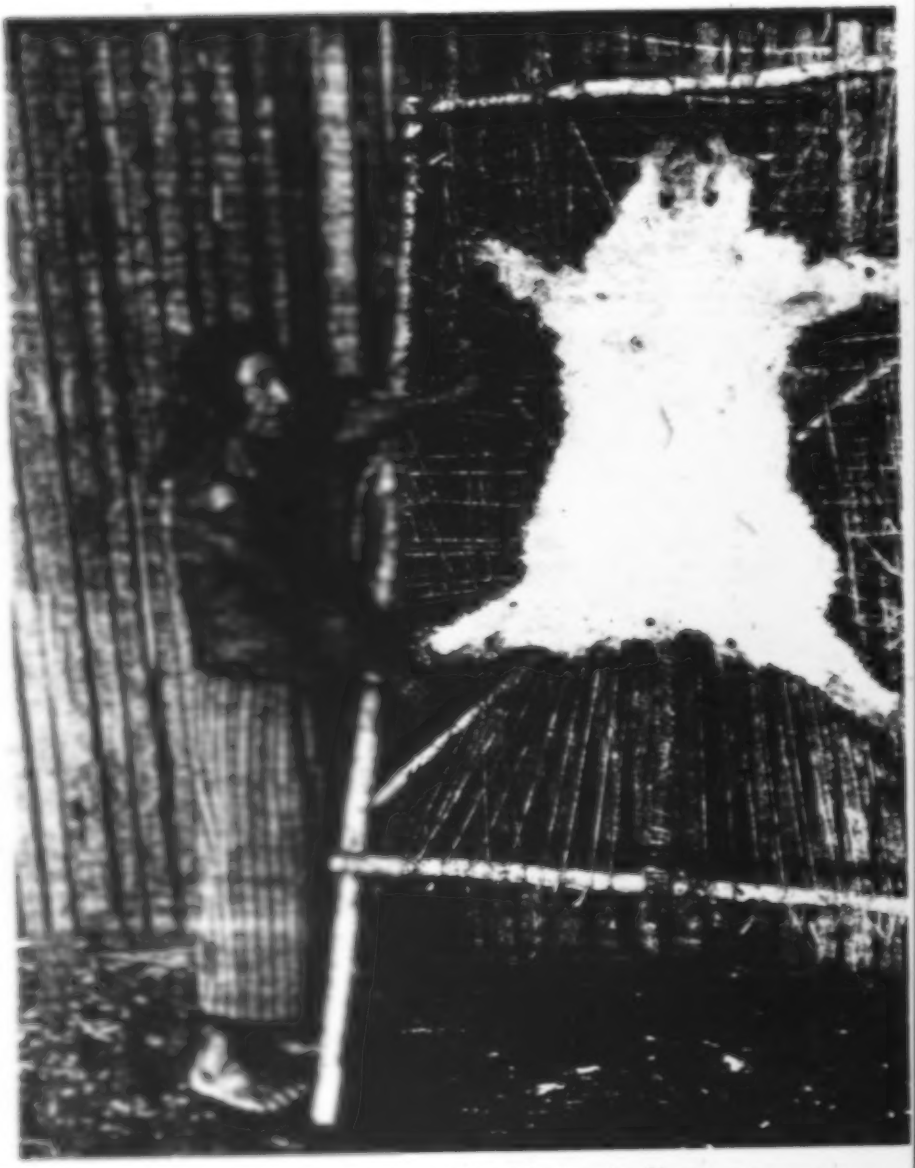
/p. 90-F/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-G/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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12. Man wearing an *etsemat* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).*

13. Profile of the same individual.

/p.. 138-A/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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14. Man with *etsemat* and eat sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *etsemat* in place.

/p. 138-B/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 142
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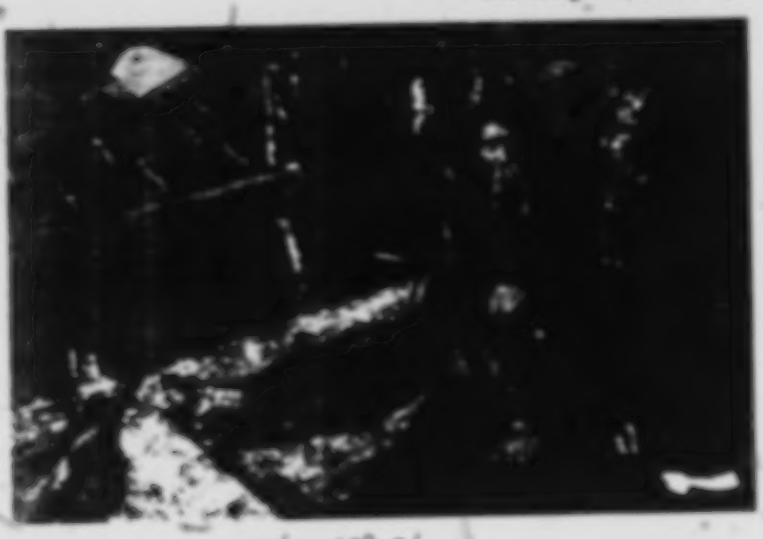
[415]
[279]

16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).



/p. 138-C/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 142
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19. Man wearing hair unbound, as is often customary when at home in the absence of visitors (Río Cangaimi, 1916-17).

20. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-a/

143

143 GENETICS—Blood groupings, color blindness, hemophilia, incidence of sex-linked characteristics (e.g., other data of specific genetic significance (e.g., unusual roentgen penetrations or luminescence), etc. See also: Human albino hospital 427

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., SS18 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

3: Simson--389-390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 144, 197

"Canelos, the once attractive Spanish settlement, but now forlorn Indian village is situated on the left* bank of the Bobonaza, one of the most important, if not the largest, of the tributaries of the Upper Pastassa, and is inhabited by a mixed tribe of Indians, in whom the chief element is Jívaro; though [390] some of the better traits of these seem to be wanting in them. Their language is Quichua."

"* Professor Orton in 'The Andes and the Amazon,' says on the right; but he never went there."

4: Up de Graff--193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
144

"Occasionally we met with signs of their having mingled with the colonials of Borja whose women their ancestors carried off into captivity. Their eyes are invariably black when uninfluenced by this intermarriage with the white race."

25. Vigna--35 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 144, 171

The Jíbaro group differs greatly from the other natives of Ecuador, in tradition, custom, and language. Types who show evidence of crossing with the white race are difficult to find, and the few and rare cases can only be explained by the abduction of white women by the Jíbaros in reprisals of vengeance.

26: Brüning--49 [4] (1902) 1928
116, 144

In Numpatkai, on the left bank of the Marañón, I have seen
young ones, who had dark-chestnut brown hair. These are
women who had been kidnapped by the Indians.

/33 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

1: Karsten--226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
145 (1928-29)

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jibaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black."

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large
[202] wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness
[412] and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapiwiuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both
513 in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 Each household has either a single large garden or several
[351] smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the
• [146] exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons; of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exlusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
512 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
313 with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.
[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaró SD9

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276

To assure success in hunting, young men (both married and unmarried) may join together in a small group under the supervision of an older master of ceremony (*uwa*) to inhale tobacco smoke for a three-day period during which they alternate the smoke-inhalation sessions with hunting in the forest with blowguns. During the ritual sessions, called *kunipan*, the men take turns blowing tobacco smoke through guadua bamboo tubes into each other's lungs. It is believed that a man must entirely swallow the smoke he receives in order to be certain that he will not fail as a hunter.

225

A variety of fish and shellfish is present in streams and rivers, but swift currents and the small size of many water-courses seem to limit the degree of emphasis on their exploitation in many localities. Fishing roughly contributes perhaps only a little over 5 per cent of the total diet, significantly less than hunting. Corvina, suckers, and sheat-fish are taken from main streams and rivers, while crayfish and fresh-water crabs are gathered in the shallows. [146]

Fishing techniques range from simply seizing fish by hand to complex river-poisoning operations. The fish that are caught bare-handed belong mostly to a species (*nayumpi*) capable of fastening itself to the underside of river boulders by means of a suction pad appendage. Hook-and-line fishing is done from a riverbank. Any handy stick is used for a pole, while an iron trade hook is baited with a piece of manioc, ripe plantain, or an earthworm.

A few men possess rectangular throw nets for catching medium-sized fish. A pair of fishermen, or a man and his wife, enter the shallows about ten feet apart. One tosses an end of the net to his companion with a circular motion. As the net is drawn to shore, balsa wood floats support its top edge, while stone sinkers keep it vertical in the water. Good-

14:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

225 sized fish are also caught in deeper waters with a special thin, long palm wood thrusting spear.

225 Fish poisoning is undertaken perhaps every few weeks to
218 secure a large catch. Men, women, and children from several neighboring houses usually participate. They select a section of river where it is bisected by an island or sandbar, to which the men and boys construct a low dam of river boulders from one bank. This stone dam is constructed to form a lagoon where the poison can sufficiently take effect in the slowed current. Other men meanwhile build split bamboo grating-like fish traps at central low points on the dam and prepare the fish poison.

[824] Three types of plant piscicides are used: *timo* (in Spanish, *barbasco*), *mano*, and *payal*. *Timo* is considered the best of these, but is used in combination with *mano* for maximum success. Large quantities are required, and the fishermen often prepare six to eight bushel-sized baskets. They pound the plants to a pulp between river boulders and dump them into the water upstream. If all goes well, within twenty to thirty minutes stunned fish begin rising to the surface and float toward the dam. The men who constructed the traps seize the fish as they are washed onto the bamboo gratings. Everyone else, regardless of age or sex, wades into the lagoon and grabs for fish. Each person owns whatever he catches, although he often may give some of his catch to a less fortunate participant. Fish poisoning is sometimes pursued at night because the fish tend to be nearer the surface and therefore more susceptible to the poison. Both poisoning and netting are more effectively conducted during dry periods, when the rivers and streams are low and the current slow.

622 Gathering activities contribute quantitatively relatively
[146] little to the diet, approximately 5 per cent annually, but do provide a variety of delicacies to supplement it. Various species

1: Karsten--40-41 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
151 (1928-29)

"It is especially on journeys on the river that one has an opportunity to watch that wonderful faculty of observation which is so strongly developed in the savage Indian as in man in his natural state in general. His eyes and ears are always alert; sometimes he watches the river itself, sometimes the leafy heads of the trees, sometimes his keen eyes penetrate [41] the thickets of the forest where he is able to detect forms of life which wholly evade the observation of civilized man. The least noise instantly arouses his attention and as a rule he is able to decide at once from what it proceeds."

1: Karsten--490 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros have a natural esthetic sense, a fact of which everybody who sees an ethnographic collection from these Indians can convince himself. Their clay vessels attract attention through the almost classical harmony of the lines, and similarly the way in which they combine colours in their feather ornaments, etc., reveals a natural sense of colour."

1: Karsten--501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151, 775, 825 (1928-29)

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

1: Karsten--502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533, 177, 151 (1928-29)

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro -1
116, 562, 151

"Amongst all Indians 'Women's Rights' are at a very low stage of advancement; but amongst the Canelos probably more so than others. As with many tribes, the young male grows up very independent; and as soon as he can run about, rapidly acquires all the habits and vices of his elders. His day is chiefly spent in lolling round about the village, or further in the woods, with his blow gun, which he learns to use from childhood to the destruction of all the small birds. He also learns to fish and follow game, and soon becomes an adept in woodcraft, recognising at a glance the slightest trace of a track of man or animal, the nature of the thicket before him and the trees above him; and,when still a boy, every tree and spot for miles around his home is familiar to him. Besides this, he acquires that knowledge, almost instinctive in the Indian, of locality and direction, so difficult to understand, but which undoubtedly is instilled into the mind by the almost unconscious observation primarily of the position of the heavenly bodies, the direction of prevailing winds as frequently illustrated in the [391] growth of mosses and lichens, and the bend of trees, the general currents of the smallest streams, and the closest appreciation of many minor sources of enlightenment which would escape the notice of any but the most practised woodsman. It is truly marvellous to witness the knowledge an Indian displays (especially the Záparos) in detecting the presence of animals and tracking them, without even following on their trail half the time, when the unsophisticated can neither see nor hear anything to indicate that game has been or actually is near at hand. For an Indian, the slightest sound, rustle, or a glimpse of the

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro-2
116, 562, 151

tip of a feather indicates to him at once all the particulars and species of a bird that may be hidden in the dense wood at the top of a tree through the heavy foliage of which it seems impossible to discern anything."

12: Rivet--602 -603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151

Other qualities make the Jíbaros marvelous men in the woods. All the travelers have pointed out the development of their sense of direction (1), so remarkable that they have been tempted to see in it a true instinct. In reality, this astonishing faculty rests on the observation of many details that escape the stranger, perhaps on the observation of the heavens; but above all it is the direction of the dominant winds, the location of mosses and lichens on bark, the curvature of trees, and the direction of stream currents which furnish the Indian the necessary elements for guiding himself through the vast forests with all certainty. Sight and hearing are developed in a remarkable manner. The ear of the savage permits him to interpret the least noise, his eye notices apparently insignificant details. The sense of smell is equally acute. However, it appears that the Zaparos excel the Jíbaros on this point; in fact they are capable of finding an [603] animal without constantly following his trail; and the missionaries often had occasion to make use of this unusual gift in order to find again those of their neophytes who, loving liberty more than theology, fled from the Mission settlement (2).

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1. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 345.
2. Simson, op. cit., page 390.

12: Rivet--603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151, 224

Perfect knowledge of the forest and its inhabitants, great power of observation, an inexhaustible patience, an unheard of endurance, make the Jíbaro a hunter without peer. Hunting the tayo (Nyctidromus), the femurs of which serve to make the ornament which I described under the name tayucunchi, is one of the biggest occupations. This very mistrustful bird lives in numerous bands and sleeps in caves in rock cliffs. When the Indian discovered one of these refuges, he goes late at night and closes the opening and smokes out the poor creatures or captures them all simply by hand.

20: Dyott--161 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"Once we were well clear of the house, the pace was slackened and we moved more cautiously, stopping every once in a while to listen to some forest sound that suggested the presence of game. From the moment we left, not a word had been uttered. Indians seldom talk when on the move unless they are drunk or returning from a successful chase. I have often marvelled at their ability to keep silent and pass through the densest brush without snapping a twig. The average white man with his chatter and awkward movements, disturbs the game and advertises his approach more surely than any elephant in its passage through a bamboo forest."

20: Dyott--161-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"An Indian whose hunting propensities have been aroused is a magnificent sight. To see the same man stretched out on his rack at home, you would say he was a monument of sluggish lethargy, but in the forest--what a difference! The slightest sound made by animal or bird electrifies him into action. With muscles taut, he will creep off silently as a ghost, leap on to a fallen tree, run along its slippery trunk with the agility of a panther, and vanish. For some minutes you will watch the place where he disappeared, wondering what has happened to [162] him, anxiety taking the place of wonder, and then a grunt from behind startles you out of your senses. You swing round and there stands your companion unconcernedly holding in his hand a dead tucan or some other evidence of his skill as a hunter."

20: Dyott-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224

"Kuashu's attention would often be arrested by some trivial sound. He would stop instantaneously, and the moment he did so everyone else followed suit. A few grimaces would be exchanged between the men, all of which had some peculiar significance which they understood, and then on again we would go.

We had been wandering about the forest for over an hour when Himbikti, in the rear, gave a low whistle, imitating the call of a paujil. It was a recognized signal, for immediately everyone became rigid. Kuashu turned his head slowly to inquire what was happening. Himbikti pointed with his chin, in the direction of some tree-tops. The movement of an arm might be seen, and is seldom employed when hunting. From the branches of a big tree, not far away, came a faint chirping. The men looked at each other and grinned. At first, it was hard to distinguish the sound from the other jungle noises, but soon even my poorly trained ears recognized the call of Humboldt's woolly monkey."

20: Dyott-166-167 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 521

"Our conversation with the stranger disclosed the fact that he was called Napi, and that he was on speaking terms with Kuashu's family. He lived several days to the south on the Paute river, and had taken an opportunity of travelling with two other men who were on their way to visit friends living not far off. Before all this information had been divulged, Napi had joined our group, and we were all making tracks for home.

On the way back, we climbed up a steep, muddy bank. [167] Half-way up the slippery slope, Kuashu stopped, his eyes on the ground, examining some footsteps which had been plainly impressed in the clay-like soil. They were those of Napi's travelling companions.

'Why are your friends carrying such heavy loads?' he asked. 'And the young woman with you, is she your wife?' Napi shook his head.

'No, the woman belongs to one of the other men.' And he went on to explain that his companions had brought over two loads of salt which they had promised their friends some months back.

Kuashu seemed to be a past-master at interpreting human foot-prints. To him they were like an open book. He explained in reply to our inquiries that the habit women had of carrying bundles from early childhood caused their feet to turn in, the angle generally becoming more pronounced the older the woman became. Men always turned their feet outwards and the heel is much larger in proportion. Kuashu was quick to note that the toes of the two men were dug deeply into the soft ground, indicating that they were carrying heavy loads and were obliged to get a good foothold at every step."

20: Dyott--169-170 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224, 868

"As the weather kept fine, another excursion to the forest was planned. Kuashu, Himbikti and the small boy Katani, made up the party. Mihanda and We-suma left on some secret mission, the import of which we were to learn later, while Napi went off by himself to pay a few calls on his friends.

Our ramble through the jungle proved particularly interesting as it threw considerable light on the way children are brought up and the kind of rough education they are put through by their elders. Katani seemed quite a favourite with his grandfather, and the old man never lost an opportunity of instructing him in the use of his eyes or help develop his powers of simple deduction. [170]

We are all aware how easily some people get dizzy and lose their sense of the horizontal, but we do not realize how civilization has blurred our sense of direction. You will, however, soon find out if ever you happen to be dropped down in some virgin forest in the heart of nowhere. You will walk in circles, regardless of all nature's sign-posts which she displays for your benefit. An Indian teaches his sons to note the direction of streams, the inclination of the ground, the length of the shadows--anything, in fact, which makes him use his eyes and put two and two together so that they make four and not sixes or sevens."

20: Dyott--170-171 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 151, 224, 868

"Barely fifteen minutes after our start, some tapir's tracks excited Kuashu's curiosity. They were almost invisible to me, except when we followed them out into the open across a small sand-bar near the river. After what seemed like a cursory examination, Kuashu had an interesting story to tell. He pointed out to Katani how the tracks started wandering hither and thither till at a certain spot they took a straight line for the river's margin, at which point their character changed. From this it was deduced that the animal had been disturbed while feeding , and in all probability, frightened to such a degree that he had charged through the underbrush in a hurry. Himbikti's observant eye noticed a few bloodstains on the bushes, and where small branches had been broken off he pointed out a few hairs adhering to their jagged extremities.

The whole story in English was plain enough. The tapir had been walking quietly through the woods when a jaguar had pounced upon his back. Unable to rid himself of his assailant, the tapir had wisely bolted for the river, charging through the thicket hoping to scrape his adversary off his back by so doing. The jaguar was not going to forsake his prey so easily and held on tenaciously until the wily tapir had plunged into the river and then, of course, he had to let go, or drown, because his victim could remain [171] under water much longer than he could. Farther down the stream, we encountered the tracks of the disappointed jaguar, where he had swum ashore and taken himself off to the forest.

All the points of the lesson having been duly expounded, we sat down on the bank of the Upano in the shade to stretch our limbs. Some years previously, Kuashu must have had an encounter with a three-toed sloth near this very spot, for he began telling Katani of the event, pointing aloft to the sprawling limbs of a tall tree, and telling how he had ascended into the topmost branches and there slain the animal with his spear. This curious denizen of the forest called U-yushi by the Indians, will hang upside-down for hours at a time from the roof of the jungle, looking like a huge parasitic plant rooted to the spot. Kuashu told Katani that many years ago this animal was a man, a very old man called U-nupi, who belonged to an enemy tribe. He was married, of course, and his wife's name was U-nuchi, and he had a brother called Yungra. U-nupi. was such a lazy fellow that he would not even take the trouble to build a house, but lived up in the trees instead. In this secure position, he slept so much and hunted so seldom that in the end his children turned into animals."

25: Vigna --43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 151, 533

The Jíbaro is very seldom out of tune in his songs, for he has a very keen ear. He uses a reed flute, and through a simple melody with an inflection of sadness he expresses his sentiments. Many times, sweethearts communicate their love by means of these melodies.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported
114 changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

121 It should be pointed out that the material that follows
124 often includes consideration of causal factors from the informants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis of causal relationships within their own culture. On the
121 contrary, I have found that the Jívaro are extremely aware of,
124 and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives; and
• 151 normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I
181 proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jívaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

1: Karsten--60 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
152, 609 (1928-29)

„My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguańchi (evil spirit) would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed, 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaëma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the

house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father."

1: Karsten--65 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 628 (1928-29)

"Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited."

1: Karsten--87 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152 (1928-29)

"The independent and arrogant character of the Jibaro Indian also shows itself in his bearing, gestures, and his manner of speech, and makes him seem taller than he really is."

1: Karsten--87-88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142, 152 (1928-29)

"His proportionately built and well-developed body bears witness to the mobile life he leads and the continual physical culture to which he subjects himself from very childhood, just as his vivid look radiates that intelligence and energy which is one of his chief mental characteristics. At the same time his whole personality and his vehement speech and gestures give expression to those strong emotions and passions [88] which have made the Jibaro Indians famous and which they have especially shown in relation to their enemies."

1: Karsten--216 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 833, 152 (1928-29)

"It has generally been assumed that among the majority of savage races the sexual instinct is very strongly developed and 'sexual life carried on very intensely' (1) and this generalizing statement is naturally meant to apply to the savages of the New World also. My own impression is that this assertion at any rate does not hold true of the Indians of South America, and particularly not of the tribes with which I am concerned here. When a Jibaro Indian has caught a woman whom he particularly likes, it is natural that at first he gives vent to his passion for her, and he may then have intercourse with her even several times during a night. But excesses of this kind are by no means the general rule among the Jibaros, who on the whole do not indulge in sexual relations more than most white people do, rather less. There is in fact on this point a notable difference between the whites and the mestizos on the one hand and the Indians on the other. The Jibaro Indian's capability of exercising control over himself in the sexual domain is shown by his readiness to submit himself to the prohibition of sexual intercourse during more or less protracted periods. We have already seen the Indians observing

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"1. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, I.495 (quoting Malinowsky). Dr. Malinowsky calls his own book, where one single Melanesian tribe is treated of, 'The Sexual Life of Savages.'"

1: Karsten--216 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 833, 152 (1928-29)

sexual abstinence on many occasions, and other similar instances will presently be mentioned. To the Ecuadorian white or mestizo such control over himself would certainly be impossible."

1: Karsten--222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 574 (1928-29)

"I have stated before that jealousy is not particularly characteristic of the Jibaro women who are the co-wives of the same man, which may in part be due to the fact that in many cases they are sisters or near relatives. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the Jibaro men, who generally are very jealous of their wives. The jealousy of the Jibaro men forms part of their general suspiciousness and treacherous character. They can never trust a visiting guest who, even when he seemingly comes as a friend, may nevertheless nourish evil designs, trying to bewitch the women with the evil eye or to seduce them with his love charms. If the Jibaro Indian has found, or believes he has found, his suspicions confirmed, he is terrible in his revenge, and this revenge turns not only against the supposed seducer but also easily against his own wife."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of blood-guiltiness, e.g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance."

1: Karsten--264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 181, 722 (1928-29)

"All these precautions in their way illustrate the almost maniacal suspiciousness and dread of enemies which dominates the Jibaros. The mere discovery of mysterious footprints in the neighbourhood of the house, left by unknown Indians who apparently have gone sneaking about at night, may cause an indescribable excitement in the inhabitants. The footprints are carefully examined for the sake of ascertaining from what tribe they originate, message is sent to neighbouring houses, where further inquiries are made. 'We have found such and such footprints near our house, they are not like the feet of anybody from our own tribe, no one of our relations walks in that way, they must originate from strangers, may be of that and that tribe. Have you noticed anything exciting suspicion in the neighbourhood of your house or seen any strange Indians?', and so forth. Assuming that the mysterious footprints might possibly have been left by enemy spies who are planning an attack against the house, the inhabitants continue their inquiries with the energy that the Jibaros generally display when an important enterprise is in question, and take measures of defence."

1: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775, 152, 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc.--we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

1; Karsten--463 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152 (1928-29)

"...wailing is not limited to the days immediately after death, but is repeated now and then for a long time afterwards, when in one way or another the woman is reminded of her loss. She may suddenly interrupt her work to abandon herself for some moments to an outburst of sorrow, crying loudly and repeating some of the phrases just mentioned. It seems that the arrival of a stranger at the house in particular causes her to repeat the wailing, and a visitor often gets the impression that the crying is a way of welcoming him. One of the guests--so the Jibaro women have explained the matter to me--may remind her in some way of her deceased husband and thus awake in her the sorrow and longing for her dead husband. Or, she recollects how her husband used to receive such gusts. [sic] 'If he had lived now, his first act would have been to call me to bring them manioc-beer.' Such associations of ideas are quite characteristic of the Indian woman. Her wailing after the death of a beloved relative therefore cannot be explained as merely an empty ceremony; it is undoubtedly partly an expression of genuine sorrow, showing the same capability of tender feelings as appears in the lyric poetry of the Indians, for instance in the songs addressed to the birds in connection with certain feasts."

2: Stirling--42 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 609

"When Benavente first encountered the Jivaros he found them thoroughly belligerent and described them as being the most insolent and independent of all of the natives that he had ever seen in the Indies. It is likely that word of Benavente's harsh treatment of some of the Indians bordering on the Jivaro country had preceded him. The fact that he attempted to capture some of the first Jivaros that he saw by setting dogs on them did nothing to assist in attaining for him a friendly reception.

A few years later, when Juan de Salinas first penetrated the Jivaro country and established his colonies, he found the Jivaros a friendly and docile people. He repeatedly contrasts their friendliness and domesticity with the fierce, warlike nature of the tribes encountered in the highlands."

2: Stirling--99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 826, 152

"The Jivaros are as a rule vain of their personal appearance. In this respect the men rather outdo the women. The Jivaro idea of what constitutes good looks does not differ radically from our own. An athletic physique for men and well-rounded contours for women are admired, as are regular features for both sexes.

Long dark hair is desired and this is a feature which almost all possess."

3: Simson--386-387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 595, 152, 837

"Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe--and, I am authoritatively informed, also the [387] other hordes observe the same practice--is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy. "

3: Simson--390 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Canelos are not so jealous of their women as the true Jívaros and the Napos; but retain the valour of the former, and are always ready to face wild animals, or to defend themselves bravely against the attacks of the Jívaros bravos who wometimes fall upon them, and on which occasions they ally with the Indians of the Pintuc and Sarayacu, the latter a village further down the Bobonaza."

4: Up de Graff--193-194 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 301, 555

"They are singularly free from the love of personal adornment which is a characteristic of nearly all savage and semi-savage people. Indeed there is only one orna[194]-ment which they wear, a small tuft of toucan or stork feathers fastened to the lobe of the ear. Furthermore these are worn but infrequently, that is to say for battle or on the occasion of great festivals; finally, the wearing of these feathers is a sure sign of the owner's prowess in the hunt, for to kill either bird with their only means of bringing down game, the blow-gun, is proof of great skill and strength; the toucan always lives among the topmost branches of tall trees and the stork is equally shy; we could never approach within 500 yards of the latter."

4: Up de Graff--196-197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 152, 574

"To take up the tale; we had not to wait more than an hour for the arrival of the chief, a fat, sleek, cunning-looking old thief, who greeted me as his Christian brother and produced a small piece of paper, carefully protected from the elements by a palm leaf, on which was written in ink the name 'Lázaro.' He professed to have been baptized by a Jesuit priest at Macas (where we were destined to go ourselves within a few months). The holy water certainly never penetrated his skin, for to the end of his days he was a shameless rascal, no better than the rest of his kind.

His arrival saved the situation, however, for he spoke Inca (known among the Jívaros as 'the white man's language,' curiously enough, the reason being that it is spoken at all the points of contact between the savage tribes and the outposts of civilization). We always imagined that he owed his chieftainship to the fact that he had lived with the priests, and, later, answered the call of the wild, returning with a wider knowledge of the world than any of his fellows possessed.

He was full of interest concerning our movements. Where had we come from? What were we looking for? Where were we going? Had we any companions, and, if so, where were they? We were subjected to a brisk catechism. Well, we told him we were looking for gold, that we were going up the Santiago (known among the Indians as the Pauts), that we had a camp just below the Pongo, and, above all things, that our camp was one vast treasure-house of presents, such as those we had had the pleasure of giving to his subjects. Indeed, it was a source of great sorrow to us that, owing to the bad going in

the Pongo, we should be unable to bring them up...a pity, for they were certainly a very fine col[197]lection....No, no efforts of ours could overcome the difficulties of navigation in the cañon, with so many heavy dugouts laden with merchandise destined to enrich his people...Yes, a great pity, for we had brought them up from many moons distance expressly for this purpose, having heard of them from other and lesser peoples who trembled at their name.

Pressed to stay with him as the guests of the tribe before returning, we accepted, lamenting once more that we should be unable to give them some small recompense for their generous hospitality, as our stores were irremediably shut off by the Pongo.

After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

4: Up de Graff--197-198 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 753, 152

"While preparing our canoe to cross to our new home, Game happened to pull up his trousers to scratch a bite. His leg was a mass of old scars made by the constant scratching of sand-fly and mosquito bites during the first weeks of our expedition. Many of them had been reopened and were infected, the result being a nasty mess resembling a rash. One sight of his leg, and a general stampede set in. The whole tribe disappeared. In a moment it became clear to us that they feared the small-pox scourge.

It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded the chief to return to within a few yards, from which distance he could be shown that Game was not a victim of the disease; we had to make a long practical demonstration to convince him, but at last he summoned his [198] people to return and we made across to the island."

4: Up de Graff--224-225 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Jívaros are credited by those who have never come into personal contact with them, with many a virtue of which they are entirely innocent. Contrary to what is generally supposed, these untamed sons of the forest are a compendium of all that is cunning, knavish, and diabolical; they have the courage of wild animals in battle, [225] but unlike the latter, their guiding principle is 'every man for himself.' The truth is not in them. Their attempts at understanding the psychology of the white man are even more puerile than were those of the Germans in the Great War. A totally unenlightened race, they must be controlled by fear and superstition."

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 427, 152

"Meanwhile, the bulk of the gathering of Antipas had melted away, leaving only the wise minority, who saw something in the shape of a big haul coming when we turned the bows of our dugouts up the Santiago. Clearly we should leave behind us nine-tenths of our purchases, and the harvest would be rich for those who were there to gather it. (Old 'Pete' had probably warned them to be ready at midnight on our first night out.) Perhaps the bulk of the remainder watched us from the seclusion of the woods as we pushed off, as they hoped, in all innocence.

'Sept. 29th. Having finally satisfied the Antipas, by [242] means of our presents, that we are friendly disposed toward them, and closed the deal with the crew by handing them out their axes, we are due to start at mid-day to-day. 'Pete' and his men are obviously well satisfied with the business they have done. It is quite clear that they contemplate leaving us to-night with much relish.'

About five o'clock that evening we sighted a sand-bar for the first time since entering the Santiago...

That night it fell to Pedro to mount guard from sun-down till midnight. Long ago we had given our time-pieces away to the Antipas up the Maranon, for they were useless impediments. By the time each man of us had jumped overboard half a dozen times to save a paddle, a war-bag, or Ambusha, they were not much use except as presents. In the last-named capacity they were handed out to 'Lázaro,' Pitacunca, and one or two other important gentlemen. The original recipients kept the cases, which they hung

around their necks, and distributed the wheels to their less favoured fellows.

During that watch of his Pedro had no peace. Every few minutes the siege would be renewed. With smiling faces our friends would beg for a canoe to cross the river for one of a hundred purposes, urging reasons which were apparently so pressing as not to allow of even waiting till dawn. They had heard a troupe of night monkeys on the other bank; they had spotted a fine log for the fire five hundred yards down-stream (always down-stream!); they thought it would be a good idea to have some fish for breakfast; they were sure that the turtles would be out on the other end of the sand-spit, and they could approach noiselessly in a canoe. . . [243] and so on, until Pedro called me up in despair. I kept them quiet with a long story about the dangers of going off alone in the dark, with the possibility of a Huambiza surprise at any moment. I treated them in the only way possible, like children, meeting them on their own ground. Neither I nor Pitacunca believed our own words, much less those of the other. But the game of bluff had to be played out, like any other game, and the hardest bluffer won. So passed the first of a series of such nights, always the same farce had to be staged; endless machinations met by endless argument. At length, after four or five nights had passed in this fashion without any success being attained, it dawned on the Indians that other tactics must be adopted if they were (in the language of sport) to make a get-away. They began to fall sick, and with remarkable ingenuity discovered that the waters of the Santiago brought on all manner of ills, from loss of appetite, by way of general debility, to heart-failure.

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 484, 427, 152

Still we persisted, keeping them at the paddles after the fashion of galley-slave drivers. They were by this time a miserable, dejected crowd, keeping any way on the canoes, complaining of their ills, and bemoaning the certain death that awaited them if they continued."

4: Up de Graf--243-244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 152, 787

"On the eighth day the climax came. We sighted an island, which seemed to be ideal for pitching camp, and put into shore with the intention of deciding once and for all, what we were going to do with those treacherous and demoralized creatures who moaned and babbled between every half-dozen strokes of the paddle. But we were not destined to play an active part in the settlement of the problem, after all, for no sooner had we landed and lain down to rest than Pitacunca, by virtue of his high office, had resort to the never-failing hayahuasca (bitter wine--Inca). The plant is the means by which the medicine men of the Upper Amazon throw them[244]selves into a trance (in reality a state of drunken semi-torpor) from the depths of which they utter prophetic statements which are received with as much reverence as were ever those of the Sybil. Their power for good or evil is thus unlimited, for they pour forth their visions to a spell-bound audience which hangs on every word."

4: Up de Graff--244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 787, 152

"That night Pitacunca was determined to go no further. He drank his hayahuasca with his 'prophecy' prepared. Within a minute he was rolling about on the ground, groaning, vomiting, sighing, and wailing out his awful warning to a concourse of terror-stricken individuals, who wished they had never been such fools as to venture up the Santiago for the sake of a shining axe.

'Your homes are on fire and your families fleeing through the woods,' wailed Pitacunca, his voice rising above the moans of his audience; 'the Huambizas have taken off half your wives into captivity; but far worse than all the Huambiza devils in the Santiago valley, comes the news to your fugitive children that they are running from their attacks only to be stricken down with smallpox that walks abroad among our people (renewed groans); hungry and homeless, they know not where to turn (a positive hurricane of wailing); black ruin and death await you all, if you return not to stem the tide of disaster.'

With a final long-drawn-out sigh, Pitacunca ceased. But he had done his work. Panic ran riot in the camp. Muttering and whimpering, the Antipas ran hither and thither at the bidding of the drunken old fraud who professed to be their protector. We saw that it was useless to expect to get another minute's work out of them. Pitacunca, with an invincible superstition at his back, had won the day."

4: Up de Graff--253-254 (1897) 1923 Álvaro-1
116, 484, 152, 726

"Next morning we started. All day long we sat and watched the great rhythmic strokes of the paddles, as the canoes flew along. Our escort was composed of some two hundred men of the Aguarunas and Antipas, evidently two parties which, finding each other bent on a common mission (which needs no explanation) had joined hands. By day they mingled so that there was no distinguishing the two parties, but by night they camped apart, suspicious, probably, of each other for they are natural enemies. Each carried with him a new loin-cloth, a rouge-pot, feather ear-ornaments, a sápare (rattan basket --Inca) of giamanchi, a spear, and a half gourd for a drinking-cup. Some had blow-guns with them also. They were for the most part naked. They were an impressive-looking crowd, and they took very little notice of us white men, with the exception of their chiefs with whom we had all our dealings.

The first day, everything seemed to go swimmingly. In the late afternoon we drew up on a sand-bar and pitched camp. Tuhuimpui volunteered to provide the game throughout the journey, and he certainly made a good start that day. He advised us not to use our rifles for hunting, as they might carry news of our whereabouts to the Huambisas, which seemed to us fair enough. We had our choice of supper from a great pile of game of all kinds--turkeys, pheasants, monkeys and wild hogs, principally--and selected what we wanted [254] before the rest was removed from before our tent. After supper, the chief came along with a basin-full of giamanchi; we were to drink deep of the comforting preparation and sleep in peace, while the Indians kept watch all night! To escape from

this doubtful blessing, I mixed a cup of condensed milk as a counter offer. If there is one thing which a Jívaro abhors it is canned food in any shape or form. The trick worked, for no more was said of drinks that night.

And how could he be expected--I went on, after disposing of the giamanchi difficulty--to find the guard all night, and leave us to sleep in slothful ease? Surely to this we could never consent. We would do our fair share. Indeed he must warn his men not to approach to within fifty yards of our camp, for our sentries would fire on suspicion--and who could distinguish between enemy and friend at night? In the common cause we must take half the burden on our shoulders, and we must carry it well. Too much care could not be taken now that we were so near the enemy, and what a disaster it would be if in our zeal we killed some of our own friends! No, there was no getting away from the fact that they must be very careful not to approach our bivouac at night."

4: Up de Graff--275 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 727

"It seems superfluous to mention that these people, like all cowards, are absolutely devoid of pity. However, they do not indulge in the worst habit of the old North American Indians, that of torturing their prisoners."

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 152, 484

"We were by this time ourselves the object of many a greedy pair of eyes. Those battle-heated savages were in a nasty temper. They were becoming bolder every minute, approaching in groups of five or six in an attempt to borrow our rifles and not always remembering to leave their spears behind them even then. One who was too persistent in his desire to disarm Jack received the butt-end of his Winchester full in his chest, an incident that did not tend to smooth matters over. We were rapidly losing our self-control, much as we wanted to avoid another massacre. There was a lull in the trouble however, when Tuhuimpui came up to pow-wow, still insisting that he 'thought it would be as well if each of us captained a Jívaro dugout, at intervals throughout the long column, to inspire his men with confidence. Our prestige was very great, our power greater. We could save them [286] from disaster, should the Huambizas give chase. We should be a tower of strength to them in the gathering darkness.' All this was highly complimentary, but of course merely served to conceal the crafty designs of that smooth-tongued old scoundrel who coveted our heads and our outfit.

If we were to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations we must walk carefully. With infinite patience, then, through a conversation lasting, perhaps, a quarter of an hour, I persuaded Tuhuimpui that the most we could do would be for four of us to go two and two, while the fifth took a third canoe. Scarcely veiling his disappointment but forced to give way before our determination not to be massacred singly, he went off at last, and gave the necessary orders. Had we been all separated, doubtless at a given signal, the crew

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 152, 484

of each of our canoes would have capsized their craft, themselves diving with their spears, and precipitating us and our Winchesters into the water, where the Jívaros are as much at home as on land, but where our arms would be at a great disadvantage. In a moment we should have been stuck like common paichi."

10: Anthony--150 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"...there exists constant warfare in the land of the Jivaro, where the two powerful, primal passions prevail, struggle for woman and thirst for vengeance."

10: Anthony--158 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Jivaros have the reputation of being rather cowardly. As far as open warfare is concerned, the experience of the whites who have lived among them has been that the Indian will not dare to attack the white man under any conditions that approximate equal combat. As an instance, I was told of a Spaniard who lived among the Jivaros for a number of years in a rather remote locality where he was far separated from any other whites. He early incurred the enmity of the Indians and, as he was harsh in his dealings with them, it was not long before he was a marked man. On several occasions parties of the Jivaros attempted a raid against him, having first consulted their 'devil' as to the propitiousness of the opportunity, but it would seem that the Spaniard as well must have been on intimate terms with the devil for he learned each time of the projected attack and killed so many of the Jivaros that the parties fled. By means of this bold front he was able to more than hold his own with them for a great many years, but eventually he so far relaxed as to hand over his gun to one of his Jivaros to carry while he went on ahead, and the Jivaro promptly made the most of the unexpected opportunity."

12: Rivet--]
116, 141, 152

, the Jíbaro represents the most handsome and most robust Indian type that
Physicallyn the Republic of Ecuador. Their fiery manner, even arrogance, makes
I have seen bigger than their brothers of the Sierra. In reality, this is simply an il-
them appearnose that I have met were of small stature and the two individuals that I
lusion, for th respectively 1^{m} 63 and 1^{m} 59 (1) (fig. 3). Their body is in general very
studied wereed; the muscles of the limbs give an impression of suppleness and of
well developheir skin is light brown (2) (no. 22 according to my two subjects by the chro-
strength. Tof Broca). The cephalic index according to my measurements was 82.0 for
matic scale for the other. Their craniums would therefore be classified among the sub-
one and 84. lic.
brachycepha

two Jíbaros came to Riobamba from the region of Macas. The complete
1. These ts that I took on them will be studied later.
measuremen t many authors have pointed out the clear tint of the Jíbaros and the presence
2. A gres among a certain number of them, characteristics that they have attributed
of the beard res resulting from the abductions of the white women from Logroño and
to the mistu ro. The same remark has been made about the Ayulis (Vargas, op. cit.).
Sevilla de O scertained the fact from any of the individuals that I have examined.
I have not a

12: Rivet--605 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 562, 152

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know any Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparoe. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--606 (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 683, 152, 583

A young man can stay under the paternal roof as long as he wishes, his mother serving him in the same way as she does his father. This period is for him a time of unrestraint and sometimes of crime. He dares all, making love without scruple to all the women that he meets, and his lack of conscience goes so far, according to certain travellers, as to kill his sister's husband so as to be able to give the young widow to a friend of his own choice. In other words, in certain tribes, particularly at Gualaquiza, it is not the father but the brother who gives his sister in marriage and with no other formality than his acquiescence, the fiance takes away the one he has chosen.

12: Rivet--615-616 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

It would seem that among the people where the state of war is, so to speak, permanent, bravery should be the dominant virtue. In reality, there is none of it, because the Jívaro rarely attacks openly. If he is acting alone, with the patience of a deer in hiding, he waits for his enemy hidden behind the trunk of a tree and pierces him from behind with a blow of his lance. But more often the Indians work in bands of fifty individuals at least and sometimes of a hundred or more, and in this case the whole plan consists of falling unexpectedly on [616] the adversary or surprising him in the middle of his sleep, or even better in the middle of a drunken feast; it does not cost the Indian anything to gain his end while exposing himself as little as possible. He shows an extraordinary endurance during these expeditions, sometimes very long and far away. For instance, the tribes from around Macas sometimes make incursions on the Kanduashis which necessitate an absence of three months, although the greatest part of the trip is made in canoes by the Kangaimi, Morona and Cetuchi Rivers. The missionaries speak even of expeditions of the same people against the Patucamayas of the lower Santiago, or the Huambisas of the lower Morona. (1) Almost all the journey is made by night marches through dense forests, with their food reduced to minimum. Often, in order not to leave traces, they follow the bed of a stream, down which they swim for whole leagues. They never advance in any case without being preceded by scouts. (2)

1. Coleccion de las cartas, etc. op. cit. carta sexta, note on page 63-64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op.cit., page 166.

8: Dickey--201 [2] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 152, 114

"The tribes...are referred to, in the writings of certain intrepid explorers, as Head Hunters. The usual picture is that of a sinister, bloodthirsty tribe, who as an outdoor sport dash off into the woods, grabbing innocent Indians whose heads they remove and shrink, with all the manifestations of ghoulish glee. And all this without rhyme or reason.

The Jivaros--and I must use this name with which they've been baptized--are neither sinister nor bloodthirsty. I base this conclusion on a relationship with them of nearly nineteen years' duration. On the contrary, they are hospitable and humble."

12: Rivet--616-617 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

So courage is replaced here by the cleverness of a cat which glides and bounds upon its defenceless prey. On each expedition, only two or four houses are attacked because the aggressors know that they must have twenty to twenty-five people in order to surround a house and not let anyone escape. If the band arrives in the proximity of the place where it expects to operate without having been discovered, it waits until the second half of the night and when everyone is asleep, the assault is made: sticks with one sharpened end and the other wrapped in dry leaves carefully tied and lighted make huge flaming arrows, which set the straw roofs on fire. (1) When the surprise is well carried out, the besieged people, before they have time even to defend themselves, stifled by the smoke, fall before the lances of the assailants. Only the young women are spared. Taken into captivity, they become the wives of the conquerors. Children are also sometimes spared: they are kept as I have already said, for a more cruel death, under the unskilled blows of the children of the victorious tribe. Fire completes the work of pillage; the plunder-laden group, pushing before them the [617] unhappy captives, sisters, daughters and wives of the warriors whose bloody heads swing sinisterly on the shoulders of the conquerors, flees in all haste before the sun rises; the same precautions are taken as when they came in order to avoid an attack by the relatives or allies of the victors.

1. Bulletin Salesiane, August 1896, page 197.

12: Rivet--618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 152, 721

One can easily see what unusual characteristics this constant state of hostility gives the life of the Jívaro, and what an unusual mentality it has created in him. One understands equally well what importance the disappearance of these bloody fights has for the future of the race.

"Whether it was the success of our hunt, or the chance meeting with Napi, we could not say, but Kuashu was obviously pleased with the morning's work. The stranger remained with us, and on returning home, he was treated with unusual consideration. There was quite a change in the general atmosphere of the house when we got back, and we noted that Mihanda was a different mortal to what he had been earlier in the day. He acted as if a weight had been removed from his chest. His spear was finished and his friends regarded its well-shaped lines with approval.

There was a real reason for this change of manner on Mihanda's part which needs explanation. The Jivaro finds it difficult to distinguish between himself and his [168] personal belongings. Everything he uses or makes, particularly weapons, are regarded as part of himself, and in the making of them, he instils much of his own personality. So strongly ingrained is this feeling that the making of an ordinary spear (nanki) is accompanied by a certain amount of ritual. He must eat only certain foods, his thoughts must not be disturbed by conversation with others, he must not live with his wife. If he does these things, then the spear will be worthless and he himself may die. Even the chonta wood from which spears are made is regarded with superstition. They believe that this palm, with its formidable spikes, is the abode of a very potent spirit, so that a spear made from it inspires both man and beast with fear. This intimate tie between man and his material belongings is very strong, but between members of a

family the bond is infinitely stronger. If Mihanda had been sick, then his wife and brothers would abstain from eating certain foods, for if they partook of them, it would harm the patient just as much as if he himself had done so."

22: Hamy--389 [2] (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"Morally, the Jivaro add to their bellicosity a courage which meets every test, and a remarkable cunning. Their character is indomitable, and they maintain above all else their love of independence."

25. Vigna--36 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 141, 152

The Jíbaro, barbarous and savage as the forest of which he feels incontestable king, is born and bred in a constant fight against the untoward elements of atmosphere, climate, marvellous tropical vegetation and under brush, and the innumerable adversities of nature. He is physically very well-developed, and though not very tall (1.60-1.70 m.), he is robust, muscular and well-proportioned. In bearing he is noble and haughty.

25: Vigna--43 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 302, 152

The Jíbaro woman does not paint her face, except on rare occasions and in a grotesque form. This is not done in an artistic manner as in the case of the man for whom the color, besides having an esthetic value, is a means of warding off witchcraft. The Jíbaro woman ordinarily does not care for her person, but goes about disheveled and slovenly. She pierces her lower lip and introduces into it a small reed. In general, the Jíbaro woman is very sullen and more savage than the man. Her laugh is very loud and uncontrolled (sonora y desmahada).

25: Wigma--47 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 192

The Jíbaros, who are truly savages, sacrifice all on the altar of the god of their stomach or on the altar of their passions. King of the forest and absolute master of his liberty, the Jíbaro does not know restraints of law or of any authority.

25: Vigna--47-48 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 152

At first sight it appears that [48] the Jîbaro suffers pain and death with stoicism; and while it is true that he is courageous in sickness or any ailment, he is very much affected by moral pain.

29. Vigna--48 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 152, 764

When a child dies, a sentiment approximating madness takes possession of the mother; she pulls her hair and very nearly tears it out by the roots. I have assisted in a case of maternal pain caused by the death of a son, in which desperation was so acute that she would have hanged herself had she not been stopped. With hair covering her face, she cries, shrieks and screams with a grief that is moving.

26: Brüning--50 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 762

The Indians are very sensitive with regard to both kind actions and insults. During our trip down the Marañón we found a grave, not very old, in the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracaiyo. When we inquired, we were told that this was the final resting place of one of the wives of the Curaca: she had hanged herself a short time ago because her drunken husband had slapped her in the face. A rubber collector told us of a similar case that had happened a few months earlier at another place.

26: Brüning-- 50 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 177

The whites regard the Indians as treacherous and revengeful... But I have heard of instances where rubber collectors made use of the Indians to eliminate burdensome competitors in the rubber business. Persons who are not familiar with all the facts will, of course, raise their voices against the Indian treachery. However, I am inclined to believe that the Indians are fond of this type of business, since there is innate in them something of a bloodthirsty tiger, and their animal instincts can be easily provoked. The whites, too, are guilty in this respect since they did equip the Indians with modern shooting arms. I have not been in a single native house where I did not find at least a few Winchester repeating rifles (latest model type!). These modern weapons in the hand of the Indians constitute a two-edged sword, as we learned in the year 1904.

28: Tessman--343 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 142, 152

The Aguaruna man on Plate 61 is a fairly typical representative of his tribe. The soft, almost feminine features and the sweet smile are in diametrical contrast to the blood-thirsty character of the Chiwaros.

The Indian photographed--his name is Sanchuma--has perpetrated a number of murders.

29: Vité--16 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 136, 152

In this region where the rays of the sun scarcely penetrate, the road is rough and difficult, and there are nests of thousands and thousands of poisonous reptiles from which one must defend himself as best he can. Here lives the Jíbaro, the savage of the Ecuadorian forest, physically beautiful with a masculine and imposing beauty, congenial in aspect and at the same time terrible because he does not accept domestication.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunul, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be 794 the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekit* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[6]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[8] [164] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, [154] including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily [628] directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [857] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander [778] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may [276] keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

1: Karsten--504-505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 823, 153 (1928-29)

"Whereas the astronomy, meteorology, and mineralogy of the Jibaros is thus to a great extent mixed up with superstition, their geographical knowledge is also very limited. They practically only know about the territory inhabited by the Jibaro tribes, and have most confused ideas about other parts of the South American continent, and still more of course about the world outside it. They know that there are other Indian tribes, in language and customs differing from the Jibaro people, but they interest them less even as enemies. They also distinguish the Indian race as a whole from the white race, but not even this distinction is a radical one. According to their idea even the whites have once been Jibaros; they are therefore called apachi, i.e. forefathers. There [505]is properly only one human race, namely, the Jibaro race. It is characteristic in this respect that the Jibaros asked me whether in my country also there are 'Indians' (shuara). They also asked me whether in my country there are equally big forests and rivers, and the same animals as in theirs. It was impossible for me to give the Indians a right conception about an ocean and the enormous distance which separates Europe from the New World."

1: Karsten--505-506 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 262 (1928-29)

"With more reason we can speak of Indian Science when we enter the domain of their knowledge concerning animals and plants. This is a department of nature where that wonderful power of observation best shows itself which everywhere is one of the chief mental characteristics of man in his natural state. Life has here been the master of the Indians; it is the struggle for existence that has compelled them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the habits and qualities of different animal beings and the properties of plants. The whole of nature has been carefully scrutinized by them for the purpose of finding out what it can offer man in the way of food. They have tried everything, and they can unfailingly tell you whether for instance a certain animal or bird can be eaten, and how it affects the health. Nor is there any animal being so insignificant that it has not a native name; any boy can tell you the name of that or that small insect crawling on the ground. Their ideas as to which animals are edible and which not are, [sic] however, in some cases peculiar; in this respect they have sometimes been led astray by their superstitions. Thus when deer's flesh is never eaten because the deer is regarded as an evil demon, it is difficult to find any real foundation for this aversion. In most cases, however, the superstitions of the Indians have an underlying stratum of reality. 'Superstitious' ideas are as a rule entertained of such animal beings as are in some way harmful. Thus when the flesh of the tapir is taboo as food in the same way

as [506] that of the deer, this bias is not wholly without foundation, considering that the eating of the flesh of the tapir may in some cases have harmful effects. Even the whites in Eastern Ecuador assert that uncautious eating of it may cause a sort of fever. The same hold true of the flesh of many other animals and of certain fish. That for instance the fat flesh of the domestic swine and of certain other animals may cause indigestion and other kinds of sickness, is a well-known fact which has by no means escaped the Indians. We can thus easily understand why swine's flesh is regularly taboo as food when the Indian man or woman is, or is believed to be, in some critical condition. Taking native customs as a whole into account, I should say that what we call 'superstition' has to a great extent been the teacher of the Indians and, being founded on actual experience, given them valuable guidance in their practical life, although on the other hand the exaggerations to which it has led are obvious. The same will appear to hold true of their medicines."

2: Stirling--105[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The Jivaro is at his best when hunting in the forest. His knowledge of the habits of the game animals, his keen ears and eyes, his ability to imitate the calls of animals and birds, all contribute to his success in the hunt. Where a white man could walk through the forest without being aware of any game in the vicinity, the Indian is constantly aware of the presence of birds and animals and is able to tell from the sounds just what varieties they might be.

A common Jivaro method of hunting is to construct in a suitable location a blind made of palm leaves in which the hunter sits quietly with his blowgun, from time to time repeating the calls of certain birds or animals so that the game will come to him instead of his pursuing the game. Great patience is exhibited in this form of hunting, and as a rule is rewarded by success."

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Rivero-1
116, 153, 201, 624

"We were flooded out by the human tide. They clambered into the dugout, delved into everything they could lay hands on, and behaved generally like a crowd of school children to whom the free run of a candy store had been given. They chattered, grinned and gesticulated; they held our trumpery trade-beads up to the light and tried the effect of wearing them; they gazed spell-bound into the hand-mirrors which we had rightly regarded as one of our strongest lines; and finally they were completely overwhelmed by the shoddy striped cotton shirts which the favoured few among the men donned with all the exquisite satisfaction which a youth fresh from school experiences when first he puts on a 'swallow-tail.'

So the ice was broken. But no conversation had taken [192] place as yet, for conversation was impossible. We found that the language spoken by the Antipas was quite unintelligible to us, and that Inca, the only Indian tongue I knew, was unknown to them. Progress was made, however, in the sign-language which is common, to a greater or lesser degree, to all men. They made it clear to us that they wanted a token to send to their chief, a sign whereby the truth of their incredible report of the arrival of white men in the land might be impressed on him; seeing us using machetes they seized on them as serving their purpose well. Three they sent by special envoy to the Chief, and three more they sent a little way down-stream to a point where there was a trail along which he might be expected to pass if the envoy missed him; there the machetes were stuck into the earth as we pile arms in the field. He would be sure to see them, and would be put

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 153, 201, 624

on his guard.

And so we sat down to await his arrival."

4: Up de Graff--194-195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 304, 153

"They are given to tattooing themselves, but only to a limited extent. They mark their limbs with simple little designs--a cross, or a circle, or a wavy line; they never indulge in the showy designs of races such as the Japanese who have brought this form of ornamentation to a high art. The process is simple. With a thorn they prick the required pattern on their skins, drawing blood; they then hold a lighted piece of crude rubber under the prepared area until it becomes well sooted from the black smoke given off by the rubber; finally, they rub the soot into the wounds, and blue marks similar to powder burns are left in the skin. Where they learned this art, I do not know; it would, as a matter of fact, appear to be indigenous. The contrary being the case, they would be more likely to make it a universal practice and to show signs of an exterior influence. When called upon by the medicine-man (the Antipas, as far as I could discover, only had one) to tattoo him with some distinctive design, the first thing which occurred to me was the [195] Psi Upsilon badge of the fraternity to which I belong. If any of my fraternity-brothers ever make their way to those parts, they will probably be greeted by a large and flourishing new Chapter (let us call it the 'Pongo Chapter'), for the idea appealed to the tribe so strongly that, within a few months, the design had been copied with considerable skill by quite an appreciable number of warriors. I assured their chief that should he meet any 'member of my own tribe' and show him the sign which he carried on his arm he would be received with open arms and greeted as a brother. Incidentally, we happened to leave a packet of the well-known 'L. L. F.' brand of cigarette papers

4: Up de Graff--194-195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 304, 153

lying about; shortly after, we found an excellent replica of the three letters tattooed on a savage; while we were there, we noticed quite a few who had joined the Lamda Lamda Phi's." [sic]

"To return to my tale, then, the canoemen had to go. But we were determined that they should not carry off with them the wage which they had done so little (and that little so very unwillingly) to earn. It would be a bad precedent to set, for, if ever we had occasion to need their services or those of any other of their tribe again, we should start at a disadvantage if they thought they could fool us, as they certainly did, despite our precautions.

We made them build us a shack that evening on the island, and next morning a permanent shelter on the mainland, in which to cache part of our stores against our return, being unable to paddle so great a weight up-stream without their help. They all worked hard and with a good will, for freedom would be theirs within a few hours. Then we broke the news to them that they must return their axes and machetes, having failed to keep their contract. After the usual pow-pow they were handed over. It was not so peaceable a transaction as it might have been, for we had to hold them up with our rifles before we could make them give up our property. And then they went. [248]

It was not till they had been gone two hours or more that we had the idea of opening our cases of stores to see that all was in order. Half the axes and machetes and three-quarters of the poison had gone. Now the boxes and cases in which they were carried were purposely fastened with long screws, the secret of which we had not thought that any savage would discover. But, too late, it dawned on us that I myself had been indiscreet enough to open a box one day when that old thief Pitacunca was looking on. So, day by

day, as we had been pushing up the Santiago, more and more stores were carefully extracted (the Jívaros using the very machetes we had given them as screw-drivers in just the same way as I did myself) and cached as we travelled along in the heavy verdure which lines the banks of that river. So it happened that they drew ten times the pay they had contracted for, after all. It was too late to do anything in the way of revenge. Had we had a speed launch at hand, we might have caught those stalwart robbers, but hardly otherwise. They must have reached home in one day's paddling. We never saw Pitacunca again.

The loss of that fine poison which Morse and Iberico had gone to such pains to obtain in the Huallaga River and bring along with the Exploradora, rankled in our minds for many a long day, aggravated by the thoughts of the sweet revenge which we could have taken, had we known in time, by appropriating that fine canoe in which the Jívaros escaped and turning them loose to their own devices on the bank."

10: Anthony--150 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The men are hunters of the highest order, and are keen observers of all that takes place in the jungle about them. They penetrate the thickest tangle, using game trails wherever they find them; the bear makes many a highway for these hunters. They never get lost and their highly developed sense of direction enables them to point back at any time toward a given place, such as the camp they left in the morning. This ability is known to those whites who occasionally penetrate into 'Jivaría.' Sometimes a white man, wishing to test their powers, will ask them at different times to point out the direction to camp or to a certain river, thereby earning the supreme contempt of the Jivaro, who thinks that any fool should know such simple matters."

10: Anthony--150-152 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 153, 825

"The Jivaros have a specific name for practically every bird and mammal to be seen about them and, when our skinning table was piled up with specimens for the day's work, one of them would unhesitatingly name each animal. If a test was made on a later date with a bird or mammal of the same species, the designation previously used was invariably applied, proving that these names were not made up on the spot. [152]

On one occasion, Mr. Cherrie had shot an olive-backed thrush, a sober-colored species that nests in North America and migrates southward in the winter, and consequently not one of the birds strictly belonging to the region. A Jivaro who was going over the birds and naming them promptly singled out the thrush and said in substance: 'This bird is a foreigner. He visits us only in the winter and does not nest here.' An instance of this sort implies the keenest sort of observation, because the Jivaro must meet with from two to three hundred distinct varieties of birds, most of the smaller species of which have at best little value to him as food and consequently are of but minor importance. The birds of brighter color are often killed so that they may be attached as ornaments to the ceremonial necklaces, headbands, etc. that are worn in the dances."

13: Rivet--254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153

The Jíbaro is one of the most intelligent Indians of South America, when alcohol and natema have not exerted their disastrous influence upon him. Simson reports in detail the conversation that he had with a member of the Canelos tribe to whom he spoke in detail concerning the roundness of the earth, and the civilization of western peoples. He insists upon the interest that his listener took in this account (1). The missionaries praise the vivacity, roguishness, and open minds of the children. To this intelligence, the Jíbaro adds an irresistable passion for liberty. Absolute master in his family, without strict obligation toward his tribe, he intends to stay independent in the territory that he considers his own domain. Exile is powerless to change the state of the savage's soul: young Jíbaros, taken in infancy from the influence of their environment, raised in Ecuadorian cities, upon arriving at adult age dream only of returning to their forests, and soon lose all impressions from their stay in civilized country.

The history of this fierce tribe, like the customs of its members, is dominated by this spirit of independence, developed to an instinctive state.

1. Simson, op. cit., pp. 392-393.

13: Rivet--254-255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153, 609

Horror of all subjection gives the Jíbaro a great distrust of the White. Experience has shown him that he has as much to fear from the White as from his worst enemies, and his first thought is to suspect all individuals of bad intentions toward him. Simson relates the difficulty that his companion, M. Sarkady, had in photographing two Indians because they were sure the operator carried away their souls with the plate which retained their features (1). But this mistrust, wholly natural and legitimate, quickly changes into excessive and often importune trust. Once his fears are calmed, the Jíbaro allows his curiosity free reign, and attracted by all the new objects that he sees, he asks about their use, which he immediately verifies himself, touching everything, trying [255] everything, even putting on your clothes; the smallest object attracts him and charms him, exciting his covetousness. It is easy to see how, by using these easily-aroused childish desires, white traders are able to procure at low prices the precious products of the forest. An Ecuadorian told me he had persuaded an Indian to prepare for him an entire human skin in the same manner as the tsantsas, in exchange for a bad gun.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jíbaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jíbaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

18: Hermessen--448 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 153, 266

"Despite the low level of their development, the Jíbaros of the Zamora, like those of other parts of the province of Oriente, are by no means an unintelligent people, and in the conditions of their simple life they are valorous, faithful, and industrious. The Jíbaros are not, and never have been, cannibals. Their barbaric art of shrinking and conserving the heads of enemy chiefs slain in war has no connection with anthropophagy."

"Kuashu was now a bundle of bulging muscles, a steel spring wound up ready to fly loose. He made a stealthy movement to one side, and putting a hand over his mouth, mimicked the peculiar chattering noise these animals make when disturbed. Almost immediately an answering call came from the green canopy overhead, and the rustle of leaves heralded the approach of some living creature. In a few moments a full-sized woolly monkey came swinging through the trees, peering about him and looking this way and that for the member of his family he supposed to be in difficulty. For a fraction of a second his dark body could [163] be seen clearly, leaping across an open gap in the tree-tops. This was Kuashu's chance, and he did not miss it. The blow-gun was already at his lips, and at the psychological moment a tiny dart was launched on its silent mission of death.

For a second the monkey wavered, then leapt to another branch, jumped once more, but this time lost his hold and dropped ten feet before regaining his equilibrium. He steadied himself to take yet another leap, but hesitated as if his limbs refused to obey him. Again he braced himself, but the end had come; his hold loosened, and he fell dead to the ground. The aim had been perfect; the tiny wood splinter had caught him on the shoulder, and the deadly poison which produced paralysis of the heart had done the rest.

A fairly animated conversation ensued. The monkey was passed from hand to hand,

each man admiring its thick, woolly coat and examining its strong prehensile tail, the extremity of which, on its under surface, was covered with a hard skin, like the palm of its hand. Everyone satisfied, the quarry was turned over to Chingasso to carry, and we resumed our prowl in silence."

20: Dyott--163-164 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 153, 224

"Not long after this episode, we came out on one of those boulder-strewn spaces near the river which, at one time or another, had been occupied by the scurrying waters of the Upano. We halted as usual to look about for signs of animal life, but the place was deserted and only a few shrubs waved their green foliage vacantly in the wind. We were about to take ourselves off when a small red deer broke cover on the opposite side. It saw us and immediately sprinted across the open. We-suma had his spear up in a jiffy, ready to hurl it through space at the rapidly-moving animal; but Kuashu was still quicker in getting into action. Quick as a flash, he seized a large rock, swung it over his head, and let fly with the power of a [164] catapult. The missile went sailing through the air and landed squarely on the animal's head, dropping him like a stone.

'Ihuta-Ihuta' (spear him) shouted Himbikti, rushing forward in a frenzy of excitement, and brandishing his weapon. But there was no need for such a measure. The stone had broken the deer's neck.

Things happen so quickly at times that it is difficult to take in details, especially an incident like this, which was all over in a matter of seconds. Johnston and myself gaped in astonishment. Kuashu's brilliant exhibition of skill, the precision with which the rock was flung through the air, and the sudden termination of the fray, left us speechless with admiration. Without fire-arms, what chance would a white man have in conflict with such people as these?"

25: Vigna--36 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 153

Nature has been prodigal in physiological elements necessary to the Jíbaro in his environment, but it has been almost miserly with him in intellectual and volitional faculties. The Jíbaro has a keen visual sense and a perfect auditive sense; one might almost say that nature outdid herself in the delicacy and extraordinary form of these two senses in the Jíbaro. The other three senses are rather dull. These are compensated by what we might call the sixth sense--the sense of "orientation." Set down in the middle of the forest, the Jíbaro, after a short period of reflection and observation, is able to orientate himself perfectly towards his destination. Volitional faculties are still embryonic, and when instinct or necessity is not operating upon the Jíbaros, mimicry and impressionability triumph.

25: Vigna--36 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 153

The peculiar circumstances of the environment have obliged this people (assuming that it is an immigrating people) to base their effort at adaptation on renunciation. This is the reason why the Jíbaro today lives without aspiration or special necessities except for the ineluctable demands of a still primitive life. As an almost inevitable consequence, the Jíbaro displays a retirement from and a repugnance for all that implys any alteration in his routinary life, or any physical or moral force unusual for him.

25: Vigna --46 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 177, 609, 153

The relations of the Jîbaros with white people are characterized by friendship and opportunism. They admire the white civilization and imitate whatever appears suitable to them. It is a pity that they generally admire the vices and not the virtues. Through his contact with white civilization the Jîbaro has learned to lie, to intoxicate himself with liquor and to steal.

The work of the Catholic and Christian Missionaries among them proceeds slowly, and the Catholic Missionaries have chosen by preference to dedicate themselves to the education and evangelization of the new generations.

26: Brüning--50 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 153, 177

The Indians are very intelligent and mentally alert. They showed great interest in the unfamiliar. Due to language difficulties we were unable to converse with them, and yet, they sensed instinctively what we wanted, and they seemed to be able to read our thoughts and to guess our wishes. I was struck by the thirst of knowledge on the part of some boys, 8-12 years of age, and after I had satisfied their eagerness for learning, they tried to enlighten me concerning the facts that were of their immediate concern. It is a pity that these poor people are not subjected to a better civilizing influence than that which rubber dealers are able to give, for one can hardly say that the rubber collectors are especially suited for this task. It is highly doubtful whether the missionaries act as a civilizing force. For an Indian who has been baptized may have been received in the pale of the church, but he is still a long way from civilization. On the contrary, upon becoming a Christian he hastens to do away with his good character features and to adopt the vices of civilization. During our return trip a number of older boys were baptized by an Augustine monk who accompanied us. But I had the impression that their fathers were chiefly prompted to this step by the gifts (such as large colored handkerchieves and glass pearls) which the monks offered.

26: Brüning--71 [4] (1902) 1938 Jívaro
116, 153

Though it seems rather hazardous to make a statement on their intellectual capacity after such a short stay among the Indians, I feel that I should not be completely silent on the subject. I gained the impression that the Indians in general are rather alert. I noticed this especially in the case of youngsters at the age of from 5 to 8 years. I can assure you that some of them were like mind readers when it came to our wishes. When they pass into the age of puberty, they become more reserved. They showed the greatest interest for all objects which they had never seen before, and they were eager to know how these objects were to be used. They exhibited a childlike joy when I permitted them to look through my Zeiss fieldglass, which brought the distant objects near.

28: Tessman--363-364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 153, 177

The character of the Chiwaros differs somewhat from that of the average Indian, but it is by no means better. Certain good character traits may be present, such as a good perceptive faculty or a greater vivacity and industriousness. But these good character traits are overshadowed by the [364] overwhelming bloodthirstyness, trickery, and deceitfulness of these Indians. By means of a prolonged severe education it might be possible to raise the level of these Indians, perhaps to a level above the other Indians, but I doubt that this will happen, since this education cannot become effective until all Chiwaros, through causes of a different nature, have become the victims of steadily advancing civilization. At the moment, however, one cannot even think that this bloodthirsty group will ever be tamed, since neither the Peruvian nor the Ecuadorian governments show the slightest inclination to carry out energetic measures against the Chiwaros. A strict military supervision over a period of several decades would be the basis for it; to this should be added a friendly, just, and absolutely social regulation of the barter commerce, so that all exploitation will be ruled out. But this is asking for too much in South America! The whole situation is aggrevated by the fact that the borderline between Ecuador and Peru has not yet been established, and the Indians are therefore between two hostile camps. Rivet mentions the Indian treacherousness, and he says that the missionaries have been unsuccessful. The Chiwaros let themselves be baptized several times in order to gain material advantages.

Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., p. 8) calls the Chiwaros impulsive and choleric.

1: Karsten--422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 154, 555 (1928-29)

"That the Indian medicine-men are not conscious impostors but exert their powers in good faith, appears from a close study of their psychology and of their way of operating. They simply share the superstitions prevailing among their people at large, even though they may be said to embody them in a special way. The medicine-men themselves are to a great extent the victims of self-deception and self-suggestion. Among the savage Jibaros, as we have seen, there is considerable danger coupled with this profession. Just as a sorcerer who is suspected of having killed another Indian by witchcraft himself runs the risk of being killed by the enraged relatives of the victim, so a medicine-man, who fails to cure the patient confided to him, is likely to be punished for his lack of skill. If the patient dies instead of recovering, the relatives argue that the doctor has used his skill to his destruction and not to his health, and may accordingly wreak vengeance upon him. That in spite of this danger there are people who voluntarily devote themselves to the medical art and sorcery is due to the power and influence always connected with this profession."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nuŋuf, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanI*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekás* wakanI, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

Arutam wakanI is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "WakanI" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanI is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind telling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

1: Karsten--404 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
156 (1928-29)

"A Jibaro or a Canelos medicine-man is reserved and taciturn, his eyes are dull and, as it were, veiled, a natural consequence, no doubt, of his permanent habit of drinking natéma (aya huasca) and other narcotics."

25: Vigna--37-38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 156, 181

The Jîbaro is materialist by nature. He has no organized social constitution (He does not recognize any chief or authorities, only provisionally and in case of reprisal.); he is polygamous, revengeful through tradition made precept, calculating and cold, inconstant and ungrateful; he does not easily assimilate outside influences; if [38] it is kept in mind that in addition to this he does not have expressions that formulate moral or supernatural ideas, one will have an idea of the social state of the Jîbaro.

26: Brüning--70 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 862, 163, 156

I gained the impressions that there were not many children around. This would explain why mothers suckle their children--as I was told--up to the age of four. I saw it with my own eyes that the children ran to the mother and asked for the breast. The little girls whom I have seen were very timid and clung to their mother as soon as one of us approached; they even refused to accept gifts. The boys, however, were different, and I made friends with them easily.

29: Vité --15 [4] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 156

In regard to their mentality, it can be said that they do not possess the gift of natural poesy common to so many primitive peoples. They live in communion with nature, and from her they receive a great feeling for liberty and individualism. They live isolated from one another, and, at times, their dwellings are several hours distant from one another.

3: Simson --385 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 157, 181, 177

"The tribe or family of the Jívaros is a large one, and one of the most distinguished, independent and warlike in South America. They alike withstood the attacks of the Jucas and the Spaniards, burning the once famed cities of Logroño and Mendoza, and massacring all the male inhabitants who did not succeed in making their escape; and even to this day they maintain the most thorough independence. The missions at Macas and Gualaquiza have as yet produced no practical results, nor obtained any authority over the Indians. A Jesuit padre, who had resided three years at Gualaquiza amongst them, informed me that he had found it impossible to make any progress with them; and more than once his life was personally threatened. During these three years twenty nine whites (i.e., half-caste traders) were killed in the neighbourhood of Gualaquiza."

3: Simson--390 — [No date] 1880 Rivero
116, 461, 157

"They [KS: the Canelos] are lazy workers; and the young men, much after the fashion of more civilized communities, given up to dandyism, drink and trivial loquacity. All are excessively curious, and some even coolly placed their hands in my pockets to find out of what the contents consisted. However, some of the old and more serious men are quite steady-going members of society, as a rule; but even these also, on occasion, are fond of their little excesses."

12: Rivet--338 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 177

A characteristic common to all these tribes is their love of independence; the result being that these Indians, armed with simple lances of wood, located at the very gates of the civilized and Christian world, have kept all their purity of race and all their originality until the beginning of the twentieth century. Protected by impenetrable forests, where tropical nature seems to take pleasure in accumulating obstacles against the entrance of the invader, these passionate lovers of liberty have resisted with equal success the numerous assaults made on them by the Spaniards and missionaries, all the attempts of conquests and all the attempts at conversion, as we shall now see in studying their past.

12: Rivet--361[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 181

The Jíbaro does not have a submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, like the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is lively, the look bold, the face mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animated, their speech easy and assured. Unhappily this is not the appearance of the savage when he comes to spend a few days in the cities of the inter-Andean valley. Dulled by alcohol, tired out from the trip, painfully affected by the cold climate of the Sierra, usually clothed with indescribable faded finery, he takes on a grotesque appearance and loses his original character and his proud carriage, but as I have described him, so one finds him in the forests, in the midst of virgin nature, whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage.

Jívaro

12: Rivet--613-614 (no date) 1907
116, 621, 157, 164

In spite of their apparent isolation the Jívaro live socially; but up to the present time they have put up great resistance against grouping themselves in villages. It must be said that this repugnance can be explained not only by the desire for independence which is so well developed in them, but also by the fear of the disease brought in by [614] the whites, especially smallpox which breaks out in fatal epidemics in Indian groups.

13: Rivet--255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Besides these traits of character which make the Jíbaro rather agreeable, he has others which make him a really dangerous being. Crafty and changeable, incapable of attachment, he never hesitates at treachery. Assassinations are not rare in Jíbaro country. The descendants of the fierce assailants of Logroño and Sevilla de Oro are worthy of their ancestors. The traveller whom they welcome with joy perhaps will fall under their lances some hours later. The missionaries have many times experienced their duplicity. One of them tells how on his return from Canelos he was abandoned one evening on the bank of the river, without shelter, without food, without defense in the middle of the virgin forest, by the very Indians who the same morning had spontaneously and enthusiastically offered to accompany him to Baños (1).

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1. Voyage d'exploration chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit., page 257.

13: Rivet--255 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Very vindictive, the savage never forgets an injury, no matter how trifling, and he is only satisfied when he has achieved a brilliant revenge. We have seen that this feeling brings about a permanent state of these bloody wars between tribes which endanger the future of the race.

According to the standards of the Whites, the Jíbaro is lazy, but perhaps the judgment is too severe; it is true the men leave the hardest work to the women, but custom demands it. He cannot tie himself down to a regular job, but in the first place his independent nature refuses to accept the least subjection, and on the other hand, the savage does not see the need of increasing a well-being which satisfies him; he works only when he wishes to acquire some desirable object (gun, ax, brandy); otherwise, surrounded by a prodigal nature, in a climate of unequalled mildness, he has nothing to fear from hunger or cold, and he does not have to worry about a future which is assured in advance. Therefore, from his point of view, the Jíbaro has reason for not working. In addition, we have seen that when the occasion arises he knows how to prove himself enduring and resistant and to put to work all his moral energy and physical vigor.

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O.P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import. . . .

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

20: Dyott-154-155 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 512, 157

"By six o'clock the whole family was astir. Kuashu and his two youngest boys, Wesuma and Humbikti, formed and animated group in the centre of the house, talking over plans for the morning. Mihanda, the eldest son, did not join in the conversation. He seemed a surly sort of fellow, for he sat on his rack staring at the floor in a peculiarly detached way as if he had no interest in what was going [155] on about him. His wife, Secouta, equally absorbed, crouched by the fire with her small son Katani alongside of her. The latter was a nice little child seven or eight years old, naked as the day he was born, with a clean brown skin and dark hair falling over his shoulders. He squatted on his haunches, like a rabbit sitting up in the grass, and made quite an attractive picture."

20: Dyott--159-160 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 157

"The Shuaro is an extremely proud individual. He delights in a life of the most complete freedom imaginable. Kuashu owed no allegiance to anyone, neither did anyone [160] kow-tow to him. He was head of his own establishment, but his authority extended no furthur. Each house and its inmates made up a small community to itself, living by itself and without any connection with any other household. There were no great chiefs in the neighbourhood. Every man did exactly as he pleased, and only in times of war would an individual be picked out to lead the fighting forces. With the cessation of hostilities, this man's authority would likewise cease."

21: Davar--360 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
126, 727, 157

"To have strayed into the regions inhabited by these primitive occupants of the Amazon basin was no small piece of good fortune for us. I was counting upon securing a shrunken head or two by way of an interesting trophy and to witness, if chance permitted, the ceremony, or learn from the natives the secrets of this curious process which is as much a mystery to the civilised world, as the mumifying process used by the Egyptians to preserve the mortal remains of their dead.

But the Jivaro Indian cannot be induced to part with his secrets at any cost. He is extremely tenacious in holding to silence as regards this process, and guards his secrets as he would his life. Because of this, no explorer or traveller of the civilized world has, as far as I know, managed to learn the details of process, and notwithstanding the assertions of Dr. Rafael Karstein to the contrary, I seriously doubt if there is a single living being in the civilised world, who knows exactly what these shrinking ingredients consist of."

25: Vigna--38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 157

The woman is a slave. She has no control over the education of the children who from an early age become their own masters and are free to direct their own liberty. Because of the enormous distance between family and family, and the difficult and dangerous journeys, the Jíbaro is an egocentric type par excellence.

In practice, the Jíbaro does not readily abandon a present possession, even the most low and abject, which he may obtain hic et nunc, for a future good promised verbally. Also, he does not easily forget an injury or a punishment threatened for the future, which in any contingency he does not generally take into account.

26: Brüning--71 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 201, 157, 195

When talking and laughing the Indians frequently keep the hollow of their hand in front of the mouth, as may be seen in Illustration number seven (two Indians in the group to the right). If the conversation becomes animated, then they spit frequently in between.

Very strange are the long monologues or prayers (whatever you may call them) which the Indians say in the morning. These are recited very quickly and in a tone which marks a departure from the ordinary tone of conversation. On these morningoccasions, too, they spit frequently and stamp their feet on the ground from time to time (see Nankijukima 75).

They emit a softly pronounced drawling gwa when they are amazed at something.

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[9]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his home, but tells means that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your arutam. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to be so commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater boldness.[10] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a compulsive desire to kill. If the person is post puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The men women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind. The arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[11] The departing arutam souls separately

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
(237) shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of
European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
157 men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
(648) is kept holy, in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must
always be ready to defend his person and his property, he must
practice the use of weapons, live for
battle and the hunt.

25: Vigna--36 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 158, 164

In general, among the Jíbaros, there are no insane or neurasthenics, nor are there persons afflicted with arthritis, rickets, or scrofula. However they are greatly disfigured by a licheniform affection of the epidermis with a tendency to darkish color. They suffer from tuberculosis. This is spread rapidly by means of the containers in which they indifferently serve themselves their favorite drink "Chicha."

The most interesting person I met on the Bobonaza was the old chief Palati, famous in the whole of Eastern Ecuador as a sorcerer, formerly also as a warrior. Palati was the oldest Indian I ever knew, and in 1917 when I saw him the first time must have been over a hundred years old. No Indian is able to tell his age exactly. 'We cannot reckon', is the answer one regularly receives on asking an Indian how old he is. Palati's age, however, I was able to establish with a good deal of certainty. Being, like most Indians, fond of wandering, he had formerly visited the civilized parts of Ecuador also and, according to his own assertion, in his youth had visited Marshall Sucre in Quito. The great Ecuadorian champion of liberty lived in Quito in the years 1826 to 1829, from which I infer that Palati must have been born during the first years of the nineteenth century. This accords with statements which I have received from the whites. A man who had lived in the neighbourhood of Canelos for 30 years told me that when he first arrived there, Palati was supposed [35] to be over 90 years old. He added that during this long time the old Indian chief had not notably changed. When I met Palati he was still a very vigorous old man; he was able to undertake long wanderings, he had preserved his mental faculties, and became quite eloquent when he began to talk about his ancient warlike exploits and his enemies the Jibaro Indians. It was Palati's ambition to play the role of a political leader among his people, and such, as a matter of fact, had been his position for many decades. Being brave, clever and

cunning, and in possession of the kind of eloquence which is so much appreciated among the Indians, he had actually succeeded in maintaining his influence, which growing age had not lessened as is usual, but strengthened."

24 Harner E-4, 9 (1956-1960)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge its actual demographic effects. 164

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jivaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jivaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jivaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jivaro thus are diverse and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population, but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of various epidemics of introduced contagious diseases. Another impondorable demographic factor is the shift that has occurred during the past half-century from large-scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jivaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to have expanded. 16 • 771 682 101 628

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

L Karsten--1-2 (1926-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 161 (1928-29)

"Since some of the regions inhabited by the [2] Jibaros are geographically unexplored and the different tribes live very scattered, their total number is difficult to estimate. In our days they may well number 10 to 15 thousand souls. We know however that the Jibaros were formerly far more numerous than they are at present and that they are rapidly diminishing owing to contact with the whites and still more owing to the wars of extermination which the different tribes are constantly waging upon each other."

1: Karsten--79-80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
171, 361, 161 (1928-29)

"They [JKM: four Aguarunas Indians Karsten met on Apaga river bank] were really Jibaros. The type is easily recognizable, and the dress and the whole external appearance was the same as that of the Jibaro Indians I had recently visited far away in the Ecuadorian forests. Even the language was in the main the same, although I could at once find considerable dialectal differences. Sometimes they used words which we did not at once understand, but the conversation on the whole proceeded quite nicely. We at once learned that the Aguarunas did not live there close to the river, but about half a day's march into the interior. Those we had met stayed here only temporarily for the sake of hunting and fishing and for this purpose had built themselves a rough hut. It seemed however as if these Indians had intended to stay away for a long time. Like most Indians of the virgin forests the Jibaros are a restless kind of folk who from time to time seek new dwelling-places. In most cases either fear of enemies or of epidemics make them take up their abodes in fresh places. From the information these Indians gave me I learned that the Aguarunas have in recent years been greatly decimated owing to some epidemic. At any rate the Aguarunas living in the region of the Apaga now only formed a comparatively small tribe. The younger of the two Indians, by name Himbikite, offered [80] to take me on the following day to his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, my payment for this service being a nice knife in a sheath."

1: Karsten--82 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
161 (1928-29)

"The total number of the Aguarunas is difficult to establish; K.G. Grubb states that estimates of their number vary from 2,000 to 7,000. The former number probably comes nearer the truth than the latter, at any rate now. Like other savage Indians the Aguarunas have in recent years greatly declined in numbers owing to disease. Mr. Grubb mentions that about 1925 fifty per cent of those around the Pongo de Manseriche were said to have died in an influenza epidemic. (1)"

"1. Grubb, Amazon and Andes, pp. 135, 140."

2: Stirling--28 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161

"In the year 1580, wishing to have an exact account of the encomiendas under his charge, Juan de Salinas dispatched agents to the different cities which he had founded in the territories of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros of which he was governor, in order that they might make an accurate census of the native Indians in these regions. The census takers were apparently more than a year in completing their work and returning their reports to Valladolid, which at that time was the 'capital' of the territories. During this period Juan de Salinas died and was succeeded by Gaspar de Salinas. The latter being absent at the time, Capt. Juan Aldrete, acting in his place, ordered the scribe Joan Pizarro to assemble the material of this census and to include with it a brief description of the environs of each city taken from the reports of Juan de Salinas himself. This census bears every evidence of having been carefully made and gives us an excellent idea of the aboriginal population in the Jivaro territory in the sixteenth century just before the breakdown of the encomienda. Because of its unique interest, the report is here translated in its complete form, although the sections relating to the cities of Loyola and Valladolid are not included in Jivaro territory."

"ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF YAHUARZONGO AND PACAMURUS (53)

In the city of Valladolid, where this government of Yahuarzongo and Pacamuros is located, December 1, 1582, Capt. Juan Alarete, governor of said territory, because of the absence of Gov. Gaspar de Salinas de Loyola, proprietor of said government, by order of the most powerful President and Judges of the [29] Royal Audiencia of Quito, commands me, the present scrivener, to make an account and census of the Indians and impressions of the things that are within the territories of the cities that are established in the said government surveyed by Don Juan de Salinas (so be his glory), whose memoranda and account of the character of the cities that are populated in said government are the following:

THE CITY OF SANTIAGO DE LAS MONTAÑAS

The city of Santiago de las Montañas of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory). He commissioned for said visit Captain Joan de Rada Medrano and Pedro de Lasarte, who visited the scattered Indians in the territory of said city and it appears, according to their examination, the number of Indian men and women are as follows:

First, in the encomienda of Captain Francisco Peres de Vivero, which includes the towns of Yangorasa and Yatanbisas [sic] and Ranaones and Anoas, 1,645 Indian men and women, children and adults, of which 951 are males and the rest females.

"53. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. 33-45."

In the encomienda of Captain Hernando de Orozco, adjoining said city, which includes the towns of Yranaones [sic] and Guatuzas and Andoas, 1,082 Indian men and women, adults and children, of which 536 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Hinojosa, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Cama, Jumbare and Tayones and Andoas, 916 Indian men and women, of which 496 are males and the rest females.

In the encomienda of Francisco Briceño, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Yaguiza and Curiza, 1, 016 Indian men and women, of which 588 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Bernardo de Loyola, including the towns of Yanones and Andoas, 615 Indian men and women, of which 380 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Ortega, inhabitant of said city, including the town Yranaones, 360 Indian men and women, of which 220 are males.

In the encomienda of Rodrigo de Solis, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Caciruma and Chuguaca, 640 men and women, of which 335 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cornejo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Pinchonama, 188 Indian men and women, of which 102 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan de Acarrero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Moronaza, 339 Indian men and women, of which 188 are males.

In the encomienca of Francisco de Herrera, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Curaguana, 308 Indian men and women, of which 168 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Bautista, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Comigarapa, 212 Indian men and women, of which 146 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Medina, in the town of Civiraonas, 90 Indian men and women, of which 36 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Cardela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbaza, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males.

In the encomienda of Simon de Carvajal, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Cuyumbana, 543 Indian men and women, of whom 304 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego Vela, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Bobonaza, 323 Indian men and women, of whom 160 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco de Tapia, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Turrumbaza, 265 Indian men and women, of whom 152 are males. [30]

In the encomienda of the late Alonso Perez de Toro and his wife who owns them, including the town of Marasaconas, 216 Indian men and women, of whom 145 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Zamorano, including the town of Patocurapa, 260 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The Indians who are under the head of Governor Don Gaspar in the districts of said city in the towns of Cenisa and Cangaza number 661 Indian men and women, of whom 357 are males.

Total, 10,159; men, 5,759. * * *

This city of Santiago has jurisdiction over more districts and Indians than these, but, because they were down the river and not all pacified, it was not possible to visit them.

His lordship, Don Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory), populated this city in 1558 on Santiago day, which was when he discovered the said territory. The city was settled on the Marañon River, by which river his lordship embarked in canoes for the exploration he made of said river. It was located in a place seven leagues before arriving at the Pongo, which is a pass and boundary made by the sierras and mountains, because from it, down to the Mar del Norte, all is level plain. The natives make use of canoes by means of which they travel on the rivers that are within the territory of this city. There are many of these in proportion to the population and with these canoes they come to the aforementioned city. The land is mountainous and very hot; they do not have herds of llamas and therefore they dress in cotton, of which much grows in said land. Formerly they went about generally unclothed, but now all the men, women and children usually are well clothed, because of this training having come to them. The rivers contain a great quantity of very large fish; even porpoises go up to the aforementioned city from the sea. There is plenty of food, maiz, and roots, and many different kinds of good fruits, and much hunting in the mountains, which are not very rough, such as wild hogs, deer, tapir, and many other game animals, which said Indians kill easily with bows and arrows. There are many very beautiful birds, pauxies and piures (piuriés) and big

partridges, and many other birds that the Indians domesticate in their houses. There are mines of rock salt and large springs of salty water. They trade this with the Indians on the river below, where salt is not found. They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief, under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died. They used to suffer much harm before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them from all the neighboring Indians, because of being very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes, which often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they traveled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains. They had neither rites or ceremonies, but only to be born and to die; and thus they entered the evangelic faith without difficulty, and all in general know prayers and are baptized and receive and ask for the sacraments; for which purpose the newcomers have formed towns and put them in order and neatness so that each town has its church and ornaments and its cabildos and their alcaldes and magistrates, by whom the Indians who commit crimes are taken and brought to justice in said city; and they decide civil cases with all fairness. There are in the territory of this city four clergymen who preach and administer the holy sacrament, each one in accordance with his stipend and salary, which is about 500 pesos of silver for each clergyman

without his altar fee and provocations. They did not have to pay taxes [31] only the things that they took from the natives' lands being useful, and thus they have estimated that there is a certain quantity of food and from each six Indian men of a certain age, they took one so that he might take out gold seven months of the year, whom they call curicamayos; and those who are thus collected together are called cuadrillas, in accordance with the number of Indians that each encomendero has. Some have 20 curicamayos and others 50 or 60 more or less, according to the number; the encomenderos give them for each period or seven months, two vestures, which consist of two mantas and two shirts and the food, salt, meat, maiz, and beans necessary, and they keep them together in their houses with all kindness, and the other five months of each year, they live in their own houses and on their own territory; the curicamayos must be from 14 to 25 years of age, because the others do not travel in search of gold, which gold is taken out of the Cangasa and Iranhisa Rivers in the territories of said city, by which rivers all the natives go to take it out and they carry all their food from their own towns and land up to the neighborhood of said mines by water and canoes and thus do not burden themselves.

They take out from said rivers each year 20 to 25 thousand pesos. They work the river bed and the flats. It is 23 carat and grain gold. The Spaniards have no other trade or contracts with the natives outside of said city and said mines, where the merchandise is sold publicly.

The said city obtained Castillian things through the city of Jaen, which came up to

said city in canoes and by beasts of burden from the city of Chachapoyas and Moyobamba, and they came by land; and from the cities of Cuenca and Loxa came many ordinary Indian natives of the cities of Cuenca and Loxa to said mines with their trade goods looking for barter.

They know that they should respect justice and obey calls and commands, and they come to complain freely of any grievance against their encomenderos and others, when they have been too rigorous in administering justice to them; and the governor and his lieutenants and alcaldes and their judges visit the districts of each city, and the Indians and chiefs come to them freely to recount any small grievance that they might have received. They have knowledge of each particular pertaining to the repairing of the roads and maintaining them and the Royal Inns in which are sold those things necessary for travelers, according to the prices in the book of rates."

2: Stirling--31-33 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 161

"THE CITY OF LOYOLA

The city of Loyola of this government was visited in 1580 by command of his lordship aforementioned, who gave the commission to Captain Hernando de Vega, who visited said city and its districts and visited the following Indians:

First, the encomienda of Anton Sanchez del Castillo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Capaparachu, 345 Indian men and women, of whom 185 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Gomez de Rueda, inhabitant of said city, in the town of Cambuco, 320 Indian men and women, of whom 146 are males.

The encomienda of Martin Correa, including the towns of Chamanama and Zanlonama, 460 Indian men and women, of whom 264 are males.

The encomienda of Nuño de Monsalve, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Camilache, 434 Indian men and women, of whom 226 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ferel, inhabitant of said city, absent, including the town of Yanachima, 112 Indian men and women, of which 61 are males. [32]

In the encomienda of Captain Francisco Gonzales Montoya, including the towns of Misacandoro and Cutirimi, 332 Indian men and women, of which 196 are males.

In the encomienda of Alonso de Oviedo, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Marizana, 269 Indian men and women, of which 148 are males.

In the encomienda of Doña Ines de Estrada, including the town of Calaqui, 413 Indian men and women, of whom 214 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro Gomez Duarte, including the towns of Changona and Cutirinci (Cutirimi?), 336 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the encomienda of Pedro de Bañuelos, including the towns of Mijanoma and Paima, 229 Indian men and women, of whom 167 are males.

In the encomienda of Jerónimo Ponce, including the town of Ambo, 334 Indian men and women, of whom 212 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando de Orellana, inhabitant of said city, including the towns of Namai and Lalanguiche and Tantamora, 316 Indian men and women, of whom 166 are males.

In the encomienda of Gasper de Ortego, including the town of Tanchinama, 328 Indian men and women, of whom 184 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Caballero, inhabitant of said city, including the town of Guarindilla, 337 Indian men and women, of whom 192 are males.

In the encomienda of Antonio de Herrera, in the town of Cumbare, 91 Indian men and women, of whom 43 are males.

In the encomienda of Hernando Jedeon, including the town of Muchonami, 183 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

In the encomienda of Alonso Sanchez, including the town of Marraco, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

In the encomienda of Diego de Albarreda, including the town of Caronoma, 168 Indian men and women, of whom 85 are males.

In the encomienda of Captain Alonso de Fuentes, including the towns of Zambotama and Manguiche, 258 Indian men and women, of whom 149 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Ramos de Larangui (from Carangui?) including the town of Changata, 164 Indian men and women, of whom 86 are males.

In the encomienda of Bartolomé Lopez, including the towns of Pomanga and Lacuemache, 366 Indian men and women, of whom 198 are males.

In the encomienda of Francisco Nuñez, including the town of Misacho, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 147 are males.

In the encomienda of Juan Cano, absent, including the town of Caxunguima, 112 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Mixalalangui, which is under Governor Don Gaspar, within its territories 400 Indian men and women, of whom 186 are males.

Total 6,616. * * *

This city of Loyola was settled by his lordship Juan de Salinas Loyola (so be his glory) when he began establishing this government. It is a land of hills and valleys, and the natives all dress in wool, because of possessing a great number of llamas in the terri-

tory which have the customary stones (53) in their stomachs. They are a people of equal rights who never were subjects nor do they pay taxes or give tributes. They have chiefs and leaders who lead them as captains in their wars, which they have with one another and kill each other regularly, and thus they establish their settlements in the strongest places, which are now towns formed by the newcomers. They [33] have many drunken feasts and these, as well as the wars among themselves, decimate them. They put herbs of witchcraft in their drinks, with which they kill one another. Gold is taken from all the rivers and more will be found. The Spaniards have discovered exposed mines and veins where gold is now taken out. They do not have in their land anything with which to pay taxes and thus they are taxed by making certain plantations of maiz and roots for the maintenance of their encomenderos and curicamayos, and in every district, according to the number of Indians in it, they give one out of five as he must be a boy of 14 to 25 years of age, who work said mines seven months of the year and the rest they spend on their lands and in their own houses. They do not mill the metal but wash it with troughs for which every year a vesture is given to each Indian. Said mines are about seven leagues distant from said city. They provide them with all necessities. They take out every year in the districts of this city 30 to 35 thousand pesos. It is 42 leagues from the city of Loxa to this city, and 35 from the city of Xaen, and 30 leagues from

"53. These bezoar stones were considered by both the Spaniards and the Indians as having magical properties."

Zamora; and 50 from Santiago, and 18 from Valladolid; this is all broken mountainous country. There are many rivers across the trails and very powerful ones that cannot be forded, and over all of them are bridges of reeds or canes. These Indians do not leave for any trade outside of their native land. They trade among their own towns. There are three clergymen in this city and in its district who preach to them and administer the holy sacrament, 400 pesos of stipened being given to each one. In this land, in order to make their farms, they do not plow the land, but, having cleared an area on the mountainside with axes and burned it over, they sow here the mayz [sic] and roots which they gather three times in fourteen months, because of its being a rainy land, the seasons not being definite, and having many marshes. All the towns have churches and alcaldes and they live in an orderly manner and are intelligent people; and the curicamayos and all are very well treated, because, although in the beginning they made their vestments very short, in order not to hamper them in warfare, now they make them down to their knees. The Spaniards do not mix with them. This city obtains plenty of merchandise from Spain which ordinarily comes from the city of Loxa and which is publicly sold in the city and mines, including cattle and hogs and all necessities."

"THE CITY OF VALLADOLID

The city of Valladolid was settled by the aforementioned lordship when he entered to establish this government in 1556, and by his command his captains returned to rebuild it, it having been depopulated and abandoned by the Spaniards at first because of his absence and occupation in his exploration and because of the hardships and wars with the natives, who are very warlike people and who killed many of the Spaniards.

By command of the aforementioned lordship (so be his glory), the Indians within the territories of said city were visited in 1580, although said city and the rest of this government had been visited other times, although not reduced to towns. Pedro Gomez Duarte visited it and found the following number of Indian men and women.

The encomienda of Captain Garcia de Paredes, absent, including the town of Guambuco, 96 Indian men and women, of whom 64 are males.

The encomienda of a minor of Vasco Martin, dead, including the towns of Yanapinga and Yanzame and Ongomanta, 340 Indian men and women, of whom 250 are males. [34]

The encomienda of Captain Hernado de Vega, absent, including the town of Palanda, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 120 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Navarro, including the towns of Tangoraca and Colalayer (?), 160 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

The encomienda of Andres Lopez de Agurto, including the towns of Picuncha and Yaca, 243 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

The encomienda of Juan de Saucedo, including the towns of Tapala, Larinamanta, Callanga, Hongomanta, 263 Indian men and women, of whom 137 are males.

The encomienda of Francisco Magariños, including the towns of Pangora and Gariuba, Colomata, Cananche, 215 Indian men and women, of whom 132 are males.

The encomienda of Alvaro Camacho, including the worns of Zamayoc, Yuminche, and Mohoche, 162 Indian men and women, of whom 100 are males.

The encomienda of Captain Juan Aldrete, including the towns of Licaroma and Yarami, 228 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

The encomienda of Pero Ximenez Magariño, including the towns of Zacapo and La Rinconada, 230 Indian men and women, of whom 106 are males.

The encomienda of Diego Alvarez, including the towns of Misalanchi, Posirimi, Quichiparra, Yangonama, 176 Indian men and women, of whom 98 are males.

The encomienda of Elvira Montero, including the towns of Yumba and Yambamba, Gurpa, and Paco, 178 Indian men and women, of whom 87 are males.

The encomienda of Aldonza Martín, minor, including the towns of Tacanambe and Pacamari, 120 Indian men and women, of whom 60 are males.

In the town of Culichima, with the others of Captain Juan Navarro, 108 Indian men and women, of whom 50 are males.

Total, 2,975; males, 1,560. * * *

The natives of this city of Valladolid live on slopes and defensible places, because of being warlike people and people of complete equality, and, as they say, they have many times defeated the captains of the Inca who entered to subject them. Their arms are lances of palm wood more than 25 palms in length, and stones and axes and javelins. They do not have chiefs, but the most courageous is chosen as leader, and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs. They formerly clothed themselves with wool from the llamas, although the clothing was very abbreviated; now they travel and are dressed in all good taste. They work their land with plows (tacllas) and the richest ones have the best plantations because some 100 Indian men and 100 Indian women are collected together to plow and they turn back the land to them (the rich ones). They work until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance, and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because after they had sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought about others.

Gold is found in all the rivers and in three of them which are very great, it is found everywhere and the Spaniards have discovered mines and veins in the hills which are worked separately, although, the working of them is very difficult because of the lack of

natives at present, for, in addition to those used up by the drunken feasts that they have, many of the younger Indians having lost their parents have left and gone to the cities of nearby Peru, and since those remaining did not have in their land anything to give as tribute they were taxed in the same manner as the rest by giving to their [35] encomenderos, curicamayos, and making plantations for them. There are two priests in this city and its territory and one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the natives. The encomenderos pay the priest of the natives and they give the priest of the Spaniards 300 pesos out of the royal treasury. They do not breed any kind of stock in this land except cattle. Wheat is raised, although the crops are frequently lost. It is about 5 leagues from the Cordillera and 18 from the city of Loxa."

THE CITY OF SANTA MARIA DE LAS NIEVES

His lordship ordered this city established in order to satisfy those who had not been given an encomienda of Indians in the city of Santiago de Las Montañas, which is on the Marañon River in the direction of the city of Chachapoyas de Moyobamba. Captain Joan Navarro de Beaumonte visited this city by command of the aforementioned lordship in 1580, although it had been visited and examined before. From this visit it appears to have the following number of Indian men and women.

In the towns of Titibupata and Ticancama, encomienda of Luis Darmas, inhabitant of said city, 369 Indian men and women, of whom 230 are males.

In the town of Bambaro, encomienda of Juan Izquierdo, 297 Indian men and women, of whom 168 are males.

In the towns of Curagurapa and Cociata, encomienda of Juan Gonzales, 103 Indian men and women, of whom 55 are males.

In the town of Yungagones, encomienda of Juan Dias, 150 Indian men and women, of whom 83 are males.

In the town of La Cordillera, encomienda of Francisco Buslamente, 341 Indian men and women, of whom 190 are males.

In the town of Chichicasa, encomienda of Pedro Vello, 213 Indian men and women, of whm 117 are males.

In the town of Yauinare, encomienda of Bartolmé Mendez, 223 Indian men and women, of whom 116 are males.

In the town of Zangona, encomienda of Pedro Sanchez, 283 Indian men and women, of whom 125 are males.

In the towns of Yuniangones and Zagazagas, encomienda of Garci Gonzalez, 250 Indian men and women, of whom 130 are males.

In the town of Palenque, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz, 123 Indian men and women, of whom 63 are males.

In the towns of Cangaza and Tugurogones, 240 Indian men and women, of whom 156 are males. It is the encomienda of Juan de Saldaña, inhabitant of said city.

In the town of Chingama, encomienda of Benito Gil, 232 Indian men and women, of whom 128 are males.

In the town of Catarima, encomienda of Doña Francisca Valera, 262 Indian men and women, of whom 153 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 52 are males.

In the town of Yumiraguas, encomienda of Xpbal Diaz also, 124 Indian men and women, of whom 66 are males. [sic]

Total, 2,427; males, 1,332. * * *

The land and territories of this city of Nieva [sic] is mountainous and of the same temperature and nature as that of Santiago. It developed that gold was not to be found in the territories of this city and therefore cotton clothes were made there by the order and measure that the curicamayos of the other[36] cities gave them, and the encomenderos gave them spinning wheels and cotton and other things necessary for making said clothes. For their work they paid said Indians their vestuaries. In the territories of this city, there is a sierra and range that is all salt. It is situated 30 leagues from the city of Santiago, the Marañon River being in between, and thus the Indians have suffered greatly from the wars made on them by the neighboring Indians on the river below. It is a fertile land, productive of maiz and other roots, which they plant on the mountains. There are two clergymen, one of whom administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians as in the rest of the towns. They are a very settled people, like those of the Santiago. They are all orderly and well behaved. They do not have treaties or contracts with the Spaniards."

" SEVILLA DEL ORO--LOGROÑO

In this government was established the city of Sevilla del Oro in the territory of Macas, which city, because of the few people settled there and also because of the natives not being in servitude and of suitable temperament, has not been visited in order to be divided into towns. It is a mountainous land which adjoins the province of the Quijos, by the royal road with the seat of Riobamba. It is a land where gold is found and taken out, although, because of the Indians not being settled, cuadrillas have not been ordered. The land produces much cotton and much food. There are likewise two clergymen there, of whom one administers the sacraments to the Spaniards and the other to the Indians, as in the other cities.

The other city which is populated halfway between this city of Sevilla and that of Santiago, is the city of Logroño de los Caballeros. They are a very warlike people and have killed a great number of Spaniards and every day they kill them. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and ravines, all of which in general have gold, and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits they can obtain and which the land promises. They tried to take out gold and with a great deal of difficulty, took out almost 30,000 pesos the first year, which they had to spend in subsistence and necessities, dividing it into lots of five for the neighboring cities, which is the reason they did not give any profits to Your Majesty,

because of not having any other industries in the land but the mines, and thus not having any other profit; and thus there are no military officers or town officers or secretaries there; because first it is necessary to find someone who would like to organize it after the manner of the governments of the other cities. Because of not having anything else to say concerning them, it is unnecessary to enlarge the account more.

In the city of Valladolid, December 1, 1582.

JUAN ALDRETE.

By command of the Governor.

JOAN PIZARRO,

Public Secretary."

"Thus we find the combined population of the districts of Santiago and Santa Maria de Las Nievas was 12,586, of which number 7,091 were males. The region enumerated under Santiago evidently included the Zamora basin and the upper Santiago River. That of Nieve apparently included the lower Santiago and the Alto Marañon above the Pongo Manseriche. Because of their hostility at the time, [37] no census was taken of the Jivaros occupying the Upano basin. Apparently no record was made of the inhabitants of the Morona and Pastaza. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the figure given represents considerably less than one-half of the total Jivaro population at the time.

In the year 1599 it was said that 20,000 Jivaros joined in the attack against Logroño. (54) There can be little doubt that this figure is exaggerated, but judging from the partial census of Salinas, the Jivaro population in the last quarter of the sixteenth century must have totaled more than 30,000.

It is not easy to obtain an accurate estimate of the complete number of Jivaros at the present time. Delgado gave a census for the Upano basin and the upper Morona of 3,151 Jivaros, of whom 600 were men old enough to fight. Ten years previously this same group was said to have had 2,000 fighting men. (55) At the same time there were said to be 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries. (56)

"54. Velasco, t. III, p. 152.
55. Delgado, p. 413.
56. Colección cartas domínicas. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 357."

In 1907 the Salesians estimated that the Jivaro population in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza was 9,790. It is not clear upon what data this figure is based and it appears likely that it is in excess of the true number occupying this region at the time.

In 1905 Von Hassel gives us the following figures: Aguarunas, 2,000 to 2,500; Antipas, 2,000; Huambisas, 800 to 1,000.

Taking this estimate for the lower Jivaro country, Rivet admits a total population of 20,000, which number, using the proportions of Vacas Galindo, would include 4,000 fighting men.

There can be no doubt that the population has diminished considerably since the time of the conquest. The decrease of population in the Upano during the decade from 1880 to 1890 was more than 50 percent, according to Vacas Galindo.

In the year 1888 there were 172 Jivaros at Capahuari and 83 at Copataza. The next year the combined populations of these two communities was only 100 after a war had taken place. (57)

The present writer has mentioned a similar instance where the Jivaro population of the upper Yaupe and Canga Rivers was almost exterminated between the years 1925 and

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"57. Vacas Galindo 'Nankijukima,' p. 184."

1930 as the result of repeated war raids. This sort of thing has been of regular occurrence throughout the Jivaro territory and has been without doubt an important factor in holding down the population. Smallpox has been an even greater factor in reducing the number of Indians at various [38] times. The combination of disease and warfare would probably have brought about the virtual extinction of the Jivaros had it not been for the fact that women are not habitually killed in war raids. Thus the polygynous customs of the Jivaros tend to keep the birth rate higher than wartime casualties would seem to warrant.

Although the Jivaros are probably the largest tribe inhabiting the Amazon basin, owing to the large extent of their territory they are spread out so thinly that the population is evidently not much more than one to the square mile."

2: Stirling--41 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161, 721

"The present-day practices of the Jivaro with regard to war resemble closely the sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions given by the Spaniards who attempted to conquer them and who had an excellent opportunity to observe this aspect of Jivaro ethnology. The accounts given of the methods of warfare practiced by neighboring tribes and by distant tribes of the highlands of Ecuador and Peru would seem to indicate that their motivation and method of fighting was very similar. Raids on distant groups in order to obtain trophy heads, individual prestige enhanced by this same method; even the preparation of tsantsas and the accompanying feasts and ceremonies were carried on over a large region."

5: Reyes and Teran--108-109 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161, 177

"Unemployment in the centers of population has brought into the forest a large number of placer miners, many of whom, after a brief period of struggle with the wilderness, have returned with respectable fortunes. These men are the remarkable gold miners who impart an atmosphere of activity and progress to many settlements of the Oriente, even though they frequently bespatter them with blood. The following data may give some idea of the intensity with which this work is being carried on:[109]

Number of men washing gold in the Napo and its tributaries.....	3,500
Number of men washing gold in the Pastaza and its tributaries.....	1,000
Number of men washing gold in the Upano and its tributaries.....	300
Number of men washing gold in the Paute and its tributaries.....	2,500
Number of men washing gold in the Zamora and its tributaries.....	5,200
Number of men washing gold in the San Francisco and other tributaries of the Chinchipe.....	2,000
Number of men washing gold in the placers of the Nabon, Chordeleg, Zaruma, Gualaquiza and the cordillera del Condor.....	3,500
Total.....	18,000 "

5: Reyes and Teran--117-118 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161

"This new geographical aspect of the Ecuadorian Oriente, like those previously studied, lacks concrete and precise data, both with respect to the ethnology and the statistics of the subject. According to the most careful study made up to the present time--that is, to December 31, 1937, the population of the Oriente is calculated as 15,265 inhabitants distributed over an area of 313,836 square kilometers. This gives an average population density of 0.045 per square kilometer; and by provinces the data may be presented thus: [118]

Province	Population	Area	Density
Napo-Pastaza	211,595	229,101 [GCB: square] kilometers	0.05 per hectar
Santiago Zamora	3,670	84,735 " " "	0.04 per hectar (1)

Most, if not all, of the population is found on the outliers of the Andean cordillera, above the elevation of 400 meters by reason of climatic factors."

"1. 'La distribución geografica de la población del Ecuador'--Estudio del General Paz y Mino.--... Floating population not included."

12: Rivet--352 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133, 161

Macas in 1890 had a population of 350 "macabéos" (1), a name given generally to the white settled in these eastern regions. It is situated a little ways from the right bank of the Upano, at an altitude of 1,051 meters, according to Reiss and Stubel (2).

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1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Map 4, page 31.
2. Wolf, op. cit., p. 592.

Gualaquiza is hardly more important; in 1875, there were only 100 whites in this village and 80 Jíbaros (1); in July, 1906, the Salesians counted more than 500 individuals of all races (2). It is built on the left bank of Gualaquiza River, which, ten kilometers lower, runs into the Bomboiza. The mean temperature is 22°5 and the altitude 730 meters (3).

As for Zamora, it is located on the right bank of the river of the same name, near its juncture with the Bambuscara. Although I have been unable to procure any exact information, one can surely state that this village is even smaller than Gualaquiza.

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1. Cordero, op. cit., page 28-29.
2. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May, 1907.
3. "Carta del misionero Salesiano D. Jacinto Pancheri", published in the newspaper El Republicano of Quito, Nos. 94, 98, 106 and 117, 1893-94.

12: Rivet--356-357 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 161

All these tribes are far from having an equal numerical importance, many are composed of only 100 to 200 individuals. In 1890, the Jurumbaini numbered 68 representatives, the Arapicos 82, the Tutumagosas 140, the Guambinimas 132, the Chupiansas 165, the Mendes 144, the Pautes 180, the Yunganzas 90, the [357] Yuquipas 453, the Chihuasas 162, the Huasagas 280, the Huamboyas 500, the Copatasas 83, the Capahuaris 172, the Kangaimes 64, the Mangosisas 56, the Miazales 68. At the same time, there were 3,051 Jíbaros in the basin of the Upano and the upper Morona (1), of which 600 men were old enough to carry arms, that is to say older than 15 years. Ten years before the same tribes were able to send 2,000 men to war.

In 1890, there were 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries (2). If one deducts from this last figure the population of Canelos, Sarayacu and Pacayacu, one finds that the number of converts among the nomadic tribes was 26!

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1. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas," in Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 413.
2. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Map 4, page 31.

The Salesians think that there are 9,790 infidels (1) in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza, a figure which appears a little exaggerated. In fact, some experienced missionaries estimate that in all the Jíbaro country there are not more than 10 to 12,000 souls. For my part, on having counted up the figures given by von Hassel (2) for the Aguarunas (2,000 to 2,500), the Muratos (5,000), the Antipas (2,000), the Huambizas (800 to 1,000), I think that one can admit a maximum of about 20,000 inhabitants, of which, according to the proportion of Padre Vacas Galindo, there would be about 4,000 adults able to carry arms (3). But in 1599, according to ancient historians, there was an army of 20,000 rebels who assailed Logroño (4), and Osculati (5) estimates the Jíbaro population at a half million. To be sure it is necessary to take into account the exaggerations of the chroniclers, and the error in estimation of the Italian explorer is so manifest that there is no need for pointing it out, nevertheless it is none the less true

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1. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May 1907.
2. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 34, 40 and 46.
3. Padre Enrique Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. Religión, usos y costumbres de los Salvajes del Oriente del Ecuador. Ambato, 1897, page 183.
4. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 154.
5. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 29.

that the number of savages has diminished in an unheard-of manner since the first times of the Spanish conquest. This diminution continues in our time. I have already cited the example of the tribes in the basin of the Upano. Pointing out another: in 1888, the Jíbaros of Capahuari numbered 172 individuals, and those of Copataza 83, being in all 255 Jíbaros. The following year, at the end of an [358] internal war, there remained at most 100 (6). The constant hostilities between tribes, the contagious diseases, smallpox in particular, brought by the Spanish, and alcoholism explained this strange disappearance to a great extent; but as these conditions are found together in many sections of the world, where the natives of the country continue to multiply nevertheless, it is necessary to admit that the fatal law, which brings death to the Indian everywhere that one finds him in contact with the Whites, must have other deeper causes that we do not know. As for the Jíbaro, it is very difficult to invoke the law of selection, for, as we shall see, he is, from all points of view, endowed with qualities which would seem to reserve for him a better fate and a brighter future among the indigenous American peoples.

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6. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 184.

25: Vigna--35 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 161

The present civilized population is somewhere between ten and twelve thousand inhabitants. The majority are settlers of crossed race of Andean origin. The number of Jíbaro Indians is estimated between fifteen and twenty thousand. It is difficult to count the savages, who, fundamentally, are nomads. They do not establish towns or villages, but live in the heart of the virgin forest, separated from one another many times, by long days of journey. They are still reticent about furnishing the information necessary to an exact formulation of their political structure.

28: Tessman--343 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 161

Karsten, in his Blood Revenge, p. 1 estimates that there are 15-20,000 Chiwaros. This is too high a figure simply because Karsten has erroneously included the Kandoschis. I believe that there are at the most 10-12, 000 Chiwaros.

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions, the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jivaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jivaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lance; and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

194 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jívaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6], the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa, the Aguaruna, and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri huarä*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jívaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*huarä*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jívaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to *any* Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apuñi*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri huarä*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*achuarä huarä*) to the east. An alternative term, *nuraiya huarä* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsuma huarä*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*mukar huarä*" or "*yubina huarä*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call

128 them the "*paruka liwy*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956-57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
• 161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
• [161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguaza region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4,5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 648 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites. As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguaza region.

175 648 72 669 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 648 797 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier

101 648 797

36:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 highland province of Azuay in the 1950's, many more Jivaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jivaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jivaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jivaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the el-
[123] derly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jivaro coming back from Peru." The Jivaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jivaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

34 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more lime
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilometers).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguaza south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 1). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in house-knit neighborhood groupings of irregular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the *mucú entse* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

14 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

198 This does not mean that Jivaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
518 warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
698 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
183 typical of the present situation is that some Jivaro are learn-
ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
[764] fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jivaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
698 Jivaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

• 161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jivaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,850 *untouched souls* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jivaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nuhuí and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [776]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114
161
361

reported by Danielsson (1949, p. 88) whose Jívaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 46 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Danielsson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielsson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yurupaza, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141) of Jívaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jívaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. A comparison of the SIL Jívaro house count with the census figures for the Jívaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yurupaza neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielsson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

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2. Murdock, 1949, p. 60.

3. In the Jívaro language *kakaram* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakaram* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

[104]

[178]

4. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jívaro culture antedates ca. 1910, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jívaro *amigü* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jívaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kumpa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jívaro without the implication of personal obligation.

[171]

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro.

2. Sollmann, 1957, pp. 381, 394.

3. Castaneda, 1968; and Harner, 1973.

1: Karsten--212 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
162 (1928-29)

"Neither among the Jibaros nor among the Canelos Indians have I known persons who have been obliged to remain unmarried their whole life. In regard to the women such a state of things is almost out of the question for the very reason that the Jibaros are polygynists and that there is, on the whole, a scarcity of women in their communities."

12: Rivet--338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 162, 171

The savages who live in this immense territory present an absolute ethnic unity: their customs and habits are totally distinct from the customs and habits of their neighbors to the northeast, the Záparos, as well as from their neighbors to the south, in the Peruvian province of Loreto (1). Moreover, they speak a single language which differs from the languages spoken in the neighboring regions. (2) These two proved facts empower the ethnologist to unite them under the name of Jíbaros.

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1. Raimondi, op. cit.
2. I have a large vocabulary of the Jivaro language, which I will make the subject of a further linguistic study.

31: Danielsson--86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 592, 162

"Each house-group is made up of various men and their wives and children. A usual combination is: the head of the family, some of his brothers and sons and some sons-in-law, each one with his wives and children. That the Jibaros practise polygamy seems to be easily explained by the fact that the continual wars and fights have greatly reduced the male population. The sex ratio for the adult population, for instance, for the groups studied is 69 men to 168 women. (See Table I)."

TABLE I

TOTAL POPULATION IN THE THREE GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS

Family number	Adults (Initiated) Men: Married	Adults (Initiated) Men: Unmarried	Adults (Initiated) Women: Married	Adults (Initiated) Women: Unmarried	Children (Not initiated) Boys: Unmarried	Children (Not initiated) Girls: Married	Children (Not initiated) Girls: Unmarried	Total male	Total female	Total number
					Patuca					
I	4	0	11	3	9	1	7	13	22	35
II	4	1	9	1	4	3	5	9	18	27
III	3	0	7	0	7	0	6	10	13	23
IV	5	0	18	2	6	2	9	11	31	42
V	3	0	8	0	5	1	3	8	12	20
VI	3	0	5	1	2	2	2	5	10	15
Total	22	1	58	7	33	9	32	55	107	162
					Yurupaza					
I	5	1	14	2	10	0	12	16	28	44
II	4	0	55	0	4	2	3	8	10	18
III	3	0	8	1	4	0	5	7	14	21
IV	3	0	77	0	5	1	7	8	15	23
V	5	1	12	2	12	2	10	18	26	44
Total	20	2	46	5	35	5	37	57	93	150
					Yaupi					
I	5	0	9	0	14	3	15	19	27	46
II	4	0	11	1	13	0	14	17	26	43
III	3	1	8	0	11	0	9	15	17	32
IV	3	0	4	0	6	1	7	9	12	21
V	4	0	11	1	6	1	8	10	21	31
VI	4	0	7	0	4	2	5	8	14	22
Total	23	1	50	2	54	7	58	78	117	195
Total	65	4	154	14	122	21	127	190	317	507

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend 606
each other's households from enemies.

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The sub- 595
sistence productivity of the household closely correlates with 592
the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny.

The most common number of wives for a man to have is 162 •
two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, 595
in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as 584
evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result [582]
in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older.

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the 584
suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods. 756 776 554

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual. 756 184 648 554

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3). 756 554

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret 756 [162] [463] [562] [554]

/text continues on p. 124/

1: Karsten--224 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 842, 163 (1928-29)

. "After the 'tobacco feast' the conjugal life of the Jibaro couple generally begins, in some cases--that is to say, when the girl is not very young--even immediately after betrothal. As a rule, however, the Jibaro woman does not become a mother until she is 16 or 17 years old; at any rate I have not among these Indians seen younger mothers. --The Canelos woman generally marries at a more mature age."

I: Karsten--232 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 163, 842, 177 (1928-29)

"The number of children in a Jibaro family is generally great, partly of course owing to the existence of polygamy. The Jibaro man wants to have as many children as possible and it may happen--although of course only in exceptional cases--that he has ten children from the same woman. He is rightly of opinion that richness in wives and in children means richness in general, and that it adds to the power of the family and the tribe. He appreciates female children just as much as male children; both are in their way equally useful, and for the same reason he has, as we have seen, no objection to the birth of twins, against whom the Jibaros have not the same prejudice as most other Indians of Western Amazonas. If nevertheless the Jibaro tribes have constantly diminished, this is due to particular reasons, partly to the great mortality of Indian children in general in the first years of life, partly to the wars of extermination carried on between the different Jibaro tribes. The contact with the white race not only indirectly promotes a diminution of the Indians, but seems to have a direct, unfavourable influence upon nativity. This we may infer from the fact that in the families of the Canelos Indians the children are as a rule far fewer than among their savage neighbours, a state of things that can be observed almost everywhere in South America."

26: Brüning--70 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 862, 163, 156

I gained the impressions that there were not many children around. This would explain why mothers suckle their children--as I was told--up to the age of four. I saw it with my own eyes that the children ran to the mother and asked for the breast. The little girls whom I have seen were very timid and clung to their mother as soon as one of us approached; they even refused to accept gifts. The boys, however, were different, and I made friends with them easily.

1: Karsten--41 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
164 (1928-29)

"On the lower Bobonaza the climate begins to become unhealthy, which an experienced traveller will understand from the very presence of numerous morete palms (Mauritia) and swamps. If he wants to escape malarial fever he has above all to guard himself at night against attacks of the fever-bringing Anopheles mosquito by a safe mosquito net. Shortly before we arrived at Pastaza we had passed an Indian village, called by the mestizos Santa Rosa, which had been abandoned some time ago on account of an epidemic of malarial fever. My Indians repeatedly pointed out to me that we had hardly any chance ourselves of escaping being 'caught by the disease', as they express the matter. Far more terrible than the malaria, I was told, is another mysterious disease which was said to rage epidemically in the region of Andoas and to which--according to a rumour current at Canelos--some men of the garrison had already fallen victims. Unfortunately for me, these rumours very soon proved to be true."

1: Karsten--42-43 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
164 (1928-29)

"We were received by the surviving members of the garrison, three young men, who told us about the sad events of the recent weeks. The disease commonly called escorbuto, (scurvy) by the mestizos, is characterized essentially by high fever, dizziness, and an almost irresistible sleepiness. The mestizos and Indians have their own theory about the origin of this disease. It is caused, they say, by the anus of the patient [43] being affected by worms which rapidly spread along the rectum into the whole intestinal system, consuming it, so that the patient literally rots away in a few days. Bad food and excessive humidity are mentioned as the chief causes of this disease. I have been told that the same disease exists in Matto Grosso in Brazil, where it is called corrupção. The Indians of the Bobonaza assert that it can be cured if certain measures are instantly taken. Their remedy consists of a sort of clyster prepared of powder, Indian pepper, and certain other antiseptic herbs which are alleged to kill the worms before they have spread in the intestines. At the time when I first travelled on the Pastaza, there prevailed much obscurity as to the real nature of the disease and the physicians of Ecuador only knew it by name."

1: Karsten--71-72 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
164, 609 (1928-29)

"The whole of Eastern Ecuador at that time [JKM: 1928-29] seemed to be suffering from an epidemic of measles, a malady which among the natives is by no means the innocent disease of children it generally is in Europe. I had found it raging among the Jibaros of the Upano also, and since the Indians rightly conclude that such epidemics come from the whites, it had been extremely difficult for me to get in touch with the Jibaros of that region. A white man entering an Indian house was at first looked upon almost as an enemy. During my stay on the Upano, however, I never thought of the region of Canelos too being visited by measles, as I now found to be the case. When I arrived there I was told that the [72] village was practically empty, the Indians shunning it for fear of the epidemic and living now scattered here and there in their tambos along the river. There was little hope of persuading some of the fugitives to return to the village and enter my service."

1: Karsten--217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 164, 177 (1928-29)

"Unnatural vices are rare or wholly unknown both among the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. Thus I have never heard either of homosexual customs or sodomy. As to venereal diseases, they are, as far as I know, as yet unknown to the majority of the Jibaro tribes. Among the half-civilized Canelos Indians, who have been more in contact with the whites, they seem to be more prevalent, but even among them they are at present rare."

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

"On the other hand, in the category 'disease' (súngura) most illnesses are reckoned which are not particularly connected with pains and which the Indians have learnt to know through the whites; first of all fever and infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet-fever, dysentery, and venereal disease. Whereas the Indian medicine-men are often able to cure witchcraft sent by other medicine-men, they are completely powerless against 'disease' imported by the whites. Thus when an epidemic of small-pox--a disease that has at times made terrible ravages among the natives of South America--breaks out in an Indian village, the inhabitants generally see no other way to rid themselves of the evil than to burn and abandon the whole village, or at least to leave it for some time. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians always, when a strange white man arrives, ask whether he 'brings disease' with him (súngura itáches?). A traveller who falls seriously ill while staying in an Indian house incurs great danger. If the Indians feel sufficiently strong they may kill him; if not, they will at least go off and leave him alone in the house. The first visit of white men among Indians living in unexplored parts of the country is, for the same reason, particularly critical: the Indians think that the strange new-comers infect their houses and villages by their mere presence. By their personal contact as well as by their clothes, their medicines, and the many other mysterious things that they bring with them they are believed to spread germs of death-bringing diseases.

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

Just as the evil of witchcraft is caused by a demoniacal being, perhaps a death-bringing iguánchi, so 'disease' (súngura) is also caused by a spirit, namely, the spirit of a white man. The Jibaros, however, can say nothing more particularly about this disease and death spirit, and they know no other way of protecting themselves against his visits than by trying to avoid him."

1: Karsten--396 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"Although the category 'disease' nowadays chiefly comprises illnesses that have been introduced by the whites, there is also a kind of súngura which is endemic among the Indians and which they have thus known before the white man arrived. This kind of súngura arises directly from their own evil iguánchi. Such a case of 'disease' came under my notice among the Indians of Arapicos, where several young persons and children had been attacked by an insidious fever, apparently epidemical, which made them slowly pine away. The demons always outdo living men, even the most experienced sorcerers, as senders of supernatural evils. The medicine-men, therefore, generally profess their inability to cure the kind of sungura which is sent by the iguanchi."

1: Karsten--396-397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"THE CANELOS INDIANS make exactly the same distinction between what they call chunta (magic arrow) or nanai ('pain', 'evil', caused by the chunta) and ungüi, 'disease', originally introduced by the whites. As to the latter the Canelos Indians, who have at times suffered terribly from small-pox and other epidemic diseases, have much more realistic ideas than the wild Jibaros. 'Disease', they say, enters their villages in the shape of a white man, 'carrying a bag on his shoulders'. He may be a real man or only a spirit; in any case he is believed to bring illness. 'Disease' knocks at the door of an Indian hut, and when some one goes to open it for him, the spirit will 'catch' him (ungüi hápin). One Indian having thus been caught, the relentless strange demon will look for more victims among the rest. Hence, when in one way or other the Indians have got the idea that 'Disease' is approaching their village--for instance when a party of white men are arriving--the [397] women start to cry loudly and lament just as they do when mourning for the dead. In this way, they believe, 'Disease' will be frightened away or anyhow induced to retrace his steps and leave the inhabitants in peace. This idea explains the strange welcome, consisting of ceremonial crying and lamentation, which white travellers sometimes receive when arriving at Indian villages. Again, when a contagious disease, for instance an epidemic of small-pox, breaks out in a place, the inhabitants generally see no other way of ridding themselves of the unwelcome guest than by leaving it and migrating to another part of the country. In such

1: Karsten--396-397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

cases they are in the habit of blocking up the path along which they go with sticks and branches of trees, 'in order that the disease spirit may not be able to follow in their footsteps.'"

4: Up de Graff--221 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 164, 757

"All the men and women we meet are strong and healthy, for although once in the hands of the medicine man they have but a poor chance of recovery (he generally starves his patients to death), they have little need of his services, being absolutely free from diseases, except smallpox and one other of which the chief symptom is a cough, but which I was never able to identify."

12: Rivet--613-614 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 157, 164

In spite of their apparent isolation the Jívaro live socially; but up to the present time they have put up great resistance against grouping themselves in villages. It must be said that this repugnance can be explained not only by the desire for independence which is so well developed in them, but also by the fear of the diseases brought in by [614] the whites, especially smallpox which breaks out in fatal epidemics in Indian groups.

13: Rivet--251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 164, 753

Illnesses are rare, because of the robustness of the individuals and the healthy life that they lead, and, as the savages say, thanks to the daily washing of the stomach. Against smallpox, which so often burst out in deadly epidemics in Christians' settlements, the Indiańs know only one remedy, dispersion and abandonment of the sick. The Aguarunas, however, take care of their sick in little houses separated from the communal habitation.(1)

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1. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 81.

"The Jivaro Indians, known as Shuara among themselves, are popularly referred to as 'The Headhunters.' Those studied in the summer of 1938 were found dwelling in the jungles on both banks of the Upano River, about 75 miles south of Macas and east of Méndez, at the foot of the eastern slope of the Andes, Department of Oriente in Ecuador, South America.

For comparative study, two groups were selected, confined only to the males of varying ages from pre-adolescence to adulthood, selected at random.

Group number 1 consisted of 67 individuals, 56 adults and 11 pre-adolescents, who had had little to no contact with whites or with the world outside of their community. They subsisted on a diet consisting of bananas, both roasted and raw, herbs, roots, berries, nuts, yuca or manioc tuber, maize, fish, the meat of monkeys, wild pigs and birds. The mainstay of their diet is a manioc beer, prepared by the women, who masticate the manioc tuber, thoroughly incorporating it with saliva and then expectorating the solution into a container. After several days' fermentation, this beer is drunk in copious quantities by everyone including the small children. A persistent custom among most of the individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] is the chewing of the 'nashumbi' berry, identified botanically as Manettia coccinia, which produces a brownish lacquer-like coating over the teeth. It is not known if this inhibits tooth decay or not.

The examination of the teeth of these individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth]

was attended with considerable difficulties since tribal customs prohibit the touching of the faces of children and women by strangers. Plaster casts of the teeth were made of the majority of those examined, but since dental instruments were not used, tabulation of tooth cavities was made by observation with the aid of a tongue depresser. The records made represent the types of tooth positions in the dental arches as a comparative, relative record rather than an absolute index. The results of this examination revealed 55 individuals or 82% of all with maxillary [238] center incisor teeth which were either rotated, overlapped, or otherwise misplaced in the dental arch. In some individuals there was also a misplacement of the mandibular central incisors. (Plates 1 and 2) In all adults of this group a complete permanent dentition was the rule, with no other misplacements of teeth than the affected central incisors having been noted. No explanation of the existence of this variation of the positions of the central incisors can be given other than that it is a persistent variable, which cannot be classified merely as a form of malocclusion.... In group 1, malocclusion, affecting the remaining dentition, was noted only in pre-adolescent boys and girls, although it was impossible to make plaster-cast records of most of those seen. This may offer some evidence for the contention that malocclusion of the teeth is associated with other systemic disfunctions. In an environment such as this one, where the rigors of existence are so severe and the securing of sustenance and

alleviative treatment for illness so uncertain, only those who are most fit to survive ever reach adulthood. This does not offer conclusive proof that most children with malocluded teeth die before maturation, since it is possible for some tooth malpositions to correct themselves in conjunction with the added growth spurt, which usually attends pubescent and post-pubescent body alterations. However, the testimony of the fathers of families all coincided with the statement that children with irregular teeth rarely reached manhood, but died before that time.

Examination of the dentition of group 1 revealed a surprisingly low average of dental caries. 41 individuals or 61% had teeth entirely free from dental caries and of those remaining, the greatest number of tooth cavities to be noted did not exceed five. Mandibular fourth molars were found in two individuals, but no other supernumerary or missing teeth were noted. (Table 2.)"

24: Wright--238-240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 262

"Group No. 2 [KS: in comparative study of teeth] consisted of 80 males from pre-adolescent to middle adulthood, of which 34 were adults, and 46 pre-adolescent. This group lived in the mixed white and Indian settlement of Méndez, approximately three days journey from the region of Group No. 1. This latter group is of the same racial stock and family as those of Group No. 1, and originally lived in the same jungle environment, but are now under the protection of the missionaries and were living in and about the mission settlement. Their customs and food habits had been altered to meet the requirements of a quasi-civilized community. The usual diet of these individuals consisted of bananas as the only raw food, cooked meats, potatoes, rice and beans, bread, canned salmon, biscuits, coffee and carbonated beverages. Occasionally, cheap candy, cakes and sugar cane were available, the latter in ample quantities. Almost every individual suffered from [240] gastric disturbances. Because of local obstacles which could not be overcome, the making of plaster casts of their teeth and routine accurate dental examinations were virtually impossible, and cursory examinations for comparative study had to suffice. With the exception of three adult individuals, no one was free from dental caries. Approximately 25% had all their teeth affected with dental caries, and 35% from one to several teeth were missing. Of 34 adults, 16 had good occlusions, while 18 had fair occlusions, but with misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of the pre-adolescent

members of this group, 14 had good occlusions, and 32 were affected with malocclusions of varying degree; all of the latter had misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of a total of 80 individuals in Group 2, 50 or 82.5% were affected with maxillary central incisor misplacements. (Table 1.)"

TABLE 1--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DENTAL OCCLUSION OF GROUPS 1 AND 2.

	Group 1. 67 Males		Group 2. 80 Males	
Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Good Occlusion	18	3	16	14
Rotated Max. 1st incisors. Bal. occl. fair-good.	47	5	18	32
Rotated Max. 1st incisors gen. mal-occlusion		3		

[Put above slip number 2, matching column rules.]

24: Wright--239
116, 164, 177, 262

(1938) 1942

Jivaro-2

[Match columns with slip No. 1]

4th mand. molars.	2			
Rotated Max. 1st incisors.	Total 55 or 82%	of Group 1.	Total 50 or 82.5%	of Group 2.

TABLE 2--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TOOTH CAVITIES OF GROUPS 1 AND 2 (1).

Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Free from caries	32	9	3	
1 cavity	15	1		
2 cavities	1			
3 "	4		31	46
4 "	1			
5 "	3	1	(comparative records) 25% of all had cavities in almost all teeth. 35% had missing teeth.	

"1. [See following sheet for footnote]"

24: Wright--239 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-3
116, 164, 177, 262

"1. [Footnote 1, p. 239] It was impossible to tabulate Group 2 in detail except to show results of a cursory examination for a comparative study."

24: Wright--240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
116, 164, 177, 262

"In comparing the dental conditions of the two groups [KS: in comparative study of teeth] the factor of misplacements of the maxillary central incisors is a persistent variable which is constant for both groups. With 82% in Group 1, and 82.5% in Group 2, there is a variance of only .5% for affected teeth, a curious coincidence. There is another factor to be noted, namely that of the wide variance of dental caries between the two groups. The change in food habits is undoubtedly responsible for the increase in dental caries in Group 2, but this change in environment does not alter the inherited tendency to variation in occlusion common to both groups."

25: Vigna--36 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 158, 164

In general, among the Jíbaros, there are no insane or neurasthenics, nor are there persons afflicted with arthritis, rickets, or scrofula. However they are greatly disfigured by a licheniform affection of the epidermis with a tendency to darkish color. They suffer from tuberculosis. This is spread rapidly by means of the containers in which they indifferently serve themselves their favorite drink "Chicha."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[196] [794] [194] [197] [56] [96] [64] [156] [54] [96] [64] [156] [54] [96] [64] [156] [54

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 41 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jívaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jívaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

• 164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jívaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jívaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the eld-
[123] erly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jívaro coming back from Peru." The Jívaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jívaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge 164 •
its actual demographic effects.

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus 16
are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift [721] that has occurred during the past half-century from large- [682] scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to 101
have expanded. 628

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 776 778 771

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *nuniak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *nuniak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jivaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*napuri*), normally of an epidemic nature, 753 [164]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
• 164 diarrhea. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply
"a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will
to help others to deal with the forces that influence and
even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*wisiín*) are of two types: bewitchers
and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
296 Jivaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural
789 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[828] *ayahuasca* (lucr. "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of
the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yaji*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, *d*-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 11).[10] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushrooms.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
296 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
789 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
828

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuars are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
315 copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *wasuri huará* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

22: Hamy--391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 166, 175

"The study of the names of the Jivaro tribes alone then, demonstrate that which Orbigny had already foreseen, that the populations of Marañon are connected more or less directly to the great Guaranian group. The relations which we have just established tend, moreover, to prove that the savages of whom we have sketched too short an ethnology have come to establish themselves in the forests of Cuenca, of Jaen or of Chachapoyas, by going up the rivers, since certain names of tribes, mentioned along the middle course of the Amazon at the time of its discovery, have disappeared from the spot, to be rediscovered today along the banks of the Maranon and its upper affluents. The history of the Jivaro people would be comparable, in consequence, to that of the Tupi nation, nearly annihilated in the neighborhood of Para by the Portuguese whose traces Pedro Teixeira discovered along the Madeira river, or again comparable to that of the Chiriguanos whose curious migration described by Orbigny, across the Chaco to the foot of the last spurs of the Bolivian Andes. (2) "

"(2) We have purposely omitted to speak here of the Antipas, the neighbors and enemies of the Aguarunas, and who, ranked by Mateo Paz Soldan among the Jivaro, can be only a branch of the race Anti, which would explain their incessant battles against the Jivaro themselves."

The Indians are inhabitants of a region which extends along the upper course of the Marañón River, from Yusamaro downward to Puerto Meléndez at the Pongo de Manseriche. They live in this region in small and widely dispersed settlements close to the banks of the River. I have been informed that their chief settlements are located farther up along the tributary rivers. Beyond Yusamaro no Indians are said to remain anymore, yet formerly their settlements are said to have extended to the Pongo Rentema. They had moved down to the Marañón River on account of the quarrels they had with the whites or, rather, the mestizos. Their settlements can not be called permanent anyway. Despite the fact that the Indians live at one place for a long time, and in relatively permanent dwellings at that, they are said to leave their settlements frequently for no special reason in order to reestablish themselves again at some distance from the former settlement.

34:Marner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 BD9 Jivaro BD9

machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macuteos returned the visit of the Jivaró.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jivaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jivaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macuteos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jivaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend manioc celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jivaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macuteos started also to purchase manioc.[28] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of manioc reached the outside world at about this time.[29]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jivaro until 1670. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[30] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macuteos men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) up on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macuteos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jivaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jivaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and an often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,000 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguaza region, the middle Río Mayuzza area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*achuará huará*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguaza and middle Mayuzza areas and the Huambisa (*tsunsu huará*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their raiding against these adjacent tribes.[20]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *uunari huará* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their relatives already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E-6. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9_Jivaro SD9

101 highland province of Azuay in the 1950's, many more Jivaro
• 166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jivaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jivaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jivaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the eld-
[128] erly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[153] Jivaro coming back from Peru." The Jivaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jivaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

5: Reyes and Teran--123-125 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 167, 361

"Macas is the largest settlement in the forest. It is about as well or perhaps better established as was Sevilla del Oro, destroyed by the Jivaros in the Sixteenth century. Located 1091 meters above sea level on the banks of the Upano, it has about 1,000 inhabitants, and in the midst of such isolation, boasts such remarkable advancements as electric light service, a hospital, etc. It is more or less at the latitude of Alausí, and may be reached most easily from Cuenca, in the south.

Méndez, founded by Eudólfilo Alvarez in 1913, has been converted into a major gold market. Located on the banks of the Paute, at an elevation of 700 meters, in a gorge which does not permit much [124] agricultural development, it is, on the other hand, the headquarters for an immense floating population which searches avidly for the precious metal in the sands of the river. There are about 600 permanent inhabitants.

Mera, at the gateway to the forest, where the canyon of the Pastaza widens and loses itself on the great plain, is attracting a large stream of immigrants because of its climate and fertility. These newcomers will soon transform the place into an agricultural center of much importance. The town has in the neighborhood of 200 inhabitants. Very near to it is the settlement of Puyo, which has excellent possibilities for future development.

Tena and Archidona are the oldest and most firmly established towns of the Napo region. While the former has made notable progress thanks to its Josefino missions,

the latter, on the other hand, has declined greatly, in spite of having been, in former times, the key to the Oriente.

Rocafuerte, at the confluence of the Aguarico with the Napo, is the most [125] remote settlement of our effective domain in the Oriente. It is the center of the main military garrison of the Oriente; its scant 180 meters of elevation gives it an essentially tropical climate which is quite exhausting. Also on the left bank of the Napo, and separated from Rocafuerte only by a slight depression of the terrain, is the Peruvian garrison of Cabo Pantoja. The isolation of Rocafuerte from the other population centers of Ecuador makes it necessary for its inhabitants to be subjected to the economic despotism of the Peruvian markets.

Zamora, Gualaquiza, Indanza, Sucúa, Puerto Napo, Arapicos, Canelos, and Baeza are settlements of less importance, but all are in the midst of fertile zones which only await better means of communication to attract intensive colonization."

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of E-9 subjected to missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder immediately resulted in a friendly welcome, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and are [illegible] replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Excessive gifts to the very [illegible] lived parts of the tribal territory typically resulted upon the time of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued visits not only to his advantage and an amicable departure always resulted, despite the fact that I was often bargaining directly with gunpowder and other goods for household or neighborhood work which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is a characteristic of this population, which is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were considered experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts, what is presented here should be viewed as a preliminary report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with manioc being the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is complete lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow villagers, including those close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the best major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the system of crop fairy (nupa) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of concurrently existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

1: Karsten--2-3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"The different Jibaro tribes generally take their names from the small affluents of the main rivers, on the banks of which they have fixed their homes. This fact explains the great number of Indian names that [3] we meet in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. Thus on the eastern slopes of the Ecuadorian Andes, in the regions round the river Santiago and its tributaries, we find such tribes as the Arapicos, the Chirapas, the Upanos, the Pautes, the Santiagos, the Gualaquizas. On the Morona, there are the Cusulimas, the Huambizas, etc.; on the Pastaza, the Copatazas, the Achuares, the Antipas, and so forth.

All these tribes belong to the Jibaro race and are consequently closely related to each other anthropologically as well as in their language, customs, and beliefs. There is no larger group of Indians of which the Jibaros form a part. Both anthropologically and linguistically they form a group of their own, in their physical and their mental characteristics greatly differing from the tribes surrounding them. Their culture is certainly one of the most important and interesting native cultures at present existing in the whole of South America."

1: Karsten--9-10 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaro tribes I include, as a particular sub-tribe, the Canelos Indians, and this may seem to require a special explanation. The village of Canelos is the greatest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in the Ecuadorian Oriente. The Indians living in this region are not pure Jibaros, as they are erroneously described by Rivet, and do not form a homogeneous group. They are a mixed race, formed partly by Indians of Jibaro origin, partly by Quichua-speaking Indians from the Sierra, partly by Zàparos from the Rio Curaray and the Rio Tigre. Among the Jibaros who in former times moved into Canelos and subjected themselves to the influence of the Catholic missionaries three important families or clans are particularly mentioned, namely, the Gayas, the Tanchimas, and the Cuhis. These as well as other Jibaro families have fused with the other tribes, thus giving rise to the peculiar native race known under the name of Canelos Indians. Their anthropological affinity with the mountain Indians shows itself especially in their strong build of body, whereas their close relationship with the Jibaros proper is made manifest in their whole material and intellectual culture. It is owing to this fact that I treat them here in connection with the Jibaros. On the other hand, in many of their customs and beliefs they have also been influenced by their relatives in the Sierra, with whom moreover they have a com-

man lan-[10] guage. Their language consequently is Quichua, although some of them also speak or understand the Jibaro language. The native words and phrases I use in this book when describing the culture of the Canelos Indians are therefore Quichua, just as those used by me with reference to the Jibaros proper belong to the Jibaro language.

The Canelos Indians number about 2000 individuals. They live partly in the mission of Canelos, partly in the village Pacayacu, situated two days journey by canoe farther down the river. Besides this, among the Canelos Indians are generally reckoned the Indians of Curayacu, a village situated three days journey southwards from Pacayacu. These Indians, however, as is shown by their physical appearance, originally belonged to a different native race.

All the so-called Canelos Indians are now Christians in name, being under the influence of the Catholic monks of the Dominican Order, but as usual they have preserved many of their ancient customs and beliefs. Formerly, when the Indians of Canelos were at war with the wild Jibaros, they adopted their savage methods of fighting their enemies, and even head-feasts are said to have been celebrated in secret. And although witchcraft certainly plays a great role among the Jibaros, the wizards of Canelos are supposed to outdo even their heathen colleagues in this mysterious art."

1: Karsten--80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
171 (1928-29)

"On the whole a great uniformity characterizes the Jibaro culture in spite of the enormous areas which it covers and the numerous sub-tribes into which the people is divided. The same seems to be true of their customs and religious beliefs, as far as I have been able to study them."

"The arrow-poisons in vogue among the Indians of Western Amazonas seem to belong to the class known under the general name of 'curare', [164] of which one of the most important ingredients is the alcaloid poison found in various Strychnos species. The Macusi Indians of Guiana are the best known of the South American arrow-poison makers, and it is possible that this invention--one of the most ingenious of those of savage peoples--was originally passed on to the Indians of the Amazon territory. However this may be, it must be stated at once that even in Eastern Ecuador and Peru the 'curare' poisons differ considerably; nay, there are even arrow-poisons of which we do not know with certainty whether they can be called 'curare' at all, for instance the one used by the savage Aviahiries living in the region of the river Curaray and its affluent Villano. According to the statements of the rubber collectors who have been in contact with this little known tribe, their arrow-poison is exceedingly effective, and their blow-guns, which I have seen myself, are of a type differing greatly from those used by other Indian tribes in the Ecuadorian Oriente. In general, the arrow-poisons used by the Indians of these regions are very imperfectly known, so that the information I was able to gain about those in vogue among the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros of the Pastaza, although incomplete from a pharmacological point of view, may be of considerable interest.

Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison, only a few of

them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza. [145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes.

Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots'(1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesús en el Marañon Español, p. 87."

2: Stirling-2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 103, 171

"There are, however, certain fairly stable large geographic groupings which appear to feel a certain unity, and to which general group names have been attached. The Jivaros proper are those which dwell in the basins of the Zamora and Upano Rivers and on the upper Pastaza. The Antipas live on the right bank of the Santiago from the Zamora to the Alto Marañon. The Aguarunas live on the right bank of the Marañon between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers. The Huambizas occupy the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers, including all of the territory west to the left bank of the Santiago, from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañon. The Achuales occupy the territory between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers from Lake Puralina north to Andoas.

The Jivaros scattered over this vast territory of approximately 25,000 square miles are of similar appearance physically; they speak a single language and their customs, beliefs, and material culture are closely interrelated. With this, however, their unity ends. The scores of small independent groups, living for the most part on the headwaters of the tributary streams, are constantly at war, one group with another."

2: Stirling--61-62 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"There is considerable archeological evidence that the preparation of shrunken heads was practiced in pre-Columbian times over a rather wide area in Peru. Representations of reduced trophy heads occur commonly in both ceramic and textile art and less frequently in carvings on stone and shell. Max Uhle in 1908 noted pottery vessels from Ica and Nasca decorated with paintings of head trophies, 'showing the custom of closing the mouth by means of sewing in the manner now used on the reduced heads produced by the [62] Jivaros.' (73) At Tiahuanaco there are carved stone figures of warriors carrying trophy heads. (74) Castelnau figures two effigy jars, one from La Paz and the other from Cuzco, decorated in the art style of Tiahuanaco (pl. 34 c). Both of these have likenesses of reduced heads. Tello figures one in which a warrior is shown holding two shrunken heads by the hair. (75)

Tello states that figures of shrunken heads are common in the art of Chimu and reproduces from Baessler (76) two representations of a jaguar divinity shown in each instance carrying a shrunken human head by the hair. These were taken from Chimbote. He further makes the statement that this same divinity represented carrying the shrunken human head trophy occurs in the black ware of northern Peru."

"73. Uhle, p. 263.
74. Tello, 1918, p. 23.
75. Tello, 1918, p. 24.
76. Baessler, pl. 60, fig. 240, and pl. 71, fig. 261."

"It is in the region of Nasca, however, where evidence of head trophies is most abundant. Tello illustrates numerous examples from various localities, some on textiles and others on pottery (77) (fig. 1).

As final evidence of the former use of head trophies in this region, Tello figures a number of actual examples recovered from graves. While these head trophies were not of the shrunken variety, there is much about them reminiscent of the present-day Jivaro tsantsa (pl. 34, d). The frontal bone was perforated with a circular hole and the head suspended by means of a cord which passed through this hole and on through the foramen magnum, where it was kept in place by being fastened to a transverse wooden peg. This method of suspension recalls the technique employed by the Jivaro, but the most striking comparison is to be found in the preparation of the lips, which were pulled forward and skewered together by means of wooden pegs in precisely the manner employed by the Jivaro. Tello states that these heads are from graves representing a late period and in several instances they are post-Columbian. It would appear that these trophy heads were either prepared by people who had formerly practiced the shrinking of heads or who had been in contact with such people. In preparing reduced heads it is necessary to skewer or sew the lips, whereas this would not be essential when the heads were mummified without removing the skull. Since there are so many representations in earlier Nasca

"77. Tello, 1918, pp. 34-53."

art showing what seem to be true reduced heads, it seems likely that the head trophy, prepared without removing the skull, in this region at least, developed out of the more highly specialized technique of shrinking heads. [63]

When Lubbock presented his article on Jivaro shrunken heads before the British Anthropological Institute in 1874 Franks called to his attention a specimen in the National Collection of London, which had been presented by the Prince Consort of 1853. This example is described as being about 1 inch in height, attached to a stick and dressed like a doll. It was said to have been discovered in a tomb in Pisco, Peru. (78)"

"78. Lubbock, 1874, pp. 29-32."

"There are several references in contemporary writings of the sixteenth century indicating that it was a common practice among the Incas to take the heads of enemies killed in warfare and to return with them as trophies. Cobo reports that the Inca, Tupac [64] Yupanqui, having learned of a revolt led by the chiefs of Collao, sent an army which successfully put down the rebellion. Cobo says:

> He flayed two of the most important chiefs and he ordered two drums made of their skins, with which and with the heads of those killed placed on lances and many prisoners to sacrifice to the sun, he returned triumphantly to his court where he celebrated these victories with many sacrifices and festivities. (79)

Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti says that---

> Inca Yupanqui in the war that his father Huiracacho had with the Chancas, fought with great ferocity, destroying the Ancohallos and Chancas and breaking through victorious up to Quiyachili, where he cut off the heads of the enemy generals Tomay Huaraca, Asto Huaraca, and Huasco Tomay Rima. ***(80)

"79. Cobo, pp. 168-169, cited in Tello, 1918, pp. 20-21.
80. Pachacuti, pp. 271-272, cited in Tello, 1918, p. 21."

Pachacuti states further that Yupanqui on returning to his city sent to his father presents consisting of heads of the Chancas and Hancoaillos.

Referring to Huayna Capac, Pachacuti says that after conquering those who were fortified at Sacsahuan---

> he enters the fort and takes out all the Carambis and Pastos and those who took part in the war, and the severed heads of the defeated which had been prepared for this purpose, he anoints with the blood of llamas and puts them on the spears. They display them, gloating over them as far as Curicancha. * * *.

The heads mentioned above were very probably of the type described by Tello from Nasca in which the skulls were not removed. There are, however, other references which indicate that shrunken heads prepared in precisely the manner now practiced by the Jivaros were still being made in various places in northwestern South America at the time of the Conquest."

"Estete, who went to Peru with Pizarro on his third voyage in 1527, describes the practice as it was then followed on the Ecuadorian coast.

> The heads of the dead they preserve with certain balsams in this manner: After removing the skull through the neck, the face, retaining its true form of nose, eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and hair, they cure and give it a certain confection by means of which they preserve the flesh or skin so that it does not rot, and the gristle of the nose is entire and the hair and eyebrows and eyelashes (remain) attached to the flesh. So many are the baths that they give it, so as to cure and preserve it, that they make the face of a man to be wasted and shrunken and become quite small, much more so even than that of a newborn child. After having reduced it to a small size, they guard it in some small chests that they have in the temple, and it lasts so many years without rotting that the Indians say it lasts for two or three ages. Certainly it is a thing to admire, and one never seen before. And so it seemed to us when we[65] first saw it, holding it to be certain that they were faces of a race of dwarfs that had lived in the country, until we learned the truth of the matter. (81)

Zárate, who went to Peru in 1543, wrote in 1555 concerning the natives of Pasao (82)

81. Estete, p. 317.

82. Cape Pasado is on the coast of the provinces of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráquez."

near the Equator:

> In some temples, especially in the towns that they call of Pasao, on all the posts of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so well cured that they did not smell badly and fastened to the posts many heads of Indians that had been shrunken with a certain decoction until only the size of a fist. (83)

Figueroa, writing of the Itucalis of the Mainas provinces in 1665, states that when they have taken a head they insert a palm husk in an incision on the bridge of the nose, which forms an excrescence when it heals and thus indicates the number of heads each individual has to his credit. (84) Regarding the preparation of the heads he says:

> The first process they perform on the heads they bring with them, is to boil them, and having stripped the skin from the head and visage, it is stuffed with straw and dried in the smoke, thus forming a mask. (85)"

"83. Zarate, 1555, p. 465.

84. Juan de Salinas evidently refers to this mutilation of the nose, when in 1557 he encountered the Mainas and states that they were made striking by a 'device of the nose, not seen before.'

85. Skinner, 1805, p. 289."

"More details from Figueroa are given in the chapter on warfare. It is interesting to note that boiling, the most essential process in connection with head shrinking, is here mentioned for the first time, and as far as the writer is aware, is not mentioned again in any account until the present century.

In 1692 Father Lucero was with General Vaca when they captured 21 Jivaros who were surprised 'while they were celebrating with loud shouting, a solemn drunken feast because of having killed two famous wizards whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering.' (86)

Saffray, while traveling among the Cuans and Caimanes Indians on the Atrato River in northwestern Colombia in 1866, received from an old Indian by the name of Comagré the following information:

> When a chief dies his body is placed above a slow fire on a frame, until completely desiccated, then it is wrapped in cotton cloth decorated with gold, pearls, and jewels, and it is religiously cared for in a separate room. Of the common people, they preserve only the head. Comagré showed me one of these mummified heads. The bones had been taken out, and it had been dried in such a manner

"86. Chantre y Herrera, p. 305."

> that the skin, having been contracted in a uniform manner, [66] remained a perfect reproduction of the original, reduced to almost one-sixth of its original size, without wrinkles and without deformation of the features.

Saffray reproduces a crude drawing of this head which seems to be identical with the Jivaro tsantsa as it even has the string tassels depending from the lips. It seems possible to the present writer that this specimen may have been imported from the Jivaros, but if the information is correct as quoted above it is of unusual interest. (87)

Some other tribes employ methods of preserving the bodies of their enemies that suggest the technique of the Jivaros. Mendoza, speaking of the Popayan of southern Colombia, says:

> The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, are filled with coarse ashes and they have attached them to the walls of their houses like people. (88)

Lorente, referring to the pre-Columbian Huancas of the Jauja Valley, Perú, says that these natives skinned their prisoners and with these skins, which they filled with ashes, made victory trophies which they exhibited in their temples. (89)

"87. Saffray, 1873, p. 103.
88. Colección Documentos Inéditos, vol. V, 1866, p. 489.
89. Lorente, 1860, p. 82."

At the time of the Conquest similar practices were followed as far north as the Panuco River in Mexico. In the Huastec country the Conquistadores on visiting a native temple found that the heads of their captured companions had been skinned and tanned and then placed on the walls of the structure. It was a common practice in Mexico to skin the heads of sacrificial victims and exhibit them on poles. These heads were described by the Spaniards as being dried, wrinkled, and shrunk to the size of the heads of small children. (90)

The stone monuments at Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa in Guatemala display numerous carvings depicting warriors holding human trophy heads which apparently have been reduced. There are many indications that Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa was subjected to Nahuatl influence. Fowler (91) describes the practice of head shrinking reputed to be carried on by Indians in the interior of British Honduras. The account, however, emanated from Father Pozzi, who had previously spent a number of years in the Jivaro country, and it is obvious that his descriptions apply to the Jivaros of Ecuador and not to any Honduran tribe."

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90. Thompson, 1933, pp. 124-125.
91. Fowler, 1879, p. 16."

12: Rivet--338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 162, 171

The savages who live in this immense territory present an absolute ethnic unity: their customs and habits are totally distinct from the customs and habits of their neighbors to the northeast, the Záparos, as well as from their neighbors to the south, in the Peruvian province of Loreto (1). Moreover, they speak a single language which differs from the languages spoken in the neighboring regions. (2) These two proved facts empower the ethnologist to unite them under the name of Jíbaros.

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1. Raimondi, op. cit.
2. I have a large vocabulary of the Jivaro language, which I will make the subject of a further linguistic study.

22: Hamy--391-392 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"We have said that the ethnographic documents, as limited as they are, confirm the viewpoint just presented. The information of this type, whose [392] value should not be exaggerated, have, for a comparative study of human groups, a great importance. As regards South America in particular, they have such characteristic usages, such special customs, mores so peculiar to certain races, that when they are met even among distant peoples who preserve no memory of their common origin, one is almost justified in placing them in the same ethnic group.

Among these characteristics, there is one which we are going to describe in the Jivaro, and which is common to almost all the Guaranis: it is that which consists of the fabrication, with the aid of processes yet little known, of these hideous preserved heads, which we are beginning to see in certain number in our European ethnographic museums. From Para and Cumana to the Cordillera, all the Guarani savages make with the chief of the vanquished enemies trophies ornamented with plumes, with bird skins, etc., and which do not differ from each other except in the details of preparation.

Cajas, Mauhès, Mondurucus, Gentios Bravos, etc..., preserve in their own manner, the souvenir of their victories. And these are the spoils of a hostile general prepared in a slightly different manner by the Jivaros who have contributed the most to making known this fierce Indian family."

22: Hamy--397 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171

"The arms, the varied ornaments, the paintings, etc., which we know of these same Indians; the lance, the javelin and the blow-gun [sarabacane], the round buckle, the crown of plumes of the skin of the monkey, the necklaces of teeth of men, monkeys, and jaguars, the ornaments of black, white and red grains, the circles which they put in the lobule of the ear for attaching the feathers, the yellow and black painting with which they adorn the body, all this is common to the Jivaro and to the greater part of the Indians of the Amazon, of Brazil or of Guiana."

25. Vigna--35 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 144, 171

The Jîbaro group differs greatly from the other natives of Ecuador, in tradition, custom, and language. Types who show evidence of crossing with the white race are difficult to find, and the few and rare cases can only be explained by the abduction of white women by the Jîbaros in reprisals of vengeance.

30: Franco--140 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 171

"These reductions [KS: mummified heads] are one of the mysteries and secrets of our Indians and another of the coincidences of this race with the mummifiers of the other East. There is no one who does not marvel at this art of the forest dwellers. Our Jí-baros have the fame and "beat the record" of mummifiers; however they are not the only tribes who practive it in America.

30: Franco--142 [4] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 171, 727

The custom of making tzhantzhas has not been confined to the Jíbaros. Its existence is evident in Tiahuanacu, in Pirdo, in Manab; and the conquest observed some mummified Inca kings. This proves the contact and perhaps unity of the present Jíbaros with the ancient tribes who were civilized. The puruhaes sacrificed to the Chimborazo twice a year a young and handsome Indian girl, as well as the first born; they they embalmed them and preserved them with great veneration in their houses in beautiful vases made for the purpose.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites
115 until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1929–31.
127 The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional
[99] Jivaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.
[121]

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten
114 and Stirling visited other Jivaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and
127 Aguaruna) in addition to the Jivaro proper. In order to assess this possibility,
171 I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[10] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jivaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*ohatsa*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jivaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jivaro proper.

NOTES

101 [1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jivaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jivaro proper," "Jivaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jivaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jivaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jivaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jivaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*ahuara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jivaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jivaro proper. The other Jivaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achuar), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

194 The following Jivaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ch Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant; velced like Spanish *ñ* when i is adjacent)

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

275
875
114
123
171

[illegible] Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

[illegible] Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larson and David Beasley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Huambisa beliefs, respectively. I briefly interviewed several Huambisa and Aguaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Varinacha, eastern Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara informant on the same subject in 1957 near the Río Cangaimi, eastern Ecuador.

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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stuck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with 411
kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with [224]
which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jivaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the [191]
Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so 411
easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, 224
from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more [223]
accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and 224
ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or car- [231]
bine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a pec- [411]
cary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call par- 223
rots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

36 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [114] [171] [127] [231] [235] [195]

dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jivaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jivaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women, the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; in earlier times houses often have no walls at all. The permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jivaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were seeing the Achuara.

13. Cieza de León, 1945, pp. 197-98; Gonzáles Suárez, 1890, p. 14. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jivaroan groups other than the Jivaro proper (*antiguos Jívaros*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 179-77.

15. It was probably at about this time that the Jivaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jivaro is first definitely reported in 1885 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual introduction by a century or longer.

16. Velasco, 1840, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1840, p. 153, and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1840, pp. 153-57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 103-17, 203, 209-10, 286-288, and in Velasco, 1840, pp. 156-60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 45-46.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrancos, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeo and Jívaro Compa, 1889, p. 36; Vacas Galindo, 1892, p. 42; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 388, 400-11.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jívaro.

26. E.g., Bellavet, 1889.

27. Anonymous, 1931, p. 31. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Rosa, 1880, p. 319).

14-Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 161 361 reported by Davidson (1966, p. 68) whose Jívaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 46 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Davidson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Davidson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yutupata, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954: pp. 138, 141) of Jívaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jívaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. A comparison of the SIL Jívaro house count with the census figures for the Jívaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yutupata neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Davidson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

000 2. Murdock, 1960, p. 60.

3. In the Jívaro language *kakarma* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is

[104] being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakarma* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

[178] 4. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigo* trading partners in Jívaro culture antedates ca. 1900, although its

• [171] formalization and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jívaro *amigo* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jívaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kompa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jívaro without the implication of personal obligation.

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *aruma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro.

2. Sullivan, 1971, pp. 38, 39.

3. Castaneda, 1968, and Harner, 1973.

34:Harner E-4,5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

• 171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

1: Karsten--2 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 172 (1928-29)

"....we know that the dominions of the Jibaros have not always been confined to the virgin forests of Eastern Ecuador. There are certain regions of the Ecuadorian Sierra, but even the coast regions of the provinces Esmeraldas, Manabí, Los Rios, Gayas, as well as the Peruvian department Túmbez (1). Thus it appears that the Paltas, a people

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"1. See Jijón y Caamaño, in Boletin de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de estudios historicos Americanos, No: 6, Mayo-Junio, 1919, Quito-Ecuador, p. 387. In support of this theory Sr. Jijon adduces partly linguistic, partly ethnographic evidence. In western Ecuador there are several small rivers the names of which end with sa or za, which seems to indicate that they are of Jibaro origin (Labaza, Taguaza, Pastaza, and others). Rivet and Beuchat erroneously explain this termination as an abbreviation of the Jibaro word intsa, 'river'. In reality it is an abbreviation of the onomatopoeic word sasa, which means 'streaming water', 'water-fall'. The names of these rivers thus seem to show that the Jibaros once lived in these regions. This, however, is not quite certain since the onomatopoeic word sasa may occur in different Indian languages. In fact, in the Quichua language it occurs in the form sas. The other linguistic derivations adduced by Sr. Jijón are quite arbitrary and prove nothing, and of the ethnographic evidence, only the fact that head-trophies similar to those of the Jibaros have been known to the Indians of the coast, deserves attention."

which in the 16th century lived in the neighbourhood of the town Loja in southern Ecuador, were Jibaros. It is quite possible that this powerful nation has exerted a certain cultural influence upon other Indian tribes with which they have come in contact. Thus there is archeological evidence which seems to show that shrunken head-trophies of the same kind as are still in vogue among the Jibaros were formerly known to the coast tribes in both Ecuador and Peru (2). If some of these tribes formerly practised this peculiar custom, it seems to me probable that they borrowed it from the Jibaros."

"2. Jijón y Caamaño, op. cit., p. 388."

2: Stirling--XI (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro

116, 172

"The high civilizations of the Andes at the beginning of the sixteenth century differed from the rather primitive culture of the Jivaros, mainly in superficial aspects. A study of the Jivaros today and of the ancient tribes of the western Andes, as viewed in historical perspective, seems to indicate that they merely represent different degrees of development from a common cultural background. Archeological sites examined by the writer in the valleys of the Upano and Namangosa Rivers demonstrate that the material culture of the Jivaros in pre-Columbian times resembled that of the ancient cultures of the highlands much more closely than do present-day survivals. Systematic archeological work in this area will do a great deal to further establish this relationship."

2: Stirling--61 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 172

"Of all the accomplishments of the Jivaros, their custom of shrinking and preserving human heads has most caught the popular imagination. In spite of the fact that the general method of preparing these trophies hasbeen known for centuries, the legend persists that it is a most mysterious and carefully guarded secret.

The Jivaros themselves make no mystery of their methods, although they may be reluctant at first to speak of it in a personal connection, because of their suspicion of the possible motives of the white interrogator. The early descriptions of the methods used in preparing tsantsas are lacking in detail, while the majority of the many given in more recent years have obviously been based on the garbled second-hand accounts received from mestizos and missionaries living on the borders of the Jivaro country. Because of the interest in this subject I have thought it worth while to devote to it a special chapter.

Far from being an art developed only among themselves, it seems very clear that the Jivaros are the last group to retain what was, at the time of the first white contact, a widespread custom in northwestern South America."

2: Stirling--115 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764, 797, 172

"Since the advent of missionary influence, the Jivaros in some places have been persuaded to bury their dead, which is usually done in the floors of the houses. There is archeological evidence that urn burial was formerly practiced in the Jivaro territory, and Figueroa describes this custom among the Mainas in the seventeenth century."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

It is not known how long the Jívaro have dwelt in the forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has 197 been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists[2] to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg[3] has suggested that Jívaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

• 172 Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jívaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Río Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. ± 440 years and 1041 A.D. ± 160 years.[4] However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jívaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Ipíamais," was discovered southeast of the mestizo village of Huambi in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Yaunchu," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra[5] in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of 174 the Río Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric populations

1: Karsten--505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 173, 823 (1928-29)

"Although the Indians have a few traditions, these traditions seem not to reach far back in history. What they know about the past, bears a strongly mythical character. The present-day Jibaros of the Upano and Santiago know for instance nothing about the big towns or villages, Sevilla de Oro, Logróño, and Mendoza, which some three hundred years ago were situated in their own land and which they themselves destroyed. They know that in former times they have carried on many wars with the whites and that the latter are, as it were, their hereditary enemies, but their real historical traditions hardly go back more than three or four generations in time."

1; Karsten--513 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 173 (1928-29)

"The myths which I shall relate in this part of my book were noted down by me among the Indians of the Upano, Santiago and upper Pastaza. Later inquiries have convinced me that they are also current --although partly in somewhat different versions--among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza and among the Aguarunas, and they may therefore be said to be the common intellectual property of all Jibaro tribes in Ecuador and Peru. Nearly all of them are cultural myths, i.e. they try to give an explanation of the origin of the culture of the Jibaro race in some of its aspects. I do not think that other myths of this category exist; on the other hand, these related here are known to the majority of the older members of all tribes. Nor have I, in spite of repeated inquiries, found any other kinds of myth. If such exist they are, at any rate, not commonly known; only a few of the older men may, perhaps, have knowledge of them. The myths here related are of special importance as throwing an interesting light upon many customs and religious ideas of the Indians. In fact, without knowing for instance the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi it would be impossible to understand an essential side of the culture of the Jibaros. Similarly, the myth concerning the first Tsantsa-feast of the Jibaros--at a time when they still had animal shape--will give us a good idea of the way in which their wars are carried on and their victory-feasts celebrated."

13: Rivet--235-236 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-I
116, 173

The Indians have a confused legend of the deluge: in very ancient times a large cloud fell from the sky which changed into rain and caused the death of all the inhabitants of the earth: only an old man and his two sons succeeded in escaping, and they are the ones who repopulated the world. One of these sons was cursed by the father for making fun of him, and the Jívaros are descended from him (1). However, I think the influence of the Biblical legend is too evident. The tradition of the cursed son is found again in the [236] account of Father Prieto (2), but according to him, the survivors must have been a man and a woman who found themselves stranded on a high mountain in a cave together with all the animals. Gonzalez Suarez reports another legend, more interesting, for it is evidently a totemic myth. When the deluge occurred, two brothers escaped death by taking refuge on a high mountain, which rose higher as the flood increased. When the water retreated, they went out in search of food, and on their return, were greatly astonished to find viands in the shelter that they had constructed. In order to clear up the mystery, one of them hid himself and saw two parrots (guacamayos) enter the hut in the form of women, who prepared the meal. Leaving his hiding place quickly, he was able to seize one of these birds, married her, and from this marriage three boys

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., Volume VI, page 224.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 64.

and three girls were born, which was the beginning of the Jíbaro race (3). Molina (4), the source from which the Ecuadorian author took this tradition, attributes it to the Cañaris, and in his first studies, Gonzalez Suarez (5) does the same, but later researches led him he says, to attribute it to the Jíbaros. It is regrettable that he does not indicate the reasons which decided him in this correction.

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3. Gonzalez Suarez. Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi, op. cit., page 28.--Prehistoria americana, op. cit., page 17. According to the same author, the tribes of Mainas and other peoples in the eastern region probably had the same legend on the subject of their origin.

4. Christoval de Molina. An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas; translation by Cl. R. Markham of a manuscript in the Bibliotheque nationale de Madrid (written between 1573 and 1583) in: Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas. Hakluty Society, no. 48. Londres, 1873, in octavo, pp. 8-9.

5. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 10.

13: Rivet--236-237 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 173

Of all the tribes, the Muratos have the traditions which have been studied the most; they have been collected by Von Hassel. (1)

Here is one concerning the creation of the world: the great Spirit amused himself by making objects of clay, he constructed a big, blue vase and placed it at the height of the sky. On the subject of the deluge, the legend is more detailed: a Murato had been fishing in a lake of the Pastaza, a little crocodile swallowed his hook and the fisher killed him; the mother of the crocodiles was very much upset and beat the water with her tail in such a manner that she inundated all the territory surrounding the lake. All died except one man who [237] climbed up a pivai palm tree, where he stayed for many days of constant night; from time to time he let fall one of the fruits of the pivai, but he always heard it fall in the water. Finally one day the result was a dry noise; he then descended the tree, constructed a house, set up a field for cultivation, and, with a piece of the flesh of his own body put in the earth, made a woman whom he married.

Finally, here is the origin of the races: at the beginning of the world, all men lived in a big subterranean cave, the entrance to which was guarded by a tiger. An intelligent and courageous man, in order to give freedom to his fellow creatures, attacked the animal and killed it; the prisoners prepared to leave, but as they were very dirty, they heated water in a big jug to wash themselves: the first to come out of this operation

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., pages 68, 69 and 70.

became the whites, those who followed were the Indians, because the water was already dirty; the last one remained black.

31: Danielsson--89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 173, 202

"Indirect communication is very limited, consisting only of some few standardized messages circulated by the signal-drum to overcome distance in space, and of some orally preserved traditions to overcome distance in time."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, 175
but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in 648
permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures [797]
reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when [431]
they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which [765]
included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been [727]
killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no mem- 173 •
ory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apačī* ["*ai*" white men]. 173
> They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to 829
> their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *šuarā* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the 174
knees and elbows of the *ai apačī* was something like the [173]
shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

173 648 177 439 [131] The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circumstances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:

In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri šuarā*] lived near the Río Paute. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *šuarā*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *šuarā* returned downstream and told their people:

[412] [411] [231]

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] [412] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *šuarä*.
439

With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[173] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río
[166] Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began
to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline
springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance
at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and
the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside
world at about this time.[26]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries
introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo
men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
[231] sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[436] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline
occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade
goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing
forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nuŋuí and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

22: Hamy--388-389 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 174

"Is it not possible to go farther and to connect, with the aid of these notes published by the voyagers whom we have named, all these Indians with one or another of the large ethnic groups identified in [389] South America? The elements of diagnosis taken from physical characteristics, which we always give the same place in the study of human groups, are almost completely lacking; but the solution which anatomic anthropology denies us, ethnography and linguistics are in a position to furnish us to almost complete satisfaction.

If, in fact, the outward traits of these savages, such as we have, are insufficiently detailed, we see that the names they carry are of Guarani origin, and we note among them the existence of rather numerous ethnigraphic traits which relate them to the same Americans."

22: Hamy--390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 197, 174

"The Jivaro language, completely different from all the neighboring languages, clear and harmonious, expressive, energetic, would be easy to learn according to Villavicencio, particularly difficult, on the contrary, according to Father Pozzi, because of the uncertain pronunciation, and where the aspirated letters play a large part .... We know nothing of this language except the proper names; but the comparison of these names with the geographic and ethnic appellations which one meets lower down on the courses of the Amazon and its affluents, shows us such analogies, and similarities, that the common origin of the Jivaro and the tribes of the large Guarani group is, on this evidence alone, established with assurance."

25. Vigna--35-36 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 174

The somatic character of the Jíbaro tempts us to believe that this group descended directly from the Mongolian [36] or yellow race. The shape of the eye and the facial outline instinctively suggest the oriental races. However, as the Jíbaros are a people without history, without literature, without monuments, and with very little written material and that of a fragmentary and variable nature, I believe it would be improper to set forth an hypothesis concerning their origin and derivation before undertaking an extensive comparative study.

25: Vigna--36-37 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 174

A history, as such, of the Jíbaro people does not exist. They have no continuous, solid, and true legendary tradition which would provide the information from which their history [37] could be reconstructed.

26: Brüning--72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 721, 174

There is an old irreconcilable enmity, in spite of their belonging to the same language group, between the Aguaruna Indians along the right Marañón tributaries and the Huambisa Indians along the upper Santiago. This feud seems to date back to a time prior to the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Evidently the Inca penetration went only as far as the right bank of the Marañón; this explains why the Aguarunas adopted many Quichua words. After the Spanish Conquest many of these Indians were more inclined to embrace Christianity. There were a number of missionary outposts along the right bank of the Marañón. It is true, the Spaniards penetrated also the territory on the left bank of the Marañón, but they were incessantly harrassed by the independent Jivaros, for which the so-called submissive Indians had to suffer. These mutual annoyances continue to this day though to a lesser degree.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

It is not known how long the Jívaro have dwelt in the 197 forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists[2] to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg[3] has suggested that Jívaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

172 Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jívaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Río Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. ± 440 years and 1041 A.D. ± 160 years.[4] However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jívaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Ipíamais," was discovered southeast of the mestizo village of Huambi in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Yaunchu," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra[5] in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of 174 the Río Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric populations

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

The term "shuara" (*šuarā*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apačī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri šuarā*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*ačuarā šuarā*) to the east. An alternative term, *wuraiya šuarā* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsunu šuarā*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas šuarā*" or "*yukina šuarā*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call them the "*pataka širay*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when [431]
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ory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

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The informant explained that the bone extending to the 174 •
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shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *maču* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-mules (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-mules (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *ai apačï*, although he thought it was possible.

175 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the sixteen-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

175 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Paute region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[23] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1837, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[24]

1: Karsten--3-9 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro /
116, 175 (1928-29)

"As to the history of the Jibaros, only a few dates may be given here. The Jibaros are mentioned for the first time in history in connection with the war of conquest which the Inca Tupac Yupanqui made against the kingdom of Quito about 1450. In southern Ecuador, in the province now called Azuay, the Peruvian conqueror had to fight the Cañaris, who are said to have had the Jibaros of Macas for their allies. The Cañaris were vanquished, but the Jibaros probably retired to their forests, retaining their liberty. Tupac Yupanqui's son, Huayna Capac, following up the scheme of his father to conquer Ecuador, also made an attempt to vanquish the Jibaros. He descended to the province of Bracamoros in the basin of the Rio Chinchipe, but, his troops being decimated both by the unhealthy climate and by the attacks of the savages, he was [4] obliged to retire quickly. The Incas thus failed to subdue the Jibaros, although they nominally formed part of the kingdom Huayna Capac founded in Ecuador.

The Jibaros are frequently mentioned in connection with expeditions made into the unknown eastern regions after the Spanish conquest, which began in 1534. About 1550 the Government of Macas was founded, and at this time the Spaniards gained a footing in the country of the Jibaros, although the Indians remained independent. But in 1552, when a bloody war was being carried on between the tribes of the Paute and the tribes of the Morona, the Spaniards availed themselves of the opportunity and sent their troops to take possession of the territory of the Paute. The Jibaros resisted in vain; they

were obliged to surrender to the intruders and allow them to found the pretty village Logroño on the left bank of the river of the same name. About that time the village Mendoza was founded on the left bank of the Palora, and the great Sevilla de Oro, the capital of the whole province, on the right bank of the Upano; at the same time other regions inhabited by the Jibaros were explored. The most remarkable expedition was that undertaken by Juan de Salinas, the Governor of Macas, in 1557. Starting from Loja, he crossed the cordillera, and founded successively the villages Valladolid, Loyola, Santiago de Montañas, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva. Thereafter he embarked on the Santiago, went down to the Marañon, passed the Pongo de Manseriche, the mouths of the Morona, and the Pastaza, and made a trip up the Ucayali, whereupon he returned to Loja.

Thus several large villages with a numerous population -- Sevilla de Oro is said to have had nearly 25,000 inhabitants--had been founded in the midst of the Jibaro country, and it is natural that the Indians by and by became subject to the white newcomers, a state which soon became almost intolerable. The Spaniards in Eastern Ecuador inaugurated the same condemnable colonial policy as in other parts of South America, treated the natives as a conquered race, and compelled them to work in the gold and silver mines. The consequence was that the Indian population in these regions began to diminish rapidly, some of the natives dying in the mines, others

fleeing to the impenetrable forests in the interior of the country. The general indignation on account of the numerous abuses by the Spaniards found vent in repeated rebellions. The most disastrous in its consequences was the one which took place in 1599. The coronation of King Philip III in this year gave the Governor [5] of Macas a pretext for exacting a great tribute in gold from his whole province. The Jibaros, alarmed on account of this unjust demand, rose under the chief Quiruba, who succeeded in uniting all the Jibaro tribes on the Upano, Paute, Santiago, and Morona against the common enemy. On a fixed day 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño, the whole population of which was massacred with the exception of the children and the younger women, who spent the rest of their days as the wives of their captors. The village itself was plundered and burnt. Thereupon the Indians marched to Sevilla de Oro, where the majority of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The villagers made a desperate resistance and the assailants were at last obliged to retire, having nevertheless, as we are told, killed no less than three-fourths of the inhabitants. They moreover succeeded in setting fire to the village, which was totally destroyed. Of the ancient great capital of the province Macas there is in our days scarcely a trace. But on the right bank of the Upano, not very far from the place where the ancient capital Sevilla de Oro stood, was founded later the village Macas which still exists, and the inhabitants of which are probably in part descendants of the Spaniards who survived

the destruction of Sevilla de Oro.

The Jibaros had thus regained their independence, and all the punitive expeditions were ineffectual. But the supposed richness in precious metals of the eastern regions always attracted the avarice of the Spaniards, and in the seventeenth century we have to note several attempts to found new colonies in the country of the Jibaros and to 'placate' the Indians. In 1619 the corregidor of Yaguarzongo, Diego Vaca de Vega, with a party of 68 armed men and many Indians, embarked on the Santiago and went down to the Marañon, and founded on the left bank of this river the village San Francisco de Borga. On his return he was appointed Governor of Macas by the Viceroy of Peru, his particular task being the pacification of the Jibaros. His son and successor as Governor of Macas in 1645 sent two Franciscan monks who, from Cuenca, penetrated into the jibarias. This expedition, though in itself fruitless, was still remarkable as being one of the first attempts to win the Jibaros by more peaceful methods than those hitherto practised by the Spaniards. A few years earlier the Jesuits had begun their missionary work in the remoter parts of the Ecuadorian Oriente, having founded the great Mission of Maynas in 1642. Both the Jesuits and the Franciscans however failed in their attempts to 'reduce' the Jibaros, the chief cause of their failure being their unwise policy in cooperating in expeditions [6] sent by the Spanish govern-

ment and pursuing purely military and economic ends. The expeditions sent to the country of the Jibaros were in fact half military, half religious. Two of them deserve particular mention of which the one was undertaken in 1656, the other in 1692. As to the first one, Martin de la Riva, Governor of Cajamarca, wishing to take possession of the rich territories north of the Marañon, sent an army of 100 soldiers, who were reinforced by a number of armed Indians from the province of Mainas, to the district inhabited by the Jibaros. The Jesuits, thinking it possible 'to serve at once the divine and the human Majesty', sent Father Raimundo Santa Cruz to join the expedition. Starting from the Huallaga and going up the Marañon, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Santiago, where it came into contact with the Jibaros. The suspicious savages seem at first to have listened with a certain confidence, to the emphatic declarations of the Father that he and his party only visited them with the best intentions, and they even promised to settle themselves in a village and to receive the teaching of the Christian faith. Unfortunately, however, the Spanish soldiers began meanwhile to ask the Indians about the gold and silver mines existing in their country. The suspicion of the natives was instantly aroused. Thinking that the real intention of the whites was to compel them to work in the mines, they precipitately fled to the interior of the forests, thereafter announcing their presence only in the form of attacks which they made on the soldiers from their ambuscades.

Still more characteristic of the Spanish method of civilising the savage Indians is the expedition undertaken in 1692. This year Father Lucero entered the country of the Jibaros with a small fleet, avoiding, however, a directly warlike attitude towards them, 'thinking it possible to achieve more among the Jibaros with kindness than with open violence'. The only result of this expedition was the formation of a small village called Naranjo, which soon ceased to exist. But in the same year a greater attempt was made on the part of the government. Rumours about the gold of the Jibaros had reached even the court of Madrid, and a royal order was dispatched to Quito that a great expedition should be sent to the Oriente for the purpose of bringing the Jibaros definitely under Spanish rule. The leader of the expedition was the Captain of Mainas, Jeronimo Vacas, who was accompanied by the Superintendent of the missions, Father Viva. A regular fleet of canoes was assembled at Borja for the transportation of the army which consisted of no less than 900 armed Indians of different tribes and nearly [7] 100 Spanish soldiers. The fleet went up the Santigo and the troops encamped at a small affluent of the same river. Now a real man-hunt began. The soldiers had captured 21 members of a party of Jibaro Indians who had been engaged in celebrating a head-feast. The rest of the party escaped and soon brought the news of the arrival of the Spaniards to other Jibaro tribes in the neighbourhood, thus giving them time to take precautions. The Spanish army, divided into smaller parties, roamed the

forests in all directions trying to catch the Jibaros wherever they found them, and taking all that they could get hold of to their headquarters. The Indians fled before the troops, concealing themselves in the thickets of the wood and making repeated attacks on them from their ambuscades. The result was that in five months the expedition only succeeded in catching 372 persons, among whom were numerous children. The latter were instantly baptized, and the captives were then sent to the village of Borja and to another missionary station. Many of them, however, succeeded in escaping and fled back to their forests, others committed suicide, and mothers were even seen strangling their babes with their own hands to liberate them from the destiny of slavery awaiting them. The result of this expedition, so carefully prepared, was thus practically nil, and we are told that the Viceroy of Peru, realising the futility of such attempts, prohibited similar raids for the future.

It is not until the latter half of the following century that we hear of a new attempt on the part of the Catholic missionaries to 'reduce' the Jibaros. Once more it was the Jesuits who took the field. In 1767 Father Camacho, wishing to enlarge the limits of the Mission of Mainas towards the west, went among the Jibaros inhabiting the regions between the Pastaza and the Morona, and coming without any other white men he gradually succeeded in gaining the confidence and even the friendship of the Indians. They declared themselves willing to receive the Catholic missionaries, and the Father

himself was able to baptize about 200 children. But the promising mission work thus begun was soon interrupted by the expulsion ot [sic] the Jesuits from the Ecuadorian Oriente in 1768. The missions founded by them fell into decay or were given over to Franciscans or other Catholic priests.

The wars of independence, which began in 1809 in Ecuador, and the political disorders following them gave neither the secular authorities nor the Church any time to think of the subjection or conversion of the heathen. In all the first part of the nineteenth century no expedition of importance was made to the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. But in [8] 1869, when the president Garcia Moreno allowed the Jesuits to return to their ancient missions in Eastern Ecuador, the work of evangelization was again begun, although with as little success as before so far as the Jibaros were concerned. The anti-clerical president, Alfaro, expelled the Jesuits in 1895 from those parts of the Oriente where they were still active, but other Catholic missionaries of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Salesian orders stayed there, without attaining any visible results. Various attempts have been made to found mission stations or Catholic schools among the tribes living round the Rio Santiago and its tributaries, but they have all been of short duration; this may be said, for instance, of the school established by the Franciscan de Lasplanes on the Rio Arapicos in 1888, and by the

Dominican Vacas Galindo on the Upano in 1890. In 1915 Dominican monks from the village of Canelos founded a new mission among the Jibaros of the Rio Arapicos. The Indians here 'reduced' were members of different families which had been attacked by their enemies and had taken the refuge in the mission. For Christianity and 'civilisation' they seemed to have no interest, and it is almost certain that they will use the first opportunity to regain their former independent life.

Besides this mission, which is still at work, there is one more on the Rio Santiago founded by monks of the Salesian order.

Protestant missionaries have also been working among the Jibaros. In the year 1902 the Gospel Missionary Union of the U.S.A. decided to undertake a mission in this field, and sent Mr. Freeland down to Macas on the Upano. He was reinforced by the arrival of Mr. Olson in 1905, who was still at work among the Jibaros in 1919. But it seems to me that these Protestant missionaries, lacking the experience and psychological eye of their Catholic colleagues, have had still less success in their work than the latter. At any rate there were not, at the time of my stay among the Indians of the Upano, any converted Indians in this region, nor do I believe that these Indians will ever voluntarily embrace any form of Christianity. The only thing they wish is to retain their political and mental independence.

Still the Jibaros at present live on a friendly footing with the whites and allow them

to travel freely through their country, finding the trade with them useful. On the other hand, both the mestizos of Macas and the rubber merchants who sometimes visit their country have as a rule taken care not to repeat the abuses of former times. There have been a few exceptions to this rule, as is shown for instance by the wars [9] which the Huambizas have, in recent years, fought with Peruvian soldiers and which will presently be mentioned.

It seems to me necessary to know these main facts from the history of the Jibaros in order fully to understand their present character. With the same heroism as they displayed in defending themselves against the attempts of the Spaniards to subjugate them politically, they have resisted the repeated attempts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them, as if instinctively knowing that the introduction of Christian civil-

ization among Indians means the beginning of political slavery and cultural degeneration. (1)"

"1. The short history of the Jibaro Indians given by me here is founded on the following works: Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesús en el Marañon español. Madrid, 1901. Figueroa, Relación de las misiones de la compañia de Jesús en el pais de los Maynas. Madrid, 1904. Gonzalez Suarez, Estudio historia sobre los Cañaris. Quito, 1878. Idem, Historia general de la republica del Ecuador, vol. VI. Quito, 1903. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima. Ambato, 1895. Idem, La integridad territorial de la republica del Ecuador, Quito, 1905, [sic] The statements which refer to the history of the Jibaros during the present century are founded on my personal observations and inquiries."

1: Karsten--48-52 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 175 (1928-29)

"From the village of Macas which, as I have said, was the main basis for my studies of the Jibaro Indians, I made numerous expeditions to the tribes living in the south, in the east, and in the north, and I soon found that this region was one of the chief centres of this native Indian culture. For about two years I roamed the endless virgin forests between the Upano and the Morona in all directions, and I do not, of course, propose to relate all my experiences during these journeys. A general description of the country and the conditions under which its inhabitants live may, however, be necessary as an introduction to the detailed account of the customs of the Indians which I shall give later on. A fuller account will be given of the expedition undertaken to the Chirapas, a Jibaro tribe on the upper Rio Pastaza, where I was for the first time present at a 'tsantsa'-feast, the great victory feast of these Indians.

In order to reach Macas I had to start from Riobamba, a big town in the central cordilleras of Ecuador. It is situated about 2,800 meters above the sea, with an extensive view over distant blue mountains and snow-clad volcanoes and a splendid, pure air. Native life here is still more characteristic than at Quito. No tract of the Ecuadorian Andes is so thickly populated as the one of Riobamba. Every day one can see long processions of Quichua-speaking Indian men and women marching into the town from the surrounding villages driving herds of llamas and donkeys laden with all sorts of agricultural products, and on a dia de feria (market day) the great plazas,

the meeting-places for thousands of poncho-clad natives, offers a very picturesque sight. Unfortunately the social and political conditions under which the Indians of the Riobamba region live are extremely bad, inasmuch as in many cases they are outside the protection which the laws of the country ought to afford to all of its inhabi-[49] tants. The Indians, who of course are the original owners of the soil, have mercilessly been forced out of the areas they occupied by the rich hacienda owners, who often deny them the right even to reap the products from the small plots of land which surround their primitive huts and which give them their only livelihood.

From Riobamba the Upano can be reached in seven days, although the distance is no more than about 50 leagues (170 miles). The roads in this part of the Oriente, it should be understood, are worse than anywhere else in Ecuador. Still, nearly half of the way can be covered on horseback, although only horses or mules particularly trained for the purpose are able to take the traveller over the dreadful paths which lead down to the banks of the river Upano.

About four marches eastwards from Riobamba there is a small village called Chanala, inhabited by Quichua Indians and mestizos. These natives frequently go to Riobamba as arrieros (mule and horse drivers) or to sell their agricultural products, and they possess horses and mules which are specially trained for travelling on the rough

roads in the Ecuadorian mountain regions. During my first stay at Riobamba I made the acquaintance of one of the mestizos of Chanala and thenceforward always ordered my riding and pack mules from him when I went to Chanala. It was necessary however to wait for about eight days before the beasts arrived.

The road leading from Riobamba eastwards runs on the first day through tracts which are comparatively thickly populated by Quichua-speaking Indians and mestizos. If one happens to make the journey during harvest-time, for instance in the month of August, one will everywhere see waving maize and barley fields, the most important cereals cultivated in Ecuador. On some fields the Indians may be seen harvesting, singing in chorus those peculiar harvest-songs which have been customary among the Quichuas since olden times and are believed to promote the work. The landscape is extremely picturesque and the ride over this highland, with snow-clad mountain-tops visible in all directions, and through the fertile Andean valleys offers much of interest. Late in the evening, after a ride of ten hours or more, the traveller arrives at Cevadas, a big village inhabited chiefly by mestizos, where he has to pass the night. This village forms the final limit between the relative civilization of the western mountain area and the desolate Paramo region, characteristic of the Ecuadorian highland in the east. The trail goes along the valley of the upper Chambo, a parent river of the Pastaza, [50] and is indescribably bad, like the whole way to Chanala. Having traversed the valley, the

traveller arrives in the evening at a village called Hatillo, or rather a collection of primitive grass-covered huts scattered over the Paramo. I have seldom seen a more God-forsaken place then this village, inhabited by a few families of wretched Quichua Indians. Hatillo being situated at a height of about 3,500 meters above sea-level, its inhabitants have to suffer all those inconveniences that the rude climate necessarily offers to people so poor and badly equipped for it as they are. The temperature generally remains near freezing-point, but not seldom sinks below it; the icy winds and rains mixed with snow which sweep over the paramo feel much colder here than elsewhere at a corresponding temperature. In the immediate neighbourhood of the dilapidated Indian huts rise bare and desolate rocks, some of them covered with eternal snow. Vegetation under such natural conditions must be the poorest possible; there are neither trees nor bushes, and cabbage and onions are the only edible plants which can be cultivated. The only resources of the inhabitants is the long and thick grass called ichu, which covers the ground in the paramo. It makes cattle-breeding possible to the Indians, and this as a matter of fact forms their only livelihood. From the milk of their cows and goats they prepare cheese which is exported to distant places, whence in return they obtain maize, potatoes, barley and other necessaries of life. Their dress is chiefly made of the skins obtained from their cattle and sheep.

I leave Hatillo on the following day, and having travelled for a couple of hours arrive

at the spot where the paramo definitely ends: it is a pass at about 4,000 meters where the descent on the forest area begins. Just before the traveller reaches this pass he skirts a beautiful lake, Colay, attracting attention by the snow-clad mountains which surround it and especially by the tree-covered island which rises in its centre. It seems curious and inexplicable that only this spot for many miles round should show such a luxurious vegetation.

Up on the very summit of the pass to which we clamber, following a trail which is in the most miserable condition, we suddenly discern to the right another lake in a huge natural basin formed by the high walls of the rocks. It is la laguna negra, 'the black lagoon', 'bottomlessly' deep, we are told and with a strangely black-looking water. It is from this lagoon that the streamlets originate which later on form the river Upano. This point forms the end of the plateau of Hatillo and the threshold of the Oriente. The descent begins along the huge, almost perpendicular [51] declivity which is called Galgalan. The mountain is at this point divided by the hand of nature, a tremendous cleft having been formed into which we have to precipitate ourselves. The descent into the abyss is rendered possible for the beasts, and for man, only by deep steps cut in the rock. The mules, accustomed to these terrible trails, are able to go down this staircase, but the traveller has to dismount and allow his beast to get on as best he can. A few minutes later we are in the forest where the vegetation, extremely scanty at first,

gradually becomes more and more luxuriant, although the climate remains quite cold down to Chanala. The first place one arrives at after leaving the paramo is a village called Suñac, which can be reached in five hours from Hatillo. The village is situated in a lonely tract on the high bank of the Upano and consists of several houses including a sort of church, which we recognize by the great bells hanging under the roof. Approaching nearer, however, we find all houses abandoned, their inhabitants living in Chanala four hours journey farther down the valley. The Indians of this region, who are closely related to those of Hatillo, live at Suñac only during the season when the potatoes are harvested, but otherwise prefer to live at Chanala which, owing to a warmer climate, is more suitable for the cultivation of maize.

Chanala is the last point to which mules can travel towards the east, but although this village can be reached in four hours from Suñac, it is the worst part of the whole journey. An enormously high cordillera separates the slope of Suñac from the valley of Chanala and has to be crossed. The climbing of this cordillera with its muddy, rocky, and slippery trail and its abysses yawning on all sides is a perilous enterprise even for the trained beasts of the Indians, and were it not for the steps cut in the rock and the outcroppings of sandstone at the most dangerous places, no mule or horse would ever arrive at the other side. After a hard struggle for a couple of hours we are on the top of the ridge and a while later cross a dangerous bridge leading to the opposite side

of the Upano. The village of Chanala´is situated on the left bank of this river on a mountain slope covered with verdure, from which one enjoys the most beautiful view over the wildest scenery imaginable: the enormous abyss below from the bottom of which is heard the eternal roar of the Upano rumbling its way down to join the Mother of the rivers, adjacent forest-clad mountains reaching to the clouds, and the endless virgin forest extending as far as eye can reach, combine to give the traveller an impression he will not easily forget. But the village itself with its still chilly and humid climate, its primitive houses scattered here and there, and its extremely poor in-[52] habitants is not a place where one cares to stay any longer than is absolutely necessary. Still I had, as always, to wait two or three days before the five or six bearers I wanted for the continuation of my journey to Macas were ready to start.

It takes three days to reach Macas from Chanala´. The pathway which leads down to that last outpost of civilization towards the east follows at first the left bank of the river. After a few hours we pass over a wire bridge to the right side which we follow until the end of the next day, or until we arrive at a place called Huilca. Here there is the house of a ferryman, appointed by the government, whose duty it is to take travellers to and from Macas over the river. This house was in 1920 the only one existing between Chanala´and Macas, and the traveller was consequently obliged to spend the first night in the forest, in a provisional rancho made by the bearers. When

I made my last journey to Macas in 1929, however, conditions had been improved so far, that a well-built tambo had been arranged by the government, where the traveller could shelter for the night. This was the only improvement I could notice after the nearly ten years I had been absent. The pathway was equally muddy and dreadful in every way, the slopes equally steep and difficult to climb, the bridges over the numerous swamps and rivulets equally primitive, consisting as a rule of two or three slippery poles placed at random on the ground on which one had to balance, always at the risk of missing one's foothold and sinking to the knees in the mud-holes.

From Huilca it is less than one day's march to Macas. A big hill called Yungalli, which takes two hours and a half to climb over, still separates the traveller from the plains of Macas. Having passed the Yungalli we embark on a final stretch of level forest land through which a broad road is cut, leading directly to the village. When the weather is fine and no rain has fallen for some days, this road is comparatively dry and is walked along with comfort after the miserable trails left behind; but when it is raining heavily, as is more frequently the case, it is transformed into a swamp where the wanderer has to wade in mud over the ankles."

1: Karsten--52-53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 175 (1928-29)

"Macas is an interesting village in more than one respect. It is situated on the middle course of the Upano, in a tract which curiously enough seems to have been more thickly inhabited some three hundred years ago than nowadays. Close to the place where the village is now there was formerly the big town Sevilla de Oro, mentioned before in connection [53] with the wars which the savage Jibaro Indians waged against the whites. The very name, Sevilla de Oro, tells us that the district must once have been rich in gold, and, as we have seen, the destruction of this town was caused by the greed for gold displayed by the Spaniards. To-day nothing is known of the existence of gold in this part of the Oriente. In the Upano, as in other rivers in Eastern Ecuador, gold is found but only in small quantities, nor is there any evidence that the present-day Indians know of any gold-mines in the mountains, although such rumours have sometimes been current."

"The Jivaros first appear in history when the Inca, Túpac-Yupanqui, undertook the conquest of the realm of Quito about the middle [4] of the fifteenth century. The Peruvian conqueror undertook the conquest of the Cañaris, who lived in the interandine valley region, which corresponds to the Province of Azuay. The chroniclers say that the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for an ally the chief of Macas. Inasmuch as these two tribes were hereditary enemies, it would appear that this alliance was a temporary measure adopted for the purpose of repulsing the common enemy. The Inca succeeded, however, in conquering the Cañaris but was unable to penetrate beyond them. (3)

Huayna-Cápac, continuing the conquests of his father, again unsuccessfully attempted to subdue the Jivaros. His campaign was made difficult by the unfamiliar jungle country, combined with a type of climate to which his men were unaccustomed. Being continually harassed by the natives, he was finally forced to withdraw hurriedly from the territory of Bracamoros, which constitutes the basin of the Chinchipe River. Although completely driven out of their territory, he covered up his humiliation by declaring the Jivaros his subjects. (4)

"3. González Suárez, 1878, p.8, and Montesinos, 1882, ch.xxiii and xxvi.
4. González Suárez, 1890-1903, vol, I, p.54."

Not for long were the Jivaros left in peace to continue their customary fighting among themselves. The conquest of the Incas by the Spaniards simply meant a new adversary for the Jivaros.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were defeated, Don Pedro de La Gasca, in order to keep his soldiers from being idle, divided eastern Ecuador into four districts, whose conquest was entrusted to four of his captains. The first of these was the province of Quijoa, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela. This province was bounded on the north by the provinces of Mocoa and Sucumbíos and was 200 leagues in length from east to west and 20 leagues wide from north to south. The second province was that of Macas, extending from the jungles of Gualaquiza to the Pastaza River, which was then known as the Tunguragua. The third was the province of Yaguarzongo, constituting the drainage basin of the Zamora River. The fourth was the province of Bracamoros, which included the drainage basin of the Chinchipe River. The last three of these provinces, excepting for the extreme southern part of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the territory of the Jivaro Indians. The conquest of Bracamoros was given by Gasca to Capt. Diego Palomino, that of Yaguarzongo to Capt. Alonso de Mercadillo, and that of Macas to Capt. Hernando de Benavente.

Palomino's expedition brought him to the valley of the Chinchipe, which is outside of the territory of the Jivaros. On this expedition he established the city of Jaen."

"THE BENAVENTE EXPEDITION

As a result of the expeditions of Mercadillo and Benavente the town of Zamora de los Alcaldes was founded in 1549. While Ecuadorian historians seem generally to credit the founding of this city to Mercadillo, the source information seems to indicate that it was either a joint effort of the two captains, or that it was founded by Benavente. When Gasca was leaving Peru on his return to Spain on January 27, 1550, he wrote on board his ship, the Callao: 'I left Captain Benavente populating another town in the province of Macas.' Benavente's account of his explorations indicates that Mercadillo's expedition and his own operated as a single party. Apparently no account by Mercadillo is known.

The Benavente expedition began sometime between August 15, 1549, and the end of the year. (5) Benavente evidently went over the pass at the head of the Chambo and Upano Rivers, crossing the divide at an elevation of 12,000 feet, and was the first of the Spanish Conquistadores to get in contact with the Jivaro Indians. He probably crossed the Paute River and the evidence indicates that the expedition penetrated as far south as Gualaquiza before turning back. (6) Benavente's account follows:

"5. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, p. xxxviii.
6. Gonzáles Suárez, 1890-1893, vol. vi, p. 47."

ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF MACAS BY CAPT. HERNANDO DE BENAVENTE(7)

My Eminent Sirs: * * * I entered the province of Suna (or Zuña), which was the beginning of the exploration and was a land of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Paira, which was eight or ten leagues farther on, in which there were about one hundred Indian houses, which at the time I was there had been evacuated. I tell Your Highness truthfully that we were almost dead from hunger because there was not enough food, since the country consisted entirely of mountains and great rivers. From there I went to the province of Moy (or Emoy) and Zamagolli (or Zumagalli), where there are but few Indians, but these gave us what we needed to eat. From there I sent a detachment to the province of Chapico, which they told me would be twenty leagues beyond, in order to see if there were Indians there and if it were good land. This province, I understood, is a land of great mountains and the Indians there go about naked. Those who had been there told me they saw two thousand Indians. There were one or more houses to each quarter of a league and in other places they were a half league apart and so it was all over the district. The food of the Indians consisted solely of fish, and seeds which they raised. There was plenty of food that they planted, such as maize among other things. The soldiers reported that they had two skirmishes. After seeing this province, they returned to me and there told me of another province six leagues

" 7. Manuscript dated Tomebamba, Mar. 25, 1550."

farther on that was called Guallapa. The chief of this province with some Indians came to me peaceably and I received them as I was obliged to do and as Your Highness [6] commanded me. I traveled towards the province and, as I went, saw that likewise it was mountainous as were all the others that I had visited. The chief of that district was with me for eight days, giving us things to eat and describing what lay beyond, and at the end of that time I learned one night how he had elevated himself and his tribe and I tried to learn how many Indians were under him in that territory and found that he had about eight hundred men living in houses separated one from the other. Having seen this province, I started on the way to a district that the told me was called Xibaro, which was twenty leagues from Guallapa [sic], and in which, because of what the Indians had told me, I intended to establish a town; and before a day's journey was completed, I came to a very large river which they told me was that of Tomebamba (Paute) and that of Minas de Santa Bárbola, which I could not have crossed but for boats that we made there, and we crossed it without anyone being injured. Up to this point there had been nothing but very large mountains. And so, after crossing the river, I continued the march and two leagues from the place I found an Indian bohio, (8) in which some Indians were taken whose language and manner of speech was like that of the Malacatos, who were near the

"8. An Arawak work applied to the native community house. These establishments are now generally referred to as 'Jivarías.'"

Paltas, because some Indians who were with me understood them. They told me that the land was called Xibaro, (9) and in that buhio those Indians told me that further on there were other buhios; and so I continued on the way; travelling by means of trails that were very ill-defined, I tell Your Highness truthfully that I frequently stopped to rest; thus moving along, I came upon other buhios which were more than a league from one another until arriving at other buhios, I realized correctly that we were where I wished to be and consequently did not stop. Continuing on, I encountered about fifty or sixty Indians, who, hearing me, fled into the mountains so that the dogs that I had with me were not able to capture any. I saw that they were naked. And still I marched and discovered smoke which was from their buhios that they had burned, and so it was in all that region, for they did nothing but burn their buhios and flee. Finally I arrived at the foot of a large rock covered with woods and thickets and from there I dispatched certain soldiers who discovered a trail on which they chanced upon some naked Indians, each with a lance and a round shield. Of these, they were able to capture only a man and a woman whom they brought to me, and being brought before me, I asked the man to tell me about the country and to explain where his chief was, to which he answered, why would I like to know? and that his chief was very powerful, and that if he captured me and the others he would probably kill us and drink with our heads and would probably sprinkle the roads with our bones; in

"9. Von Hagen told the writer that 'varu' is a common word ending in Palta, and suggested its combination with the Jivaro word 'ji' or 'jea' meaning 'fire people.'"

such manner that he did not desire to admit the truth of anything to me. I tell Your Highness truthfully that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have been exploring in the conquest of the Indies. Having seen that he did not wish to divulge anything nor to answer truthfully what I asked him, I attempted to see if he might talk because of fear and was as successful as before; and hoping that some Indians would come to where I was waiting, I spent eight days near that big rock, during which it did not stop raining one hour all day; and I swear to Your Highness that the horses, as though crazy, leaped around and, running through the camp and wallowing in the mire, eluded us, and because of the distemper which affected them in the [7] hoofs and feet, it was not advisable to hobble them; and everyone was breeding within himself the same sort of worms and any meat that we were able to obtain became filled with maggots. Finally, I tell you that it was the worst land that I have seen in all the days of my life, either in Spain or in all parts of the Indies in which I have travelled. Thus having seen how bad the land was and that no Indians were apparent, I started to march again and moved along another twenty leagues, where I found a country in which everything was rainy and wet. Farther on, I found a second river very much larger than that I had crossed; both sides of the river formed a rocky gorge so that to look at the river from the top frightened one because of the depth from above. Having looked for a place for the horses to cross a league above and below on the river, it was found impossible. While there, I saw on the other

side of the river about fifty Indians, all with their lances and slings and dressed in camisetas and mantas, and then they shot with bows and arrows which did not succeed in crossing from the other side. Having found out that the horses were not able to cross, those who had crossed the river brought to me the good news that crossing without horses, there would not be any place that we could go on foot and that we would not get anything accomplished and that it would result in our destruction, so I agreed with all my company that we turn back and our entrada should be by way of Cuyes or Zangorima, or some other way more convenient to the service of God and Your Excellency. It was thus decided by everyone and we withdrew with the intention of doing this.

I tell Your Highness that, according to what we were able to see, there are not one thousand Indians in all that land and province of Xivaro, and it consists of the wildest mountain land that I have seen and is very rough mountainous country, and the people of this province are all naked and very independent, according to the way it appeared to us. From the river of which I have just been speaking, we saw a range of mountains and through a gap in these mountains we saw a plain, and this I did think is all the news that we obtained because that region did not appear to be mountainous but rather savannahs. And so we returned to Guallapa, from which place we had departed. (10)

Having returned to Guallapa, Benavente discovered that the peaceful Indians he had left there had risen in rebellion against the soldiers, and his arrival had been barely in

"10. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, pp. xxix-xxxiv."

time to settle this trouble. He speaks of the land beyond the gorge, which had forced him to turn back, and is very anxious that the King give him a commission to enter this country by the route that he had previously suggested. The chiefs of Tomebamba described this territory in such glowing terms as to make Benavente anxious to establish a town in the region, but as he says:

I am so often disappointed by the stories of these Indians that I no longer give credit to any more than what I am able to see with my own eyes.

Benavente took 150 men with him on the expedition above described and explains that because of the bad nature of the land and the hostility of the Jivaro Indians these troops came out in very bad shape. Many of the Indians that he brought with him died as a result of the hardships, and 30 of his men deserted because of [8] the fact that the expedition had not succeeded, and Benavente had nothing with which to pay them excepting future promises; although he said:

I give my word to Your Highness that I have given to the soldiers even the shirts of my clothing in order that they might enter this land again with me, whom Your Highness should thank.

Toward the end of the letter, Benavente gives information which would seem to clear up the confusion concerning the conquests of Mercadillo and himself. He says:

The rest that I have to tell Your Highness is that the conquest which Your Highness has

given to Captain Mercadillo and to me is all one thing and one piece of information, for in order that we might serve you better and do as you command, we agreed to join his people with mine and we made one company, because he had too few people to explore such a very large section of country, and I likewise had too few; and for these reasons we did this and accomplished what I am telling Your Highness so that we could better achieve what Your Highness commanded us.

On the envelope which contains this letter is a notation evidently dictated by the Viceroy D. Antonio de Mendoza, notifying Benavente that all further entradas are to be suspended, this state of affairs to last until His Majesty gives further orders. This suspension of entradas and conquests was a general measure advised by Gasca. They were not again conceded until the viceroyship of Marqués de Cañete, D. Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza.

The results of Benavente's expedition , as is apparent from his account, were very meager. It is interesting that he gave the Jivaros the name by which they have since been known; this being the name applied to them by the Paltas."

2: Stirling--8-9 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
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"JUAN DE SALINAS

On November 10, 1556, as the result of an order from the King, the Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of the dominion of Peru, agreed to outfit Juan de Salinas for the purpose of exploring and colonizing the provinces of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros. It was agreed that Salinas be given a commission authorizing him to establish an encomienda of Indians in each town which he populated, from which he would profit after the usual Royal fifths had been deducted.

On November 19, 1556, Salinas began the task of recruiting and outfitting his army of exploration. The city of Loja was selected as headquarters for this purpose. He was engaged in assembling his expedition until July 8, 1557. Salinas states in one of his memorials that it cost him personally more than 50,000 ducats to provide arms, horses, clothing, and other necessary accoutrements for his men. [9]

The memorable expedition thus begun, continued until he had penetrated into the land more than 800 leagues and was not concluded until August 28, 1559. The description of this expedition, one of the most remarkable in the history of New World exploration, is contained in four letters written by Salinas in Spain during the year 1571, at which time he made a personal visit to the Royal Court in an attempt to straighten out the affairs of his Peruvian holdings. Several other letters and memorials by other writers verify the accounts of Salinas."

"The first letter of Salinas is dated June 10, 1571. In it he describes how he established the towns of Valladolid and Loyola in the interandine highland region.

Continuing his explorations beyond Loyola, he crossed with great difficulty 20 leagues of rough mountains, which he found to be entirely unpopulated. Making trails blindly in order that he might move his horses and cattle, he finally reached another inhabited section. Salinas says:

I came upon a valley in an inhabited land that was called Coraguana, a mountainous land but very productive of the foods that the natives use, especially of roots of a plant (11) that they use most and hold in greater esteem than maize; likewise there is much fruit and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and all of the rivers and streams have many fish. It is a land of wild game and of the chase, especially of wild hogs and a small variety of deer and other animals called antas (tapirs), which have the size, appearance and even meat like an 8-months-old calf; the natives make use of other kinds of animals that have good meat and since the land is very mountainous there is an abundance of everything. The natives are different in language, dress, and customs from those of Loyola and Valladolid; generally, they have cotton plantations which they maintain and make use of to clothe themselves, although they do not make many clothes because the climate is warm. They are a very settled people and not very warlike as the people behind, and so in this valley and at the beginning of this land they appeared to me

"11. Manioc."

at once to be peaceful, and as I journeyed farther on the people were the same and I arrived at a level valley which they had already told me was called Giuarra, where the people and language were the same and because it appeared to me that there were a great many natives in the midst of this country and as a great many of the people with me were ill, I established a Spanish town in this place Giuarra, calling it Santiago de las Montañas because of having arrived at this place the eve of Santiago Day (July 24, 1557), which town it appeared desirable to change to a place deeper into the territory of the natives and so it was resettled on the banks of a river (12) carrying much water, which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon, which is the reason why I established it here in order that it might serve as a post for the continuance of the discoveries and explorations

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"12. This is obviously the present Santiago River. According to Juan Navarro de Beaumonte, one of the principal soldiers who accompanied Salinas, the second seat of Santiago was called Masquisinango. Salinas gave this river the name of San Bartolomé, because of having discovered it on this Saint's Day (Aug. 24). Formerly it was called Parossa by the Jivaros."

of the river below. In the vicinity of this town many gold mines were discovered, especially some mines that gave very good indications of [10] richness, and it is evident that they probably are. (13) This city of Santiago was about 40 leagues below Loyola; the Natives here likewise were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its chiefs or captains and, although they are not a warlike people, they carry on continual wars among themselves, killing and robbing one another. They did not keep llamas, although in this valley of Gibarra there were some. (14)"

"13. The mines of Cangasa.
14. Salinas in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. lxv-ci."

"After Salinas had pacified the natives in this vicinity he assigned sections of the land to various encomenderos and gave the necessary commissions to maintain the establishment and then continued his voyage of exploration and colonization."

Farther on beyond the city of Santiago and the boundaries of the territory assigned to it we passed the river that they called Faen and Chachapoyas and Guánuco, which all now come together and become the Marañon, since all the rest are branches and the latter is the principal river. (15) I came upon a province and country that they called Cangarapas, whose people, although they differ somewhat in language, correspond to those of Santiago because they are all nearly the same and the land is likewise, although here there are more savannahs and less mountainous land, especially where the natives have their habitations and cultivated lands. There are mountain ridges and plains and the climate of the region is very good and it is healthful and there is an abundance of all kinds of food as are used in the Indies, and fruits and fish in great quantitity, and game, and in general the water is very good; and deposits of salt, which they prepare artificially in great quantities with fire. There were llamas, although few, in this land and province and in the country nearby, although in order to clothe themselves they made use

"15. Notwithstanding this, he says in another place that all these rivers together are called the Rio de Faén."

of cotton, which they had and which they planted and used generally. The natives of this country and province are very domestic and not by any means warriors or warlike, although they continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respected but each town and group had its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned. Twenty-eight or thirty leagues below the city of Sangiago in this territory in the most suitable part and in a very good location, I established a town that was called Santa Maria de Nieva. * * *

After pacifying the natives here, which Salinas says was little work because of their being good natured and domestic, he organized the town of Santa Maria de Nieva, as he had previous settlements. Leaving Nieva, with a picked crew of 54 of his strongest and most healthy men, he left the remainder to maintain the new settlement and continued his explorations. Ten leagues below Nieva he came to the junction of the Santiago and Marañon Rivers and then became the first European to make the passage of the dreaded Pongo Manseriche (pl. 29). After visiting the Mainas Indians, he continued down the Marañon to its juncture with the Ucayali. He then ascended the Ucayali to a point opposite Cuzco. Finally, after having been absent 18 months, Salinas returned by the same route to Santiago."

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"The second letter of Salinas, probably written in 1571, brings in some additional details. After describing the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola whom he says are warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town has its chief and captains under whom they band together,

he describes their material culture and also the game and food plants of the region in considerable detail. Again he tells of crossing the unpopulated section between these mountain valleys and the beginning of the Jivaro country on the Upano River. He says:

This unpopulated and rough section lasted about 20 leagues, at the end of which I came to a territory settled by natives in the mountains, although there were sections of savannahs. They were a people different in language, dress, arms, and customs, and were very much more domestic than those behind. Their necessities of life and their fruits were the same; their garments and clothes of cotton; fish in great abundance in the rivers, and salt in great quantities produced artificially as well as occurring naturally like rock. I travelled more than 30 leagues through settlements of the nature of the aforementioned people without observing any difference in the language of one from the other, although they had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement.

which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner. At the the end of these 30 leagues travelled in a west to east direction, I populated the city of Santiago de las Montañas, which I believe is in six degrees latitude. It is 50 leagues from Loyola, a little more or less. The difference in their arms from those behind is that they have copper axes and shields of anta (16) skin and of wood, and spear throwers which they call estolicas. In this land there is abundant hunting of wild hogs, as well as antas (they are similar to cows), and deer and a hundred thousand other repugnant mountain insects and reptiles; they hunt big partridges like blind hens (Odontophorus cripturus sp), turkey-hens (Crax sp.) and paugies, a very large bird with very good meat, and other birds of the pheasant type (Penelope sp.). There were some herds of llamas, although few, and doves, papagayos, (17) and cuys, (18) or the before-mentioned rabbits.

Having travelled for 30 leagues from the said city of Santiago by a northsouth course continually through the same group of people, having the same language, dress, arms, manner of livelihood, hunting and chase, fishing, salt and fruit for about 30 leagues, I populated the city of Santa Maria de Nieva, without the natives and all the other things

16. Anta = tapir.
17. Papagayos = macaws.
18. Cuys = guinea pigs.

differing much from those at Santiago. I think the said city of Santa Maria de Nieva was established in eight degrees latitude; outside of the fruits mentioned there are some that are called Almendras (19) because they resemble those here (20) and are even better; there are many very useful tree gums such as caraña, tacaamaca, and other gums that I don't remember; cacao of New Spain in great quantity. Gold was beginning to be taken in the rivers within the environs of said city, [12] although in Santiago there are many signs of great richness. The natives within the district of said city of Nieva have some llamas.

In the aforementioned city of Santiago, which is settled on a very great river, as I said, in which have come together all the waters and rivers from the city of Camora and Loyola, I named it the Rio de Sant Bartolomé, because I embarked on the river below to make the discovery on that day (Aug. 24, 1557). After having sailed 12 leagues north-south by it, I came to another very powerful river which I named the Rio de Faen, (21) in which came together all the rivers of Faen (22) and of the city of Chachapoyas (23) and that of Guanu-

"19. Almonds.
20. Spain.
21. The same that later on and in the previous letter he calls the Marañon.
22. Chuquimaya, today Chinchipe, Cherinos and higher section of the Marañon.
23. Bahua, Bahuan, or Uteupampa."

co, (24) by which lower river I navigated for about 250 leagues west-east, until I arrived at a very great river (25) on San Miguel day (Sept. 29, 1557) and thus I gave it that name.

Salinas again describes the Mainas, of whom he says:

Their arms are darts and shields and throwing rods with estolicas, and some that are called macanas (26) which are the size of a broadsword, of palms.

The third letter is concerned more with political and controversial matters than with descriptions of the country, so it is not quoted here. The fourth letter, written in the third person, has more information of interest."

"24. Huallaga or Rio de los Motilones.
25. Ucayali.
26. Wooden clubs.

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"After crossing the Continental Divide he came upon 'a land settled with natives of pleasing appearance, of good climate, and full of all kinds of food, ' which aspect of said new land pleased him very much.

He continued travelling and discovering, passing many settlements and provinces and valleys, some uninhabited, for about 100 leagues, in the course of which and in the most suitable sections he settled four cities, whose names are, first Valladolid, second Loyola, third Santa Maria de Nieva, and fourth Santiago de las Montañas: the latter was settled and is situated on the bank of a very great river which is one of the principal branches of the Marañon. The natives of that province having given him good news of a well-populated land of great richness and good appearance on the river below, he determined to embark on said river in canoes with the group of soldiers that were most healthy, because most of the soldiers who had accompanied him in the work and discovery made up to then were suffering with some disease or affliction; and thus he left in said city of Santiago all of the horses and other means of conveyance, and the sick people and that which was necessary for the maintenance of said city and with only 54 soldiers he embarked on said river with canoes, determined and desirous of seeing and exploring said land of which he had good news. By navigating down said river, he encountered another very great river, at which juncture the waters made a great disturbance, and a

big narrow pass (27) in the ridge of mountains through which the said rivers went, was passed with great danger and shipwreck with no less than great risk of lives, from which danger Our Lord delivered them, although with loss of munitions, arms, and some natives who were with them. Past the danger and said risk, which certainly was great, he came to a province of natives called Cipitacona, with a nose device not seen before. (13) Again the trip down the Marañon and up the Ucayali is described and the return to Santiago. Salinas says further:

The going and return and the voyage of discovery lasted almost 2 years, without being able to return any news concerning himself, and for this reason and the long delay, the group of Spaniards that he had left in the cities that he had populated, disheartened, believing him dead, as well as those who had gone with him, disbanded and fled and went to Peru, for which reason he was forced, on coming out, to refit himself with people and arms, for which he returned to the chief part of said land, and then came back to rebuild said four cities, which had been depopulated as a result of his long absence, and he populated them again; and having quieted and pacified the natives that had been in the district, and having discovered many gold mines to recount to His Majesty what had been occupying his time and the deeds he had accomplished. (28)"

"27. The famous Pongo Manseriche.

28. Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. xc-xciii."

"There is in existence a fifth letter written by Salinas after his return from the Court of Spain to Peru. In this document he says:

Following my return I have busied myself in establishing order and settling and sustaining the four cities that I left populated when I came to the Kingdom to salute Your Highness. In addition I have populated two more in suitable locations, one of which is called Logroño and the other Nueva Sevilla del Oro. In all of these, mines have been discovered and are still being discovered, which promise great riches and that the Royal fifths of Your Highness will be greatly increased; even though there should be no other reward for the work which has been put into them and the expenses incurred, that return would be large. (29)"

"29. The date and place of birth of Juan de Salinas is not known for certain, but he was apparently a native of Cordoba. His legitimate parents were Martin Sánchez and Victoria Gómez. He came from Spain to Mexico, where he accompanied Hernando Cortés on his expedition to the Gulf of Higueras; he went with Benalcázar to Peru and was one of the first settlers of Lima, where he built a house and owned his own ground. Salinas was the third Spaniard to navigate the Marañon: the first being Orellana and the second Capt. Don Alonso Mercadillo in his expedition to the province of the Chupachos. He was a man of strong character and great determination. He planned large under-

takings and carried them out with unusual perseverance under great difficulties. In temperament he was inclined much more to harshness than to gentleness, but it is quite possible that the cruelties against the Indians charged to him were exaggerated. After his great journey of exploration, during which he explored the Marañon and Ucayali Rivers, he returned to Spain in the year 1569 and remained for 4 years at the Court in order to solicit favors from the King and to obtain ratification of the concessions that the Viceroy of Peru, Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, had given him. Succeeding in this, he returned to America, where he spent the last years of his life amidst continuous difficulties. He was imprisoned in Quito, where he was implicated in a criminal trial in which the Audiencia charged him with being responsible for extreme cruelty to the Indians. Juan de Peralta, the Attorney General of the Audiencia of Quito, charged him with having had living Indians torn to pieces with greyhounds trained for the purpose, of having buried Indians alive in pits in which sharpened sticks had previously been placed, and of having burned them by setting fire to their houses, forcing them to die with their families. It was also charged that he ordered a pastry cook to pull out the teeth of the Indians, also had them put to death by impaling them with sharpened sticks, and had them tied naked on ants' nests so that they would be killed. Other cruelties of a similar nature were detailed in these hearings. However, Salinas was able to free himself from these charges and was restored to his former position of power. He established his residence in Loja, where, broken in health, he died in 1582, the last survivor of the Conquistadores of the Kingdom of Quito."

"The city of Sevilla del Oro developed out of the settlement of Rosario. From other contemporary documents we are able to obtain more details than are given us by Salinas concerning the founding of the two new settlements which he mentions.

Espada tells us that Nuestra Señora del Rosario was founded on August 15, 1563, (30) in a great hurry, with the object of acquiring the right of possession of this territory by means of a deed consummated by Capt. Juan de Salinas Guinea, nephew of Juan de Salinas Loyola, because of the fact that the territory was outside of the government intended for the latter. However, the city did not prosper and was abandoned in a short time, excepting for a renegade population. The Audiencia of Quito attempted to clean out this bad element and to repopulate the city. In 1571 Capt. Alvaro de Paz was put in charge of the reorganization. The job proved too much for him and he was obliged to flee with his company.

By this time Salinas had returned from the Court of Spain, having satisfactorily terminated his efforts concerning his government of Yaguarzongo and Bracamoros and concerning the favors that he considered he deserved by having discovered and populated the territory. Believing or pretending that he considered the territory of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was in his government and not in that of the Quijos, he commissioned Capt.

"30. Probably near the present town of Macas on the Upano River."

Jose Villanueva Maldonado to repopulate it in his name at a location probably somewhat to the north of its first seat (31) and to rename it Sevilla del Oro.

Maldonado's account in the Archives of the Indies is as follows:

By commission from the Governor Juan de Salinas Loyola, * * * I collected a number of people in Cuenca and entered with them to said province, having outfitted the soldiers with me at my expense in order that they might enter more willingly and having entered said province and pacified the land, I populated and founded the city or Sevilla del Oro and divided the land, and 20 encomenderos lived in said city, married for the greater part; and there are in the province many churches and many gold mines."

"31. North bank of the Upano River opposite the present town of Macas."

"Of course, Salinas' title was disputed and he later lost the territory.

Maldonado's account states that he lived in Sevilla del Oro more than 9 years after establishing it. Since this account was written in Quito on February 7, 1584, it seems apparent that the foundation of Sevilla del Oro took place in 1575.

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, inhabitant of Santiago de las Montañas, writing in Quito, January 26, 1586, says that he came to the government of his uncle, Juan de Salinas Loyola, and that at the [15] time his uncle returned from Spain he was made lieutenant general, remaining in this office until Salinas de Loyola died. He says that during this time he maintained all the land in peace without mutinies or scandals and in order to increase the Royal patrimony went to the province of the Jivaros with a new commission and with 40 men in order to explore that province where, after having suffered many deprivations, hardships, and losses of his goods, he established the city of Logroño(32) de los Caballeros on the Paute River, and having established it and pacified the inhabitants, and having treated them all well, they rebelled against the Royal service under the leadership of two half-breeds called Diego Lopez de la Banda and Francisco de Ro-

"32. A manuscript letter of Juan Lorenzo Lucero dated Xeberos 1683 states that Logroño was first founded at the confluence of the Paute and Zamora Rivers and that 'today Pedro Espino de Caceres is missionary on that great river.'"

jas and they came to said city, killing in the outskirts of the towns all of the people that they found, numbering more than 40 men, until finally they came to said city and surrounded it, where the 12 men and the women who had remained in said city defended it as long as the siege lasted.

Maldonado, in his account made in Quito, February 7, 1584, states that while he was in Sevilla del Oro--

Capt. Bernardo de Loyola, by order of his lordship Juan de Salinas, left and went to populate the city of Logroño in the Xíbaros country, which he did with the soldiers that Villanueva had and with their arms and ammunition and with them populated the city of Logroño; and said province being raided by the Jivaros and the Hon. Juan de Salinas being advised of it and having notified me of said raid and the death of seven Spaniards, said Villanueva sent hurriedly some Spaniards to aid said city of Logroño, because without such assistance said city would suffer great risk."

"Fernando de Montesinos, in his Anales del Perú, (33) quotes the following from original documents in the Archives of the Indies:

Year 1564--After many trials that Governor Don Juan de Salinas Loyola suffered in the pacification of his territory, he populated the cities of Valladolid, Loyola, and Logroño de los Caballeros, he appointed mayors and established regulations for them, put the Royal treasury in the city of Logroño which was nearest the Gibaros, the province richest in gold that he had discovered. He gave each Royal official 100 pesos of gold as salary from the same coffer. They enjoyed this benefit with much uneasiness since the Indians are warlike and rebellious so that they are very unsure of them. At the end of a year and a half, the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola killed the camp master, Francisco de Mercado (uncle of the wife of the governor), and 12 other soldiers. Capt. Juan de Alderete (brother-in-law of the Governor of Loxa) went to punish them with 30 soldiers and friendly Indians and attempted to make peace with the rebels but they would not permit it until after engaging in many battles, and finally, seeing the injury that was being done to them, they gave in peacefully and returned to rebuild the cities, so at once they reestablished Logroño. [16]

González Suárez tells us (34) that the soldiers sent for the defense of Logroño gathered

"33. Vol. II, pp. 12-13.
34. Historia General , vol. vi, p. 79."

together in a palisade which they constructed, where they remained for an entire year. They suffered so much want, that after sampling the leather on their shields without getting much nourishment from it, they were forced to kill and eat all of their watch dogs, which were greatly needed to warn them of the frequent sorties on the part of the Jivaros. The trail to Cuenca being held by the Indians, they finally succeeded in sending word down the river to Santiago. Juan de Cáseres Patiño, curate at that city, proceeded at great personal risk to their assistance."

"THE JIVARO REVOLT

Unquestionably the source of much of the gold utilized by the Incas of the Highlands was in the rich placers of the Jivaro country. It is therefore not surprising that during the second half of the sixteenth century such strenuous efforts were made by the Spaniards to colonize this humid and jungle-clad region. If we are to trust the figures of the contemporary historians, many of these settlements became surprisingly populous, but although dignified by the name of cities, one should not lose sight of the fact that the houses were nothing but small huts built of cane and roofed over with thatch. The walls were of a light wattle-and-daub construction and in the entire region not a single solid or permanent structure was erected. Although these settlements were laid out in squares, with streets and the ground plan of a city, they were probably not very impressive to look upon.

During the first years of their foundation, at which time the Indians appear to have submitted in a docile manner to their encomenderos, the cities prospered and gave promise of great development. With the death of Salinas no one with sufficient strength of character or executive ability arose to take his place and from this time the decline of the Spanish settlements in the region was rapid. As the oppression and cruelties of the encomenderos began to make themselves felt the Indians grew more rebellious and the attitude of

the wild Indians became more and more hostile toward the Spaniards. Successful revolts were carried out by the Indians in many places, they being favored by the nature of the country and the climate which was natural to them but unfamiliar to the Europeans. The cupidity of the colonists in the end resulted in the final destruction of themselves, of their settlements, and of their ambitious plans. The series of revolts carried on by the Jivaros culminated in the great uprising of 1599, which terminated in the complete destruction of Spanish rule in the Jivaro territory and enabled the Indians to [17] revert once more to their native customs and manner of life. The following is Velasco's account:

In 1599, the year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jivaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jivaros would not, and were about to resolve to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of

the River Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary, and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jivaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy, the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all Spaniards in that region on a certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and the other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now

poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learned that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant 25 leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jivaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Morona Jivaros intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huamboya (16 leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone toward Riobambo.

When the Jivaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; [18] when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor

Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12,000. Sevilla had 25,000 inhabitants; one-quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jivaros nearly destroyed the neighboring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force in the Indian country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jivaros as far as the River Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jivaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the others into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish Government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barks, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jivaros lay in ambush and destroyed the whole of the expedition. After 6 months those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He

appled to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.
Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four. (35)"

"35. Bollaert, 1863b, pp. 116-118. Translated from Velasco, t. III, p. 152."

"The cities of Santiago and Nieva on the Santiago River apparently continued to be occupied by the Spaniards to a certain extent following the great uprising, but for 20 years Spanish activities in the Jivaro country were practically at a standstill. The descendants of the Conquistadores, however, never lost the idea of colonizing the region of the Santiago, and finally in the month of September 1619 the Governor of Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, went from the city of Santiago on an expedition with 68 soldiers and 3 priests on a new effort aimed at subduing the Jivaros.

This well-equipped expedition embarked in 22 large canoes on the Santiago River. Saabedra says that the river had a width of four-quarters of a ship (400 rods) at the city of Santiago. He continues:

It is very quiet and navigable. Scarcely traveling 10 leagues down the river, the Marañon is encountered which is very swift and powerful and, at the point of junction with the Santiago, it is the width of three-quarters of a ship, and together the two rivers continue their course to the Mar del Norte and, in a little less than half a league, begin to narrow and surge through the pass of [19]the Pongo, which constricts the torrent which leaves at that place the general range that crosses all of Peru, which range this river divides, passing with such fury that it is beyond description because of both rivers going through the pass of the Pongo which in places is only the width of one-quarter of a ship and in other places twice the width of a street. It is a league and a half long, so that one passes

through in little more than an hour.

In this stretch there are three places where the violent turbulence of the water produces dangerous difficulties, the first two being due to currents exceeding the ordinary ones in the pass and which originate due to the water striking large rocks which project through the torrent in the channel, producing from one end to the other of these rocks huge whirlpools whose vortices extend across the river, in which torrents lie the danger, and in order to pass them it is necessary to wait when the river rises; and the last torrent, which is the most dangerous, the Indians call Marceriche [sic], because of the big jagged rocks which the river here divides, the top of which is barely visible when rushing through and the surface of the stream is composed of huge whirlpools and their vortices, caused by the river striking against the big rocks and one big one that is in the middle of the narrow channel where the river suddenly shifts direction and it takes a vast amount of energy to pass that point; and they call this latter Manseric because of the many small parrots that are on the rocks.

Through this pass went the governor and three leagues farther down the river encountered the first province of the infidel Mainas Indians which were subdued by the Royal Service for there must be about 800 of them without counting many that come every day from the river and lakes where they live. These gave the governor a good reception. (36)"

"36. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

"Saabedra describes how Vaca de Vega continued down the Marañon and up the Pastaza to Lake Rimachuma, being very successful in his dealings with these Indians and having no trouble with them. He then says:

The governor, having seen that there were sufficient Indians in these two provinces to found a city, determined to populate the city of San Francisco de Borja and so it was done in the name of Your Majesty below the Pongo and its pass, half a league from the general range on the left hand, on the Marañon River toward the west; a healthful land with good air and climate and a very good location. He founded it after considerable deliberation because the cities of Santiago and Santa Maria de Nieva of the province of Yaguarzongo are protected by it from the continuous assaults that the infidels are accustomed to make. (37)

Borja, the newly founded city, appears to have been inhabited for some time by a mixed population of Spaniards, mestizos, and representatives from numerous Indian

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"37. The account of Saabedra contains a very interesting description of the Mainas Indians under the heading 'Manner and nature of the Indians and their mode of living; fruits and sustenances supplied by the land of the Mainas, which land is reduced to the Royal Service.' Unfortunately, Saabedra gives us no account of the Jivaros.--Saabedra, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. cxliv--cxlviii."

tribes of the region, including some Jivaros. When Vaca de Vega returned he was named Governor of the province of Mainas on condition that he pacify the Jivaros. However, he apparently made no move to do this."

"In May of 1645 his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who succeeded him in office, sent two Franciscan monks, Laureano de la Cruz and Andrés Fernandez, into the Jivaro country from Cuenca with a military escort under Antonio Carreño. This expedition resulted in complete failure, but it is interesting because it marked the first of a series of combined religious and military expeditions which enabled these attempts at subduing the Jivaros to be cloaked with a more commendable purpose than was the case with the purely military expeditions of the past.

During the early part of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing some flourishing missions in the regions east of the Jivaro territory, from which source numerous expeditions penetrated the Jivaro country with the avowed intent of converting them to the evangelical faith regardless of consequences.

In 1656 Don Martín de la Riva Aguero, governor of Cajamarca, organized a company consisting of 100 soldiers and an equal number of Mainas Indians from the missions of the Jesuit father Raimundo Santa Cruz. (38) The expedition followed the left bank of the Marañon to the junction of that river with the Pastaza and here on July 25, 1656, they founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, however, had a very brief career. The Jivaro Indians, who were promptly dressed by Father Raimundo in what he considered to

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"38. Chantre y Herrera, p. 176."

be a modest and proper manner, took the first opportunity to flee from the expedition. When they were pursued they killed a considerable number of Spaniards from ambush.

In 1690 Father Lorenzo Lucero, with a small squadron of canoes, made a peaceful entrance into the Jivaro country, hoping to persuade the Indians to submit to kindness rather than to the use of force. The Jivaros, however, had not forgotten the cupidity of Martín de la Riva and their unhappy experiences with that expedition and Father Lucero was unable to succeed in his attempt. The only result of this expedition was the establishment of a settlement in the Jivaro country which they named Naranjo. There was so little to hold it together, however, that the town soon failed and was deserted. (39)"

"39. Chantre y Herrera, p. 283."

"THE EXPEDITION OF DON JERÓNIMO VACA

In 1692 a very ambitious and determined effort was made to convert the Jivaros by force and by persuasion. The Indians, however, evidently had other ideas about the saving of their souls, and the failure of this expedition was as great in proportion as was the effort put forth to insure its success. By order of the Royal [21] Audiencia, Don Jerónimo Vaca, Captain-General of Mainas, accompanied by the Superior of the Jesuit missions, Father Viva, undertook the direction of this attempted conquest. Father Viva supplied the expedition with canoes and a picked army of his best mission Indians, consisting of Cunivos, Cocamas, Xeveros, (40) Cutinanas, Paranapuras, Muniches, Otanavis, Chamicuros, Aguanos, and Tibilos. The expedition was also manned by inhabitants of the town of Santiago and of Guallaga and the entire army, which now consisted of 900 natives and approximately 100 Spaniards, assembled at Borja. Each of the many groups of Indians represented were in command of their own missionary and each was armed in accordance with its own customs. The expedition had instructions from no less an authority than the Royal Court of Madrid to find out for once and for all the real truth concerning the richness of the alleged gold and silver mines which were supposed to exist in the Jivaro country. All of the missions had contributed liberally not only toward supplying

"40. Not to be confused with Jivaros."

the expedition copiously with all sorts of foods and equipment but generous financial support was rendered by them as well.

The historian tells us:

Many people in the city of Santiago not far from the land of the Gívaros had high hopes for the successful conclusion of this entrada. Among them, the Vicar of the city, Don Isidro Moreno, a strict priest of exceptional demeanor, was very much pleased with the prospect of seeing the Gívaros conquered and he contributed his share to the conquest, offering as many supplies as he could without sparing expense, but the captain and the Spanish soldiers were not a little disheartened because of the sad experiences which they had had in the past with similar expeditions. (41)

The priests, however, bolstered the spirits of the soldiers by explaining that the company of Jesuits would cover the entire expense of the expedition and that the soldiers need not depend upon receiving anything from the Royal Audiencia, and so they set forth on this final great effort for the spiritual welfare of the infidel Jivaro."

"41. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-304."

"The chronicler continues:

Don Jeronimo (Vaca) having seen that everything was prepared, sent his orders to the army to assemble at Borja. This was done, although not without some difficulty because numerous canoes were cracked on account of the violence of the currents in the river which in some places are very turbulent. But finally having passed everything without special loss and having taken from San Ignacio de Mainas the best Indians of that nation, they came to the city of Borja, where they were received with many cheers and salutations because of being one of the best and most well-organized armadas that had ever been seen in that territory. The governor wished to assure the undertaking and, knowing very well that courage and prudence for those in the army must come from God, he commanded that, everyone having disembarked, [22] they come in military order to the church of the city where, kneeling before the Holy Sacrament, they made their vows, imploring the aid of Heaven on the trip. Encamping near the ciy, all of the army prayed for several days that they might pass without accident through the very dangerous gorge of the Pongo, because a flood came up that prevented the transit of the armada. They asked the Lord to lower the waters and, on the ninth day, they resolved to pass through, which they did without losing anyone because, although five of the canoes were overturned by the violence of the current, those who did not upset easily picked up the people.

Having passed the gorge of the Pongo, the entire party of canoes entered the Santiago River, where General Vaca had embarked and was received with applause and joy by the soldiers. Upon passing through the city of Santiago they collected new provisions, and having done this, they took the direct route to the former town of Naranjo, having sent ahead some canoes of Xeveros and Cunivos, who, being more skilful in fishing, caught as many fish as they could for the army. The squadron having arrived at a place called Cusahu in the Gíbaros territory, the General decided that some Spanish soldiers with some 30 Xeveros should disembark and reconnoiter the country, which party succeeded in capturing 21 Gíbaros, by virtue of surprising them while they were celebrating noisily a solemn drunken feast, because of having killed two famous wizards, whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering. As they had not been able to capture the rest of the Gíbaros who were bathing some distance away in the river, these latter promptly spread the news to the whole nation which rebelliously armed itself, collected together all their belongings and carried those people unfit for war to their inaccessible hiding places. The Spaniards camped between a ravine and the Santiago River and in 3 days had fortified themselves in this place with a palisade and counterscarp made from sticks and straw, which although it was not perfectly solid, was sufficient to impede the blows of lances, the weapon used by the Gíbaros. All of our force consisted of 900 Indians, each armed according to the custom of his tribe, and not quite 100 Spanish soldiers in whom, because of the superiority of firearms, was principally placed the hope for the subjuga-

tion of the Gíbaros. This purpose would have been accomplished if the Indians had come to a decisive battle; but far from pitting their arms against ours in this manner, they followed the mannor of warfare which they had learned on other occasions to be most advantageous. They did not appear gathered together in a large body, but in small groups without order, but in advantageous places, and when they saw the conflict going against them, they fled through rough ground where they could not be followed. Our men left the camp in various companies, some Spanish soldiers always accompanying the Indians, and they made various expeditions in all directions and they even penetrated almost up to the city of Zamora of the other band of Gíbaros; but the result of these expeditions was so slight that it was soon seen that it would be impossible to subject that nation strongly fortified in their impenetrable mountains and hiding places in caves, if they did not come out of hiding.

In brief, during the 5 months that this expedition lasted, only 372 people were captured, in reality a very small result when the great preparations are considered, the number of people taking part, and the long time that was spent in this much-talked-of expedition. It should not be omitted that various captives were the result of the diligence and efforts of the missionaries who attracted and won these over by their good manner and kindness. The children were immediately baptized and the people sent to the city of Borja and to the [23] Concepción of the Xeveros; but as a result of carelessness during their transporta-

tion, some of the more daring ones escaped and returned to their lands. The army, suffering now from hunger, depleted by illness, and diminished by the death of several who fell into the hands of the enemies, was disbanded and each section with its respective missionary took the path to its own land without having even begun the conquest of the Gíbaros, who were made strong by their rough country and rocky cover from which some of the most courageous emerged from time to time always leaving those people useless to them behind in safety. Regarding this the Spaniards noticed a remarkable thing which they admired very much. The mothers in order that they would not be discovered and in order to free themselves from encumbrances would hang their children to trees fearing that the cries of the children would give the Spaniards some indication of their secret hiding places. (42) The expedition served a certain purpose in that it enlightened those who thought that force of arms would be sure to succeed in that territory particularly when uniting the missionaries with the soldiers But the Spaniards were so far from

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"42. González Suárez adds the following: 'The Givaros violently taken from their native farms, either fled or committed suicide: Mothers killed their own young children, purposely choking them with dirt or with dirt or with mud and stones.' Suarez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, p. 204."

succeeding in the subjugation of the Gibaro nation that the principal result of their undertaking appeared to be that they had succeeded in nothing more than discovering a way by which it was possible to travel to the city of Cuenca. (43)

When the disastrous results of this attempt were brought to the attention of the Viceroy of Peru he issued an edict prohibiting similar military forays in the future."

"43. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 303-307."

"THE LATER JIVARO MISSIONS

The Jivaros were left undisturbed for a long time. It was not until 1767 that a new attempt at their conversion was made. In this year the Jesuit father, Andrès Camacho, went along into the country around the headwaters of the Morona, where a large group of Jivaros had established themselves. He also visited others on the Santiago River and still others between the Morona and the Pastaza. Father Andrès gained the friendship and confidence of the Jivaro chief Masuthaca, and because of the friendly manner in which he conducted himself seemed well on the way to making considerable progress with his plans. He succeeded in baptizing about 200 children. However, just at this time the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies and, as a result, his efforts came to naught. (44)

The missions which had thus been launched were turned over first to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. It appears, however, that no progress was made by the missions and the period was principally one of decadence and disorganization. [24]

During the time that the Jesuits from their eastern missions were attempting to con-

"44. Chantre y Herrera, pp. 574-577."

vert the Jivaros the Dominicans were trying to do the same thing from the west. The Dominican convent of Quito sent out four priests in the year 1581 into the territory of the Jivaros and the Canelos. Valentin de Amaya traveled down the right bank of the Pastaza while Baltazar Quintana explored the left bank of the river. Diego de Ochoa and Sebastian Rosero penetrated into the mountains of Penday and Poya near the source of the Pindo River. During the year 1581 the town of Canelos was founded at the mouth of the Pindo and missionary work was started at this point. However, the Spaniards were continually harassed by the attacks of the Jivaros and it became necessary to change the location of Canelos twice. It was finally established on the left bank of the Bobonaza on the spot where it exists at the present day. (45) This mission was officially turned over to the Dominicans by Charles II in 1683 but it did not progress, and by 1778 it contained only 22 converts.

About this time Father Santiago Riofrío arrived, and under his administration the mission began to make headway. He succeeded in adding three small villages to the territory of the mission in 1789. These were Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Jacinto, and San

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"45. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, p. 134, cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 345."

Carlos de los Achuales. (46) In 1803 the Dominicans relinquished control of the mission and it was placed under the Bishop of Mainas.

During part of the eighteenth century the Dominicans attempted to expand the mission at Macas, but with little success. In 1736 Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, acting under instructions of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, began work among the wild natives of the region but succeeded only in introducing smallpox to them instead of Christianity. The Indians, having no resistance to this new disease, suffered terrible fatalities and the survivors fled. (47)

In 1785 Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, Corregidor of Loja, by order of the President of Quito, dispatched an expedition to Zamora and vicinity. (48)

With the expulsion of the Jesuits and the dawn of the nineteenth century the series of attempts at the conversion of the Jivaros temporarily came to an end. For more than a century they had resisted the moral persuasion of the priests as successfully as they had the firearms of the Spanish soldiers."

"46. González Suárez, Historia General, vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

47. Compte, p. 55.

48. According to González Suárez, the diary of Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta contains considerable information of an ethnological nature concerning the Jivaros living in the vicinity of Zamora. This account, which is apparently still unpublished, also contains a map of the region showing the site of Zamora at that date as lying to the east of Loja."

"During the last quarter of the eighteenth century there arose a rumor that there was a rich treasure concealed in the ruins of the old city of Logroño, destroyed during the uprising of 1599. It was also believed that, could these ruins be relocated, it would be possible to again discover the placer mines in the vicinity, which in legend had grown to be fabulously rich. The expeditions which went into the Jivaro country during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries were inspired with the hope of discovering these treasures. The invasions usually were thinly cloaked as missionary efforts for the conversion of the Indians.

In 1788 and 1789 expeditions were dispatched in search of Logroño by the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. It was hoped also to discover an easy path from Cuenca to the territory of the Mainas missions, with the idea in mind of opening this country to exploitation. These expeditions located some ruins which were evidently an archeological site of aboriginal origin but which they mistook for the ruins of the old city, and the rumor was kept alive.

The most interesting of these treasure-hunting parties was organized in 1815 under the direction of a Dominican friar, José Prieto, who conducted an expedition to the spot where Logroño was supposed to have been founded. Prieto proceeded to the mountains of Gualaquiza, where he was received in a friendly manner by the Jivaros, and he succeeded in baptizing some of their children . Having thus began the work of conversion,

he took the opportunity to establish a small settlement and here founded the town of Gualaquiza, 1 league from the confluence of the Bomboiza River with the Paute of Santiago. He was encouraged in this effort by the Jivaros, who were motivated by a desire to obtain free European trade goods and other favors from the Europeans. The Indians told Prieto that the location of Logroño had been carried down to them by tradition transmitted from fathers to sons and pointed out to him some orange trees, saying, 'here lie buried the whites, your ancestors.' (49) Prieto's article, 'Descripción de la provincia de los Jivaros, su religión, costumbres y producciones', was the best ethnological account of the Jivaros prepared up to this time. (50)"

"49. González Suárez had in his possession the diary of Prieto written during this expedition which contains among other things a detailed plan of the ruins which he found at the junction of the Bomboiza and the Sangurima Rivers. It is obvious fromthe description that these are of pre-Columbian origin."

50. Prieto, in Compte, pp. 63-68."

2: Stirling--25-26 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175

"Following this period, the political disturbances in the South American colonies and the various wars of independence practically brought to an end further attempts at penetration into the jungle country of the Andes. The Jivaro were left in peace until about the [26] middle of the nineteenth century, at which time the missionaries renewed attempts at their conversion.

In 1848 Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza but did not have much success in his mission."

"In November of 1852, Fray José Manuel Plaza, Bishop of Cuenca, being desirous of colonizing Gualaquiza, set out for the region of the eastern Andes in spite of the fact that he was more than 80 years of age. He spent about 5 months among the Jivaro Indians on the Zamora and has described his expedition in a report to the Ecuadorian Minister of State, dated April 9, 1853. After describing the natural resources of the Gualaquiza region, he says:

The Indians called Jivaros live in Chuquipamba and principally on the banks of the Zamora up to the point where the Chicani are found, this being the place which serves as a port of embarkation in coming from Loja and which is 5 days from Gualaquiza going up and only 2 coming down. The Jivaros live in that complete natural liberty which is so lamentable to the body as well as to the soul, since from it arises polygamy without the vigilance and toil of the priests being able to restrain it, resulting from this a repugnance towards embracing the Christian religion and consequently a state of slavery and abjection for the women, victims of the pleasure, incontinence and libidinousness of the men; one can well affirm that these three passions form the distinct character of these infidels.

Their dwelling, which they change every 6 years at the most, is exactly elliptical in shape, it holds several families and each one occupies a kind of berth made of Gadua bamboo-cane, in which one sees a blowgun, a lance, a shield, some feather ornaments, black seeds, and four to six leashed dogs. Round about this house there is a plantation

of yucca, bananas, cotton toquilla, and guayusa. They abandon the house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink, and the house closed and remains closed and no one ever returns to live there; which proves according to them the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, the judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ikuanchi. Their language is poor and contains many quichua words; their numerals only reach as far as four and in order to express a greater quantity they make use of the digits of their hands and their toes. As descendants of the old rebels of Logroño they preserve the maxim of not fighting as a unit but scatter throughout the woods and reduce their tactics to treachery. Their clothing consists of a skirt that covers them from the waist to the thigh.

There are about 40 groups of houses dismantled between Gualaquiza and Yumasa, maintained by 12 people, men and women who have remained notwithstanding the terror that the infidels inspired in them. (51)

"51. Letter of D. Fr. Manuel Plaza dated Apr. 9, 1853, in Compte, pp. 293-299."

2: Stirling--26-27 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"It does not seem advisable to attempt to outline the many accounts of travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions into the Jivaro country during the second half of the nineteenth century, but it will be of interest to indicate in a sketchy manner missionary work which contined during this period. [27]

In the year 1869 the Jesuits were again permitted to return to their old field in eastern Ecuador. Missions were established at Canelos and Macas which had been taken over from the Dominicans. Other establishments were begun at Gualaquiza and at Zamora. In 1869 the Jesuit fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán began their work at Canelos. The following year Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Of the old missions, only Zamora was abandoned. In 1873 militant uprisings of the Jivaros forced the abandonment of Gualaquiza and in 1885 Macas suffered the same fate. On October 4, 1886, the ecclesiastical authority again intervened, and the missions of Macas and Canelos were taken away from the Jesuits and given to the Dominicans, so that the Jesuit order was once more completely out of the Jivaro country.

In 1893 the Franciscans took charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group, who have operated their missions in this territory to the present time.

In the year 1902 the first Protestant mission was established in Jivaro territory when the Gospel Missionary Union of the United States established a mission on the Upano,

where it was operated under the direction successively of Mr. Freeland, Mr. Olson, and Mr. Eamigh. At present this mission is located at Chupianza, on the Upano River between Mendez and Macas.

Attempts at the establishment of any sort of military posts within the Jivaro country have failed in modern times as completely as they did in the past.

In the year 1865 the Peruvian Government reestablished the agricultural colony at Borja. The attempt to found this colony started very auspiciously. Entire families were collected and embarked up the Marañon on river steamers which it was intended would be run on a 6 months' schedule in order to furnish them with food and necessities after they had established new homes until such time as their crops materialized. The foundations of the town were laid, the first houses built, and the first crops planted. At the end of 6 months the steamer arrived to find a flourishing community of about 100 people. Six months later the boat returned to find nothing but charred ruins. They had been visited by the Jivaros from above the Pongo. (52)

The latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries was the period of the great rubber boom in the Amazon basin. In place of gold seekers the Jivaro country was invaded by unorganized groups searching for wealth in the form of wild rubber."

"52. Up de Graff, p. 171."

2: Stirling--28 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175

"These cosmopolitan adventurers left few records of their contact with the Jivaros, but they made no attempts at permanent settlements. With the collapse of the rubber market, they soon left the region. Comparatively speaking, the first of the present century has been a quiet period for the Jivaros with respect to alien invasion.

During the last part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries the Jivaros occasionally made forays as far downstream as the Peruvian post of Barranca below the mouth of the Morona.

In 1915 a Peruvian garrison on the upper Morona was attacked by the Jivaros and practically the entire garrison was killed. In 1925 the village and mission of Cahuapenas on the Apaga River was completely wiped out by an attack of the Aguaruna Indians. In 1928 there were further encounters between the Huambizas and the Peruvians and many of the Indians were killed."

2: Stirling --38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 175, 721

"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

"We know, however, from many early descriptions, that the Jivaros were as active in their head-hunting raids in early times as they are at present and, from the meager descriptions which have been left us, it would seem as though their manner of conducting these blood feuds has changed but little with the passage of centuries.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 concerning the Jivaros of the Santiago River, says:

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of the chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and take the heads of their enemies * * *. Their chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died * * *. They used to receive much harm from all the neighboring Indians before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them because of being a very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes that often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they travelled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains.'(59)

A few early observations on the Indians of the higher valleys west of the Jivaro country are interesting because of the similarity they show to the customs of the Jivaros. In 1571 Salinas says of the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola that they are---

warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect but each town has its chiefs and captains under whom they band

"59. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. 36-37."

together. (60)

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of Valladolid, writing in 1582:

They do not have chiefs but the most courageous is chosen as leader and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs * * *. Parties of about 100 men and 100 women work together in the gardens until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because having sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought on others. (61)

"60. Relaciones Geográficas, p. lxvi.
61. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, p. 42."

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"In 1682 Lucero, who accompanied the expedition of Diego de Vaca, described the methods of fighting by the Jivaros in the following account.

The Jivaros appear formidable at first sight because their robust, tall, and well-proportioned bodies give them an advantage over many tribes on the great Amazon River; their lances and shields are not like those of ordinary men but of giants; their garment is so long and ample that it reaches their feet and is encircled with a belt a palm wide, very well made of hair, in such a manner that this long skirt can be drawn up through it so that it only reaches the knees, enabling them to climb their ridges with ease, carrying in the part of the garment hanging over the girdle many stones for some purpose or other. Their head is encircled with a red band in the form of a wreath, all decorated with spangles of shell which was showy workmanship and pleasing to see. Seeing many Jivaros together produces an agreeable sight; however, in keeping with what has already been referred to, his arrogant mode of speaking and his fierceness, even though he had no other adornment, would be sufficient to make him known as a haughty son of the mountains * * *. The sharpened blades with which they tip their lances are of bones taken from men whom he has killed from ambush, a prize among them of inestimable value because he who carries it gives to all in the region authentic testimony that he has commited murder, or Ayumba, which is the same thing. Their houses are large and

are all in the wilderness because each family lives apart; the reason for living thus being that they are all treacherous and kill each other without abatement except for the women, whose number alone increases their force; and thus they observe only the law which says, he lives who conquers, and for this reason no one trust another, for experience with so many fatal results has shown them that he who trusts his best friend dies without recourse, and it has been demonstrated that the women of the dead belong without any question to the murderer, besides which he needs other means in his possession to show the blood on the lance and to dance with the head in a joint festival of Ayumbas, in which the drinking runs in proportion to the amount of manioc turned into very strong wine, so whose who become intoxicated undertake new expeditions to kill others; and as similar excesses follow one another and are continued without fear, either to chief or cacique (whom they do not have) [sic]; they live so well armed and keep such careful guard that it seems a miracle to a Spaniard that any escape in their houses; because, since they live on such high ridges, those who climb up to them by slow degrees and with much work are necessarily discovered, there being, as I have said, sentinels posted on all such advantageous places. It appears from what I have said before that on the first rumor of a Spaniard the word went almost at once through all of the province, and then there was a general truce between Xibaro and Xibaro, considering the Christian their greater enemy, against whom they joined together hoping to [47] ambush them in the roughest part of their trails. The Christians, not knowing of the hatred, died without

warning.

In the narrowest and highest part of the ridge they set up good-sized stones held by supports made of sticks fastened with vines, which being cut, the stones being free fall heavily on whomever might be below and break them to pieces, those who are coming up being unable to help themselves; then the Xibaros without fear of injury or of falling into the hands of his enemies get down behind the stones, so that they appear as if they were part of the roadway itself. They rush down then to compete against each other to see who will be successful in returning with the greatest load of heads, but when the sides of the narrow roadway were grown with thick tree trunks the Christians protected themselves behind them, remaining so free that the Xibaros who came down blindly, eager for heads, found themselves prisoners of those they had considered dead.

And when they fell into the hands of Christian Indians, not only did they find themselves prisoners but also cut to pieces, the Spaniard being careful to defend them from our Indian friends, which fact the Xibaro knew so well that when he fell into the hands of the Spaniards he knew his life was safe, and on the contrary, when he fell into the hands of Indian friends: and for this reason if he is able he calls in the Indian language to the Spaniards, saying many times: 'Apache', when they wish to say Spaniard. (64)

"64. Lucero, p. 27."

It is of interest to compare Lucero's account with the following description of the Quijos written in 1577 by Diego de Ortegón:

> They do not form a great state or an organized nation; each section is governed by itself; and, when they go to war, they elect for leader the most valiant and courageous among the caciques, and his command lasts the duration of the war, no longer; their arms were wooden lances, shields, the macana, and javelins. They cut off the heads of their enemies and they arrange them on stakes stuck in the ground, around their houses * * *.
>
> As expedients against their enemies they made use of big stones, which, having tied them with vines, they suspend them from the sides of the hills over the narrow and uneven trails; their enemies passing unsuspectingly they then cut the ties and the stones fall with violence, bounding and knocking down in their path as many as they strike on the trail: a manner of warfare very terrible and disastrous, of which some of the soldiers of Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda were victims. The thickness of the vegetation contributes to making the danger more serious, hiding from sight that original method of warfare. (65)"

"65. González Suárez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, pp. 58-59."

"Concerning the warlike customes of the Jivaros, Prieto wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> Their inclination to make cruel and ferocious war on their fellow creatures distorts and obscures all their good qualities to such a degree that the Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel enemies in all the world. Traveling from mountain to mountain, from forest to forest, from river to river, looking for other infidels like themselves in order to take their lives and dance with the heads of the dead is what most amuses, delights, and enraptures them. In order to satisfy this ferocious custom, hardships, nakedness, long trips, hunger, and whatever one might imagine, does not hinder them, as they aspire to no other [48] glory nor greater happiness than to merit the name Cocarama,(66) as the continuous wars which I myself have observed demonstrate; and thus it happened in my time when I was Cura-Doctrinero of the town and mission of Canelos, during the years previous to my arriving at this parish, that the town of Copataza was annihilated, and at the same time the town of Palma in the time of M. Rdo. P. Santiago Riofrio of the order of Predicadores, my predecessor in Canelos. In my time these same Jivaros of Gualaquiza, Bonboisa, and Zamora, together with the Jivaros who lived on the Paute River in the vicinity of Macas,

"66. The Jivaros called the brave ones and those who had proved their valor by killing many people, Cocarama."

made various forays on the other side of the Pastaza River, where they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them * * *.

Their dances are a horrible abomination and make even those with much courage and spirit afraid upon seeing them. A few years ago they sacrificed all the Christians of the new Zamora near Loja to this wicked end. Among those suffering the same fate was Don Julian Eguiguren, a native of Spain, who was in the town of Zamora when the revolution of the Jivaros occurred. Two months before I entered this conquest, a horrible battle occurred between the Nantipas Jivaros, who live on one of the rivers tributary to Zamora, and those who live in the vicinity of the Pongo Manseriche; also another battle between the latter and the Pafocamas, who live on the headwaters of the Marañon near Jaen. Also the Jivaros of Mayalico and Suinde are preparing to wage a cruel war against the Jivaros of the great Achual near Canelos. (67)"

"Prieto, in Compte, pp. 65-66."

"Several of the sixteenth century travelers in the Jivaro country refer to the practice of these Indians of taking heads and dancing with them, but the first to attempt a description of the actual process of their preparation was Prieto, writing in 1815. Prieto, who made an expedition in search of the ruins of the ancient city of Logroño, [67] became well acquainted with the Jivaro Indians. Concerning the preparation of shrunken heads, he says:

> * * * they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them, which was done in this manner: When they have killed the infidel, they cut off his head from his shoulders and take out the interior, leaving only the neck, the hair, nostrils and ears; then they introduce hot stones, and thus keep it 20, 30 or more years in some earthenware jars, from which annually they take out many heads in order to dance with them and celebrate for 15 days the anniversary of their victories, preparing beforehand with many foods and beverages. (92)

Among the writers of the early part of the last half of the nineteenth century, the first to give a brief description of Jivaro tsantsas was Villavicencio. Writing in 1858, he says

"92. Prieto, in Compte, 1885, p. 65."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

In their wars these Jivaros are accustomed to cut off the heads of their enemies and to carry them home with them in order to have a celebration with the skin of the face and scalp which they remove intact and dry by moulding it with hot stones; they strip the long hair from their enemies in order to make braids and tie them to their naked waist, for the purpose of showing their courage and to terrify the enemy. (93)"

" 93. Villavicencio, 1858, p. 361."

"Europeans first became acquainted with Jivaro shrunken heads in 1862 when Maiz presented before the Anthropological Society of Paris an example which had been sent to him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. The specimen was said to have been found in an old tomb located in the territory between the Chinchipe and Pastaza Rivers. The repost of this meeting of the society is interesting as it gives a very good idea of the type of speculation concerning tsantsas which has characterized discussion on the subject even among scientific bodies. In describing the example, Maiz said:

> Simple inspection of this head makes it clear that these Indians were very skillful in the art of taxidermy. They have removed in a single piece all of the skin of the face and of the cranium and of the upper part of the neck; then they have desiccated it with so much skill that it shrank uniformly so that the head became in volume the size of that of a newborn child, still preserving perfectly all of the contours and even small features of the face.(94)

After expressing the opinion that Peruvian mummies were often preserved naturally by burying them in the dry sands of Peru, he quotes Dr. Lorente's opinion that the Indians 'make in the hot sands of their countries some pits where the corpses are buried for some time in order to be exhumed later.'

"94. Moreno-Maiz, 1862, pp. 185-188."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

He then misquotes Villavicencio as saying that---

The skin is dissected and separated from the bone and put on molds of earth, where it is baked and dried at a high temperature."

"At the conclusion of Dr. Maix's presentation different members gave opinions on the procedure of preservation. M. de Quatrefages thought that some pieces of skin had been removed and that thus was explained the small size of the head. M. Broca remarked that this explanation could not hold because the slightest trace of an incision would be visible on the surface of the skin. M. Trelat believed that an exterior mold must have been employed, desiccation in the free air or by artificial heat never permitting such perfect preservation of form. M. Gratiolet said that chemical action had been necessary, without which the dermestes would have invaded and destroyed the skin at the end of a short time.

The following year, 1863, Bollaert described a tsantsa which had been secured by José Felix Barriero and sent to Bollaert in 1860. Barriero sent a letter with the specimen in which he briefly described the process of preparation as follows:

> After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims, a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process. (95)"

"95. Barriero, in Ballaert, 1863a, p. 112."

"Barriero's description of the ceremonies carried on in connection with obtaining the tsantsa are more complete than his description of the method of preparation. Bollaert apparently was not convinced of the accuracy of Barriero's description, for he says later:

> A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mold of clay. (96)

In the same year, 1863, Merritt presented two examples before the American Ethnological Society of New York, which with eight others had been obtained in the vicinity of Macas. Merritt says:

"96. Bollaert, 1863a, pp. 114-115."

There is a tradition among the Indians, that these heads were originally taken from 'Huacas' (97) belonging to their ancestors, many generations ago, and that since they have been kept in their huts, preserved with great veneration, and jealously guarded as household divinities.

How these heads in question were contracted to such a diminutive size, I can only repeat rumors; one is, that they were contracted by hot stones or pebbles, which were put into the cavity of the head after bones were removed; another is, that they were contracted by a process which occupied a year.(98)

After quoting from Bollaert's article, he describes in detail the specimens in his possession. In this account Merritt expresses the opinion that the tassels depending from the lips of the tsantsas may have some connection with the old Quipu records of Peru.(99)

"97. Tombs. It is evident that the practice of burying trophy heads with their owners was commonly practiced in ancient Peru as described earlier in this chapter. The Jivaros appear now to have abandoned the custom. If Karsten is correct regarding the motives in preparing tsantsas this would seem to indicate a different attitude in earlier times.

98. Merritt, 1863, p. 13.

99. Merritt, 1863, pp. 14-16."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175, 727

From this time on, descriptions are so numerous that it would be impracticable to mention them all. Both Rivet and Saville give lengthy bibliographies of the literature referring to shrunken heads, where most of the later references may be found.(1)"

"1. Rivet, 1907; Saville, 1929."

2: Stirling--80 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175, 411

"During the writer's investigations he noticed that the blowgun, now the most striking and characteristic weapon of the Jivaro, is never mentioned by the sixteenth century writers. This is of special interest when we observe that later writers have been particularly impressed by its occurrence and never fail to speak of it. This fact led to an investigation of early records in other regions of South America in an attempt to discover from which direction this weapon reached the Jivaro. The only instrument at all comparable which is mentioned in the sixteenth century is the pea shooter or pellet gun of Mexico and Central America. This simple device, which was little more than a toy for shooting small birds, is a far cry from the elaborately manufactured, complex blowgun, shooting long-range piercing darts made effective by the use of poison. The earliest reference to the true blowgun found by the writer is in Saabedra, who in 1620 describes the blowgun with poison darts in use among the Mainas on the Morona, who were the first of the eastern Andean tribes to be missionized."

"THE BENAVENTE EXPEDITION

As a result of the expeditions of Mercadillo and Benavente the town of Zamora de los Alcaldes was founded in 1549. While Ecuadorian historians seem generally to credit the founding of this city to Mercadillo, the source information seems to indicate that it was either a joint effort of the two captains, or that it was founded by Benavente. When Gasca was leaving Peru on his return to Spain on January 27, 1550, he wrote on board his ship, the Callao: 'I left Captain Benavente populating another town in the province of Macas.' Benavente's account of his explorations indicates that Mercadillo's expedition and his own operated as a single party. Apparently no account by Mercadillo is known.

The Benavente expedition began sometime between August 15, 1549, and the end of the year. (5) Benavente evidently went over the pass at the head of the Chambo and Upano Rivers, crossing the divide at an elevation of 12,000 feet, and was the first of the Spanish Conquistadores to get in contact with the Jivaro Indians. He probably crossed the Paute River and the evidence indicates that the expedition penetrated as far south as Gualaquiza before turning back. (6) Benavente's account follows:

"5. Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, vol. IV, p. xxxviiii.
6. González Suárez, 1890-1893, vol. vi, p. 47."

11: Mead--161 (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 175

"The diminutive shrunken heads made by the Jivaro Indians, suggesting save for their long straight hair, the heads of Negro pygmies, have been familiar objects in museums for many years and many have been the queries as to how and why they are made. Just how they are made is a problem that has only recently been solved, though many, and oftentimes absurd, have been the speculations as to the way the Indians managed to shrink them to so small a size. One that for some time obtained widespread credence was, that in an early stage of the work the skin of the head was boiled. Of course, boiling would have caused it to fall to pieces. The heads are always black in color, and this was accounted for by the supposition that they had been smoked over a fire.

The details of the process did not come to us all at one time, but by driblets from travelers who had visited some part of the Jivaro country in eastern Ecuador. Indians guard such tribal secrets very jealously, and it is extremely difficult, and in most cases impossible, for one who remains but a short time in their country to obtain exact information about them."

12: Rivet--338-339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Jîbaros made an appearance late in history. Their name was pronounced for the first [339] time when, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, the Inca Tupac-Yupanqui undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. The Peruvian conqueror came up against the Cañaris, who lived in the inter-Andean valley, the region which now forms the province of Azuay, and, the chroniclers say, the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for an ally the chief of Macas (1). This alliance was undoubtedly only temporary, for it seems that the two tribes were habitually in a state of hostility if one can judge by the ruins which still remain beyond the village of Sigsig in the Eastern Cordillera. Tradition says that these struggles of the Cañaris against the Jîbaros of Gualaquiza and Zamora had as an objective the possession of salt mines, the location of which it is difficult to determine today(2).

1. Federico Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio histórico sobre los Cañaris, Quito 1878, page 8. Fernandez Montesinos. Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú. (Edited by Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada), Madrid, 1882, in-8, ch. xxiii and xxvi.

2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Los aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi." Investigaciones arqueológicas, Quito 1904, note on page 12.

---Gonzalez Surea. Prehistoria americana, op. cit., note on page 16.

---Descripciones Geográficas de Indias, Perú, vol. III; Descripción de la provincia de Cuenca hecha el año de 1582, Madrid, 1897.

12: Rivet--339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Cañaris having been conquered, one hears no more about the Jíbaros until the day when the son of Túpac-Yupanqui, Huayna-Cápac, continuing his fathers plans, tried to subdue them, but the Inca king had to withdraw in haste from the territory of the Bracamoros (basin of the Chinchipe River) where his troups were as much decimated by the insalubrity of the climate as the incessant attacks of the savages; he avenged himself for this humiliating repulse by declaring them unworthy to be his subjects, hiding the frustration of his ambition under this contemptuous formula. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia General de la República del Ecuador, Quito, 1890-1903: 7 vol. and one archeological atlas, vol. I, p. 54.

Then came the Spanish domination.

The unfortunate expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro (1541) and the adventurous navigation of Francisco de Orellano on the Napo and the Amazon did not touch the Jíbaro country; but at the same time, Captain Pedro de Vergara, by order of Francisco Pizarro, tried in his turn to subject the Bracamoros, and went through all the eastern region which now corresponds to the provinces of Loja and Azuay, without obtaining the slightest practical result.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were crushed, President Don Pedro [340] de La Gasca, in order to make use of his unoccupied soldiers henceforth, divided eastern Ecuador into four regions whose conquest was entrusted to these head captains.

From north to south, they were:

1. The province of Quijos, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela (20 leagues from north to south, 200 leagues from west to east), bounded on the north by the province of Mocoa and Sucumbíos;

2. The province of Macas, which extended from the forests of Gualaquiza, to the east of Cuenca, up to the banks of the Pastaza, then called the Tunguragua River;

3. The province of Yaguarzongo, which corresponds to the Zamora Valley;

4. The province of Bracamoros, entirely to the south, corresponding to the basin of the Chinchipe.

Of these provinces, the last three, save for the extreme southern parts of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the Jíbaro territory. The conquest of Bracamoros went to Captain Diego Palomino, that of Taguarzongos to Captain Alonso de Mercadillo, that of Macas to Captain Hernando de Benavente.

Benavente entered his domain by way of Zuña, and descended as far as Gualaquiza, but this audacious raid remained without results.

Mercadillo succeeded better in his enterprise and in 1549 established the city of Zamora; as for Palomino, his efforts carried him to the Chinchipe Valley, outside the Jíbaro country; the city of Jaen was built at this time (1549).

12: Rivet--340 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

In 1557, Juan de Salinas, Governor of Yaguarzongo and Macas, organized a memorable expedition in order to explore eastern Ecuador. Leaving Loja on July 8, 1557, he crossed the Cordillera and founded successively Valladolid, Loyola in the valley of Cumbinamá, Santiago de las Montañas at the juncture of the river of the same name with that of the Manañon, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva; then he embarked on the Santiago, arrived at the Amazon, passed through the famous Pongo de Manseriche, reconnoitred the mouth of the Morona and the Pastaza, visited the great lake of Rimachuma, entered the Ucayali and by this means penetrated as far as the parallel of the province of Cuzco; then they retraced their steps and the hardy explorer returned to Loja on August 28, 1559, having visited all the section south of the Jíbaro country in the course of this magnificent voyage. (1)

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1. Relaciones Geograficas de Indias, publicadas por el Ministerio de Fomento. Madrid, 1881, 4 vol. Perú, vol. IV.--Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, ch. II.

Almost at the same time, by the order of Salinas, his nephew, Captain Bernardo de Loyola y Guinea founded Logroño in the province of Gualaquiza, and Captain José Villanueva Maldonado established Sevilla de Oro on the right bank of the Upano. Mendoza was also founded about the same time on the left bank of the Palora.

Thanks to the energetic efforts of Salinas, there existed therefore in the territory which had been entrusted to him, 9 cities: Jaen, Valladolid, Loyola, Santa-Maria de Nieva, Zamora, Santiago, Logroño, Sevilla de Oro, and Mendoza, the last five being in Jíbaro country. But this prosperity was more apparent than real. Usually built without discernment in places where the insalubrity obliged the inhabitants to change the location often, isolated from the center of colonization, surrounded by hostile tribes, these cities by their appearance alone revealed the haste with which they had been constructed. The streets were drawn with measuring lines but the houses were miserable huts with walls of bamboo covered with clay, and with thatched roofs. (1) Moreover, the bad system of colonization employed by the Spaniards, their cupidity, and their cruelty soon caused the conquered Indians to disappear. Many died working in the mines; the others fled to the deepest parts of the forest. So it was that at the time of the founding of Zamora, there were 16,000 Indians in the district and in 1622, no more than 140 remained, and the city itself only had 3 inhabitants. In 1598, Valladolid was reduced to 15 inhabitants and one could only make a little village of the miserable remains of the two great cities of Valladolid and Loyola.

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 46.

12: Rivet--341-342 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 669

Incessant uprisings were also the result of this disastrous colonial policy. The most famous was that of 1599. On the occasion of the death of Philipp II, and the crowning of Philipp III, the governor of Macas wished to levy in his province a supplementary tribute under the name of "donativo para fiestas reales". Exasperated, the Jíbaros prepared a great revolt, under the leadership of a chief called Quiruba, and on the appointed day, 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño in the night. All the inhabitants were killed, the young women alone were spared and became [342] the wives of the wild victors (1). The governor died in the worst tortures; Quiruba made him drink melted gold to see, he said, if thus his thirst for riches could be appeased. The city was pillaged and burned, there were about 12,000 deaths. From Logroño, Quiruba went to Sevilla de Oro, where a great many of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The unfortunate city put up a desperate resistance and the aggressors had to withdraw, not without having killed three quarters of the population, about 18,000 individuals (2).

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 70. The wise Ecuadorian historian has pointed out that the Jíbaros could not have captured nuns since there did not exist at this time a convent of women in any city of the eastern region.

2. Coleti, op. cit. word Xivaros, vol. II, p. 182. --Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 152 and following. --Pedro Fermín Cevallos. Resumen de la historia del Ecuador. Guayaquil 1886, 6 vol. vol. II, pages 141 and following.

Three expeditions organized to avenge these deaths failed miserably.

The end of the sixteenth century, therefore, saw the disappearance of these cities founded at random by these captains who were more bold than experienced, and the Jíbaros could greet the dawn of the 17th century in the rapture of a recovered independance.

But the descendants of the "Conquistadores" always cherished the dream of colonizing the Amazonian regions, and in September, 1619, the Corregidor de Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, at the head of a troup of 68 well-armed men and a number of Indian slaves, embarked on the Santiago in 22 canoes of huge size, and he descended this river until it joined the Marañon, passed through the Pongo de Manseriche, and founded the city of San Francisco de Borja on the left bank of the Amazon on December 9. He continued his exploration as far as Lake Rimachuma (1). On his return he had a private interview with the viceroy of Peru, who named him governor of the province of Mainas, to pacify the Jíbaros, but he did not keep his promise. It was in May, 1645, that his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who had succeeded him ordered two Franciscan monks, Fathers Laureano de la Crux and Andrés Fernandez, to go into the Jíbaro country by way of Cuenca with the aid of Colonel Antonio Carreño (2). In spite of their absolute defeat, this attempt opened a new epoch. One can [343] consider, in fact,

1. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 113.
2. Compte, op. cit., vol. I, p. 178.

12: Rivet--342-343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175

the epoch of purely military expeditions as finished: the attempts at penetration now are arrayed in a religious character, even when they had another purpose than the evangelical.

12: Rivet--343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

For a century, a veritable assault was made against the Jíbaros tribes, from the west as well as from the east. From the east, it was led vigorously by the Jesuits who, after 1638, had established flourishing missions in the eastern region, the monks either accomplishing it alone, or cooperating in the half military, half religious expeditions that the civil authorities liked to organize.

The first attempt of this kind was in 1656. At this time, the governor of Cajamarca, Don Martín de la Riva Agüero, organized a company of 100 soldiers, to which were added 100 Indians brought in from the Mainas missions by the Jesuit Father Raimundo Santa Cruz (1). This important group traversed the whole left bank of the Marañon, and near the point where the Pastaza empties into this river, on July 25, 1656, was founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, moreover, disappeared almost immediately (2). As for the Jíbaros, at first attracted by the prudent behavior of Father Raimundo, they quickly guessed the real goal of the expedition and fled, not without having killed a good many Spaniards in skillful ambushes.

1. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 176
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 203.

About 1690, Father Lorenzo Lucero, with the aid of a small flotilla, organized a number of peaceful expeditions into the Jíbaro country, but the reputation of cupidity left by the expedition of Martín de la Riva prevented his success (1).

Two years later, a great effort was again made. By the order of the "Real Audiencia", the Captain-General of Mainas, Don Jerónimo Vaca undertook in his turn the conquest of the Jíbaros; the Superior of the Jesuit Missions, Father Viva, accompanied him and brought with him canoes and already converted Indians, in a word, all the necessary auxiliaries and resources. (2) Never had such preparations been made: a real fleet was assembled at Borja, consisting of a troup of 100 Spanish soldiers and 900 Indians. Each tribe was armed according to its local custom and [344] commanded by its own missionary. The expedition ascended the Santiago by canoe and fortified itself on the bank of this river. Then they began a series of veritable man hunts, based on this point, with the purpose of capturing by force these savages who were so stubborn as not to come voluntarily to the Europeans. These detachments combed the country in every direction and some went as far as Zamora, having thus traversed from east to west all the Jíbaro country. Useless trouble ! the Indians fled before the troops or they hid themselves, thanks to their profound knowledge of the forest, in order to return at the propitious

1. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 283.
2. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 303 and following

moment to harass and surprise the Spaniards, who fell without even knowing where the death blows came from. In five months, they captured 372 individuals; but these unhappy souls, instead of letting themselves be touched by evangelical grace, escaped at the first opportunity, and if flight appeared impossible to them, they committed suicide rather than renounce their liberty, and mothers were seen to kill their young children by their own hands, by suffocating them with mud or stones, in order to save them from the life which awaited them. At the end of five months, the discouraged and fatigued expedition disbanded, and the viceroy of Peru, realizing the uselessness and the danger of these "correrías", forbade them for the future (1).

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 204.

12: Rivet--344 (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

It was not until 1767 that Father Andrès Camacho made a new attempt; it appears that he was on the way to success, when the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies (Pragmatic Sanction against the Society of Jésus: April 2, 1767) (1). The missions were then successively handed over to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. Far from being marked by new conquests, this period was all decadence and disorganization.

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1. Cnantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 574.

While the society of Jésus attacked the savages from the southeast, other missionaries tried to take them in the rear from the west: I am speaking of the Dominicans. In 1581, four Fathers of this order, belonging to the convent of Quito, had penetrated into the basin of the Pastaza: Father Valentin de Amaya had explored the right bank of this river, Father Baltasar Quintana the left bank and its tributaries, Father Diego de Ocho had ventured into the mountains of the Penday, and Sebastian Rosero into those of Puya (1). [345] A first village by the name of Canelos had been founded the same year with 13 baptized Indians at the mouth of the Pindo. But harassed by the attacks of the Jíbaros, the Fathers had to change the location twice and finally established it on the spot where it now is, on a little hill which dominates the left bank of the Bobonaza (2). This mission of Canelos, officially entrusted to the Dominicans in 1683 by Charles II, did not progress and in 1778, there were only 22 male individuals in a single village (3), the object of incessant assaults by neighboring tribes, and it would even have disappeared but for the

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1. Probably Puyo, the mountain massif in which the Pindo River has its source.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur. Paris, 1889, p. 134.
3. "Informe del misionero Fr. Manuel Bermeo", 1778, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 278.

arrival of Father Santiago Riofrío who brought it some prosperity. In 1798, thanks to him, it included the three annexed small villages of Nuestra Señora del Rosario or la Palma (173 inhabitants), San Jacinto (37 inhabitants) and San Carlos de los Achuales (36 inhabitants) (4). This mission remained in the hands of the Dominicans until 1803, at which time it was given over to the bishop of Mainas.

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4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

As for Macas, the effort was still less important. In 1736, Father Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, by the command of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, penetrated to the home of the savages of this region, but at the end of two years, he had to withdraw without having been able to found a single village, the new converts having been decimated by small-pox (1).

Finally, further to the south, in August, 1785, the Corrogidor of Loja, Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, organized on the order of the President of Quito, an expedition into the region of Zamora. His report contains some interesting details concerning the Indians that he encountered and one map of the location of Zamora is appended. (2)

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1. "Informe del P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno dirigido al Presidents de Quito", 1739, in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, p. 55.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 221.

12: Rivet--345-346 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 797

In 1803, the immense diocese of Mainas was set up. It was bounded [346] on the east by the Portugese settlements on the banks of the Amazon, on the west by the base of the Cordillera of the Andes, on the north by the Putumayo, to the south by the Pongo de Manseriche of the Marañon (Papal Bull VII of May 28, 1803). All the Jíbaro territory came under this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which all the existing missions were put. But this attempt at centralization did not last very long, since in 1814 the Dominicans had taken possession of their old establishment of Canelos which then had only 145 inhabitants (1). At this time, the evangelical zeal had cooled singularly. The flame of the apostolate shone only with a feeble light, and if there was still interest in the mysterious eastern regions, it was more out of curiosity or cupidity than because of piety. So it was that more expeditions were organized into the regions of Cuenca and Loja in order to look for the former site of Logroño, in particular in 1788 and 1789, at the instigation of the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. The explorers discovered the ruins of good-sized buildings on the other side of the Cordillera, which ruins they took for the remains of the unhappy city and which were in reality, vestiges of aboriginal construction, perhaps some of those works of defense constructed by the Cañaris in order to protect themselves against the Jíbaros, of whom I have already spoken.

1. "Extracto de un informe del Ilmo Sr. Rangel," 1818, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 339.---Fr. Enrique Vacas Galindo, Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, 3 vol., Quito, 1902-1903, vol. I, p. 370.

In 1816, a Franciscan monk, Father Antonio José Prieto, by command of the temporary governor of Cuenca, Don José Lopez Tormaleo, received the mission from the viceroy Abascal to make a new reconnaissance. He was very well received by the Jíbaros, who spontaneously showed him a spot planted with orange trees, at the union of the Bomboisa and Jambibiza, telling him: "Here are buried the whites, your ancestors!" (1) The tradition of the massacre of 1599 had been transmitted faithfully from generation to generation. Ruins were found at the juncture of the Bomboiza and Sangurima (or Rosario); they are pre-Columbian; Father Prieto made a map of them, and here is the description of them given by Gonzalez Suarez, who has had the original documents in his hands: "The ruins are formed of three parts:- a very prolonged wall, destined to enclose and defend the entire edifice, parallel to the current of the two rivers; nine parallel stone walls [347] forming eight passageways; three houses almost joined to each other, a walled square, and finally two parallel ramparts constructed in order to defend and protect the site of the houses. The buildings were of stone and their ruins occupy a considerable expanse of land. When Father Prieto visited these places the trees had already formed a dense forest"(2). In remembrance of his trip the missionary founded,

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol, VI, note on page 205.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi," op. cit., note on page 12.--Segundo Alvarez Arteta. La cuestión de Límites entre las Repúblicas del Ecuador y el Perú. Sevilla, 1901, p. 396.

about a league away from the juncture of the Bomboiza and the Santiago or Paute, the little village which still exists under the name of Gualaquiza (3).

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3. "Descripción de la Provincia de los Jívaros, su religión, costumbres y producciones," by Franciscan Father Fray Antonio Jose Prieto in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, p. 63.

The wars of emancipation and the period of political troubles which followed were hardly favorable to the attempts at penetration into the homes of the savages of the East. Too many urgent preoccupations kept the attention of the Spanish in the center of their rebellious country. This trouble was a source of peace for the Jíbaros and it was not until the middle of the 19th century that some explorers or new missionaries tried to enter into contact with them again! In 1848 (May and June) Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza without great evangelical success (1); in 1852, the bishop of Cuenca, Mgr. Manuel Plaza wished to reopen the abandoned missions and to this end made a trip to Gualaquiza (2). In 1859, the bishop of Chachapoyas, Don Pedro Ruiz, led toward the south of the Jíbaro country a Peruvian expedition, organized under the auspices of the Sociedad de Patriotas del Amazonas (3); in 1861, the Ecuadorian colonel Victor Proaño left Macas and descended the course of the Morona to its confluence with the Marañon, giving a very curious account of his trip (4). Finally, in 1867 and

1. Castrucci de Vernazza, op. cit.
2. Informe del Ilmo Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza" in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 293.
3. Antonio Raimondi. El Perú, 3 vol., Lima, 1874-80, in-8°, vol. III, p. 274.
4. This itinerary has been published by Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 402.

1874, two Peruvian hydrographic commissions went up by steam boat and studied a large part of the courses of the Morona and Pastaza (5). As for the work of evangelization, that was [348] begun only after the return of the Jesuits. It was in 1869 that the famous Company signed a contract with the second Ecuadorian provincial council which was approved in 1871 by the pope, for the establishment of missions at Canelos and Macas, which had been taken from the Dominicans, on the Napo, at Gualaquiza, and at Zamora. The monks, full of enthusiasm, attempted immediately to perform the work that their predecessors of the 17th century had not been able to accomplish. Early in 1869, Fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán went to install themselves at Canelos; in 1870 Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Only Zamora was momentarily abandoned. Vain efforts! Three years later Gualaquiza had to be abandoned because of the armed

5. "Parte del Capitán de corbeta graduado D. Mariano Adrian Vargas en el viaje de exploración hecho a los rios Alto Marañon y Morona" (El Peruano of December 21, 1867). --Raimondi. El Perú, op. cit., vol. III, p. 281, 369, 474 and 518. --Von H. Habenicht. "Die peruanischen Expeditionen zur Erforschung des oberen Amazonstroms und seiner Nebenflusse" (with a map) (Dr. A. Petermann's Mittheilungen, 25th vol. 1879, p. 89).

uprisings of the Jíbaros (6), and in 1885 it was Macas' turn. Then the ecclesiastical authority intervened again, October 4, 1886, in order to give the missions of Macas and Canelos to the Dominicans, leaving to the Jesuits only the establishments on the Napo. Since 1893, the Franciscans on their side have taken charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group.

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6. Pozzi, op. cit. --R. Caceres S. J. La Provincia oriental de la República del Ecuador. Apuntes de viaje. Quito, 1892, p. 39.
--Padre L. L. S. S. J. La Misión del Napo. Quito, 1894, p. 11.

12: Rivet--348-349 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 114

Such is the present state of things: need I add that all these efforts hardly produced any serious results and that the conversion of the Jibaro is not begun ? However, thanks to these missions we know a great many interesting details [349] about these savages so stubbornly resistant to all civilized influences. On the other hand, the numerous explorers who have penetrated these unknown regions in the second half of the 19th century have brought back ample harvests of ethnological and geographical documents. These accounts of missionaries and explorers have attracted the attention of ethnologists to the Jibaros and these ethnologists have devoted some more or less important articles to them. Here I will only mention Hamy's memoir. To this author goes the honor of having first coordinated the scattered accounts relative to these curious Indians, given a complete study of mummified heads, and discussed the important problem of the origin of this great tribe (1).

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1. E.-T.-Hamy. Decades Americanae. Memoires d'archéologie et d'ethnographie américaines, 3rd and 4th Decades, p. 43. "Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jivaros" (article published in the Revue d'Anthropologie, vol. II, July 1873, p. 385.)

Let us now take successively each of the great basins.

Basin of the Pastaza. The Cubillines (V) lived formerly in the cordillera of Cubillin, the origin of the Upano, the Palora and the Llusino; the Huamboyas (V) or Huambogas (B) inhabited the chain of mountains located more to the east, between the sources of the Palora and the Llusino, north of the Sangay volcano; the Paloras (V) along the Palora river. The Achuales (V_1), Uchuales (M), Achmiles (B), or Achuelos (M.M) constitute a great tribe, which occupies the whole right bank of the Pastaza from the Achual River to the confluence with the Bobonaza. It was these people who annihilated Andoas. The Maxumbaras (C), found a little above this confluence, must be a part of the Achuales.

The Pindos (V_1) have been visited and studied by Reiss and Stübel, later by Simson, on the banks of the stream of Pintuc or Pindo. Downstream from this tribe, the Copatasas (V_1) wander between the Copataza River and the Pastaza, and the Capahuaris (V) in all the territory between the Bobonaza to the N.E. and the Copataza to the S.W; the Jíbaros of the Pingullu (D), on the banks of the watercourse with the same name, seem to belong to this last group.

Finally, the Muratos (V) and Machines (C) occupy all the region sprinkled with lakes, which extends between the Pastaza on the east, the Morona on the west, and the Marañon on the south; to the north, they go up to the southern limits of the Achuales (1). They are found for ten days' journey up the Pastaza River. Thanks to the information furnished

1. Markham wrongly included the Muratos with the Záparos. Markham, op. cit., p.17[illegible]

by Father Castrucci, Colonel Proaño, Raimondi, Luccioli (2) and Marcel Monnier, we are thus able to localize this important tribe which extends as far as the left bank of the Pastaza. The Guazagas (V) [354] are a section of this tribe, living on the banks of the Huasaga River, a right-hand tributary of the Pastaza.

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2. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

These trophies have always given rise to the most fantastic theories. A tsantsa sent in 1862 to the Internation Exposition in London by the Chilean Consul, Don. R. de Silva Ferro, was exhibited there as an Inca head (!) (1) In 1882, Barbosa Rodrigues attributes the specimen that he describes to the Mundurucus (2). The anonymous author who published one of the specimens shown by Ecuador at the World Exposition in 1900, reports that the Inca warriors had the custom of suspending the heads of their enemies from their saddles (?) (3); and only recently the tsantsas were presented by the Berlin papers as heads of pygmies from the Congo. (4) These errors are all the less explicable since for a long time serious ethnographers have known that at present they are the work of the Jívaros.

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1. Bollaert, op. cit., page 114, note 1.
2. J. Barbosa Rodrigues. Tribu dos Mundurucus. Cabeca mumificada (Revista da exposicao anthropologica, Brazileira. Rio de Janero, 1882, page 39).
3. D. Les Têtes Momifiées des Incas, op. cit.
4. Je sais tout, 15 Février, 1907.

More recently, Saffray reports similar details from the Indians of Choco, who live in Colombia along the Atrato. Two of these tribes, the Cunas and the Calmanes, still spoke in 1869 the Cueba language, "the most widespread language from Veragua to Guayaquil at the time of the discovery." "In olden times," Saffray says, "when a chief died, they put his body on a wicker framework above a slow fire until it was completely desiccated...For commoners, they kept only the head, de-boned and dried in such a manner that, the flesh being molded in a uniform fashion, there remained a perfect reproduction of the original reduced to almost one-sixth of the original size." (1) The drawing that accompanies Saffray's account permits no doubt that the mummies made by the Indians of Choco and the tsantsas of the Jívaros are identical. At the end of the 18th century, the same costumes were still in use among the natives of the Pompa del Sacramento near the river Huallaga (2).

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1. Dr. Saffray, Voyage à la Nouvelle Grenade, 1869. (Le Tour du Monde, T. XXVI, 1873, 2 sem., pp. 102, 103, 111.)

2. PP. Manuel Sobreviela et Narcisso y Barcelo. Voyages au Perou faits dans les années 1791 to 1794. French translation by P. F. Henry. Paris, 1809, in-8°, page 175.

At present, the Jívaros alone have kept the monopoly on the making of mummified heads.

It was the Fathers Manuel Sobreviela and Narcisso y Barcelo, who, in the work that I have just cited, were the first to indicate the method of preparation of these war trophies and to mention the celebration which took place over them. In 1815, Father Prieto also gives a short but excellent description (1). These details [74] that one finds in Villavicencio (2) are still unknown to European ethnographers. W. Bollaert was the first to possess an example of the Jíbaro art of taxidermy which he had received in June, 1861, from M. Cassola, but the publication he made on this subject did not appear until 1863, and the year before Moreno Maiz presented to the Anthropological Society of Paris and described a specimen which had been sent him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. Since then, quite a number of publications have been made on tsantsas and I give here as complete a list as possible in chronological order.* [75]...A general type stands out, of which I will try to describe the characteristics.

Most of the Jívaro tribes are represented in collections: Pastazas, Tambos or Tumbas, Jambas, Gualaquizas, Achuales, Antipas, Macas, Muratos, Aguarunas, Zamoras.

1. Prieto. Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros, etc. op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., Tome II, page 63.

2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 361.

* See original source for this bibliography.

So obviously this is a very general custom in all the Jívaro country.

As a general rule, mens heads were used; however, one of the tsantsas published by Lubbock was feminine. It is possible that this was a question of an exceptional case, explicable perhaps by the status of the victim, who was the wife of the chief of the Achuales (1).

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

22: Hamy--385-386 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 175

"In the sixteenth century, the Spanish had, because of the civil wars of the tribes of Paute and Morona, created amon them various colonies under the names of Logroño, Mendoza, Sevilla, etc. (1). The Indians, subdued for a moment, rose up in 1599, under the direction of a warrior named Quirraba, and destroyed in very little time the new-born cities. The memory of the cruelties which they inflicted at that time on the immigrants has remained vivid until the last century in Spanish America, to which is attributed in part the remarkable qualities which are displayed sometimes by the tribes of the Maranon or of the Pastassa, being a result of alliances forced on a certain number of white women, which the sack of Logroño had left in the possession of the agressors of this unfortunate little town.

The ancient historians of Peru are agreed in attributing this [386] bloody revolt of the Indians to their desire to escape from the work of the mines, to which the conquerors had subjected them. A love of liberty is one of the most salient traits of character of these bellicose tribes; they had victoriously resisted the Incas, they knew how to break the yoke of the white invaders after 47 years of oppression.

"(1) Villavicencio, Geografia de la Republica del Ecuador. New-York, 1858, in 8°, p. 275."

Of this occupation, so short and abruptly terminated, the Spaniards have reported no sort of scientific documents, and until 1684 one remains almost completely ignorant of everything concerning these hostile tribes and the territory which they occupied. About this period, the Jesuits, encouraged principally by the Count de Leon, president of the royal council of Quito, attempted to penetrate anew this country 'of inaccessible mountains' inhabited by an unknown people 'naturally savage and inhuman.' The history of the missions has preserved the names of Richler, of Gaspard Vital, of Vasquez, and of still others, whose painful voyages have enlarged a little the horizons of science. Several of these travelers of the first hour lost their lives on the dangerous missions which they had accepted or initiated. But, thanks to their efforts, we have begun to know a little of this vast country. Through them one distinguishes already several Indian parties of Cheduas, of Alones, of Choltos, of Chipes, of Andoas, of Abijiras, etc., without being able to determine on the map the exact area which they occupy...."

22: Hamy--386-387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 101

"In 1741, Father Samuel Fritz published a general map, incorrect without doubt, but much less incomplete than that of Pagan; and on this map one can read, under a form little different from that which is used at present, the true name of the large Indian family of the territories of Cuenca and of Chachapoyas.

Fritz named these savages Xibaros...; la Condamine..., Lapie..., [387] Mollien ..., etc., have preserved this designation. They are now called Jivaros or Jeberos."

22: Hamy--387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

"Father Manuel Castrucci of Vernazza visited them in 1845 on the Pastassa river; Lieutenant Herndon, of the United States marines beginning his exploration of the Amazon in 1854, saw one of their tribes on the banks of the Huallaga river (2); the Bishop of Chachapoyas conducted a Peruvian expedition in the same locality in 1859. Mateo Paz Soldan..., Messieurs Osculati..., Villavicencio..., Bollaert..., Barriero..., Moreno Maiz..., Antonio Raimondy..., Cl.-R. Markham..., have contributed short accounts on the Jivaro. Finally Father Louis Pozzi who is evangelizing them at the present time, has just written several letters to the mission of Gualaquiza which contain interesting information...."

"(2) Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington, in-8°, 1854, p.174."

22: Hamy--387-388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 101, 175

"By comparing the various documents, one finds that the Jivaro family, localized especially in the north of Maranon, between the Pastassa and Chinchipe rivers, includes nevertheless, four tribes to the south of the river, in Peruvian territory: the Muratos, the Uambisas, the Aguarunas and the Antipas. The first of these tribes is not yet clearly defined on the map. The second appears to occupy the area opposite the mouth of the Huambisa or Yurumbisa river. Mr. Herndon encountered the Aguarunas, whom he named Aguanos, at Santa-Cruz on the Huallaga river, a little above the point where this river joins with the Maranon. The expedition of the bishop of Chachapoyas discovered other Aguarunas on the Maranon itself, between the mouth of the Nieva river and the celebrated Pongo of Manseriche. Paz Soldan and Mr. Raimondy show us on the river, above the same [388] Pongo, the Antipas neighbors of the Aguarunas, with whom they are at continual war...."

22: Hamy--388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 103, 175

"The Jivaro north of the river, located in consequence in the republic of Ecuador, are very much more numerous. Villavicencio speaks of 13 or 14 tribes which he calls the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, the Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, the Pindos, the Agapicos, the Achuales, etc. But several of these groups of Indians are sections of tribes, rather than the tribes themselves. They take their names from the rivers on whose banks they live or from the designations imposed by the Spaniards. And that explains why the list of Villavicencio, incomplete as it is...., added to that of Mateo Paz Soldan, surpasses the number formerly assigned by Velasco to the Jivaro dialects.... Whatever they are, the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, are grouped in the neighborhood of water courses which run into and form the Santiago river. The Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Pindos, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, occupy the bassin of the Morona river. The other Jivaro are scattered in the basin of the Pastassa, along this river and its affluents."

22: Hamy--389 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 142, 175

"However incomplete and vague the descriptions of the Jivaros may be, we must reproduce them with whatever details the travelers can give. They describe the Jivaro as being of slim build, the men being a little taller than average, and the women a little smaller. The body is well formed; the limbs are quite muscular, robust and agile; the constitution is strong and healthy. Nothing has been said of the form of the head; the face appears to be orthognathous or slightly prognathous; the forehead is bare [découvert], the nose aquiline, sometimes slightly upturned; the eyes are small and black, horizontally directed and very lively; the lips are fine and the teeth ivory white. The hair, usually very black is sometimes of a reddish brown; the beard is thin and when it is more apparent, it is attributed, like the light coloring of several individuals to the crossing of these with the Spaniards. There is nothing, extremely characteristic, unfortunately, in this picture of the Jivaro."

22: Hamy--389-390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 192, 175

"The Jivaro speaks generally one of the 13 dialects mentioned by Velasco. Sometimes, as among the Aguarunas, he uses a little Quechua; it appears even that the names of numbers above five are borrowed from this language, and Mateo Paz Soldan was led to believe with several other writers, that certain Jivaro had formerly been subjugated by the Incas....

This opinion is not generally held..., and the use, very [390] limited moreover, of Quechua finds its explanation in the relations maintained in the neighborhood, comparable to those which the same Indians maintain today with the Peruvians of Chachapoyas and the Colombians of Canalos, who teach them a little Spanish."

22: Hamy--390-391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 101, 175

"Humboldt and Orbigny have already included in the Guarani peoples the Omaguas of Ucayali and of Marañon, brothers of the Umaüas of Brazil. First of all the name of the Jivaros recall in a striking manner that of one of the large affluents of the Amazon, the Javari river. Along the banks of this river live the Mayorunas. Near the Japura river, another tributary of the great river, are the Marahunos. On the Ouanari, affluent of the right bank of the Oyapoc, live the Maraones. These three names are closely related to that of the Moronas of the Morona river. In the eighteenth century on the same Japura river, there were the Achuaris whose ethnic appellation scarcely distinguishes them from that of the Jivaro Achuales. The Muratos recall the Muras of the Purus river. The name of the Uambisas fits perfectly into the most frequently used forms of the Guaranis, of whom the tribes in Ua were formerly so numerous. It is the same for the Catapasas which one can relate to the Catapuyas, the Catahaichis, the Cataxos, the Catakinos, etc. The Pastassas seem to have taken their name from the Carib Pastuzzos of the Atlantic coast, between Chiriqui and Goajira. The Gualaquisas have a name akin to that of these Gualachos who have inhabited the islands of the river of Coronda below Santa-Fe. Finally the Upanos derive their [391] origin from the ancient Panos of the Javari river. It is known that these are the same Upanos who, chased into part of the basin of the Morona by hostile neighbors who were nevertheless of the same race, descended into the pampa of the Sacramento, where the Franciscans found them established and where several recent travelers, among whom we have noted especially

22: Hamy--390-391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-2
116, 101, 175

Mr. Paul Marcoy..., have encountered their miserable remnants.

It should be added that the general term by which the great Indian race of the East is designated, the word Guarani, finds itself scarcely changed in the name of the principal tribe of Peruvian Jivaros, the Aguarunas, of whom we have, with Herndon and Paz Soldan, localized the two tribes...."

22: Hamy--391 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 166, 175

"The study of the names of the Jivaro tribes alone then, demonstrate that which Orbigny had already foreseen, that the populations of Marañon are connected more or less directly to the great Guaranian group. The relations which we have just established tend, moreover, to prove that the savages of whom we have sketched too short an ethnology have come to establish themselves in the forests of Cuenca, of Jaen or of Chachapoyas, by going up the rivers, since certain names of tribes, mentioned along the middle course of the Amazon at the time of its discovery, have disappeared from the spot, to be rediscovered today along the banks of the Maranon and its upper affluents. The history of the Jivaro people would be comparable, in consequence, to that of the Tupi nation, nearly annihilated in the neighborhood of Para by the Portuguese whose traces Pedro Teixeira discovered along the Madeira river, or again comparable to that of the Chiriguanos whose curious migration described by Orbigny, across the Chaco to the foot of the last spurs of the Bolivian Andes. (2) "

"(2) We have purposely omitted to speak here of the Antipas, the neighbors and enemies of the Aguarunas, and who, ranked by Mateo Paz Soldan among the Jivaro, can be only a branch of the race Anti, which would explain their incessant battles against the Jivaro themselves."

25: Vigna--37 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 175

The inhabitants of the town of Macas, a settlement in the heart of the forest and founded by the early settlers (1600) have preserved some sporadic notes on the Jíbaros. The Ecuadorian historians (V. González Suárez, Villavicencio; etc.) have made use of these references in an effort to weave together a fragment of Jíbaro history. They speak of a numerous and warlike people who may have descended from the Mainas or the Caribs, - of a people with so much cohesion that it was able to oppose the covetous exigencies of the Spanish, assassinate tens of thousands (!) of the same, destroy the cities raised in the virgin forest by the whites, and declare itself owner and master of those infernal regions. But the historians cited do not offer us information of an enlightening and historic character; nor do the records of the Jesuit Fathers, in particular the book entitled: 'Las Misiones del alto Marañón español,' offer detailed information of historical value.

Since we do not have a true or authentic basis, we will not waste time cavilling and will not bother to form an hypothesis. One of the most important and indispensable sources of information was, without doubt, 'El Archivo de las Indias' of Seville (Spain), and from this source certainly, we should have been able to gather valuable information concerning the savage tribes of the Amazon.

26: Brüning--46 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 101, 175

The Aguaruna, Antipa, Huambisa, and Murato Indians are the component tribes that make up the Jibaro people, according to Bastian. The Jibaro people were never completely subjugated by the Incas, just as they put up a firm resistance against the later Spanish attempts at conquest. What the old historians report concerning the Jibaros may still be said of the Aguarunas of today: they are just as proud, brave freedom-loving, and, at the same time, hospitable as the old Jibaro people are said to have been.

The Aguarunas keep up a friendship with the Antipas, but they are hostile to the Huambisa Indians who live along the banks of the Santiago River. I have noticed that they regard it as an insult if they are called Huambisa.

26: Brüning--46-47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 436

In former years the Indians came as far as Bella Vista and later even to Bagua Chica in order to exchange parrots and other animals for articles of everyday use. Raimondi tells us that in 1845 the Aguarunas destroyed at the same time the mestizo-settlements [47] Puyaya and Copallín, the one situated on the right bank of the Marañón River, somewhat below the Rentema, the other on the left bank.

The old mestizo Santiago Lara, one of the survivors of Copallín and now 56 years old, told me in Bagua Chica the following story concerning the destruction of Copallín: "It happened in about 1856 that Jibaros first attacked the houses that were situated outside the village. The inhabitants of the chief settlement, warned by the clamor, were given a chance to flee. My father took me on his shoulders, and we fled, like the others into a mountain gorge. When the Indians came, they found the village deserted. They carried away everything they regarded as valuable, but they did no damage to the buildings." And yet, neither Copallín nor Puyaya was ever resettled by its inhabitants. Another Copallín was founded on the right bank of the Uteabamba River.

26: Brüning--47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 175

In 1871, or thereabout, Indians advanced once more beyond the Rentema for trading purposes. They left their canoes at the mouth of the Uteabamba River. The Indians numbered about 25, and there was one woman among them. They were escorted to Bagua Chica by the inhabitants of this village. Our informant was at that time deputy headman of Bagua Chica. Immediately he sent word to his superior, who happened to be away on his farm. The superior gave orders to entertain the Indians with food and drink while he would take further measures. In the meantime, he gathered men from the neighboring villages of Copallín, La Peca, and La Montería with the intention to kill the Indians. Among these men were several survivors from the old villages of Copallín and Puyaya. These survivors maintained that they were able to identify some of the Indians as the attackers of those old villages. Under some pretext the Indians were led into the assembly house (Cabildo), where they were locked in. Soon the poor Indians saw themselves attacked with rifles and pointed bamboo spears. Through the roof and the bamboo walls shots were fired at them, and they were stabbed until all were killed with the exception of three who succeeded to escape through the door. Two of these and a young fellow, who had kept watch over the canoes, brought the news of the carnage back to their villages; the third man was sent as a present to the prefect of Chachapoyas, where he later died of smallpox. The Indian woman, who had been turned over to a farmer in the vicinity, met with the same fate.

116, 175

The dead were buried on the left bank of the Uteabamba River a little below Bagua Chica. This place is still known as the Playa de los Jíbaros.

Old people in Bagua Chica also told me that in former years the whites or rather the mestizos had provoked these attacks since they had taken the women from the Indians who were engaged in peaceful barter transactions.

26: Brüning--47-48 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 181

In June 1904, that is after my trip, the Indians along the upper Marañón made another uprising, killing all the white men who lived among them, some fifty or sixty, and even a few missionaries. These carnages are officially described as acts of treachery on the part of the Indians. But in going to the bottom of things one will find out that they are acts of retribution. These Indians are sensitive children of nature who never forget an insult even if it may take a long time until they get their revenge. They time their revenge according to the circumstances. Superstition, too, plays its part. For they first make a brew of a narcotic liana, which in the Aguaruna language is called náktém, while the white men call it "rope of death" (ayahuasca). The drinking of this brew causes them to have visions, and they shape their revenge plans in accordance with these hallucinations. In this manner many years may pass, and it can easily be understood that they then take their revenge not always on the guilty ones. They are aware of one thing only: the offense had come from the white men, and white men have to be punished for it....

[48] An affair which is only a joke for the whites is often a serious insult for the Indian. All these insults are put on one common bill, which must be paid in blood at a time which the Indians regard as auspicious. But when the time for payment comes, then the Indians know only Indians on one side and white men on the other. Even white men who are friendly toward the Indians are not exempt from punishment.

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 539

"Some Observations on the Jívaros (Jébero, Jívira), from Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, etc. By W. Bollaert. pp. 96. Translated from Villavicencio's Geografia del Ecuador. London: Trübner.

This great nation is found between the rivers Chinchipe and Pastasa; it is composed of numerous and large tribes, taking the names of the rivers on which they live, as Moronas, Pautes, Zamoras, Gualaquisas, Upanos, Pindos, Pastassas, Agapicos, Achuales, Cotapassas, etc. All these speak the Jívaro language, which is clear, energetic, and harmonious, and easy to learn. The Incas of Peru tried in vain to conquer them; the Spaniards succeeded in reducing them, founding cities in their country; but a rising on one day in 1599 destroyed the work of many years. Since then some attempts have been made to subdue them, but without success. They are active and muscular, have black eyes, small, and very animated; they show a bold front, are bent nosed, thin lipped, and have teeth as white as ivory. Many of them are whitish and bearded: it is believed this whiteness comes from the Spanish women they stole when they rebelled in 1599. They use the lance with great dexterity, and manage the shield well.

Although the Jívaros are of so unbending a character, some of the tribes approach the conquered settlements, entering into relations with them, as has occurred in

Canelos, with some of the Jívaros of the Pastassa, and they have even learnt the Quitu language. Other tribes have crossed the Cordillera, and have entered the towns, seeking peace and trade, inviting them to open roads.

Mr. Markham, in Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, p.166, Hakluyt Soc., 1859, states that the Jívaros take a strong emetic every morning in the shape of an infusion of the leaves of the guayusa (sometimes called the tea-plant), for the sake of getting rid of all undigested food, going to the chase with an empty stomach.

In 1855, some Jívaros are reported to have destroyed the ancient town of San Borja, and the villages of Santa Teresa and Santiago. See Samuel Fritz's Map, 1707. Velasco, Historia de Quito, iii, p.152; Villavicencio; and Heraldo de Lima, 1855."

"Conspiracy of the Jívaros. From Velasco's Historia de Quito, iii, p.152, etc. Translated by W. B.

In 1599, the same year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jívaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jívaros would not, and were about resolving to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of the river Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary; and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jívaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy; the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all the Spaniards in that region on a

certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began [117] to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learnt that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant twenty-five leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the

morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jívaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Jívaros Moronas intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huamboya (sixteen leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone towards Riobambo.

When the Jívaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro, the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12, 000. Sevilla had 25, 000 inhabitants; one quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jívaros nearly destroyed the neighbouring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force into the Indian

country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jívaros as far as the river Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jívaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the other into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barcas, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jívaros lay in ambush, and de-[118]stroyed the whole of the expedition. After six months, those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned back to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He applied to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.

Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four.

The Bishop of Quito then suggested to the Jesuits to go as missionaries amongst the Jívaros; so in 1633 two of the order embarked with some Indians on the Paute, for

27: Bollaert--116-118 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-5
116, 175, 539

Logroño, which was found only after much search; the ruins of the city had been covered with vegetation in the space of thirty-two years. The Jesuits now alone journeyed through the wilderness in search of the Jívaros, when one of them died. The other, after two years wandering, arrived at Jaen, his body full of wounds, and nearly naked."

29: Vité--15 [3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 175

The Jíbaros are located at present in the southern end of Ecuador, adjoining the northern boundary of Peru, in an almost unknown region. Much has been contributed to their study by the Salesian missionaries who were of great assistance to the expedition.

We have lived with the Jíbaros, and, as a result, have been able to acquire a complete knowledge of their customs and language.

30: Franco--142 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 175, 727

Ancient chroniclers say that Huáscar had sworn to make a vessel for drinking out of Atahualpa's head, and that when Atahualpa triumphed, it was he who did so with the head of the vanquished chief. Velasco denies this, bearing in mind the delicacy and grace of Atahualpa who from an early age had been the idol of his parents and who was educated in exaggerated cleanliness and elegance. In these things Atahualpa was so demanding and lordly that he would not put his feet in their sandals of gold on the floor unless the floor was swept before him; he did not spit but in the hands of some great dame, and he only ate and drank select dishes prepared with the greatest cleanliness.

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175 At the time of the conquest of Perú by the Spanish, the empire of the Incas extended from Chile to the Rio Mayo north of Pasto. It was only in a few places, however, that this nation ever eager to conquer, succeeded in subjugating the tribes of their dominion living on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. The nature of the country, the climate, and the nomadic way of life of the Indians set up almost insuperable difficulties for them. In the northern part of the empire, however, which had been subjugated only a short time and which now forms the republic of Ecuador, contacts had already been made with the Jívaro and Mâca Indians living on the tributaries of the Amazonas. The Spaniards sought to extend their conquests in this direction too, when they had taken over the legacy of the dynasty destroyed by them. The small bands of conquistadores were not satisfied with the tremendous stretches of land that had fallen to them with comparatively little effort; they wanted to subjugate more and more new territories, to capture new riches. Soon after the founding of Quito they made an alliance with the Mâcas, which was followed in a short time by a large number of expeditions. It sounds almost unbelievable when we hear that after just a few years a number of rather large cities were founded and rapidly began to flourish. Merely in the region of interest to us here the cities of Mendoza on the Rio Palora, Sevilla del Oro on the Rio Upano, and Logroño on the Rio Paute were founded in the year 1552. The wealth of gold and the ease of acquisition drew large numbers of settlers; monasteries were endowed and churches built, and the district of Mâcas was soon considered one of the richest and most prosperous of the great Peruvian empire.

101 175 Three Indian tribes, of which only one exists today, are mentioned as inhabitants of the extensive forests on the eastern slope of the Cordillera between the Pastaza and Paute rivers. They are the Mâcas, Huamboyas, and Jívaros. The first two seem not to have been very large; the Jívaros formed, and still form today, a large nation, which, to be sure, is made up of many individual tribes living in enmity for the most part, but which nevertheless /326/ join together against a common enemy and can order up a considerable number of fighters.

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As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful [797] among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

/326 cont./

175 Only rarely have the Jívaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

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The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Mácas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri huarā* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter I

THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

175 181 648

> I say truly to Your Highness that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.
>
> *Captain Hernando de Benavente —on the Jívaro in a letter to the Royal Audiencia of Spain, March 25, 1550*

101 13 Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untsuri huarā*, the Jívaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *aíduri huarā* and the *tsuwa huarā*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful
101 conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguasa region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

• 175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

scribed as "cities," in 1552: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Paute (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora; and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[16] 175 648

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldrete reported in 1582: [316]

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[17]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[18] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all else to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas; and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebrations of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presuppose several points:
>
> (1) That the Indian nations of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish; because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop something more than a parish of Indians. [797]
>
> (2) That the Jíbaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without bridle or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes.

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(3) That the conquered inhabitants of the Paute, where the city of Logroño was founded, remained very displeased with the unequal administration of its taxes, done because of their old rebelliousness. 175 • 648

(4) That even though they were paid for their labor, in iron tools and other goods, in accordance with the ordinances of President LaGasca, that immediate inducement did not offset their innate idleness, and they worked the gold mines with much reluctance.

Given these points, it is easy to understand with how much activity the uprising would be prepared. Above all, it is necessary to understand that the Jíbaros of the Morona, who were the leaders, had renewed their friendship and alliance with those of the Paute, in the interest of having, through them, the iron tools that they needed.

With the matters of government in these critical circumstances, there arrived orders from the royal Audiencia that there, as everywhere, they conduct the customary ceremony of the oath of allegiance to the King. The Governor, who did not miss an opportunity to enrich himself, wanted to take advantage of this. He proclaimed an edict in the capital, and had it announced in all the [regional] government through his lieutenants, fixing the day well in advance, and imposing a large tax, under the name of a gift, for the solemn royal celebrations, he being the one having to go out to collect it in person in the three provinces, equally from the Spaniards as from the Indians.

As soon as this order was proclaimed, rebellion was also proclaimed in all the [regional] governments, with the greater activity among the Spaniards than among the Indians. Since they [the Spaniards] knew the purpose of asking such a big gift, they resolved to pay the cost of the celebrations themselves, although it might cost more, in order not to enrich the Governor by putting it into his hands. They spoke openly and resolutely about the case, and afraid of not being heard, they elected in their meetings several leaders of a formal and declared conspiracy

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against the injustice of the order. The Governor, fearing its effects, since all the Spaniards were stirred up, explained to them, by himself privately, that the gift was free and voluntary, and that each should only contribute according to his means. But he did not explain nor intimate this to the Indians; as a result, while the Spaniards had calmed down, the Indians remained upset.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order with resignation. The Jíbaros entered into many consultations, and already were resolved to throw off the yoke, retreating to the Morona. Seeing them with this determination, Quirruba [*Kirupasa?* ("Big Frog")], chief of one of their settlements, very alert and capable, quieted them all down. He told them that that was not the sure way of liberating themselves permanently from the Christians: that if they were attempting to do that, they must entrust themselves to his direction, and must bind themselves to execute in secret all that which he would order, and not to think, for then, of making a withdrawal.

They accepted his proposition and swore to recognize him as their leader and liberator. He imposed two obligations upon them: first, inviolate secrecy on which everything depended; and second, that they seek not only the gold that the Governor ordered, but whatever more they were able to, in order that this might be the price of their liberty, feigning to seek gold with great enthusiasm to solemnize the royal celebrations.

Meanwhile, Quirruba asked, through messengers, for aid from all of the Jíbaros of the Morona; and having it assured, he insisted on involving the Macas and Huamboyas in the same conspiracy by means of secret emissaries, because his plan was to wipe out all the Spaniards of the [regional] government at the same time on the same day. He learned the day which the Governor had fixed for his arrival in Logroño, where Quirruba himself was to go personally with part of the army.

He designated two others in whom he had confidence as leaders of the undertaking: one for the capital of Sevilla del Oro, and the other for the town of Huamboya, in order that each one, aided by the local Indians and by the troops of Jíbaros that were

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175 648 distributed in those parts, that all might become blood and fire. The fear of being destroyed by the Jíbaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan; but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 648 726 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 648 727 The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations; and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jests, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone; and bursting his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 175 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [562] [797] 175 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was 175 648

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175 648 thinking more of saving his family and possessions than of the common defense, it was difficult to conduct it to advantage: nevertheless, the city and royal officials tried hard to make as much preparation as was possible, intrenching the streets, and placing those under arms in the locations of the most danger, not having forces or preparation for a battle outside the city.

The officials transported all of the royal treasury and its boxes to the main church, fortifying it as a citadel and final refuge. They also fortified the church of the nuns of the Conception, cramming into it all of the women and children. At nightfall, a portion of the inhabitants of the town of Huamboya, 16 leagues distant, entered the city, having sent all of the rest to Riobamba and its environs. All of these fled, abandoning their houses and goods, because at dawn that day they learned, from a lone sick Indian who had remained, that all the people of his nation had retreated to the Cordillera de Cubillin, fleeing the Jíbaros, who were going to destroy everyone that night.

They rejoiced in Sevilla del Oro with the recruitment of those people, and passed all the night on watch, awaiting the enemy. Seeing that they neither appeared the next day, they began to doubt the existence of the conspiracy. They thus won time to complete the defense somewhat more, to bring in a supply of food from the neighboring countryside, and to gather the Spaniards sprinkled in the mining camps and small settlements of the district.

175 648 726 The reason that the barbarians postponed the appointed time by 24 hours was because the Macas, who were summoned to join with them and to lead them, as guides, to the city, did not appear at their appointed meeting place. Finding the Macas to be unfaithful, they delayed the march, and sent word to Logroño to supply more troops. These arrived between midnight and dawn the next day, and together they marched against Sevilla del Oro, burning with desire to avenge themselves, not so much against the Spaniards, as against the Macas Indians, for having broken their promise.

The Spaniards worked themselves up into going forth onto the

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175 648 726 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city, which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[714] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 648 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 648 727 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

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175 648 727 more than 25 thousand inhabitants, between citizens and merchants from the outside, it is said that not a fourth remained, this being almost all women and children, with very few men.

175 648 Upon the pitiful fall of this government [of Macas], the total ruin of the territory of Yaguarzongo followed as a consequence, and the almost total ruin of Jaén, of which I shall tell you in due time; and that of Loja and Quijos, which I have already reported. Even the highest and most secure provinces of the Kingdom [of Quito] experienced notable unrest on the part of the peoples upon notification of the horrendous catastrophe: it reached even to the barbaric nations of Popayan, and caused them, by its bad example, to commit the insolences and destructions to which I referred in speaking of its cities.

It was a special providence of Heaven that at nightfall the triumphant barbarians unexpectedly withdrew from Sevilla del Oro, the reason being unknown, they being able to have easily consummated the slaughter of everyone. The wretched remnant, informed of all that had happened in Logroño, remained fearing the return of the barbarians at any moment; and no longer capable of resistance, they only thought of saving themselves. Small parties of children and women, with an occasional man, were leaving on foot with a thousand hardships, and without any food, to take refuge in other cities of the Kingdom; and not a single person would have stayed, if an opportune relief had not shortly arrived from Quito.[19]

Those Spaniards who stayed retreated north to the upper Río Upano Valley and founded the refugee settlement of Macas. Some years later these people of Macas (commonly referred to as Macabeos) made sorties southward to mine the old placer gold deposits, but apparently these attempts ended in failure, due to attacks by the Jívaro.[20]

From 1599 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jívaro apparently had only intermittent and generally hostile contacts with whites. Some missionary and military

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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apači* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *hurši* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apači* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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174 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *mula* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-mules (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-mules (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *ai apa'i*, although he thought it was possible.

• 175 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the sixteen-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

175 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Paute region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[15] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1837, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[16]

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177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *huarā*.
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With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[173] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río
[166] Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began
to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline
springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance
at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[86]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and
the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside
world at about this time.[86]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[87] The Jesuit missionaries
introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo
men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[231] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
[436] plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline
occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade
goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing
forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
797 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
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new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. Those mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

648 175 797 439 [411]

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[20] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1901, but it likewise was soon terminated.[21]

175 797 648

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

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Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[22] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

175 648 [797]

In 1931, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

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people. Its fine cattle are known, by hearsay at least, throughout Ecuador, but it is rarely that any are driven up to the markets of the plateau. The long trail to Riobamba, the only route from the village to the plateau, is at all seasons of the year so deep in mud that cattle cannot stand the journey over it. One wonders, indeed, how and why such a settlement as Macas exists. But it must be borne in mind that the inhabitants, as in certain sections of eastern Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, as well, are of a type of which white men elsewhere can scarcely conceive. They are with few exceptions a people so long reduced, because of their inability to engage in trade of any importance, to a state in which they have no desires that cannot be satisfied by the land on which they live. Shelter and food are their chief wants. The few articles of their monotonous diet are easily grown. Their huts of bamboo slats . . . are easily constructed from material immediately at hand. On their infrequent trips to the plateau, they may carry with them a bit of gold washed from a nearby stream, a little crude alcohol distilled from cane grown on a river playa, a few homemade cigars, a little coffee or cacao, wherewith to purchase a few yards of cheap cloth needed for clothing. Their life is easy, tranquil and even plentiful within their conception of plenty. The region could undoubtedly support many more people in such a state of plenty and tranquility, but such a life could scarcely satisfy the desirable type of colonist, either local or foreign, who breaks old ties and traditions to set out to find a better life in new lands.[31]

Even as the above sketch was being published, however, a new wave of white colonists had begun to enter this western part of the Jívaro territory.[32] Mestizo workers who had accompanied the Salesian missionaries to Méndez were rediscovering the rich placer gold deposits which the Spaniards had mined in the sixteenth century on the lower Río Paute, lower Río Zamora, and lower Río Upano. Ecuadorians from the province of Azuay in the adjoining Andean highlands soon

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come down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. Unlike their seventeenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jivaro as conquerors, but came as individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jivaro were fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,* probably contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jivaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been built into the Jivaro region, connecting the highland province of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jivaro at first generally welcomed the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists arrived. As their numbers increased and they were supported by military and police units, their fear of the Jivaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jivaro say that over half of their Upano Valley population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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• 175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[734] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
(101) lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled east-
(161) ward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward
to the Río Chiguaza region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from
Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting
bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown num-
ber of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly
killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
[679] planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian
colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and
made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first
sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate stra-
tegic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the
leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Un-
doubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance
were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the
Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was
initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against
the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by
missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also sub-
sequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
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1: Karsten--3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"Although the Jibaros have been in contact with the whites for many centuries, and although repeated attempts have been made to 'civilize' them, they have been able to maintain both their political and their cultural independence up to the present time. Only in their material culture can European influence be traced, although to a very limited extent. Their intellectual culture and their social customs have remained unaltered. Thus, for instance, the custom of head-hunting, which has made the Jibaros especially famous, is still practised in its original form among most tribes, being connected with rites and ceremonies of exceptional interest. Similarly, in their religion they are, as far as I can see, quite unaffected by Christian ideas, notwithstanding the assiduous efforts of the Catholic missionaries to convert them."

1: Karsten--20 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

".... the Jibaros have been very little influenced by Christian civilization, so they have very few culture elements which are obviously loans from other peoples. Still, as we have seen, the origin of the Jibaro culture is obscure--just like the ethnic origin of the whole Jibaro race--and we have no means of tracing its first development. In any case, it is a fact that the Indians are very proud of their own culture, extremely conservative in keeping up their ancient customs 'handed down from their ancestors', as they say themselves, and averse to innovations of whatever kind they may be. This conservative character of the Jibaros accounts for the fact that their native culture has, at least in its principal traits, been preserved up to our days. But such a state of things cannot of course continue for long. In the most recent years there have appeared signs which seem to show that civilization is making rapid progress even in these remote parts of South America, and that at any rate the Upano and the Morona tribes are gradually losing the independence they have hitherto enjoyed. If this is so, it is no exaggeration to say that this exceptionally interesting Indian culture will soon be a thing of the past, and that it is in the last hour that the studies have been carried out..."

k Karsten--53 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 177 (1928-29)

"Although not comparable with the old Sevilla de Oro, Macas is nevertheless quite a big place, having some three or four hundred inhabitants. All of these are mestizos, of a kind found nowhere else in Ecuador. To a great extent they are no doubt descendants of those Jibaro Indians who destroyed the town in 1599 and the white women, who became the captors and wives of the victors. They still have many traits in common with their savage neighbours; their mode of life and their customs are in many respects the same, as also their character. Thus, although the 'Macabeos' are of course strictly Catholic in their religion, they adhere to the old custom of blood-revenge, particularly characteristic of the Jibaros to this very day. They are intelligent, brave, active, and industrious, just as are the Jibaros. Owing to these qualities and to the extraordinary fertility of the soil, agriculture is highly developed and cattle-breeding is an important occupation."

"The village is situated in the midst of the virgin forest and practically embedded in vegetation. Through its centre a broad pathway runs from which narrower sinuous side-ways branch off to the right and the left. One of these leads to a high hill where the convent and the church are situated. On all sides the village is surrounded by high hills covered with forests, and towards the south-west the majestic volcano Sangay raises its crater, covered with eternal snow, towards the sky. It is difficult to imagine a place more picturesque and better endowed by nature. Still this village all through bears a primitive stamp. The houses are of the same kind as the great communal houses of the Jibaros, although they are generally smaller and constructed with less care. The interior with its earthen floor, the bedsteads of split bamboo, and the almost total absence of furniture in the strict sense of the word, also reminds one of the Jibaro houses. Even a great signal drum, of the same type as that [54] of the Indians, is as a rule found in the houses at Macas. Just as the Jibaros beat the drum to communicate for instance to the neighbours that a death has taken place in the house, so the Macabeos do the same, a custom which makes a strange impression upon a European visitor.

The dress of the inhabitants of Macas is almost as primitive as that of their savage neighbours, consisting principally of a loin-cloth and a shirt. Trousers are seldom worn and shoes never. During wanderings in the forest the Macabeo wears a sort of sandal made of cowhide. On such occasions moreover he always carries that indis-

pensable weapon and implement of the South America forest-wanderer, the big forest-knife, machete, and usually his old-fashioned shot-gun, a muzzle-loader, which he prefers to guns or rifles of modern make. I never had companions more expert in cutting through the thickets of the virgin forest, in crossing rapid rivers in canoes, and generally in overcoming all the numerous difficulties which meet a traveller in the South American wilderness.

The character of the Macabeo shows the same general features as that of the Ecuadorian mestizo, although with certain peculiar traits due, I think to his Jibaro descent. He is cheerful, good-hearted, and extremely hospitable, loving, as do all mestizos, dancing and merry-making, wine and women. The 'wine' is the chuya, the national drink of the inhabitants of Macas, brewed of maize and sugar cane which is boiled and allowed to ferment. The chuya is quite intoxicating, and since at the great drinking-feasts it is consumed in enormous quantities, these feasts not seldom end in quarrels and fights, and even manslaughter. The public feasts at Macas in general are little edifying. An important role in them is played by the cock-fights which here, as elsewhere Ecuador, form the most popular public amusement. Another game which is frequently witnessed is the following. A living cock is buried in the earth so that only the head and the neck protrude. One of the men taking part in the game is blind-folded and is given a machete. He is taken to the place where the cock is buried and

starts to strike with his machete along the ground in all directions, his task being to cut off the cock's head with so and so many strokes; if he is successful the beheaded cock becomes his property. This is repeated with another man and another cock, and so forth. These rude amusements are very characteristic of the cruelty to animals which in South America is so often displayed both by mestizos and whites.

I have mentioned before that some of the natives of Macas know the Jibaro language fairly well and that during my travels in the regions [55] of Upano and Pastaza I was always accompanied by servants and interpreters from Macas. One of my best companions was an elderly man, Dionysio Rivadeneira by name, who knew the Indians well and was a great help to me in studying their customs and language. Although Don Dionysio had many friends among the Jibaros he sometimes, owing to his hot temper, quarrelled with them. When I visited Macas the last time in 1929 my old friend was seriously ill; according to his own belief he had been poisoned by an Indian enemy on the Upano. The Jibaros, it should be added, know certain vegetable poisons which they use against their secret enemies, especially against the whites, since according to their idea the magic arrow of the Indians has no effect upon a white man. Whether Don Dionysio's misgivings as to the origin of his illness were justified, I was not able to establish."

1: Karsten--92-93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"In many of their necklaces and other ornaments the Indians insert small white, red, and blue beads obtained from the whites. They are [93] quite common even among the savage Jibaros, who especially use them for the kind of collar called shaúka."

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the personal ornaments of the CANELOS INDIANS I may add that they are in some respects less characteristic, owing to the fact that they have in part adopted European dress. Thus they nowadays use neither ear and lip-tubes nor ear-pendants. Their necklaces are chiefly made of dry fruit shells and snail's shells as well as of monkey's teeth. But the Canelos Indians are particularly famous for their feather ornaments (tawaiamba), which are more varied than those of the Jibaros and are among the most magnificent found in any South American tribe."

1: Karsten--116-117 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"Pigs and fowls were early introduced among the Jibaros by the Spaniards, at any rate among the tribes of the Santiago and the Upano, where they are still commonly kept as domestic animals. That these animals have long been known to the Jibaros, may be inferred from the important part that the ceremonial slaughter of the swine plays at the great feasts, in which old customs are conservatively kept up. All Jibaro tribes, however, do not seem to possess swine. At any rate the [117] Achuares, at the time when I visited them, had not these domestic animals, nor did I see any among the Aguarunas of Peru."

1: Karsten--175 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177, 789 (1928-29)

"Most Indian tribes in Eastern Ecuador nowadays practise angling, using hooks received from the whites. Before the iron hooks were introduced, crooked bones were used for this purpose. Pieces of flesh and certain seeds serve as baits when angling. When the Indian throws out the line he whistles a chant in order to attract the fish."

1: Karsten--208 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 584, 177 (1928-29)

"The customs observed at marriage by the Indians of Canelos essentially differ from those of the Jibaros proper. The former have on this point been influenced by the mountain Indians, as is also the case with the Napo Indians, whereas the latter have kept up usages which have been followed within the Jibaro nation since times immemorial. As to the Canelos Indians, we have to remember that they are now nominally Christians and that their marriages as a rule sooner or later receive ecclesiastical confirmation. The practices described below, however, are in the main genuinely Indian and of considerable interest."

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly, [sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu,

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

1: Karsten--217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 164, 177 (1928-29)

"Unnatural vices are rare or wholly unknown both among the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. Thus I have never heard either of homosexual customs or sodomy. As to venereal diseases, they are, as far as I know, as yet unknown to the majority of the Jibaro tribes. Among the half-civilized Canelos Indians, who have been more in contact with the whites, they seem to be more prevalent, but even among them they are at present rare."

1: Karsten--232 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 163, 842, 177 (1928-29)

"The number of children in a Jibaro family is generally great, partly of course owing to the existence of polygamy. The Jibaro man wants to have as many children as possible and it may happen--although of course only in exceptional cases--that he has ten children from the same woman. He is rightly of opinion that richness in wives and in children means richness in general, and that it adds to the power of the family and the tribe. He appreciates female children just as much as male children; both are in their way equally useful, and for the same reason he has, as we have seen, no objection to the birth of twins, against whom the Jibaros have not the same prejudice as most other Indians of Western Amazonas. If nevertheless the Jibaro tribes have constantly diminished, this is due to particular reasons, partly to the great mortality of Indian children in general in the first years of life, partly to the wars of extermination carried on between the different Jibaro tribes. The contact with the white race not only indirectly promotes a diminution of the Indians, but seems to have a direct, unfavourable influence upon nativity. This we may infer from the fact that in the families of the Canelos Indians the children are as a rule far fewer than among their savage neighbours, a state of things that can be observed almost everywhere in South America."

1: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
674, 177 (1928-29)

"Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

1: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--262 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"...before the use of firearms was so general among the Jibaros as it is now, the chiefs especially were in the habit of constructing a sort of war tower at one end of their houses. These towers were of quadratic form and sometimes 20 or 30 meters in height. On the top of it there was a small room about 4 meters in quadrate and with walls about 1 meter in height, made of strong chonta poles, which protected the defender against the lances of the enemies. The whole thing rested upon pillars of the stem of the chonta palm, and the warrior ascended along a stair consisting of wooden logs with incisions which gave him foothold. These war towers were called kumbinta. After the Jibaros began to make use of firearms in their wars these measures of defence proved less fit for the purpose, and consequently were no longer used."

1: Karsten--263-264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"Whereas the tambunchi [JKM: trap of the Jibaros used against their enemies] has been used by the Jibaros since ancient times, the following defensive measure is of modern origin. Across the path along which the enemy is expected to come a blackened string is stretched at such a height that it is level with a man's chest. At the tree where one end of the string is fastened a charged and cocked rifle is tied, with the barrel fixed in the direction of the string. The end of the string is fixed in such connection with the trigger of the rifle that when the enemy, coming along in the darkness, gives it a push, the shot is discharged and is likely to hit him in the chest. Even if he should [264] escape being hit, the shot would warn the inhabitants of the house that enemies are approaching."

I: Karsten--264-265 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 177 (1928-29)

"The principal weapons of war of the Jibaro Indians are the lance (nánki) and the shield (tandára), the former being used for attack, [265] the latter for defence. Nowadays the Jibaros, besides these weapons, also commonly use firearms (akáru) received from the whites, generally in exchange for a human head (tsántsa). The lance should be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, if possible the kind of chonta cultivated by the Jibaros (called ui). The head is of prismatic shape and with the shaft forms a single piece. Formerly the Jibaros also used lance-heads made of the leg-bones of the jaguar or the bear, which were fitted into shafts of chonta, or shafts made another kind of wood and painted red with the paint called yukáipi. These lances were moreover frequently adorned with showy parrot feathers. Lances adorned in this way are no longer encountered anywhere, but on the other hand those provided with iron heads and shafts of yukáipi are not seldom seen. A special power is ascribed to the chonta lance owing to the belief that the spiny chonta palm itself is a demoniac tree, the seat of a spirit (wakáni or iguánchi). The chonta lance therefore inspires not only men but also spirits and demons with fear. Hence at the Tsantsa-feast the head-trophy is always kept tied to a chonta lance at those moments when it is not needed for the ceremonies."

1: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (súngura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (sungura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i.e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused wilfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out

against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

L: Karsten--296-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros of to-day, in cutting the enemy's head and skinning it, avail themselves of knives obtained from the whites, but formerly--in fact, only a few decades ago--native instruments had to be used for this [297] purpose."

1: Karsten--371-372 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros in their pagan state have no notion of a Supreme Being and a Creator of the world. Some Indians on the Upano mention the Christian God under the name of Yusa (a corruption of the Spanish Dios), but they know practically nothing else about the religion of the apachi (their name for the whites), which to their mind has little or nothing to do with the supernatural beings in whom they believe themselves. However, the religion of the Jibaros can by no means be called a pure demonology, nor are their religious practices reduced to mere magic, as has frequently been said to be the case among the primitive tribes east of the Andes. In connection with the agricultural rites and the 'tobacco feast of the women' we have already made acquaintance with religious ideas which may be termed lofty, and with a worship where a magical element can hardly be recognized. We have seen that the Jibaros believe in two higher deities, the Earth-mother Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma, revered as the mother and father of the whole Jibaro culture; but these deities have little in common with the Supreme Beings which are reported to exist among several other low races in different parts of the world. The great benevolent Earth-[372] mother of the Jibaros and her loyal husband Shakaëma, although they are neither regarded as creators of the world nor as moral beings in the strict sense, are nevertheless of singular interest, being as they are in any case genuine creations of primitive Indian imagination."

I: Karatsu--395 (1916-18) 1935 Zivaro-I
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

"On the other hand, in the category 'disease' (súngura) most illnesses are reckoned which are not particularly connected with pains and which the Indians have learnt to know through the whites; first of all fever and infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet-fever, dysentery, and venereal disease. Whereas the Indian medicine-men are often able to cure witchcraft sent by other medicine-men, they are completely powerless against 'disease' imported by the whites. Thus when an epidemic of small-pox--a disease that has at times made terrible ravages among the natives of South America--breaks out in an Indian village, the inhabitants generally see no other way to rid themselves of the evil than to burn and abandon the whole village, or at least to leave it for some time. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians always, when a strange white man arrives, ask whether he 'brings disease' with him (súngura itáches?). A traveller who falls seriously ill while staying in an Indian house incurs great danger. If the Indians feel sufficiently strong they may kill him; if not, they will at least go off and leave him alone in the house. The first visit of white men among Indians living in unexplored parts of the country is, for the same reason, particularly critical; the Indians think that the strange new-comers infect their houses and villages by their mere presence. By their personal contact as well as by their clothes, their medicines, and the many other mysterious things that they bring with them they are believed to spread germs of death-bringing diseases.

Just as the evil of witchcraft is caused by a demoniacal being, perhaps a death-bringing iguánchi, so 'disease' (súngura) is also caused by a spirit, namely, the spirit of a white man. The Jibaros, however, can say nothing more particularly about this disease and death spirit, and they know no other way of protecting themselves against his visits than by trying to avoid him."

1: Karsten--423-424 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 534, 177, 789 (1928-29)

"The most important of the religious instruments of the Jibaros is the big drum tundúi. We have already seen how this drum is used and the interesting religious ideas that are connected with it. The curious association of ideas which has induced the Jibaros to propitiate the 'demon of the mountain' with the instrument which is supposed to be an imitation of his visible representative, the great serpent, pangi, makes us understand that we are dealing with an old and genuinely Indian religious custom. The same can hardly be said about the other and smaller drum, called uchichi tambora by the Jibaros, which no doubt [424] is of European origin. The latter have obtained this drum from their more civilized tribesmen the Canelos Indians, who have developed the making of such drums into a whole industry. The drum is made with great skill and has skin at both ends, the one skin being obtained from a common night monkey, the other from the small capuchin monkey. Only one stick is used. The Canelos Indians use the drum at their drinking-feasts, marriage feasts, etc., two or three Indians constantly wandering about in the middle of the house accompanying with their drums the pairs who appear dancing. The Indians believe that by drumming and dancing they can, among other things, keep off evil spirits, but it is evident that among these half-civilized Indians such ceremonies are more and more losing their religious and magical significance and degenerating into mere amusements. The Jibaros too use the small

drum, accompanying the solo dances with it at their great feasts, the 'music' having the same significance as among the Canelos Indians.

The same may be said of the flutes, at any rate of those known under the name of piuma and pingúi. Both are made of a piece of cane, but the former, the piuma, is larger and has five holes, whereas the smaller has only two. They are used at the great feasts and add to the general din and noise. Their religious significance clearly appears, for instance, from a custom like that mentioned above (p. 226) with reference to the Achuares of the Pastaza. When a newborn child is taken into the house for the first time, the oldest man in the family walks round with the little one accompanied by the other men beating drums and playing on flutes, a ceremony which professedly has for its object to frighten away the evil spirits who are threatening the child. A third flute is by the Jibaros called tungúi and is made of the leg bone of the jaguar. This flute is played, among other things, when the inhabitants of a house, attacked by an enemy, are trying to escape from it into the forest. The flute-playing is accompanied by dancing and is believed to 'tire out the enemy' (p. 290). A flute made of the jaguar's bone is believed to have a special magical power."

1: Karsten--441-442 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the third narcotic, tobacco, it has frequently been mentioned in connection with the two other magical drinks, the natéma (aya huasca) and the maíkoa (huántuc). The importance which the Jibaros ascribe to tobacco is enormous; from this plant they prepare their most powerful and most indispensable medicine. Some Jibaros of our own days may also use tobacco as a means of enjoyment, but it is certain that they have learnt this from the whites. It is remarkable that the Indians only use the tobacco they have received from the whites in this way, [442] but never their own. The tobacco which the Jibaros themselves cultivate is used by them only for strictly ceremonial purposes. On the other hand, the Indians would never use the tobacco bought from the whites for their religious ceremonies; they distrust it in the same way as they distrust other articles received from their hereditary enemies. The Indian tobacco, badly cultivated as it is, is not particularly strong; but since it is consumed in great quantities, its effects are still powerful enough."

1: Karsten--502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533, 177, 151 (1928-29)

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

"The civilizing of the savage Indians is everywhere in South America a leading question of the day, but it has, I think, a special importance attached to it in regard to a tribe so richly endowed by nature as the Jibaros. In fact, with the exception of the ancient Inca culture, I know no native culture in South America so strongly pronounced and so peculiar in many of its traits as the Jibaro culture. In its present form it is of course, doomed to disappear; it is also necessary that certain ideas and customs, above all their inveterate belief in witchcraft and [584] the custom of head-hunting, should be made to disappear if the Indians are to be raised from that state of barbarism in which they are now. But the question is how the Indians could be made participants of Christian civilization without losing their high mental qualities and their native virtues, and how those traits in their culture which are really valuable could be preserved thereby.

I am far from underrating the devoted civilizing work which the Catholic missionaries, and especially the Jesuits, have done among the South American Indians in former times. As an ethnologist I have reason to emphasize it all the more as these missionaries have at the same time given us some of the most valuable information we possess concerning native Indian cultures that have long ago ceased to exist. If nevertheless it must be stated that the endeavours of the Christian missionaries to convert and civilize the Indians have on the whole proved a failure, this has in part been due to particular unfavourable circumstances over which they have had no control. The

'civilization' with which these innocent children of nature have been brought in contact has not as a rule answered to the lofty ideals of Christianity, and those men who have represented it have unfortunately [sic] more often been Christians by name than in reality. As long as brandy and venereal diseases are the most essential of the 'culture elements' with which these pioneers of 'Christian civilization' make the Indians acquainted, we cannot wonder that its effects on the latter, as hitherto, rather are shown in their gradual physical and moral degeneration than in real cultural progress. When further we take into consideration that system of slavery or bond-service which has been introduced by the white settlers for instance at the Rio Napo, and to which I have alluded before, we can quite understand the lack of enthusiasm which the natives of South America have as a rule manifested to all civilizatory attempts on the part of the whites, even when they have been made with the best intentions. The Jibaro race especially has resisted them as it were instinctively.

That antipathy against higher culture which has frequently been said to be characteristic of the Indian, in contrast with, for instance, the African negro, must, I believe, to a great extent be explained from this fact. The Indian is by no means averse to culture in itself. On the contrary, my own experience at any rate is that the Indian living in a state of nature is generally eager to acquire knowledge and readily [585] uses the opportunities of learning something about the 'sciences' and language of the whites

when such opportunities are afforded. Thus when I stayed in the house of the savage Jibaros at Rio Chiguaza during the victory-feast, the Indians with unwearying eagerness tried to learn, from me and my mestizo companions, the Spanish numerals and other words, and they also frequently expressed their desire to learn reading and writing. It is a wellknown fact that the Indians generally learn the Spanish language very easily. Both the Indian's thirst for knowledge and his relatively high natural intelligence seem to me to be a guarantee for his capability to receive a higher culture, if only it is communicated to him in the right way.

In this respect, however, the methods of the missionaries have frequently been perverted. They have too much been thinking of their 'spiritual conquests', of the conversion of the heathen to 'the only true religion', overlooking the fact that exactly this is the part of their teaching which to the primitive Indians is most difficult to understand. Without particularly having the activity of the missionaries in view, I should like to point out that to every people, and especially to primitive folk, the rapid transition from one form of culture to an other and entirely different one necessarily involves certain dangers. Through the methods of education hitherto followed the Indians have lost their faith in the old ideals, and frequently at the same time the foundation on which their old religious and ethical view of the world has been based. The result has naturally been that moral nihilism which unfortunately is characteristic of the present-day half-civilized Indian. The educational work among the Indians should not, I think,

begin by more or less futile attempts to impart to them new religious ideas or spiritual truths which they do not understand. By improving the conditions of their material existence, by rational teaching in agriculture and in useful handicrafts, and above all by observing absolute justice in all dealings with them, the white teachers could easily awake in them that interest and confidence which is a conditio sine qua non for success in any educational work. His liberty and independence the Jibaro Indian appreciates more than anything else. This should be guaranteed to him by law, including the protection on the part of the authorities against abuses of any kind, and especially against the brandy of the whites, the chief motor of degeneration in all 'civilized' Indians. Material progress would no doubt be followed by intellectual and moral progress, and thus a gradual change in the Indian view of the world be brought [586] about. Even their greatest curse, their belief in witchcraft, can hardly be overcome by directly combatting it, as the missionaries have hitherto done, but only by general enlightenment.

The Jibaros, in spite of their spirit of freedom, cannot in the long run escape the influence of civilization. By wise politics their degeneration and total extinction--which too, at any rate in part, is the result of the contact with civilization--could at least be delayed, and thus the hour postponed when this interesting form of human culture has entirely disappeared."

2: Stirling--IX (1930-31) 1938 Jivaro
116 177

"Since the year 1540 the Jivaro Indians have been more or less constantly in contact with European culture. During these four centuries a great deal has been written about them, unfortunately most of it during the present century, and possibly the present contribution will but add to the confusion of what might seem an already redundant literature. The many accounts of travelers, soldiers, settlers, missionaries, and scientists contain a great deal that is of ethnological value, mingled with much that is repetitious, much that is garbled, and much that is speculative. With the exception of Hamy and Rivet, most writers have neglected utilizing the early Spanish accounts which are of considerable value for comparative purposes, although rarely as detailed as we would like."

2: Stirling--3 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177

"When first visited by Juan de Salinas in the middle of the sixteenth century they apparently showed no inclination to include the Spaniards in their war pattern. The attempt to interfere with their liberty and to force strange customs and beliefs upon them soon changed this situation."

2: Stirling--3 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 181

"Typical of the statements of modern writers is that of Rivet, who said at the beginning of the present century:

The Jivaro does not have the submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, of the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is quick, the look steady, the physiognomy mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animate, their speech easy and assured. * * *So one finds him in the forests in the midst of virgin nature whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage. (2)

This same 'virgin nature', friendly to those who have adapted themselves to her embrace, so hostile to those who have not, has enabled these children of the jungle to maintain the spirit of independence against the conquering might of the Inca, the greed of the gold-hungry conquistador, and the passionate zeal of the missionary.

The alliance between nature and the Jivaros has enabled these Indians successfully to repulse for 400 years the most determined efforts of the white man to establish himself in their territory."

"2. Rivet, 1907, p. 361."

2: Stirling--41 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 135, 669

"The gold in the headwater streams of the Santiago brought the Jivaros in contact with the Spaniards at an early date. During the sixteenth century they apparently did not offer much resistance to the intrusions of the Spaniards, although they were continually fighting among themselves in much the same manner as they do at the present day. It took some time for the Spaniards to establish themselves as natural enemies, but after enduring the encomienda for about 30 years the Jivaros finally arose in a united revolt which freed them permanently from foreign rule, in spite of the fact that continuous efforts have been made since that time to exploit their territory."

2: Stirling--79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 111, 177

"Guns did not come into general use among the Jivaros until the early part of the twentieth century. During this period they captured some guns from the Peruvians, and later the light muzzle-loading escopetas or shotguns were introduced in considerable numbers by the traders. At the present time it is the ambition of every Jivaro to own a gun, although probably less than half of the men possess them. This strong desire to own 'escopetas' can scarcely be based on practical considerations, since they are little more effective for hunting purposes than the blowgun and have the additional disadvantage that the noise made in shooting frightens game. While guns are becoming more common, blowguns still continue to be important adjuncts of every Jivaro household.

It seems clear that during the sixteenth century the Jivaros used lances, spear throwers, and bows and arrows. Sometime during the latter part of the seventeenth century the bow and arrow and the spear thrower began to go out of use, being replaced by the blowgun with poison darts."

2: Stirling--80 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"The remarkable parallel between this weapon [KS: the blowgun] and its accessories as manufactured in Indonesia and in South America has been a frequent subject of comment by ethnographers. Details regarding the nature of many of these parallels and the improbability of their independent development need not be mentioned here. As far as the writer is aware, no one has suggested the post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun into the South American region. The amazing similarity in the methods of manufacture and materials used would seem to make it extremely unlikely that this highly specialized complex could have developed independently in the two areas. It seems to the writer much more probable that the use of the blowgun and its equipment was brought into South America by southeastern Asiatics, possible from the Philippines, who were carried across the Pacific on one or more of the many Spanish galleons which followed this route in the sixteenth century. These individuals, escaping into a familiar jungle environment which supplied all of the necessary materials, could easily have used their knowledge to manufacture this complicated but most useful weapon. (13a)

"13a. The writer has been informed by Dr. Wendell Bennett that there is an early Chimu vessel in the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle, of Trujillo, with a painting of what appears to be a man using a blowgun. This may represent a pellet gun."

2: Stirling--80-81 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 411

"Judging from the early literature, its [KS: the blowgun] use in South America originated in the general vicinity of the Mainas, from whom it was obtained by the Jivaros, who today are probably the most expert blowgun manufacturers in South America. From this region it spread across the northern Amazon basin to the Guianas, where its intro-[81] duction appears to have been comparatively late. It seems quite certain that the Jivaros did not have it until the seventeenth century.

In northwestern South America the blowgun is called variously cerbatana, or bodoquera, or by the Quechua term pucuna. By the Jivaros it is called umi.

There are numerous variations in the technique of making blowguns as practiced in different sections of the Jivaro country. The descriptions given by Rivet (14) and that of Up de Graff (15) approximate most closely the process as witnessed by the writer on the Chinganasa River. The writer has on numerous occasions observed Jivaros at work manufacturing blowgun darts and preparing them for use.

"14. Rivet, 1907, p. 594.
15. Up de Graff, p. 210."

3: Simson--385 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 157, 181, 177

"The tribe or family of the Jívaros is a large one, and one of the most distinguished, independent, and warlike in South America. They alike withstood the attacks of the Jucas and the Spaniards, burning the once famed cities of Logroño and Mendoza, and massacring all the male inhabitants who did not succeed in making their escape; and even to this day they maintain the most thorough independence. The missions at Macas and Gualaquiza have as yet produced no practical results, nor obtained any authority over the Indians. A Jesuit padre, who had resided three years at Gualaquiza amongst them, informed me that he had found it impossible to make any progress with them; and more than once his life was personally threatened. During these three years twenty nine whites (i.e., half-caste traders) were killed in the neighbourhood of Gualaquiza."

4: Up de Graff--201 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177

"There is so very little known about the head-hunters of the Upper Amazon that I think a short digression on their mode of life will not be out of place. They form an interesting study in that they differ in many respects from any other known savage tribes, and are a living example of the Stone Age Man, one of the very few surviving. The inaccessibility of their country, its fine climate, and the abundance of foodstuffs, animal and vegetable, provided by the woods and rivers, all go to preserve them from the taint of civilization which, bringing disease in its track, has exterminated so many wild peoples. Almost the only literate persons who are in a position to make a record of the lives and habits of these tribes--the Jesuit priests who have established missions in the country adjoining their territory, as for example at Macas, Andoas, and Archidona--appear never to have availed themselves of the chance. They live in the gold-bearing country, and are too much occupied with exchanging blessings for the most coveted of worldly commodities."

4: Up de Graff—201-202 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177, 797

"It is worth noting in passing, that whereas those Indians (of other tribes) who have lived for fifty years under the influence of the priests at the missions I have mentioned, remain to-day in every respect as ignorant and more superstitious than ever, having acquired merely [202] the doubtful benefit of a Christian catechism which they cannot understand (and could not have been expected to), those of their brothers whose domains have been invaded by the caucheros have in the short space of some two years jumped from stone axes to Singer sewing machines, and what is more important, from sheer barbarism to self-respect. The former, as I know from personal experience, shrink from contact with strangers, under the influence of the priests' teaching (as though they feared outside intervention, which might rob them of some of their influence). The latter are deliberately taught the advantages of steel axes and machetes over stone not, be it said, by reason of the philanthropic instinct of the cauchero, but nevertheless with gain to both sides. It remains to be seen whether together with the worldly goods and broader knowledge which they have acquired, there has been left among them the scourge of disease. But at any rate their intellectual progress, and, as far as I could make out, their moral outlook have made far more rapid strides than in the case of their brothers who have fallen under the influence of 'religion.' "

4: Up de Graff --218 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 412, 437, 177

"We had with us many cases of machetes and steel axes, which we bartered from time to time. It may be, then, that the next time I visit them, to get them to work the 'placer' deposits of gold which lie hidden somewhere in their territory I shall find that a great change has been wrought in their lives by the advent of these tools. For of all the blessings of civilization which these people needed, the axe and the machete to combat the prolific growth of weeds and bush in their clearings, and to make for themselves the multitudinous necessities of life--for almost every thing they use is cut from numi (wood--Jívaro) --stand out first and foremost."

5; Reyes and Teran--107 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135, 487, 177

"The scarcity and rudimentary state of communication routes has obliged people living in the Ecuadorian Oriente to seek their economic well-being largely through mining rather than through agriculture, in spite of the fertility of these lands. And among the minerals, it is the exploitation of gold which today mainly concerns those [GCB: white men] who venture into these regions. Gold also is the concern of a large number of natives whose labor is exploited by the whites."

5: Reyes and Teran--108-109 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 161, 177

"Unemployment in the centers of population has brought into the forest a large number of placer miners, many of whom, after a brief period of struggle with the wilderness, have returned with respectable fortunes. These men are the remarkable gold miners who impart an atmosphere of activity and progress to many settlements of the Oriente, even though they frequently bespatter them with blood. The following data may give some idea of the intensity with which this work is being carried on:[109]

Number of men washing gold in the Napo and its tributaries.....	3,500
Number of men washing gold in the Pastaza and its tributaries.....	1,000
Number of men washing gold in the Upano and its tributaries.....	300
Number of men washing gold in the Paute and its tributaries.....	2,500
Number of men washing gold in the Zamora and its tributaries.....	5,200
Number of men washing gold in the San Francisco and other tributaries of the Chinchipe.....	2,000
Number of men washing gold in the placers of the Nabon, Chordeleg, Zaruma, Gualaquiza and the cordillera del Condor.....	3,500
Total.....	18,000 "

12: Rivet--338 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 177

A characteristic common to all these tribes is their love of independence; the result being that these Indians, armed with simple lances of wood, located at the very gates of the civilized and Christian world, have kept all their purity of race and all their originality until the beginning of the twentieth century. Protected by impenetrable forests, where tropical nature seems to take pleasure in accumulating obstacles against the entrance of the invader, these passionate lovers of liberty have resisted with equal success the numerous assaults made on them by the Spaniards and missionaries, all the attempts of conquests and all the attempts at conversion, as we shall now see in studying their past.

12: Rivet--345 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 177

With the 18th century and the expulsion of the Jesuits came the end of the attempts at religious conquest of the Jíbaros. With equal good luck, indomitable Indians had resisted the monks as they had resisted the Spanish soldiers in the course of the 16th century.

It seems, however, that before the conquest and in the years that followed, other Indians also made these objects. In fact, here is what Zarate says of the natives who inhabit the region between the Cordillera and the Pacific on the present territory of the republic of Ecuador: "In some temples, especially in the towns that they call de Pasao, on all the pillars of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so [73] well cured that they did not smell badly, and there were nailed up many heads of Indians that had been shrunk with a certain decoction until they were the size of a fist" (1).

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1. Augustin de Zarate. Historia del Descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Péru, Séville, 1577. Liv. 1, chap. 4, page 3. I can only find on the actual map of Ecuador, Cape Pasado, of which the name recalls the locality mentioned by Zarate. This cape is on the coast of the province of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques.

13: Rivet--235 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 773, 177

Missionaries have a curious tendency either to deny that the Jívaro have a religious life or to limit it to some incidental practices. In reality, among these Indians, as among many other primitive people, there are many acts connected with superstitious beliefs, and it is probably that a careful study would considerably augment the number.

The same comment is applicable to the traditions, our knowledge of which is very small and very incomplete. Unfortunately, the Christian myths introduced in the 18th century by the Jesuits have deeply altered the original myths and it is often impossible to discriminate between what is actually Jívaro and what has a Catholic origin.

The moral picture which I have just quickly outlined, after having studied the customs of the race in detail, shows what a thankless task the missionaries have undertaken and explains to a certain extent the failure of their attempts up to this time. He who understands only Christian doctrines runs head-on into the most deeply-rooted customs of the people. To advise the Jíbaro to forgive injuries, when all his life is dominated by the desire for vengeance, to point out to him the goodness of the Catholic God, when the only thing he respects is strength, to explain to him the idea of being good to one's neighbor, when he only thinks of lucrative pillage from his neighbor, to limit him to a single wife and to make her his equal when for years he has practiced authoritarian polygamy, to oblige this lover of liberty to accept the many subjections of communal life, the constraint of certain rules, to try to make his mind, accustomed only to concrete realities, understand the abstraction of the Christian mysteries and dogmas, that is to ask too much of the savage, too many sacrifices, that is to upset his entire life without giving him sufficient compensation, in a word, it is to undertake a hopeless work, destined to certain failure.

And in fact, the missionaries succeed in nothing or almost nothing. In order to make their neophytes understand them, they are obliged to use their own language, and they have tried to adapt to the Christian conception the words which are used to designate the native divinities. They have made the iguanchi the devil, and tungura hell; but these

words have taken on a new meaning only in the minds of the priests; for the baptized Jíbaro, they have kept their primitive significance. The teachers of the catechism and those being taught do not understand each other, and seem to understand only thanks to ambiguity. So it is that a missionary may rejoice over having heard an old Indian say on seeing a child baptized: "It is a good thing to wash the head in this manner, because it frightens the iguanchi" (1). In reality, Christian baptism is to the savage only an operation of beneficent magic which has been added to the things they already practiced, the priest is only a huishinu who has brought into the Amazonian forest the secret of new formulae for conciliating the divinities and spirits.

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1. Bulletin salesien, February 1898, page 50.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jíbaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jíbaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

13: Rivet--257-258 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 177

Does this mean the savages of the upper Amazon will never recognize the benefits of civilization? I fear so. Except for the priests, the Whites who live in these remote regions have other concerns than desiring to lead the savage to a higher conception of social life. One may say that the Jíbaros have only received from civilization two sad presents by this agency, smallpox and epidemic maladies which are sufficient reasons for their refusal to group together in villages, and alcohol which weakens and kills a naturally vigorous and beautiful race.

The future of the Indians, which I have just been discussing, is only too clearly apparent. Like their brothers of North America, they are doomed to disappearance, the rapidity of which will depend on the [258] rapidity with which the upper Amazonian provinces are populated. They will be annihilated as the Whites take possession of their vast forests where nature still guards so many unexploited riches, which will soon attract foreigners weary of the struggle in their own countries, on impoverished and miserly soil.

"The tribe have no outwardly manifested religious beliefs, other than such as may be involved in the cult of the medicine man. Occasionally individuals would be met who had been baptized, as adults, at Gualaquiza, but they were not professing proselytes. The missions founded in various Amazon regions, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, have made little or no real impression upon the Jíbaro, where he has been reached at all by them; (38) but this is scarcely a matter for wonder, in view of the interruptions which they have constantly suffered through the stormy vicissitudes of South American history. 'The first blow to the missions,' says Mozans, (39) 'came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reasons ocultas y reservadas. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent and the crippled financial condition of

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"38. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 87.
39. H. J. Mozans, work cited in footnote 6, p. 451."

most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest. Thus, some twenty years ago the Franciscans established a mission, with schools and a medical dispensary, at Zamora, but after a brief existence its withdrawal was forced under the anti-clerical President Alfaro, during whose régime also the Jesuits were deprived of all authority in Oriente."

20: Dyott--164 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 825, 262, 177

"The deer is regarded by the Jivaros as the incarnation of a particularly evil demon, and therefore its meat is not eaten or even touched; but in the case of Kuashu and other families who come in contact with traders, the superstitious dread in which the animal has been held in the past has given way to more rational ideas. No time was lost, therefore, in slinging the carcass on to a pole and carrying it back to the house in triumph."

22: Hamy--385 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 177

"The vast territories which stretch along the banks of the Maranon, from the confines of Peru and from the republic of Ecuador, hide in the depths of their almost impenetrable forests, a certain number of Indian tribes, which have remained almost unknown up to recent times. The governors of Cuenca and magistrates of Chachapoyas, in whose jurisdiction the greater part of these Indians are believed to be located, exercise in reality, only nominal authority, and the missionaries, in spite of long and persistent efforts, have not succeeded until recently to found durable establishments among these savages."

24: Wright--238-240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 262

"Group No. 2 [KS: in comparative study of teeth] consisted of 80 males from pre-adolescent to middle adulthood, of which 34 were adults, and 46 pre-adolescent. This group lived in the mixed white and Indian settlement of Méndez, approximately three days journey from the region of Group No. 1. This latter group is of the same racial stock and family as those of Group No. 1, and originally lived in the same jungle environment, but are now under the protection of the missionaries and were living in and about the mission settlement. Their customs and food habits had been altered to meet the requirements of a quasi-civilized community. The usual diet of these individuals consisted of bananas as the only raw food, cooked meats, potatoes, rice and beans, bread, canned salmon, biscuits, coffee and carbonated beverages. Occasionally, cheap candy, cakes and sugar cane were available, the latter in ample quantities. Almost every individual suffered from [240] gastric disturbances. Because of local obstacles which could not be overcome, the making of plaster casts of their teeth and routine accurate dental examinations were virtually impossible, and cursory examinations for comparative study had to suffice. With the exception of three adult individuals, no one was free from dental caries. Approximately 25% had all their teeth affected with dental caries, and 35% from one to several teeth were missing. Of 34 adults, 16 had good occlusions, while 18 had fair occlusions, but with misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of the pre-adolescent

members of this group, 14 had good occlusions, and 32 were affected with malocclusions of varying degree; all of the latter had misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of a total of 80 individuals in Group 2, 50 or 82.5% were affected with maxillary central incisor misplacements. (Table 1.)"

TABLE 1--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DENTAL OCCLUSION OF GROUPS 1 AND 2.

	Group 1. 67 Males		Group 2. 80 Males	
Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Good Occlusion	18	3	16	14
Rotated Max. 1st incisors. Bal. occl. fair-good.	47	5	18	32
Rotated Max. 1st incisors gen. mal-occlusion		3		

[Put above slip number 2, matching column rules.]

24: Wright--239
116, 164, 177, 262

(1938) 1942

Jivaro-2

4th mand. molars.	2			[Match columns with slip No. 1]
Rotated Max. 1st incisors.	Total 55 or 82%	of Group 1.	Total 50 or 82.5%	of Group 2.

TABLE 2--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TOOTH CAVITIES OF GROUPS 1 AND 2 (1).

Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Free from caries	32	9	3	
1 cavity	15	1		
2 cavities	1			
3 "	4		31	46
4 "	1			
5 "	3	1	(comparative records) 25% of all had cavities in almost all teeth. 35% had missing teeth.	

"1. [See following sheet for footnote]"

24: Wright--239 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-3
116, 164, 177, 262

"1. [Footnote 1, p. 239] It was impossible to tabulate Group 2 in detail except to show results of a cursory examination for a comparative study."

24: Wright--240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
116, 164, 177, 262

"In comparing the dental conditions of the two groups [KS: in comparative study of teeth] the factor of misplacements of the maxillary central incisors is a persistent variable which is constant for both groups. With 82% in Group 1, and 82.5% in Group 2, there is a variance of only .5% for affected teeth, a curious coincidence. There is another factor to be noted, namely that of the wide variance of dental caries between the two groups. The change in food habits is undoubtedly responsible for the increase in dental caries in Group 2, but this change in environment does not alter the inherited tendency to variation in occlusion common to both groups."

25: Vigna --46 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 177, 609, 153

The relations of the Jíbaros with white people are characterized by friendship and opportunism. They admire the white civilization and imitate whatever appears suitable to them. It is a pity that they generally admire the vices and not the virtues. Through his contact with white civilization the Jíbaro has learned to lie, to intoxicate himself with liquor and to steal.

The work of the Catholic and Christian Missionaries among them proceeds slowly, and the Catholic Missionaries have chosen by preference to dedicate themselves to the education and evangelization of the new generations.

26: Brüning--48 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 197, 177

There are, as pointed out before, only a few white men among the Indians. These white men collect rubber. Most of them live in Chachapoyas and its vicinity. They refer to the Indians as Infieles, while they regard themselves, in contrast to the natives, as Cristianos. The Indians use the term Cristianos when they refer to persons or languages that do not belong to their race. They call themselves and their own language Aguaruna. In conversation among themselves they use, what the white men call, Quichua. But it is a Quichua which contains just as many Spanish and Aguaruna words as it contains Quichua words. And the white men frequently have to learn this dialect from the Indians. A true Quichua Indian, whom we had taken along on our expedition, insisted that he could not understand a word of this language. An old man in Ja'n told me after my return that formerly, when he had visited them in his youth, the Indians had understood Quichua. Would it not be better if the white men would learn the pure Aguaruna language or would teach Spanish to the Indians? I have seen it in Huavico, where an old man from Huancabamba was living, that both things are not impossible. This old man used only the Spanish language. Consequently, all Indians in the vicinity knew Spanish fairly well, and two Indians, who lived with him in his house, knew it even quite well. During my short stay there I had the opportunity to make a short glossary of the Aguaruna language. The young nephew of the old man spoke Aguaruna well, and otherwise, too, in his mode of life, he had become half Indianized. Time and again I had to laugh upon seeing the strange

26: Brüning--48 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-2
116, 197, 177

surprize of the Indians when this young white man addressed them in their own language; they circled him with awe, examining him from all sides.

26: Brüning--50 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 153, 177

The Indians are very intelligent and mentally alert. They showed great interest in the unfamiliar. Due to language difficulties we were unable to converse with them, and yet, they sensed instinctively what we wanted, and they seemed to be able to read our thoughts and to guess our wishes. I was struck by the thirst of knowledge on the part of some boys, 8-12 years of age, and after I had satisfied their eagerness for learning, they tried to enlighten me concerning the facts that were of their immediate concern. It is a pity that these poor people are not subjected to a better civilizing influence than that which rubber dealers are able to give, for one can hardly say that the rubber collectors are especially suited for this task. It is highly doubtful whether the missionaries act as a civilizing force. For an Indian who has been baptized may have been received in the pale of the church, but he is still a long way from civilization. On the contrary, upon becoming a Christian he hastens to do away with his good character features and to adopt the vices of civilization. During our return trip a number of older boys were baptized by an Augustine monk who accompanied us. But I had the impression that their fathers were chiefly prompted to this step by the gifts (such as large colored handkerchieves and glass pearls) which the monks offered.

26: Brüning-- 50 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 177

The whites regard the Indians as treacherous and revengeful...But I have heard of instances where rubber collectors made use of the Indians to eliminate burdensome competitors in the rubber business. Persons who are not familiar with all the facts will, of course, raise their voices against the Indian treachery. However, I am inclined to believe that the Indians are fond of this type of business, since there is innate in them something of a bloodthirsty tiger, and their animal instincts can be easily provoked. The whites, too, are guilty in this respect since they did equip the Indians with modern shooting arms. I have not been in a single native house where I did not find at least a few Winchester repeating rifles (latest model type!). These modern weapons in the hand of the Indians constitute a two-edged sword, as we learned in the year 1904.

26: Brüning--58 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 286, 462

The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning-- 71-72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 177, 436

In all the tambos I found Winchester rifles which they had obtained from the rubber collectors by barter for rubber. But since the Indians most of the time do not have any [72] shot to go with it, these rifles are for the most part ornamental pieces. As a matter of fact, the Indians are not too fond of rifles since, they maintain, their report chases the game off.

In their tambos they have special stands where all the weapons are vertically placed and with great orderliness. Especially the blowguns have to be kept in a vertical position, otherwise they would bend.

26: Brüning--72 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 726

In recent times, the number of correrías has decreased; nevertheless, I was told in the Muchingis River territory that the Indians were making preparations to attack their arch-enemies, the Huambisas. The oracle, however, had not yet been auspicious. In order to find out whether the correría would be successful, they drink the narcotic decoction of a certain liana which transports them into a state of dreaming in which they have hallucinations by which they judge as to the lucky or unlucky outcome of the intended raid. This liana is called náktém in the Aguaruna language and ayahuásca (a Quichua word meaning "rope of death") by the whites.

28: Tessman--344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 177, 291

"One may also see a poncho, that is to say, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the middle in order to pull it over the head. This piece of clothing is to be found (according to Karsten in his Blood Revenge, p. 25) among the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, where it is called awangeama. It is certain that this poncho has been imported from the Ketschua Indians."

28: Tessman--350 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 501, 177

Canoe (See Glossary) and paddle: kaneitio, according to Karsten from the Spanish canalete (i. e., Indian paddle). Judging from the Spanish name, they must have been imported.

28: Tessman--352 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 177

Tobacco (sángo) is taken in the form of juice: they let the leaves soak in water, and then drink the water or sip it through the nose. According to Karsten they have special earthenware glasses for this purpose.

In his Beiträge etc., pp. 56 ff. Karsten deals at great length with the tobacco and the ideas and customs connected with it. The original magic significance of tobacco is still apparent. As a pure stimulant tobacco is a new acquisition of the Chiwaros, which is proved by the fact that for this purpose the Indians use imported tobacco only. The men take the tobacco juice through the mouth or through the nose, the women through the mouth only. The Indians also smoke large cigars, which are placed in a bamboo holder. At a certain festival, when the boys reach the stage of manhood, smoke is blown into the mouths of the novices. This is, according to Karsten, the significance of the tobacco for the Chiwaros: 1) it is a panacea for all diseases, and 2) it is a means to increase the magic power; thirdly, it is an actual narcoticum which produces dreams.

There does not seem to be any coca, and Karsten does not talk about it either.

28: Tessman--363-364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 153, 177

The character of the Chiwaros differs somewhat from that of the average Indian, but it is by no means better. Certain good character traits may be present, such as a good perceptive faculty or a greater vivacity and industriousness. But these good character traits are overshadowed by the [364] overwhelming bloodthirstyness, trickery, and deceitfulness of these Indians. By means of a prolonged severe education it might be possible to raise the level of these Indians, perhaps to a level above the other Indians, but I doubt that this will happen, since this education cannot become effective until all Chiwaros, through causes of a different nature, have become the victims of steadily advancing civilization. At the moment, however, one cannot even think that this bloodthirsty group will ever be tamed, since neither the Peruvian nor the Ecuadorian governments show the slightest inclination to carry out energetic measures against the Chiwaros. A strict military supervision over a period of several decades would be the basis for it; to this should be added a friendly, just, and absolutely social regulation of the barter commerce, so that all exploitation will be ruled out. But this is asking for too much in South America! The whole situation is aggrevated by the fact that the borderline between Ecuador and Peru has not yet been established, and the Indians are therefore between two hostile camps. Rivet mentions the Indian treacherousness, and he says that the missionaries have been unsuccessful. The Chiwaros let themselves be baptized several times in order to gain material advantages.

Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., p. 8) calls the Chiwaros impulsive and choleric.

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[7]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[8] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (tsantsa), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *wanti* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makanti*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *wanti* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *wanti* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jívaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jívaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[12] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jívaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*okuton*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jívaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

[1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri Inuru* comprise the Jívaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jívaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *Inuru*, does not mean "Jívaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri Inuru*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jívaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*ahuara Inuru*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jívaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri Inuru* or Jívaro proper. The other Jívaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achúal), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ć Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following ć or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following ć or i plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish *s* when i is adjacent)

/326 cont./

175 Only rarely have the Jívaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

/327/

The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Macas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tunguragua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 41 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Macas and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

● 177 648 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 648 highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jívaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[13]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xivaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[14]

The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, *into the Jívaro territory*. These [177] [439] [195] newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[15] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, do-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

173 The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
648 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
• 177
439 In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri huarā*] lived near the
[191] Río Pastaza. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *huarā*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have
[442] pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of
[411] the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs
[231] to Macas. The two *huarā* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy
[412] with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *šuarä*.
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[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[26]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
[231] sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[436] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambinimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 ous journey of two or more days on foot, still discourages white penetration into the eastern interior.

Cases of contact between the interior Jívaro and whites are all very recent and highly localized in their occurrence. The largest intrusion was made by the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation in the early 1940's as part of an ill-fated oil exploration project. The company constructed a small airstrip near the Río Pangui in the easternmost part of the Jívaro territory, but within a few years abandoned the site altogether when explorations failed to reveal economically exploitable oil deposits in the region. The project involved relatively limited interaction with the Jívaro.

177 In 1945, a North American evangelist missionary belonging
797 to the Gospel Missionary Union established a small outpost on the middle Río Macuma. The mission has a small airstrip supplied by single-engine plane since 1946. A subsidiary airstrip was built on the upper Río Cangaimi at the end of 1954.[10] At the time of the investigator's first fieldwork, the Macuma mission was beginning to exert some significant influence on the Jívaro families residing at the mission, but such contacts were still limited to the immediate locality, without any noticeable effect on the culture of the other Jívaro inhabiting the vast interior region east of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The Salesians had also founded a mission on the lower Río Yaupi, with similar localized effects.

101 Localities within the interior Jívaro territory which had
177 been least touched by white contact in 1956–57 are the ones from which the data are primarily drawn for the present study. These areas include: the upper Río Cangaimi; the upper Río Cumaimi; the upper Río Mangosiza; and the region between the Río Chiguaza and the headwaters of the Río Yuquipa and the Río Macuma (see Map 1). The last region is west of the northern end of the Cutucú mountain barrier

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portions of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguaza region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*achuri huni*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguaza and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsamu huni*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[10]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri huni* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 628 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the isolation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 439 [411] [441] The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro [444] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of 177 184 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near extinction of local game, which supplied 43 feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tools and firearms. These complementary inequalities in supply and demand between the frontier and interior Jívaro formed the basis for the trade that supplied the latter with European-type technological items. Such technological items constituted almost the sole aspects of Western civilization that had been adopted by the interior Jívaro in 1956–57.

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jivaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jivaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available.

Macheres are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa machi* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass, and the *hayeas machi* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jivaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa machi* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jivaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jivaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than macheres, but in great demand because of their superiority over macheres in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as macheres, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jivaro of the Rio Upano Valley.

As macheres become worn through years of continual use

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415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
293 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[270] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
295 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
415 food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.
[294]

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
411 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
439 chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[197] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly [458] valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286
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539]

> For me it is very easy
> To spin yarn,
> For I am a man-spider.
> I am a man-spider.
> Therefore I am adept.
>
> My hand is like the hand
> Of a spider.
> Because of this
> I make the spindle hum.

286 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[287 dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
• 177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*nipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*zewii*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuṇuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuṇuí. Whether Nuṇuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[3] On the one hand, the Jivaro usually speak of Nuṇuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuṇuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuṇuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuṇuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuṇuí's two main demands from the Jivaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuṇuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tawáli*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-E/

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756 icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *awáigri*.

756 The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or
776 magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of
[755] these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the
756 shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore
776 most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those
648 belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)-speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the
177 Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *papii*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *papii* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *ñaar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *payú* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

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The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *payú* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *payú!* Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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756 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his
776 power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical
554 power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165-66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to
[431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kwir*) at regular intervals. Such *kwir* includes shot-
[177] guns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tsawanpi*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of
776 the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts
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14. Man with *tsumat* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

11. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *tsumat* in place.

/p. 138-9/

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Chapter VI

CULTURAL CHANGE

Information on cultural change among the interior Jívaro was obtained exclusively from elderly informants, a method which was necessitated by the lack of written records. By employing such time markers as the appearance of Halley's Comet (1910),[1] the end of visits by rubber collectors (ca. 1914–15), and the dates of the founding of various missions among the frontier Jívaro, of which the interior Jívaro were aware, approximate indications were obtained of the inception and duration of many of the changes. Such information usually consisted of reports of trends rather than of abrupt alterations in native cultural practices, the isolation of the interior area having protected the Jívaro there from the disruptive incursions of the gold miners, missionaries, and settlers to the west.

In the absence of adequate historical documentation, interviewing techniques were used which had already been developed in "salvage" or "memory" ethnography among North American Indians. Using such techniques, anthropologists in such areas as California had succeeded in making very useful reconstructions of bygone aboriginal cultures with no more than a few aged informants as their source of information. In the Jívaro case, the task was much easier, in that there was still a fully functioning native culture and a variety of good informants whose accounts could be compared in determining what changes had occurred during their lifetimes.

To check the reliability of the oral accounts of cultural

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[8] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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The introduction of machetes and steel axes has made woodworking and tree felling more efficient and rapid. The formerly tedious work of felling trees for garden clearings with the aboriginal stone axes has been described by Up de Graff for the Jivaroan "Antipes" (a neighborhood of the Aguaruna or Huambisa) among whom he resided in the late nineteenth century:

> If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to a pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.
>
> The first step in making a *chacra* [Spanish: garden] is to remove the undergrowth, the soft stems are cut with hardwood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works *for days and weeks* [emphasis supplied], until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. *But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the* smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable network of creepers among the upper branches . . .
>
> After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and tops, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an 178
important new development. This innovation, which is re- 756
lated to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to 554
acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1915 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking 179
the Jivaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, 756
evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, 554
shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the 648
Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, [721]
Jivaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jivaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced 177
considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this 178
more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Cane- 756
los tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. 554
Examples of such recently transmitted information include 648
new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession [776]
by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in 178
supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 774

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
799 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
798 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
276 become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
824 uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
756 have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
755 Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jivaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the
823 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
• 177 from the frontier Jivaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
797 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jivaro, Tunark, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jivaro clearly attributable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jivaro

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jívaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

• 177 Still, the Jívaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jívaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

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4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes slowly when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this unit alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s). [595]

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *awaru*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense; but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

9. *Mainé* may alternatively be pronounced *remiña*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *mainé* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [766]

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradiction between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. [114]

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderosian et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *kakaram*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 24). [781]

16. The breezes are caused by his *tsentsak* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jivaro (see pp. 129–31).

CHAPTER 9

1. Descloux (1949, p. 91) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yurupaza neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay. [179]

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000 [123] 1. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one returning from the Río Chigüeno region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

2. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 • 197 765 532 727 998 [325] 3. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the tsantsa. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37-40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 61-62; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76-78; and Up de Graff, 1923, frontispiece, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the yellow peccary they are made from, monkey heads or the skins of other animals, are seen to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have intermarried with the Achuara in trade.

[821] 1. The appearance of this corner is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vasco Galindo, 1892, p. 40; Compte, 1889, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

[114] 1. I am indebted to Pedro Shakin and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Guaiaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common crude knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 439 914

Men scrape and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other fellows for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsuki* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. Men's shoulder bags of braided and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 282 438 439 415 289 824

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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TABLE 1

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KINSHIP: ELEMENTARY TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TERMS OF ADDRESS

Key to abbreviations

Br	brother	Gs	grandson
Da	daughter	Hu	husband
Fa	father	Mo	mother
Gc	grandchild	Si	sister
Gd	granddaughter	So	son
Gp	grandparent	Wi	wife

The abbreviations also represent the possessive form, thus, MoBrDaSo is mother's brother's daughter's son.

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O	a formerly more common term
N	a recently innovated term
A	a term recently borrowed from the Achuara

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MALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

FaFa, MoFa *apaĉi* also GpBr (*apaĉi* O; *apáĉiru* O; *apodiĉi* N)

FaMo, MoMo *nuhuĉi* also GpSi (*nuhuĉi* O; *nuhuĉiĉi* N)

Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu *apa* (*aparua; apaĉi; apanuĉi; apa* N A)

Mo, MoSi, MoBrWi, FaSi, FaBrWi *nuhu* (*nuhuĉi; nuhui*); if *ego* marries a daughter of MoBrWi, FaSi, or FaBrWi, *tsarsa* (*nuhui*) is substituted for ~~nuhu with regard~~ to the bride's mother.

FaSiHu, MoBr, WiFa *iĉi* (*iĉi*)

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *yaĉi yanuĉi*—younger to older brother; *unupá*—older to younger)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *unui* (*nuhui; unuĉi* N; *unuinui* O; *unuinuĉi* O; *unuĉiru*)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu, WiBr *sai* (*saiburua*)

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jivaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this doubtless seems to convey the idea that the Jivaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

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The main variables introduced into interior Jivaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jivaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[8] but very few reached the interior Jivaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jivaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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fallen trees every a time, they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by heaven.[8]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[9] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did."[10] Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

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There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important manner. Since a man usually works alone at inconvenient times, the individ-

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and garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178
ners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to [278]
develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essen-
tial result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [319]
of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and
machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming
from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412]
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237]
tier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278]
the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh-
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amici*) between people in general, in preference to kinship
[601] terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to
[572] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga-
[576] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*arue*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these
[571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of
[572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of
[431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts.
[753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuṇurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the main-
441 tenance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from
726 which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by lowing Achuara known after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[727]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
197 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jivaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

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Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

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In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *wampui huará* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *wampui huará* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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• 178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuars are nearby, feuding and
578 warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
698 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
183 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
[764] fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
698 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
[123] staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[795] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

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182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jívaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jívaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jívaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

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reported by Danielson (1960, p. 86) where Jívaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 48 persons, with an average of approximately 32. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Danielson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielson's neighborhoods, Pataza and Yutupata, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censo, 1954, pp. 158; 161) of Jívaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jívaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956-57. A comparison of the SIL Jívaro house count with the census figures for the Jívaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Pataza and Yutupata neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

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1. Murdock, 1960, p. 60.

2. In the Jívaro language *kakarma* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakarma* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

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3. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jívaro culture antedate ca. 1900, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jívaro *amigri* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jívaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kompa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jívaro without the implication of personal obligation.

[178] [171]

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *arumma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro.

2. Stillmann, 1957, pp. 381, 394.

3. Castaneda, 1968, and Harner, 1973.

I: Karsten--259 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 181 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are no doubt at present the most warlike of all Indian tribes in South America. The blood-feuds within the tribes and the wars of extermination between the different tribes are continuous, being nourished by their superstitious belief in witch-craft. These wars are the greatest curse of the Jibaros and are felt to be so even by themselves, at least so far as the feuds within the tribes are concerned. On the other hand, the wars are to such a degree one with their whole life and essence that only powerful pressure from outside or a radical change of their whole character and moral views could make them abstain from them. This one may judge even from the fact that from a victory over his enemies the Jibaro warrior not only expects honour and fame in the ordinary sense of the word but also certain material benefits. The head trophy which he takes from his slain enemy is not merely a token of victory, but becomes a fetish charged with supernatural power, and the great victory-feast itself with its many mysterious ceremonies in fact forms a part of the practical religion or cult of the Jibaros.

1: Karsten--264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 181, 722 (1928-29)

"All these precautions in their way illustrate the almost maniacal suspiciousness and dread of enemies which dominates the Jibaros. The mere discovery of mysterious footprints in the neighbourhood of the house, left by unknown Indians who apparently have gone sneaking about at night, may cause an indescribable excitement in the inhabitants. The footprints are carefully examined for the sake of ascertaining from what tribe they originate, message is sent to neighbouring houses, where further inquiries are made. 'We have found such and such footprints near our house, they are not like the feet of anybody from our own tribe, no one of our relations walks in that way, they must originate from strangers, may be of that and that tribe. Have you noticed anything exciting suspicion in the neighbourhood of your house or seen any strange Indians?', and so forth. Assuming that the mysterious footprints might possibly have been left by enemy spies who are planning an attack against the house, the inhabitants continue their inquiries with the energy that the Jibaros generally display when an important enterprise is in question, and take measures of defence."

1: Karsten--291-292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 181 (1928-29)

"It may therefore be justly said that in their wars the Jibaros know no mercy. And although the Jibaro Indian does not particularly practise [292] methods of torturing his vanquished enemy, caught in a war, he on the other hand does not content himself with merely taking his life. He wants to shed as much blood as possible and delights in mutilating the body of the slain enemy, being especially anxious to secure his head. The scene of a battle between Jibaro Indians therefore generally offers a dreadful spectacle of a savage lust of destruction and thirst for blood."

116, 181

"There is no doubt that the Jivaros, from a time dating shortly after the conquest, have contrasted noticeably with their neighbors, a contrast which is even more evident at the present time. Their fine physical appearance, vivacity, energy, and love of freedom have been commented upon by all travelers who have encountered them.

Benavente, in 1540, irked because of his inability to break the spirit of some Jivaro captives, called them the most arrogant of all of the tribes in the Indies.

In 1815 Prieto gave the following description:

The Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel infidels in this part of America, although they are not such stupid barbarians as the various other nations in [3]the mountains bordering on the province of Mainas. They are extremely lively, thoroughly intelligent; they learn easily when one teaches them and even from observation. In order to get satisfaction from the person with whom they are dealing, they are exceedingly amiable and obsequious, giving away, for this reason, anything that they possess. They do not lie among themselves, and much less steal, and if at any time this happens (which is very rare), the thief is thought to be an extremely wicked person, is hated by all and covered with everlasting disgrace. Neither are the Jivaros drunkards, and they look with scorn upon the inebriated; a very unusual trait among the Indians of America.(1)

"1. Prieto, in Compte, pp.64-65."

Even today the intelligence and independent air of the Jivaro, combined with a fine physique produced by an active out-of-doors existence, creates a most favorable impression on the visitor."

2: Stirling--3 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 181

"Typical of the statements of modern writers is that of Rivet, who said at the beginning of the present century:

The Jivaro does not have the submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, of the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is quick, the look steady, the physiognomy mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animate, their speech easy and assured. * * *So one finds him in the forests in the midst of virgin nature whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage. (2)

This same 'virgin nature', friendly to those who have adapted themselves to her embrace, so hostile to those who have not, has enabled these children of the jungle to maintain the spirit of independence against the conquering might of the Inca, the greed of the gold-hungry conquistador, and the passionate zeal of the missionary.

The alliance between nature and the Jivaros has enabled these Indians successfully to repulse for 400 years the most determined efforts of the white man to establish himself in their territory."

"2. Rivet, 1907, p. 361."

2: Stirling--41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

"At the present time the Jivaros are without doubt the most warlike group in all South America, and it is probable that this statement would hold true for the past century. In this respect, however, they have merely retained a custom and a war pattern that was widespread in northwestern South America at the time of the conquest."

2: Stirling--50 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 555, 181

"It is certainly true that at the present time the most important thing in life to a Jivaro is war. His greatest aspiration is to become renowned as a fighter. His reputation increases in proportion to the number of heads he has succeeded in securing during his career. Warfare consists of raids conducted by one group or alliance upon another, and, while of very frequent occurrence, they are sporadic in nature."

3: Simson --385 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 157, 181, 177

"The tribe or family of the Jívaros is a large one, and one of the most distinguished, independent, and warlike in South America. They alike withstood the attacks of the Jucas and the Spaniards, burning the once famed cities of Logroño and Mendoza, and massacring all the male inhabitants who did not succeed in making their escape; and even to this day they maintain the most thorough independence. The missions at Macas and Gualaquiza have as yet produced no practical results, nor obtained any authority over the Indians. A Jesuit padre, who had resided three years at Gualaquiza amongst them, informed me that he had found it impossible to make any progress with them; and more than once his life was personally threatened. During these three years twenty nine whites (i.e., half-caste traders) were killed in the neighbourhood of Gualaquiza."

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 511, 181, 619

"Contentment reigns supreme. Men and women seem happy in their lot. They have an abundance of every necessity and luxury they know. Their one worry in life is the constant fear of attack by raiders, but this they forget as easily as children do the dangers ot the street . Light is the daily round of all, and above all others of him who has a daughter to give in marriage! He who aspires to her hand becomes to all intents and purposes the slave of his future father-in-law for a term of five or six months until he proves his worth. The young savage takes over the scouting, hunting and fishing duties of the house into which he is going to marry; he is at the beck and call of its head, and must answer every call like a fag at school. But only once does he go through the mill; his own household set up, he takes to himself as many wives as he can find among his own people or steal from his enemies; thus it comes about that there is many a woman among the four Jívaro tribes who has been stolen and re-stolen until she is as much at home on the Santiago as on the Marañon, as happy burning hair off monkeys for an Aguaruna as spinning cotton for a Pautecuma. Indeed to my mind there can be one explanation of the existence of identical languages, habits, clothes, modes of fishing and hunting, and applied arts among all the Jívaro peoples, namely that they spring from a common ancestral tribe. A family would break away from the common hunting grounds, move off and establish itself on another river, and nurse its hatred of the parent group until, joined by others, little by little it became the nucleus of another tribe. And so through the course of [223] time they have drifted so far apart that to-day no one tribe

is found with their headquarters within thirty days' canoeing of another, and a deadly hostility exists between them all. There are white men alive to-day in the States who have been scalped by North American Indians; but after the Jívaro has taken his war-trophy, 'finita la commedia.' "

S: Reyes and Teran--121 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
181

"Of all the aboriginal groups of the Oriente, the Jivaros are the most industrious and intelligent, although they resist civilization because of their repugnance to enter into social relations with the whites, whom they consider as objects of pity, subject to multiple needs, and above all, lacking in the sagacity and endurance required for the life of the forest."

10: Anthony--150 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"...there exists constant warfare in the land of the Jivaro, where the two powerful, primal passions prevail, struggle for woman and thirst for vengeance."

12: Rivet--361[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 181

The Jíbaro does not have a submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, like the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is lively, the look bold, the face mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animated, their speech easy and assured. Unhappily this is not the appearance of the savage when he comes to spend a few days in the cities of the inter-Andean valley. Dulled by alcohol, tired out from the trip, painfully affected by the cold climate of the Sierra, usually clothed with indescribable faded finery, he takes on a grotesque appearance and loses his original character and his proud carriage, but as I have described him, so one finds him in the forests, in the midst of virgin nature, whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage.

12: Rivet--615 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 181, 721

One could say without exaggeration that the state of war is the normal state of the Jívaro. The resulting constant strain obliges the native to live always on guard, always ready to attack or defend. He never knows the restful, beneficent calm of peace. In these forests of the Amazon, there is nothing but assaults, surprises, bloody scenes, and never-satisfied hates which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

The causes of these hostilities are very numerous: often it is the necessity of getting women or even the appeal of profitable pillage. More often it is a matter of vengeance to be satisfied, vengeance founded on griefs that are sometimes real but usually imaginary as we shall see when later we study the role of the sorcerer. The law of the talon is actually the only law that rules these savage tribes. But even if these diverse motives did not exist, the Indians would still make war simply for the pleasure of it, by an instinctive need of their nature. They are also driven by the desire to acquire that very special glory that the possession of many shrunken heads gives in a Jívaro country. These trophies are no less an object of pride to the savage than commemorative medals are to the European soldier. In addition to this, these human mummies are the center of many beliefs and of many ceremonies, so obviously superstitious in character that the study of them belongs with the subject of religious life. In this chapter I will describe only their method of preparation and their principal characteristics.

13: Rivet--69 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 181, 266, 721

The savage thinks only of killing; but in spite of these habits, he is not cannibalistic. However, Barriero says that as soon as his enemy falls dead, the conqueror tears out his heart and eats his brain (1); but Villavicencio and Lubbock affirm that cannibalism does not exist among our Indians (2) and no traveller, to my knowledge, has confirmed the account of Barriero (3).

Osculati reports that, "The savages make a kind of bowl with the skull of their victim, in which they drink a great quantity of chicha, thinking to show their profound scorn for the dead in this manner" (4). This detail has not been noted by any other author and it is well to remember that the Italian traveller did not visit the Jíbaros, but was simply lucky in seeing some representatives (belonging undoubtedly to the tribe of Canelos) in the Ecuadorian city of Ambato. Because of this fact, his account may be suspected of inaccuracy.

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1. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 114.
2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 360. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Cf. Theodor Koch. Die Anthropophagie der sudamerikanischen Indianer (Archives internationales d'Ethnographie, Leyde. Vol. XII, 1899, pages 78-110).
4. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 30.

20: Dyott--157-158 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 627, 867, 181

"It was no longer plans for the morning that were being discussed: Kuashu was relating a rather long-winded story about a brother of his who had been foully murdered some years previously. He was telling his sons that the day would come when they would have to avenge the outrage.

It seemed that this uncle had beaten one of his wives to death because she was unfaithful to him, and the woman's family, considering the treatment unnecessarily harsh, had murdered the husband in retaliation. Custom said that Kuashu's family must also take a life in order to satisfy the Jivaro sense of justice. With this end in view, the spirit of revenge was being kept alive, and almost every day the young men of the household were reminded of the duty which they inherited, and how they would eventually have to kill some member of the family who were responsible for their uncle's murder. The boys listened to the tale, which had already been told them hundreds of times, with as much interest as if they had never heard it before, and I wondered how long it would be ere their hands were stained with blood. They saw nothing wrong in this lust for vengeance, for their creed taught them that the spirit [158] of their uncle could not rest till justice had been meted out. Furthermore, if they failed to take reprisals they and their families would be the ones to suffer."

22: Hamy--389 [2] (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"Morally, the Jivaro add to their bellicosity a courage which meets every test, and a remarkable cunning. Their character is indomitable, and they maintain above all else their love of independence."

25: Vigna--37 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 181

The Jíbaro man, king and absolute master of the household, does not himself do any heavy work; this is done by the Jíbaro woman. The man helps to clear the forest and prepare the vegetable gardens, but the woman must take care of the agricultural details. The principal occupation of the Jíbaro is hunting, fishing, and diplomatic relations with the other tribes. Nature, who has most prodigiously supplied the vegetative necessities to the Jíbaro, who is very parsimonious and has few requirements, demands very little of him. The consequent idleness offers great stimulation to his passions. Indolent and without desire, the Jíbaro on certain occasions fails to be rational. The easy promiscuity of the sexes in a climate favoring sensuality, the bold license in talking, especially on the part of the women, and the precocious physiological development, contribute to the low morality of the Jíbaro savage; although, to his honor it must be said that the Jíbaro who has not had contact with civilization, has an extremely fine sense of respect for truth, someone else's property, and the general precepts of natural law.

25: Vigna--37-38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 156, 181

The Jîbaro is materialist by nature. He has no organized social constitution (He does not recognize any chief or authorities, only provisionally and in case of reprisal.); he is polygamous, revengeful through tradition made precept, calculating and cold, inconstant and ungrateful; he does not easily assimilate outside influences; if [38] it is kept in mind that in addition to this he does not have expressions that formulate moral or supernatural ideas, one will have an idea of the social state of the Jîbaro.

26: Brüning--47-48 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 181

In June 1904, that is after my trip, the Indians along the upper Marañón made another uprising, killing all the white men who lived among them, some fifty or sixty, and even a few missionaries. These carnages are officially described as acts of treachery on the part of the Indians. But in going to the bottom of things one will find out that they are acts of retribution. These Indians are sensitive children of nature who never forget an insult even if it may take a long time until they get their revenge. They time their revenge according to the circumstances. Superstition, too, plays its part. For they first make a brew of a narcotic liana, which in the Aguaruna language is called náktém, while the white men call it "rope of death" (ayahuasca). The drinking of this brew causes them to have visions, and they shape their revenge plans in accordance with these hallucinations. In this manner many years may pass, and it can easily be understood that they then take their revenge not always on the guilty ones. They are aware of one thing only: the offense had come from the white men, and white men have to be punished for it....

[48] An affair which is only a joke for the whites is often a serious insult for the Indian. All these insults are put on one common bill, which must be paid in blood at a time which the Indians regard as auspicious. But when the time for payment comes, then the Indians know only Indians on one side and white men on the other. Even white men who are friendly toward the Indians are not exempt from punishment.

28: Tessman--354-355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

One might be tempted to call the war the true religion of the Chiwaros...One is all the more inclined to say this, since warlike acts are in most cases acts of revenge for enchantments so that these warlike expeditions constitute religious acts of revenge against evil sorcerers. But whatever excuses and reasons one may discover, the fact remains that murderous thoughts have become a standard principle of the Chiwaro way of life. For example, one of the Aguarunas whom I had with me in the headquarter of the expedition said to me that "his heart was disquieted because he did not know whom he could kill now."

The Chiwaros live in a permanent state of war against parts of their own tribe, that is to say, Aguaruna is fighting against Aguaruna. And parts of the subtribes fight against other subtribes (for instance, the Aguarunas against the Uambisas). Of course, they also fight against other tribes and also against the whites. The Spaniards were rather badly beaten by the Chiwaros, who were never [355] completely subjected by the whites. The Chiwaros destroyed and ransacked whole settlements (like Borja), killed the men and abducted the women, etc. Later, they made raids on Peruvian outposts and killed a large part of the garrison. Today the Peruvian government, as centruies ago the Spaniards, does not dare to punish the most war-like of all the east-Peruvian Indians so that conditions along the Santiago today are just as insecure as they had been at the time of the Spanish colonization.

31: Danielsson--84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 131, 181

" The location of the Jibaro Indians is shown on Map I. This region is mostly a plain land with dense tropical jungle and many rivers and streamlets. Some mountain offshoots from the Andes, however, are to be found in the western parts. The communications are difficult, and natural barriers divide the territory. The total number of the population is unknown, but a guess of something around 10,000 seems justified. The Jibaros are one of the few tribes in Western Amazonas that has managed to maintain their political and cultural independence. White settlements exist only along the fringe of the Jibaro country and in the form of some isolated garrisons on the Morona and Santiago rivers. On the whole the Jibaros have successfully resisted all civilizing impact. "

31: Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 181, 628, 721

"The so-called 'fight-instinct' has frequently been mentioned as the cause of the war-like character of the Jibaros. There seem, however to be less mystical explanations, and the most common causes of fights and wars are probably the following: Violation of social mores, wish for revenge, damage through witchery, traditional rivalry, enmity, and stealing women. (3)[89]

It should, however, be noticed that there is a difference in practice concerning the killing within the same geographical group and between different geographical groups. In the first case, jus talionis is strictly followed. The same number from the enemy family is killed that was lost by the offended family. In the second case, namely, conflicts between different geographical groups, a complete war of extermination is carried out."

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]

31: Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 181, 628, 721

"3. [Footnote 3; pages 86-88] That controversies on account of such factors as listed here usually lead to open fighting and killing is of course due to the lack of an established common law maintained by functional groups (police, judges, wardens), as the Swedish philosophers Hagerstrom and Olivecrona have pointed out. An experiment was made among the Yurupaza Jibaros in collaboration with Father Juan Ghinassi and with the consent of the Indians themselves. A jail was built at Father Juan's courtyard, and the Indians agreed to bring there all delinquents whom they unanimously regarded guilty, instead of letting the involved parties fight it out as they had done before. (As a matter of fact the majority of the Indians usually have a clear idea about who is the guilty according to the mores.) This turned out to be a working solution. The Indians considered the mere act of confinement as such to be a sufficiently severe penalty (the lack of liberty [87] is the greatest misfortune and shame that can occur to a Jibaro Indian), and the time of confinement was of no importance to them. The common 'sentence' was one or two days. All attempts to give Father Juan also judicial power were, however, in vain. The Indians correctly pointed out, that in spite of the fact that he had lived among them for the last twenty years, he didn't know as much as themselves about the mores and traditions of the society. During the subsequent seven months seventeen Indians were sentenced to imprisonment, and Father Juan's last report says that the rate of fighting and killing has decreased considerably. None of the Indians had insisted on long

prison terms, but some of them suggested that Father Juan should insult the prisoners several times a day as an additional penalty. All the 'plaintiffs' declared themselves to be content with the arrangement of imprisonment as a penalty."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro Souls

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10 [181] THE Jívaro proper (*unitsuri tuara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied
121 and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in
[183] the Jívaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls
[104] which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The
[96] purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jívaro behavior.[2]

128 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset
127 it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jívaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jívaro proper.[4]

114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jívaro: the Río
[133] Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Sepa; the Río
[103] Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río
[131] Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jívaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UčitI*
115 *Akaču*, *KugusI*, and *Unta Akaču* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Mašu* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintač* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HwagA*, *Tugi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 270-272 -- analyst]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Juar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. 775 825

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them. 776

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however. 775 825 [776]

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist. 775 821

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 182 181

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *arutia* or *arutam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
●181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

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INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri šuarä* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

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Chapter 1

THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

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> I say truly to Your Highnesses that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.
>
> *Captain Hernando de Benavente —on the Jívaro in a letter to the Royal* Audiencia *of Spain, March 25, 1550*[1]

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13

Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untsuri šuarā*, the Jívaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *ačuarā šuarā* and the *tsumu šuarā*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful
101 conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181 •
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and [761]
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrhea. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply
"a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
• 181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will
to help others to deal with the forces that influence and
even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*wisiin*) are of two types: bewitchers
and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
276 Jívaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural
787 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of
the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yabi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[10] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Ĉuwi[3] tells me
> Ĉuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Ĉuwi tells me
> Ĉuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Ĉuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 changes, the investigator normally attempted to compare the views of a number of persons regarding modifications in each type of cultural activity. Accordingly, a trend is reported here only if it was substantiated independently by at least several reliable informants. To heighten the accuracy of such information, the trends reported here are further restricted to those which the informants had observed during the passage of their own lifetimes. Changes that had reportedly gone on in the culture previously, and for which the information was therefore of a hearsay type, are not included unless specifically so noted. Thus the reported
114 changes primarily occurred during the period ca. 1895–1957. The ethnographic present in this chapter, as elsewhere, is 1956–57.

121 It should be pointed out that the material that follows
124 often includes consideration of causal factors from the informants' point of view. Such statements of opinion regarding causal relationships between changes are, unless otherwise indicated, those of elderly, knowledgeable informants whom I respected for their intelligence and ability to analyze the events about them. In asking and respecting the opinions of native informants about causality I depart from the position of some anthropologists who have seemed to doubt the ability of non-literate peoples to provide meaningful analysis of causal relationships within their own culture. On the
121 contrary, I have found that the Jivaro are extremely aware of,
124 and alert to, the factors directly influencing their lives, and
151 normally I found their hypotheses superior to those that I
• 181 proposed and tested in the field. Unlike some other non-literate populations, for example the Conibo Indians of eastern Peru, whom I have also studied, the Jivaro almost never explain any behavior, traditional or otherwise, on the basis of such a statement as "we do it that way because our ancestors

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

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The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[9] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1950's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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198 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*awsik*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to remind neighbors and relatives solely of some earlier obligation, and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.
[601] [592] [576]

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
198 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

198 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
554 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
556 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
556 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white man's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population, (2) a growth in the demand for their services, and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.
[571] [592] [591] [755]

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

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[556]

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

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The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

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Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

[441]

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the most isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jívaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jívaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jívaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jívaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jívaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (*nuyai*) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jívaro soul beliefs

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183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunul, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekit* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[3]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[4] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is for- [154] tunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [628] intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [857] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [798] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco [876] water,[5] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind telling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *walem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Juar* iwanĈI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. 775 825

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them. 776

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampag*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampag are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampag flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampag might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however. 775 825 [776]

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampag finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist. 775 821

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *ŭkás wakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 182 181

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774 The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant super-
183 natural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

774 The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in
182 many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it
181 seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

128 A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

114 The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51)
774 and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption
[198] of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *arúta* or *arútam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root,
[196] and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

[778] While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural
[811] properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194

p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant; labialized when preceding ë; palatized when following ë or i plus a nasal consonant)

r Spanish *r*

s Spanish *s*

ʃ English *sh*

ts English *ts* in cats

t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following ë or i plus a nasal consonant)

w English *w* (but voiced like English r when adjacent to *i*)

y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph. 121

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 774 [194]

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [876]

[7] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. 787

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. 778

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *amasap*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [776]

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 726

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near-shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. 774 [191] [182]

[12] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muisko*. 774

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [775]

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material 774 775 774

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens. 775 [241]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
648 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will
563 undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from
the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
648 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept
721 through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as
the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
[123] staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the
Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently
determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed
five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most
slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us,
together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march
on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility
and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt
of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

• 182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
563 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
648 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano
Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white
standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands
are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huarã*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jívaro within the
governmental structure places the Indians under serious ob-
648 ligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jívaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
178 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's
182 sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jívaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

13: Rivet--255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Besides these traits of character which make the Jíbaro rather agreeable, he has others which make him a really dangerous being. Crafty and changeable, incapable of attachment, he never hesitates at treachery. Assassinations are not rare in Jíbaro country. The descendants of the fierce assailants of Logroño and Sevilla de Oro are worthy of their ancestors. The traveller whom they welcome with joy perhaps will fall under their lances some hours later. The missionaries have many times experienced their duplicity. One of them tells how on his return from Canelos he was abandoned one evening on the bank of the river, without shelter, without food, without defense in the middle of the virgin forest, by the very Indians who the same morning had spontaneously and enthusiastically offered to accompany him to Baños (1).

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1. Voyage d'exploration chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit., page 257.

13: Rivet--255 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Very vindictive, the savage never forgets an injury, no matter how trifling, and he is only satisfied when he has achieved a brilliant revenge. We have seen that this feeling brings about a permanent state of these bloody wars between tribes which endanger the future of the race.

According to the standards of the Whites, the Jíbaro is lazy, but perhaps the judgment is too severe; it is true the men leave the hardest work to the women, but custom demands it. He cannot tie himself down to a regular job, but in the first place his independent nature refuses to accept the least subjection, and on the other hand, the savage does not see the need of increasing a well-being which satisfies him; he works only when he wishes to acquire some desirable object (gun, ax, brandy); otherwise, surrounded by a prodigal nature, in a climate of unequalled mildness, he has nothing to fear from hunger or cold, and he does not have to worry about a future which is assured in advance. Therefore, from his point of view, the Jíbaro has reason for not working. In addition, we have seen that when the occasion arises he knows how to prove himself enduring and resistant and to put to work all his moral energy and physical vigor.

20: Dyott--179-180 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 183

"The argument is sometimes put forward that the white man, being of superior mentality, should raise the savage up to his level by setting the example; but this is entirely wrong, for your example would be quite beyond their comprehension. If you consider yourself to be a more highly developed human being, then it is your business as such momentarily to descend from your high perch and tread the more simple path of the lower plain. This is a far from easy task, but there is no other way of reaching an inferior intellect. An analogous situation exists in our own country [180] between parent and child. What a yawning gap generally separates these two!

The actions of Indians are prompted by motives entirely different from our own, and the most trivial thing in the world, to our way of thinking, is sometimes interpreted by them into an offence or even an act of hostility. On one of my expeditions, a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare. It is all right to be original in one's own country, but don't let originality assert itself too strongly when mixing with really primitive people."

20: Dyott--180 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 183, 273

".... Let us consider the Jivaro's attitude towards drunkenness. In London, a man might feel ashamed of himself if he drank to excess. In New York, such a condition might engender feelings of envy rather than scorn. But amongst the forest Indians, nothing but virtue is ascribed to those who get drunk. Their theory is that if it makes a man happy to get drunk, then let him drink often because the spirits want their children to be happy and any means to that end is justifiable."

25: Vigna--46[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 183

The respect that the Jíbaro has for another's property and for sincerity, has already been mentioned. The Jíbaro never speaks in a low voice. He has nothing that he can or must hide from the others. Frequently he expresses even his most intimate thoughts in a loud voice. It is a shameful thing for the Jíbaro to be surprised in a lie or in the theft of another's property; the change of this conscience in the Jíbaro is due to contact with white people or to an access of passion or anger.

25: Vigna--46-47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 183

Personal modesty is generally great in both men and women. The boy, until puberty, goes about nude in and out of the house; the girl, from a tender age always wears the "tarachi." The man is reserved in his actions, and of very few words; the [47] woman has great modesty in her deportment, but almost none in her manner of speaking.

Jivaro Souls

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10 [18] THE Jivaro proper (*aushiri Inara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in 121 [183] the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls [104] which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The [96] purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[4] 128 but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro 127 (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a 114 half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sepa; the Rio [133] Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cuvaimi; the Rio [103] Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western [131] slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UtiH* 115 *Ahaïu*, *KupuH*, and *Uuts Ahaïu* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Maïu* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hintat* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuayA*, *Tugi*, and *Naita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

2 [For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 290-292 — Analyst]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (*nugui*) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding ensoul, witchcraft, or kin-ship.

These kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be 794 the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *mesenk*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *ekkir wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[9]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient spirit" soul. [194] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani [187] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [159] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [161] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[9] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [158] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, [154] including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [161] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [162] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [158] intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [159] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [185] few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls which wander [196] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [185] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco [196] water,[9] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 187 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind tilting the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 774 821 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

726 774 761 [978]

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

[787]

774 778 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[183] [721]

[761] Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

726 774

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nékás wakanl, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-humanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jivaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jivaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jivaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *arata or arutam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutá* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "tsarutama" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jivaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

- g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
- p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *o*; palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
- r Spanish *r*
- s Spanish *s*
- t English *ch*
- ts English *ts* in *cats*
- t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant, palatized when following *e* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
- w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
- y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SLF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as in the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *wishiu* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from smoking in order to be able to contain and protect the different person under its influence.

* One exception is the forbidden arutam which only considers adultery, when it matters.

* Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a rare super arutam, *awsap*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

* The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

* Huinak may be alternatively pronounced *wuinki*.

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *wainak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the emerging soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published concerning the tsantsa-shrinking ritual. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradiction between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

I was born to die fighting. 538

Jívaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the 626
interior Jívaro as to what is correct, normative social behav- 189
ior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them.

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis 754
among the Jívaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic ill- 682
nesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and 626
poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[3]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants 178
estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one 241
half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute 183
the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of 461
the young men to clear land "because they do not like to 577
work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to [592]
the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household 178
to have several small garden plots rather than the single large 592
garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed 241
to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more 476
efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now [313]
successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call [412]
on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
578 warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
648 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
• 183 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learning to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,830 *untsuri šuarä* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ng English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ē*; palatized when following *ē* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
sh English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ē* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph. 121

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutmu*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 174 [194]

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura sp.*) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [176]

[7] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. [187]

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. [178]

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *awsap*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [176]

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 176

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. 172 [171] [182]

[12] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced maisko. 174

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [175]

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tabu surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradiction between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 174 174

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens. 175 [241]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has con-
628 tributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had
439 not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighbor-
[411] hood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these
[441] products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro
[464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu-
177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of
• 184 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied
43 feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tools and firearms. These complementary inequalities in supply and demand between the frontier and interior Jívaro formed the basis for the trade that supplied the latter with European-type technological items. Such technological items constituted almost the sole aspects of Western civilization that had been adopted by the interior Jívaro in 1956–57.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an
161 estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
• 184 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *uiarud entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

/p. 77/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jívaro 101
on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the 103
name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, 184
e.g., *mirui huará* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jívaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kayaim huará* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huará* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jívaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jívaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jívaro households are very close-knit economic and 361
social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society 592
as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next, but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one 592
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men are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaró and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *pesé* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

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The intensity of feuding within the Jívaró and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the more northern of the Jívaró and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *pesé* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaró and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *pesé*! Thus, among the Jívaró and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit 756
servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or 776
dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish 554
his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, 756
of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The 184
tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into 698
the Cuaiko tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon 554
a single Cuaiko shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the 756
fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power 554
from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult 756
men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans [162]
constitute a significant proportion of the male population. [463]
A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is [562]
basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, [554]
and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

/text continues on p. 124/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178
ners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to [278]
develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essen-
tial result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317]
of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and
machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming
from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412]
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237]
tier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278]
the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh-
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jívaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
• 184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.

[727] In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
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1: Karsten--184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 721, 186 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different Jibaro tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

D: Dyott--159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
6, 186

"For the whites, the Shuaros have nothing but a feeling of supreme contempt. They ill pander to those settlers who live on the fringe of their country for what they can et out of them, but at heart, they are full of scorn for their lack of manly virtues and eir inability to provide for themselves in the jungle. They once occupied a portion of e mountainous region of Ecuador, but were attacked and eventually subdued by the reat Inca invasion from Peru. So contrary was the Inca conception of freedom to that the Shuaros that the most warlike of the latter tribe would not subject themselves to ca domination, but fled to the forests. To-day, the Incas are shorn of all national eling, yet the Shuaros still maintain their racial characteristics, and their warlike ropensities still cause the governments of Lima and Quito concern."

"The present study is of the 'atomic' type.(4) Each individual is regarded as a unit integrated in a system, in the same way as the atoms form certain patterns in the so-called material world. The interaction between these units is in our case described in terms of attraction and repulsion.

The field-work was made easy by the fact that the Jibaros are extremely aware of and outspoken about their relations to each other. The continuous wars and fights have sharpened their feelings of friendship and hostility. As an example of this can be mentioned the not uncommon habit of the family head of beginning the day with a loud and fierce recitation of the names of enemies, so that the family members may not forget them. Repulsions, which sometimes have been difficult to record in our civilized societies, turned out to be even easier to get than the attractions."

"4. The point of departure is to be found in the works of J.L. Moreno and George A. Lundberg, as presented in such publications as for instance: J.L. Moreno: Who Shall Survive? Beacon House, N.Y., 1934; and 'Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences', Sociometry, Vol.1, 1937; Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939. 'Social Attraction Patterns in a Village', Sociometry, no.3-4, 1938, and 'The Growth of the Social Sciences', The American Journal of Sociology, no.6, 1945."

31; Danielsson--103-105 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 571, 621, 186

"The overlapping of the answers of the male and female adults was studied in one geographical group, the Patucas. The result is shown in Table VII. As seen, the correspondence is almost perfect. Whether this holds true for all the geographical groups, and whether the women to women patterns correspond with those for men, only further research can demonstrate. It seems, however, likely that the men's opinion in the present matter to a large extent determine the women's also in other groups. This is supposed not because of a complete submission of the women--which is far from true--but because of the strict division of labor and interests between the sexes. Formation of alliances and actions against enemies are part of the 'politics' and as such belong exclusively to the masculine sphere.

Eventually an attempt was made to determine the relation between repulsions and geographical space. As already has been pointed out (Part I, pp. 6-7), great hostility exists between the different geographical groups. In order to ascertain the degree of hostility all male individuals of the three previous groups (Patuca, Yurupaza, Yaupi) and of another Jibaro group, otherwise not dealt with in this study, the Huambizas, living farther down the Santiago River, were interviewed about their feelings toward the [105]members of their respective out-groups. The number and percentage of individuals in each group answering that all the members of the other geographical

groups were enemies are indicated in Table VIII, column I. The figures for those who answered that one or more individuals from the other groups were friends are given in column II in the same table."

31: Danielsson--105 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"As could be suspected there is a positive correlation between the degree of hostility and the geographical space. It seems likely that a correlation as indicated in Table IX could be found in the whole Jibaro country.

TABLE IX

Correlation Between Hostility and Geographical Space

Geographical groups	Approximate distance	Hostility in percentage (as in Table VIII)
Yurupaza-Huambiza	50 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yurupaza	50 miles	100%
Patuca-Huambiza	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Patuca	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yaupi	30 miles	100%
Yaupi-Huambiza	30 miles	95.83%
Yaupi-Yurupaza	25 miles	91.66%
Patuca-Yaupi	25 miles	91.3%
Yurupaza-Yaupi	25 miles	90.90%
Yaupi-Patuca	25 miles	83.33%
Patuca-Yurupaza	15 miles	82.60%
Yurupaza-Patuca	15 miles	81.81% "

/SD9 cont./

491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paiza and Suing, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /SD9/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos. Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jivaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

186 small households over a large area results in a very poor
203 communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

867 Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one
262 another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that meat is not always abundant in the household, depending
855 on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

865 While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of
[867] and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may
861 be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jivaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of
[867] their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

[867] If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking, continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*musak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *musak*, retaliation by *asumisuisuit* is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft. 674 682 [186] • [761] [995] 682 628

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive *asumisu* may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible. [721]

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 692 628 728

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the 429
Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This 563
basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, 182
which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano 563
Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with 657
the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white 797
colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some 648
of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shotka, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pastures, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*Jívaro*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jívaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

[433]
[423]
[101]
[186]
[209]

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that among their only 182
spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the mis- 797
sionaries, since there has not been a branch of the govern- 648
ment concerned specifically with the protection of the rights 657
of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *o*; palatized when following *ñ* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
sh English *sh*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ñ* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *aruma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[7] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched.

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *awasap*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversation between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

[12] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *maisko*.

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradiction between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [797] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191] •
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[5] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in witchcraft try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *wasuri huará* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jivaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jivaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jivaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *wasuri huará* territory as far east as the Río Pastaza, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt inter-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jivaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

/p. 210/

l: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192, 137, 241 (1928-29)

"The following trees and plants are cultivated by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians; the names in the Jibaro and in the Quichua language are indicated with Jib. and Qu. respectively:

Manioc (Manihot aipi, Jib. máma or tsanímba, Qu. lúmu) of many different classes, plantain (Jib. pa'andama, Qu. palanda), batatas (Convolvulus batatas, Jib. ínchi, Qu. kumál), mani or earth-nuts (Jib. nussi, Qu. ínchi), beans (Jib. mika, Qu. poroto (1), sanahoria (Daucus carota, Jib. maya, Qu. sanahoria), maize (Jib. sháya, Qu. sara), mandi (2), (Jib. sangu, Qu. mandi), a kind of sweet potato (a vine), (Jib. kingi, Qu. papa chambo), pumpkin (Jib. yui, Qu. sapallu (3), the chonta palm (Jib. uí, Qu. chuntarúru), and the sugar cane (Jib. pa'ata, Qu. huiru).

The Indians also cultivate the Capsicum or Indian pepper (Jib. hímya, Qu. uíchu), the naranhilla (Solanum quitense, called narangi in both languages), and the tomato which the Jibaros call kukuchi.

The gourd tree (Jib. tsappa, Qu. pilchi) is also cultivated, but only because of the dishes and water-bottles which are prepared from its large fruit, and which the Indians use in their daily life."

"1. Spanish poroto.
2. A plant producing a fruit similar to the manioc.
3. Spanish zapallo."

"How the tobacco, the natemá, and the maikoa are used, will appear from descriptions given later on.

Varvasco is a common name for certain poisonous plants which play an important part in Indian fishing. They will again be dealt with in the chapter on the Indian fishing practices.

Tsinsímba is the name of a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, to which a magical power is attributed. The leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva (in the same way as the leaves of the tobacco), and given to the women and children at certain feasts to make them strong and active.

There is another similar plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called chikí. The root of the plant is warmed up in a clay pot half-filled with water, together with some leaves of tobacco, and the drink is given to a woman at the 'feast of the women'. This drink has the effect of a vomitory and is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman.

Among the magical plants cultivated by the Jibaros and Canelos Indians must also be reckoned the roucou shrub (Bixa orellana; Jib. ipyaku, Qu. mandufu), the fruit of which affords the red dye which the Indians use for painting the face and the body."

"1. Varvás
in fishing, the
plant used for
bush containing
crushed with a
the roots are t

2. Hámbi l
follows:--a pie
substance crus

3. Pála hu
the giant trees
liana' (pala ='
for some two h

4. Cáñu hu
dle of this lian
nel'). Cáñu hu

5. Payánge
truding from th
lianas already

u. This name includes two or three different plants which are also used
ish being stupefied with the poisonous juice squeezed from the root. The
e arrow-poison is probably Cracca toxicaria, a small, leguminous
an alcaloid called rotidona. In order to get the juice, the root is
lub and boiled for a while in a special pot; when the poison is extracted,
ken out, leaving the liquid.

llu is a bush, growing wild; its poisonous properties are obtained as
e of the stem is cut off, the bark removed and thrown away, the wood
ed and boiled for some hours. [147]

sca is a big flat liana, about 12 to 15 cm. in breadth, which creeps up
f the virgin forest. Because of its flatness it is called 'the shovel-
ovel'). A piece of the stem is cut off, crushed with stones and boiled
urs in a special pot.

sca, a liana of about the same size as the pála huásca. Along the mid-
there runs a deep channel from which it takes its name (cáñu ='chan-
sca is prepared in the same way as the pála huásca.

i is a big yellow liana creeping under the earth. A small sprout pro-
earth indicates its presence. It is prepared in the same way as the
nentioned, a piece of the stem being cut off, crushed and boiled.

with clubs and boiled for a while in a small pot. The woody pieces are then taken out leaving the liquid.

11. Lispúngu múyu. Lispúngu is the name of a tall, thick tree of the forest with fruit about the size of that of the gourd tree. The fruit is cut up, the small seeds taken out, ground, and boiled separately in a special pot. Then the liquid is strained through a piece of linen and the essence carefully pressed out. [148]

12. Hámbi múyu. Of this plant there are three species, of which two are used for the arrow-poison. The one is a tree called hátun hámbi múyu the other is a shrub called uchilla hámbi múyu: of both the red and comparatively small fruit is used. In preparing the hátun hámbi múyu, the fruit is cut open, its seeds taken out and ground. A considerable quantity, say a small wooden basin full, of these ground seeds is boiled in a special pot, then it is strained and the essence, which is white, pressed out just as in the case of the lispúngu múyu.

In using the uchílla hámbi múyu the small red fruit is cut open and the seeds taken out and ground.

13. Tarapútu cara is a vine the leaves of which are similar to those of the tarapoto palm. There are several varieties of this vine and all of them are used in preparing the arrow-poison. The black bark is scraped off the vine with a knife until the desired quantity has been obtained; this is then boiled.

14. Cicuánga caspi, 'the tucan tree' (cicuánga = 'tucan') is a beautiful high tree. A certain quantity of the bark is scraped off and boiled.

15. Hámbi cára cáspi. A small shrub. The rind is scraped off and prepared exactly in the same way as the Cicuánga cáspi.

16. Yána hámbi cáspi. A small shrub. The root of it is used, being crushed with a club and boiled, just as was done with the rind of the hámbi cára cáspi and other shrubs.

17. Chilíca cáspi. A big tree. The bark is scraped off and prepared in the same way as the previous ones.

18. Chihun cáspi. A shrub. The root is cut into small pieces and boiled for about half a day in a special pot until its poisonous juice is set free, in the form of a concentrate.

19. Ahuiríngri caspi. The ginger shrub (Zingiber officinale?). The root is cleaned and boiled for about two hours.

20. Hámbi pahuága. A big tree. The thick bark is detached from the stem, crushed with stones and boiled.

21. Mándi. There are two species of this plant. The one is small with edible fruit and leaves, and cultivated by the Canelos Indians for its nutritive value. The other one is

bigger and poisonous and only used in the preparation of the arrow-poison. The rind of the stem is taken, carefully cleaned, and then boiled.

22. Pála pánga rúya. A small shrub of which the root is used. Up to ten roots are taken, the small fibres separated and boiled in a special [149] pot on a slow fire for a long time--nearly two days; a concentrated poisonous liquid results.

23. Huaránga quihua. A small plant of which the root is boiled.

24. Hámbi útchu, Indian pepper (Capsicum). The Indians cultivate different species of Capsicum. The one called hámbi útchu is small, yellow in colour, and so strong that it cannot be used as spice. It is exclusively used in preparing the arrow-poison. The whole fruit is boiled for a while and then mashed.

25. Matíri útchu, another kind of Capsicum. This is bigger than the hámbi útchu, red in colour, and also used as spice. When it is used for the preparation of the arrow-poison the seeds are taken out, mashed, and boiled in a little water.

Of these liquids and mashes nearly all, after being boiled separately, are placed together in a large pot for further boiling.

The exceptions are:--

No. 10. Hámbi huásca--the liquid obtained is evaporated over a little fire until only a small concentrate is left, and this is dropped into the large pot, a little at a time.

No. 12. 2nd species--uchílla hámbi múyu--of which the ground seeds are placed in

the large pot without being boiled first.

After thus learning the different plants which yield the ingredients necessary for the arrow-poison, we must examine somewhat more closely how the poison is prepared and what ideas the Indians associate with it."

1: Karsten--153 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
192, 137 (1928-29)

"1. Yarrier, one of the biggest lianas of the virgin forest (probably identical with the tarapútu cara of the Canelos Indians). A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off with a knife and boiled in a pot with other poisonous ingredients.

2. Yaririáhua; 3. Tsaueimera; 4. Papúra; 5. Nupáma; 6. Machápi; are all thick lianas of about the same size as the Yarrier just mentioned. They are all prepared in the same way, a quantity of the bark being scraped off and boiled with the poisonous ingredients obtained from the other plants.

7. Páingis is a smaller liana about 2 to 3 cm. in diameter. It is prepared in the same way as the other lianas.

8. Eimera is a small wild shrub. The Jibaros use the root of it, scraping off some of the rind which covers it, and then preparing it in the same way as the rinds obtained from other plants.

9. Yeistseásа (seásа ='poison') is another small shrub with poisonous properties. A quantity of the rind is detached from the stem and beaten with stones. The juice is thus pressed out and then boiled.

10. Tachira is likewise a shrub. The rind is scraped from the stem and boiled with the rest of the poisons."

1: Karsten--560-582 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's vocabulary of the Jivaro language see the original work, pp. 560-582.]

6: Flornoy--333-334 (1936) 1937 Jivaro-1
116, 192, 601

The system of notation is that recommended by the Institute of Ethnology. (1) [334]

French-Jivaro or Šuor Vocabulary

...[all except kinship terms omitted]

father	apāro
mother	nokūro
son	kuciri
daughter	nawandri
brother	yaţura
uncle	ići
aunt	nūkua
father-in-law	liči or ići
mother-in-law	nūkua
brother-in-law	sa'i
sister-in-law	ue iri
son-in-law	aue (uncertain)
daughter-in-law	nūati (")

1. As regards the letter k, it should be read k' as in 'car' and k as in 'cour.'

6: Flornoy-333-334 (1936) 1937 Jivaro-2
116, 192, 601

grandfather	pǫwa
grandmother	nukuri
grandson	tirangiru
granddaughter	
nephew	aowitiru
niece	aowir

22: Hamy--389-390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 192, 175

"The Jivaro speaks generally one of the 13 dialects mentioned by Velasco. Sometimes, as among the Aguarunas, he uses a little Quechua; it appears even that the names of numbers above five are borrowed from this language, and Mateo Paz Soldan was led to believe with several other writers, that certain Jivaro had formerly been subjugated by the Incas....

This opinion is not generally held...., and the use, very [390] limited moreover, of Quechua finds its explanation in the relations maintained in the neighborhood, comparable to those which the same Indians maintain today with the Peruvians of Chachapoyas and the Colombians of Canaios, who teach them a little Spanish."

The Jíbar
blance to the
On rare occa
things and ph
nounce; but i
spoken by the

Language. The Jíbaros have their own language which bears no resem -
rimitive languages or dialects spoken among the other Indians of Ecuador.
ons, they have appropriated words and foreign terms in order to indicate
nomena new to them. The Jíbaro language is somewhat difficult to pro-
s melodious and solemn, especially in the official discourses, or as
women and children.

The house (hõa) is a combination of a frame-house and a three-purlin house. It has ridge-purlins that touch the ground. At each one of the gable sides there is a semicircular projection. (See Plate 60, Fig. 2) The walls consist of upright panels of Iriartea-wood. Loopholes are frequently cut out, as may be seen on Plate 66. Very interesting is the nomenclature of the component parts of such a house. The ridge-purlin with its supports is called tšitšimeruke, the ridge-purlin itself is called tšitšimeruke-esari, while the term for the support is tšitšimeruke-axiami. The frame structure is called makui; its component parts have special designations: the longitudinal beam of the frame is called makui-esari, the cross-beam: makui-pauri or makui-yangeri; the upright supports are called makui-axiami. The side-purlin and its supports are called numbixi, the side-purlin itself: numbixi-esari and the supports: numbixi-axiami. The semicircular projections are called texeri, its roundliana: itingamori and its uprights: tšikitšik. The rafters of the saddle-roof are called awangeri, the three main spars of the semicircular extension: akuxkamori, the secondary rafters: texeri awangeri, the crossbeam to which the secondary rafters are tied on the top: anuxtukmori.

In each one of the semicircular extensions there is a door: wáitiri. Newly introduced are ridge-purlin supports, tixeraseri (from the Spanish tijeras), that rest in pairs on the frame. Their lower end is sharpened to a point, which is inserted into the

cross-beam close to the frame-supports, so that only two pairs of such ridge-purlin supports are required. Frequently they are used in addition to the ground-supported ridge-purlin uprights. There are no other cross-beams.

Refuge huts are called aão. They consist of two cross-beams, one being higher than the other. The spars are placed across the longitudinal beams. See cartogram no. 8.

The information given about the hão was gathered from the Atachual Indians. If I remember it correctly, the houses of the Aguarunas were of like construction. In the Aguaruna territory I saw the most primitive huts erected on sandbars as an overnight accomodation. They slept on a layer of leaves. Where they had their heads, they had several of the fan-shaped leaves of the Carludovica palmata or a palm-frond. Cf. cartogram no. 8.

1: Karsten--544-559 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 193 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's analysis of Jivaro grammar see the original work, pp. 544-559.]

10: Anthony--158 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 609, 193

"In general their behavior toward the whites who treat them properly leads to rather amicable relations. With us they were very friendly and very goodnatured, answering any questions as well as their poor Spanish allowed. Only a few of them speak Spanish, but they are intelligent and quick to grasp an idea so that a few words in Spanish aided by signs, may convey much. No one of those we met knew much Spanish, and a peculiarity I noted was the fact that almost always the verbs were used in the participial form. This gave to their conversation a sound very like that produced by riming verse. As an example, I heard this sentence:

'En camino pasando, animales encontrando, un mono matando, cuero sacando, billetes ganando,' which would be translated as: 'He goes along the trail, meets animals, kills a monkey, skins it, and gets some money.'"

25. Vigna--38 [3] (no date)1945 Jivaro
116, 193

The basic construction of the Jíbaro language is poor and the words are limited to things known and subject to control. All the richness of the language is in the verbs: these, besides expressing in consummate form the manifestations of daily life, possess an extraordinary wealth of shading. The Jíbaro language is difficult to learn especially because of the verb; this has as many conjugations as there are expressions it can assume: positive, negative, doubtful, interrogative, of convenience, of favor, etc. When the language does not lend itself to the expression of an idea, they resort to curious circumlocutions, which are often ridiculous and always superficial.

1: Karsten--542-544 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 194 (1928-29)

[KS: For Karsten's analysis of the sounds of the Jivaro language see the original work, pp. 542-544.]

25 Vigna--38 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 214, 194

Good studies and essays are to be found on the Jibaro language. The Salesian Missionaries today have a grammar and dictionary of the Jibaro tongue, printed through the direct interest of the Ecuadorian supreme government. They have also written many essays on this language for the purpose of catechising. As the Jibaro up to the present is solely a spoken language, and therefore subject to modifications and alterations, sometimes local and even individual, and since it has not undergone crystallization of any kind in signs, characters, or monuments, it does not have its own writing. The phonology of the Spanish language has been used in order to organize it.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

114 1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites
115 until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31.
127 The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional
177 Jívaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.
121

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradiction between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten
114 and Stirling visited other Jívaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and
127 Aguaruna) in addition to the Jívaro proper. In order to assess this possibility,
171 I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[10] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jívaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*ekuton*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jívaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jívaro proper.

NOTES

101 [1] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jívaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jívaro proper," "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Ecuadorian Jívaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jívaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jívaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jívaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*ahuara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jívaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jívaro proper. The other Jívaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achual), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

● 194 The following Jívaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ć Spanish *ch*
- h English *h* (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English *k* (palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish *n* when *i* is adjacent)

12:Harner E-S (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

g English *g* as in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *r*, palatalized when following *d* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
t English *ch*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant, palatalized when following *n* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *b* when adjacent to *u*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced French (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (SSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1966) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of mulberry (*Maclura*) sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from tobacco in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

* One exception is the football arutam which only touches adults, when it touches.

* Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a fire-eater arutam, an egg, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

* The arutamsoul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

* Mullah may be alternatively pronounced *maida*.

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face-down on the ground so that the victim's soul is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach some farther-emerging soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradiction between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

1: Karsten--543 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 195, 201 (1928-29)

"In the language of the Jibaros the energetic and vehement character of these Indians is manifest, and many sounds are consequently pronounced more sharply and emphatically than in European languages. Besides this, we have to remember that the Jibaros do not express their thoughts and feelings merely by words but also by mimicry and all sorts of gestures, by movements of the arms, the feet, the head, indeed by their whole body, on certain occasions also by means of their arms, the lance and the shield. As I have stated above, it makes a peculiar, almost awe-inspiring impression to see two Jibaro Indians engaged in a ceremonial conversation. We have to take these accessory means of expression into account if we want to form an adequate idea of the language of these savages."

2: Stirling--97-98 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 521, 195

"The remainder of the night our men slept in this same section of the house and during most of the following day they retained their places along the wall of the Jivaría in comparative quiet. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or 24 hours after our arrival, Caneros pulled his seat in front of Ambusha and began a vigorous ceremonial conversation, very loud, and delivered in a sort of syncopated rhythm, beating time with his feet and gesturing with his arms, while Ambusha replied in similar vein, each of them punctuating the talk with ejaculations of 'Casa', 'Casa', (So that's it!), 'Ho', 'Ha', (Good! Fine!), 'Tsa', 'Tsa', 'Tsa', (No, no, no!), 'Tcah', 'Tcah', (I don't know). The substance of the conversation concerned the events that had happened on the trip and other events of interest that had taken place since the speakers had last met.

After about half an hour Caneros moved his seat in front of Utita and went through the same performance, then with Tuki, and finally with Tsamagashi. Meanwhile, the remainder of the men sat quietly by the walls, apparently indifferent to what was being said. During [98] these curious conversations, the fist is closed lightly and the palm of the hand turned toward the face. While talking, the knuckles are placed against the mouth. As they talk they spit vigorously and frequently between the fingers. The conversation is also punctuated with tongue clicks and smacking of the lips. This continued until evening, various other pairs now teaming off in the same manner so that the noise of talking was much greater than on the previous day."

".... Out of the thicket appeared the figure of a strange Indian.....

The stranger halted, eyed us thoughtfully, and then shouted out 'Oi-a.' Kuashu replied, 'Ah,' receiving an equally intelligent grunt of 'Um,' in reply.

If you should suddenly come face to face with a stranger, your natural impulse would be to call out to him and then walk over to where he stood, but these are not the tactics [165] of the Indian. 'Is this man friend or foe?' he asks himself, and if the unknown suddenly veers round and hurries towards him, the obvious answer is: 'He is an enemy, coming to attack.' If, on the other hand, he turns away, he is an enemy trying to escape; but suppose he goes on about his business, or else you both stop and talk, you have time to show your colours and announce your friendly intentions.

Normal Indian conversation is slow and halting, but it can go off like machine-gun fire at times. Should a phrase not come readily, there is no pause. Both parties continue to grunt at each other, holding one hand in front of the mouth all the time and probably expectorating between the fingers with a precision that denotes much practice.

When Kuashu hailed this stranger, we all stood stock still, the boys with the deer slung on a pole, the ends of which rested on their shoulders, Johnston and myself behind them. The conversation which followed, if translated freely into English, would run somewhat as follows. Kuashu began.

'So you are here?'--'Yes, I am here.'--'What are you here for?'--'What am I here

for?'--'Yes, what are you here for?'--'I am wandering about.'--'You are, are you?' --'Yes, I am.'--'Why do you wander about?'--'I am wandering about for a little time.' --'For a little time you are wandering?'--'Yes, for a little I wander about visiting friends.'--'Then you are visiting friends?'--'Yes, for a few days I visit.'--'Only for a few days, you say?'--'Um, only a few days.'--'I am surprised.'--'You are, are you?' --'I am surprised that you wander about for a little visiting friends.'--'Um.'--'When did you come?'--'Only yesterday I came.'--'Yesterday?'--'Um.'--'For a few days only?'--'That is what I said.'--'You came yesterday to wander about for a little to visit some friends?' [166] --'Um.'--'Ah--So you understand, do you?'--'Um'--'Ah'--'Um.'.

After this fragment of news had been thoroughly pulled to pieces and passed back and forth between the two until its significance had been fully grasped, another piece of intelligence was torn to shreds in the similar manner. The grunts, representing assent or approbation and other guttural noises, that were indulged in, especially when the conversation flagged, were decidedly curious."

20: Dyott--166 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 195, 521, 828

"Direct questions and answers are not understood by the Jivaros. To ask a deliberate question does not seem to conform to his idea of propriety. Every subject has to be approached by a round-about route and with infinite repetition. This is probably due to the inherent difficulty primitive man has in expressing shades of thought and his round-about course is equivalent to our guarded phraseology noticeable amongst politicians when delicate matters are being discussed. To an Indian, the most trivial incident is of as much importance as it would be to a child, so everything has to be taken seriously. It is also well not to look too intently at the person you are talking to. You may be accused of casting a spell on him if you do. A man looking in can see the world: hence the world looking in can see the man. Such is their line of reasoning, and consequent aversion from the vulgar stare of some white men."

26: Brüning--49 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 522, 195

The natives, when among themselves, like to joke, and a good joke is greeted with hearty laughter. They show their astonishment by emitting a drawling, softly pronounced gua.

26: Brüning--71 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 201, 157, 195

When talking and laughing the Indians frequently keep the hollow of their hand in front of the mouth, as may be seen in Illustration number seven (two Indians in the group to the right). If the conversation becomes animated, then they spit frequently in between.

Very strange are the long monologues or prayers (whatever you may call them) which the Indians say in the morning. These are recited very quickly and in a tone which marks a departure from the ordinary tone of conversation. On these morning occasions, too, they spit frequently and stamp their feet on the ground from time to time (see Nankijukima 75).

They emit a softly pronounced drawling gwa when they are amazed at something.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 an be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunul, witchcraft, or kin-ship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekas* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[8]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[9] [152] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is for- [154] tunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [628] intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [857] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [798] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco [876] water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind telling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation, soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *arúta* or *arútam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

1: Karsten--539 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 197 (1928-29)

"The ethnic and linguistic position of the Jibaros is unknown, and I have not considered this the place to enter into a discussion of that problem. That the Jibaros at any rate do not belong to the Arawak stock, as suggested by Rivet, may be regarded as certain. The instances of supposed similarities between the Jibaro and the Arawak languages mentioned by him are most doubtful and prove nothing, nor have any affinities between it and any other language as yet determined. Apart from this question, it is of course important to give as detailed information about the language as possible."

3: Simson --385 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 197

"The Jívaros speak a language of their own, Jívaro, and occupy the country generally from the Upper Pastassa to the Santiago, both rivers included, down to the Pongo de Mauseriche, on the Marañon. Most of those, however, at Pintuc understand and speak Quíchua."

3: Simson--389-390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 144, 197

"Canelos, the once attractive Spanish settlement, but now forlorn Indian village is situated on the left* bank of the Bobonaza, one of the most important, if not the largest, of the tributaries of the Upper Pastassa, and is inhabited by a mixed tribe of Indians, in whom the chief element is Jívaro; though [390] some of the better traits of these seem to be wanting in them. Their language is Quichua."

"* Professor Orton in 'The Andes and the Amazon,' says on the right but he never went there."

6: Fiornoy--333 (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 124, 197

'Contribution to the study of the Jívaro or Šuor Language' by Bertrand Fiornoy

This abstract was made between August 1 and October 30, 1936 in the eastern region of Ecuador inhabited by the Jivero Indians of the Achual group. These Indians live on the banks of the lagoons and rivers which flow into the river Pastaza, on its right bank. Later during my trip into the territories of the Aguaruna and Huambiza peoples, noting simply some differences in pronunciation, especially as regards the letter r. It seems to me that these groups, separated by several days of march overland or by water and belonging to the Jivero tribe, have no difficulty in understanding each other during their rare encounters.

Lacking an interpreter at the beginning of my investigation, I communicated by signs. Later an adult Jivaro from the river Huasaga who knew several words of kiçua, served as interpreter with Mr. Ramon Olalla, the taxidermist of the Mission as intermediary.

22: Hamy--390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 197, 174

"The Jivaro language, completely different from all the neighboring languages, clear and harmonious, expressive, energetic, would be easy to learn according to Villavicencio, particularly difficult, on the contrary, according to Father Pozzi, because of the uncertain pronunciation, and where the aspirated letters play a large part .... We know nothing of this language except the proper names; but the comparison of these names with the geographic and ethnic appellations which one meets lower down on the courses of the Amazon and its affluents, shows us such analogies, and similarities, that the common origin of the Jivaro and the tribes of the large Guarani group is, on this evidence alone, established with assurance."

From the abundant material accumulated, it appears permissible to conclude that many Jíbaro words are similar to the Japanese. Moreover, some of the grammatical rules seem [39] to have strong points of contact with the language mentioned: 1) The Japanese language does not have articles; neither does the Jíbaro, and it also lacks gender; 2) The Japanese language has a special form for the positive conjugation, for the negative and for the interrogative; the same occurs in the Jíbaro.

There is still a great deal to be covered in Jíbaro philology, especially in that which pertains to the scientific part of the language.

26: Brüning--48 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 197, 177

There are, as pointed out before, only a few white men among the Indians. These white men collect rubber. Most of them live in Chachapoyas and its vicinity. They refer to the Indians as Infieles, while they regard themselves, in contrast to the natives, as Cristianos. The Indians use the term Cristianos when they refer to persons or languages that do not belong to their race. They call themselves and their own language Aguaruna. In conversation among themselves they use, what the white men call, Quichua. But it is a Quichua which contains just as many Spanish and Aguaruna words as it containsQuichua words. And the white men frequently have to learn this dialect from the Indians. A true Quichua Indian, whom we had taken along on our expedition, insisted that he could not understand a word of this language. An old man in Ja'n told me after my return that formerly, when he had visited them in his youth, the Indians had understood Quichua. Would it not be better if the white men would learn the pure Aguaruna language or would teach Spanish to the Indians? I have seen it in Huavico, where an old man from Huancabamba was living, that both things are not impossible. This old man used only the Spanish language. Consequently, all Indians in the vicinity knew Spanish fairly well, and two Indians, who lived with him in his house, knew it even quite well. During my short stay there I had the opportunity to make a short glossary of the Aguaruna language. The young nephew of the old man spoke Aguaruna well, and otherwise, too, in his mode of life, he had become half Indianized. Time and again I had to laugh upon seeing the strange

surprize of the Indians when this young white man addressed them in their own language; they circled him with awe, examining him from all sides.

28: Tessman--343 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 197

The Chiwaros are a rather homogeneous people; their language is extremely uniform. It is therefore not easy to investigate whether it is true that the Aguarunas are closer related to the Makas Indians with regard to character and to culture in general and that the Atschuals have a closer relation to the Makas Indians with respect to language. (This according to a settler and expert on the Atschual Indians.)

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

● 197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
ooo territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

It is not known how long the Jívaro have dwelt in the forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has • 197 been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists[2] to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg[3] has suggested that Jívaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

172 Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jívaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Río Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. ± 440 years and 1041 A.D. ± 160 years.[4] However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jívaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Ipíamais," was discovered southeast of the mestizo village of Huambi in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Yaunchu," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra[5] in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of 174 the Río Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric populations

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Karsten, 1954, p. 7, pp. 10–31; Harner, 1962, pp. 268–70. 000
2. Harner, 1962. The excerpt from M. W. Stirling's letter is reproduced here with his kind permission.
3. The first general report on the research is embodied in Harner, 1963.

CHAPTER I

1. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, p. 175.
2. Mason, 1950, p. 222.
3. Greenberg, 1960, p. 794.
4. Determinations by the Yale University Geochronological Laboratories, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Descriptions of the excavated pottery may be found in Herod, 1970.
5. Collier and Murra, 1943, pp. 61–62.
6. Jívaro is the name applied by Spanish speakers.
7. The "Mayna" Jivaroans have been reported in the Río Tigre region by workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Little is known about them, and it is not clear if their dialect is more closely related to Jívaro or Achuara, and whether they form a distinct group. [197] •
8. Personal communication from David Beasley, Summer Institute of Linguistics, January 1961.
9. Personal communication from Mildred Larson, Summer Institute of Linguistics, January 1961.
10. This estimate is derived from a house count of Ecuadorian Jivaroans made from the air by personnel of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. To arrive at these population figures, the number of houses sighted was multiplied by an estimate of nine persons per dwelling. The aerial survey data were supplied by Glen Turner of the SIL (personal communication). Not included in this total are some 100 additional Jívaro emigrants residing in western Ecuador near the communities of Bucay and Santo Domingo de los Colorados.
11. The reader is reminded that the "ethnographic present" employed here refers to the period 1956–57. By 1969, only a few areas west of the Cutucú Mountains remained completely unpenetrated by white colonists.
12. The Huambisa appear to be very closely related to the *untsuri šuarä* in terms of dialect and details of culture. However, they

3: Simson--389 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 198

"The 'cluck' of satisfaction referred to previously requires a little explanation; and it seems to be an expression common to all the tribes of the Provincia Oriental. It is not produced by a mere 'click' of the tongue inside the closed, or nearly closed, teeth; but by placing the tongue forward between the teeth, exhausting the air in the buccal cavity, and then suddenly opening the jaws and allowing the tongue to spring back to its normal position when at rest. The cluck usually signifies admiration, satisfaction, or astonishment; but it means something more than either of these, and occasionally expresses all of them together. When some other Indians were carrying our baggage later on, if they had set down the load and had to hoist it on to their backs again, or if they came to a bad step on the forest track, which had to be struggled over or climbed up with difficulty or strong effort, the muscles were always first braced with a 'cluck,' as a man might say 'here goes,' before taking a powerful leap."

6: Flornoy--333 [2] (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 198, 202

The Jivaro language is named Šuor by those who use it and Aoka by the neighboring peoples. It is spoken by both men and women, the latter use no other dialect among themselves.

I found neither a secret nor a religious language; their use appears unlikely to me. There will be found farther on, several invocations utilized by the medicine-men, who are at the same time sorcerers, no word of which seems to me to be reserved for this purpose alone.

Finally if there exists a drum language, it is yet to be discovered and identified.

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O. P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import. . . .

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant super-
183 natural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

774 The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in
182 many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it
181 seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

128 A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

114 The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51)
774 and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption
[198] of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *arúta* or *arútam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root,
[196] and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

[778] While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural
[811] properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

1: Karsten--543 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 195, 201 (1928-29)

"In the language of the Jibaros the energetic and vehement character of these Indians is manifest, and many sounds are consequently pronounced more sharply and emphatically than in European languages. Besides this, we have to remember that the Jibaros do not express their thoughts and feelings merely by words but also by mimicry and all sorts of gestures, by movements of the arms, the feet, the head, indeed by their whole body, on certain occasions also by means of their arms, the lance and the shield. As I have stated above, it makes a peculiar, almost awe-inspiring impression to see two Jibaro Indians engaged in a ceremonial conversation. We have to take these accessory means of expression into account if we want to form an adequate idea of the language of these savages.

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 201, 624

"We were flooded out by the human tide. They clambored into the dugout, delved into everything they could lay hands on, and behaved generally like a crowd of school children to whom the free run of a candy store had been given. They chattered, grinned and gesticulated; they held our trumpery trade-beads up to the light and tried the effect of wearing them; they gazed spell-bound into the hand-mirrors which we had rightly regarded as one of our strongest lines; and finally they were completely overwhelmed by the shoddy striped cotton shirts which the favoured few among the men donned with all the exquisite satisfaction which a youth fresh from school experiences when first he puts on a 'swallow-tail.'

So the ice was broken. But no conversation had taken [192] place as yet, for conversation was impossible. We found that the language spoken by the Antipas was quite unintelligible to us, and that Inca, the only Indian tongue I knew, was unknown to them. Progress was made, however, in the sign-language which is common, to a greater or lesser degree, to all men. They made it clear to us that they wanted a token to send to their chief, a sign whereby the truth of their incredible report of the arrival of white men in the land might be impressed on him; seeing us using machetes they seized on them as serving their purpose well. Three they sent by special envoy to the Chief, and three more they sent a little way down-stream to a point where there was a trail along which he might be expected to pass if the envoy missed him; there the machetes were stuck into the earth as we pile arms in the field. He would be sure to see them, and would be put

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 153, 201, 624

on his guard.

And so we sat down to await his arrival."

12: Rivet--599-600 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 512, 521, 201

The Indian is an early riser: at 3 o'clock in the morning he wakes up, and if he is [600] head of a family, his first concern is to repeat in a loud and spiritual voice the history of the tribe, the wars that it has carried on with the neighboring peoples, and the names of the relatives killed in these fights. He mixes into his account praise for his friends and himself and insults for his enemies, advice to the children so that they may some day become worthy of their father, that is to say that they be adroit hunters, that they raise good dogs, that they be hardy in expeditions and unrelenting in vengeance. (1) During this discourse, the Jíbaro keeps the closed left fist placed level with the lower lip against the chin (fig. 20). This discourse finished, the women give everyone the morning infusion of guayusa.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 75.

26: Brüning--71 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 201, 157, 195

When talking and laughing the Indians frequently keep the hollow of their hand in front of the mouth, as may be seen in Illustration number seven (two Indians in the group to the right). If the conversation becomes animated, then they spit frequently in between.

Very strange are the long monologues or prayers (whatever you may call them) which the Indians say in the morning. These are recited very quickly and in a tone which marks a departure from the ordinary tone of conversation. On these morning occasions, too, they spit frequently and stamp their feet on the ground from time to time (see Nankijukima 75).

They emit a softly pronounced drawling gwa when they are amazed at something.

1: Karsten--108-110 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 202, 534 (1928-29)

"The great signal drum (tunduí) of the Jibaros is among those objects which especially attract the attention of a visitor in a Indian house. It is made of a light kind of wood called shimúta and varies in length. The one brought home by me from the Aguarunas and now in the museum of Helsingfors measures 160 centimetres, including the handles, [109] and has a diameter of about 40 centimetres; the drum in the Gothenburg museum is a little smaller. The sound-holes are always of a serpent-like or curved form, and consist of four round holes connected with one another. The hollowing out of the trunk is tedious work and requires much skill and patience; it can only be done by means of fire, the burned [110] and carbonized parts of the wood being again and again scraped off with a snail's shell or an iron instrument until the cavity is sufficiently large. Since there is always the danger that the drum may not turn out sonorous enough, it is considered necessary that the Indian who makes it should diet for several days and observe other rules of abstinence. If, for instance, he drinks manioc-beer (nihamańchi) in the quantities normally consumed by a Jibaro Indian every day, the drum will be dull and not sonorous. His stomach must be empty, like an empty barrel. Similarly he must abstain from cohabiting with his wife during these days, for otherwise, it is believed, the drum will burst. When the drum is ready, all the grown-up men of the family assemble and a feast is arranged for the inauguration of the drum. Each man steps forward and beats the drum for a while in the slow time customary at the drinking of the narcotics natéma and maikoa."

Fig. 2. The signalling drum.

1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

"The tundui [JKM: signal drum] of the Jibaro Indians is not merely a signalling instrument in the ordinary sense of the word, but its greatest significance is religious: it is a means of communicating with the spiritual world. From this point of view I shall deal with this drum again in the chapters devoted to the religion of the Indians. Here I will only point out the interesting fact that the drum among other things is closely associated with the spirit (iguańchi) which appears in the shape of the great water boa or anaconda, and that the drum itself is supposed to be a representation of the great serpent. The very holes dug out of the drum, as I have said, form a snake-like figure and, moreover, the handles with which it is provided represent, respectively, the head and the tail of the dreaded reptile. Everybody who sees a real Jibaro drum in an ethnographic museum is able to note to what extent one of the handles is like a snake's head. [111]

I may add that these ideas are connected with the signalling drum among all Jibaro tribes and that the form of the drum is therefore everywhere the same. Of the drums in the museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, the one is from the Jibaros of the Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and the other from the Aguarunas in

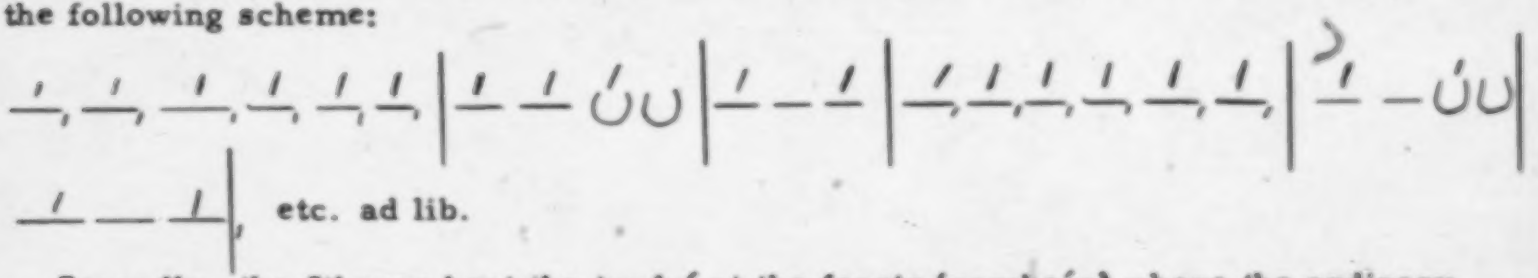
Peru, that is, they are from the northernmost and southernmost Jibaro tribes respectively; but still they are alike in all details. (1) "

"1. In Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru, p. 123, there is depicted a 'Jibaro Indian drum' which is without handles and with a sound-hole differing from that described by me above. I wish to point out, however, that this drum is not from the Jibaros, but probably from some of the Ucayali tribes. Since Farabee never visited the Jibaros his mistake is easy to understand."

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

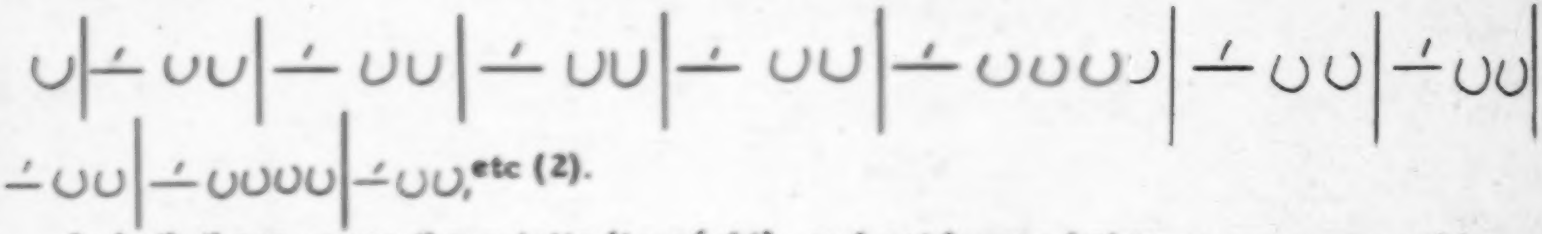
First, the tunduí is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics nateńa or maikoa are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:



etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tunduí at the feasts (nambeŕa) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamańchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruŕu palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:



etc (2).

In both these cases the spirits (iguańchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death s always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer the situation in the two

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"2. —in regard to its quantity = ∪∪ ; ∪∪ = ∪ ; ´ means that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--264 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 534, 722, 202 (1928-29)

"The big signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, also plays a part in the wars, although originally it seems to have been a purely religious instrument. At times when there is fear of an attack of enemies it is placed outside the house on the hill, and the beats may then be heard at a distance of several miles. The drum tundúi is beaten when the Jibaros drink the narcotics maikoa and natéma--in which case the object is to summon the spirits that inhabit these sacred drinks--also after a death, and lastly to give friends notice of an attack by enemies. In the latter case the signalling consists of a series of short and fast beats at a time which is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. When the friends in the other houses hear these beats they say: Pakinmawae, 'they are killing'. Hence this whole mode of signaling is called Pakinmawae. As soon as the inhabitants of a house get knowledge of or suspect the presence of enemies, and also during the attack, if there is time for it, they try by beating the tundúi to summon their friends for rescue, and the singalling may sometimes cause the enemy, fearing the arrival of help, to give up his evil intention and take flight."

2: Stirling- 60 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 202

"When warned that they are to be attacked, the chief plays on the big telegraph drum in order to notify their friends and call them to their assistance. When the allies arrive from the other houses the little drum is played."

2: Stirling--92 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
202

"Trumpets are made from the shells of the giant land snail (pl. 37, g). These are used for signaling purposes and can scarcely be classed as true musical instruments."

3: Simson--387 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 202, 361

"The Jívaros practise a system of telegraphy, which has at all times been very dangerous to their adversaries in war, by giving strokes on the 'Tunduli,' a large drum, which is heard from house to house, and passed on from hill to hill. The houses are all over their territories at convenient distances for the purpose; and in this manner very varied information is conveyed in a few moments to all the families of hordes dispersed over a large extent of country. This was the greatest danger the Spaniards had to contend with, and is still a main source of protection to these Indians, as they can rouse large numbers at a moment's notice, and sound the alarm through entire hordes."

6: Flornoy--333 [2] (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 198, 202

The Jivaro language is named Suor by those who use it and Aoka by the neighboring peoples. It is spoken by both men and women, the latter use no other dialect among themselves.

I found neither a secret nor a religious language; their use appears unlikely to me. There will be found farther on, several invocations utilized by the medicine-men, who are at the same time sorcerers, no word of which seems to me to be reserved for this purpose alone.

Finally if there exists a drum language, it is yet to be discovered and identified.

12: Rivet--613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 202, 621

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 287. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--617 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361, 202

We have seen with what care the Indian hides his house in the deepest woods with no regular path to it, this placing having no other point except to multiply the difficulties for anyone coming to attack. The walls leave no opening by which anyone could introduce a lance. In every house big pots of water are always ready on boards resting on the roof beams, in order to put out fire quickly. The tunduli plays an essential role in these nocturnal attacks. It is the tocsin which, with incredible rapidity, calls the members of the tribe to the aid of the besieged.

13: Rivet--252 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 202

They have no system of writing.

20: Dyott--173 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 202

"As we sat on the banks of the Upano, listening to the words of wisdom that fell from Kuashu's lips, we heard the distant beat of a drum resounding harshly over the forest. It was not the low musical note, full and vibrant, but a peculiarly hard, penetrating noise, resembling the rapid blows of an axe on some fallen tree-trunk. The signal drum or tundai of the Jivaros is just a log of hard wood, carefully hollowed out by hand and slung between a couple of poles for support. It is beaten with a club and the sound emitted has remarkable carrying qualities. If anything of moment ever occurs in the locality, the news is spread from house to house through the medium of the tundai. It also plays a prominent part on all festive occasions.

Thump, thump, thump, came the precise beats with the regularity of so many dots and dashes of a Morse Code message, being broadcasted through the wilderness. Kuashu must have understood their import, for he got up, scratched his back and loosened the cincture of human hair that held his itipi (loin cloth) in place. Having readjusted the folds of his one and only garment, he suggested that we go and call on the neighbours to see what they were up to."

20: Dyott--173-174 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 202, 595, 574

"The house from which the sounds [KS: drum message] emanated belonged to a man, Kun-gupi by name, who was one of Kuashu's fathers-in-law. Seven months previously each of these men had felt the need of adding a new wife to his establishment--a little young blood to make up for the grey hairs of the older women, so they had solved the problem by swapping daughters and it was in this manner that the young and handsome Inza had become Kuashu's bride. [174]

As we drew near the edge of Kun-gupi's clearing, we announced our arrival in true Indian style by shouting lustily. Our call was promptly taken up, and several young braves came running down the path to greet us. Each carried his spear, more out of habit than anything else, though experience has taught them that such habits are worth cultivating. We were piloted through a dense banana patch, over countless obstructions, to a rather small house, planted on the hillside. One by one we squeezed in through the narrow door-way and there, in its cool interior, found ourselves as if in a bee-hive. It was simply swarming with brown figures and a constant buzz of conversation came from all quarters. We were offered stools to sit upon, and the usual niji-manchi was forthcoming; but when a large pin-inga (bowl) of the white liquid was passed over in our direction, both Johnson and myself waved it aside, as the method of preparing it was yet too fresh in our memory."

26: Brüning--74 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

A few words must be said about the túndui, the wireless telephone of the Aguarunas. It consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk, about 100-120 cm. long and of a thickness of 30-35 cm. At each end there is a handle, one of which is used to grab it, the other as a support on the ground, so that the instrument is free to vibrate. On top of the drum there are four holes in one direction. Originally, these holes may have been used to hollow out the trunk, in the end they help with the resonance. (See Illustration number 4.) They beat the instrument with a short stick which is wound with vegetarian wool at one end. The sound differs depending on whether the drum is hit from the side or at the top. The messages are conveyed, in the manner of our Morse system, by a combination of these two sound possibilities. If the air is quiet, one is able to hear the túndui at a distance of several kilometers. The message is transmitted from one place to the other by a process of interception and further transmission.

When we returned from our trip to Puerto Meléndez, our arrival was signalled with the help of the túndui from the houses along the bank to all the others so that when we arrived in Huaracayo, we found a large crowd assembled for our reception.

28: Tessman-356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 202, 534

They have awooden signal drum (tundui). See Plate 59, Fig 1. It is a very functional instrument, sounding signals of warning and distress for a people that thrives on raids, war and murders. The drumstick is reproduced on Plate 59, Fig. 1a.

On festive ocasions they use as musical instrument a double-skin drum (tambún), which has a short or an oblong shape, as shown on Plate 68 and on Plate 59, Fig. 4, respectively. They beat the drum with a bone or, though less frequently, with a piece of wood. The drmstick is attached to the drum by means of a string. During their dance festivals the Ciwaros wear rattles around their legs. They consist of plaited fiber strands; in short intervals thinner strings are braided into the fiber strands. The thin strings project with both ends to which the halves of fruit-shells are attached with knots, These shells rattle when they collide. See Plate 59, Fig. 5.

29: Vité--16 [2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

While we were advancing through this region [KS: the jungle], at first confusedly and then very distinctly, we made out the echo of the beat of the "dúndulos", a kind of drum which the savages use to call to their neighbors with some fiesta in view.

31: Danielsson--89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 173, 202

"Indirect communication is very limited, consisting only of some few standardized messages circulated by the signal-drum to overcome distance in space, and of some orally preserved traditions to overcome distance in time."

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *ayahuasca* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a cupal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain conditions). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *new* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless hardness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party sent secretly for an attack, the forest is soundlessly traversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

14:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 [202] nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 [412] The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapiwisak* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 513 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 [951] [146] Each household has either a single large garden or several smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34 Hamner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

law. A shaman who has had his *nemesak* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natema. The sudden loss of his *nemesak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a be-
witcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this
weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by
his experience, he can again purchase *nemesak* from some
other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202] •
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity
usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether
anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors
so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain."
Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an
informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them.
Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead,
although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned
in the normal course of events, family members will return
when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm
thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position.
An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and
the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is bur-
ied in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

178 184 438 278 411 [224]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid. 863 [868] [481] [961]

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor. 867

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in 866 867 609 186 [153] 186 203

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

186 small households over a large area results in a very poor
• 203 communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

867 Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that
262 meat is not always abundant in the household, depending
855 on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

865 While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of
[867] and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may
861 be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of
[867] their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

[867] If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking, continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shuka, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huara*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jívaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

25: Vigna--45 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 212

The Jîbaro does not know how to write; he sometimes draws signs and simple lines in the little reeds that he puts in the lobes of his ears, and on the oars of his canoe. He skillfully weaves the threads in pleasing designs in his fabrics; he is likewise skillful in the combs that he works with pieces of very fine arrows.

25: Vigna--38 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 214, 194

Good studies and essays are to be found on the Jibaro language. The Salesian Missionaries today have a grammar and dictionary of the Jibaro tongue, printed through the direct interest of the Ecuadorian supreme government. They have also written many essays on this language for the purpose of catechising. As the Jibaro up to the present is solely a spoken language, and therefore subject to modifications and alterations, sometimes local and even individual, and since it has not undergone crystallisation of any kind in signs, characters, or monuments, it does not have its own writing. The phonology of the Spanish language has been used in order to organise it.

1: Karsten--143 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 221 (1928-29)

"Next to agriculture, hunting and fishing are the principal means of subsistence of the Ecuadorian Indians. The virgin forests of Western Amazonas are in general rich in game, except in those parts which lie close to the Indian habitations where, owing to the steady persecution of the native hunters, it is scarcer. Similarly the rivers abound in fish, and as a matter of fact could give the Indians half of their food supply if they devoted themselves to fishing more than they actually do."

4: Up de Graff--202-203 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 221, 361, 241

"The Antipas, then, are semi-nomadic. The year for them is divided into three parts, not corresponding to the seasons as we know them, but to the capacity of the crops which they plant for keeping them alive; that is to say, they have three distinct homes, some ten or twenty miles apart, each with its own clearing (chacra in Inca), between which they divide their time. At each homestead they plant fresh crops before leaving for the next, living the while on the produce they find waiting for them on arrival, the result of the last sowing. Each crop takes about eight months to mature, on an average. The exception, of course, is the banana-plant, which bears fruit for many years; the old plant dies each year, after bearing one bunch of fruit, but automatically there spring [203] up round the roots fresh shoots which bear the next year.

Living as they do well to the west of the area which is annually inundated, and consequently being free from dependance on the seasons, they can sow at any time of the year, with the certainty of reaping at the end of the unvarying number of months which are needed in order that the crop may ripen. Yuca, for instance, is ready in six months; Indian corn in three months; yams (a potato which grows three to four feet in length and fifty pounds in weight) in a year; sweet potatoes, peanuts, and tobacco are also cultivated in large quantities."

2: Stirling--108 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 222

"While fruits are rather extensively used for food purposes. Among those occurring most abundantly in the region of the Santiago are guava beans, sapotes, and the fruit of the chonta palm."

25. Vigna --44 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 231, 222, 462

The Jíbaro women breed domestic birds, hogs, little monkeys, parrots, and even wild birds, with astonishing skill. They do not keep fruit or products of the earth in their house which is always painstakingly clean, but every day they go to the garden to obtain the necessities for the day.

28: Tessman--350 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 222, 262

Palm-cabbage is eaten, and so are the fruits of Oenocarpus bataua (ungŭki), of Mauritia flexuosa (átsō), and of Euterpe (sakŏ). The larvae of palmer-worms (mŭndiš) and a certain ant (uĕk) are eaten. The Indians eat honey, too.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

season,[1] and a diversified crop inventory all contribute to 24
making a continual supply of agricultural products possible throughout the year.

Crops grown for their tubers or corms include, besides sweet manioc, two varieties of sweet potato, *papa china* (from Spanish) [taro?], and three other members of the Araceae family (*sayu*, *naka*, *wandup*), the carrot-like *maya* (arracacha?), and peanuts. Of these, manioc is grown in by far the largest quantity, and is the chief source of starch. The most important non-tuberous food plants are plantains and "white" maize. Other crops grown in relatively small quantities are squash, red peppers, tomatoes, onions, the "gold" banana (*guineo de oro* in Spanish), pineapple, papaya, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton. *Tsapay* (for heavy [222]
cordage), various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs, especially *Banisteriopsis* species and *Datura arborea*, are both cultivated in the garden and collected wild in the forest.

Gardens are abandoned after three plantings of manioc, in 241
other words, after about three to five years, because of the growing amount of labor required to clear the ever increasing numbers of weeds. New garden clearings are made nearby in virgin timber except when the actual household is being moved, in which case the gardens are planted at the new house location. This practice of shifting gardens, the so-called "slash-and-burn" or swidden technique, is made possible by the plentiful supply of land. The Jivaro recognize this method, despite the necessity of making new clearings, as involving less effort than attempting to cope with the weeds at the old site.

If a man clears the forest without the aid of neighbors, he 241
tends to make small clearings at different times, while the 595
rarer communal effort results in one large clearing. Whether [476]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
512 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
313 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar

[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled

[252] [262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his

[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in

[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually

[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children

[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about

[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-

[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of

• [222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this

[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-

[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes

[136]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

196 224 [222]

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find [222] collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging [411] from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

196 224 223 237 261

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, [225] although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222 •
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*nnukintü*, *čarančam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirulü* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyanü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntü*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kinak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirintü*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakai, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [273]
kumai) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*unusi*, *ručinč*, *ipü*, *wanat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 184 278 411 438 been made possible by the development of trade with the Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after a successful head-hunting raid.

[727] In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred

178 227 438 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by means of the inter-tribal trade network.

178 222 137 Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 24 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jivaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar

178 278 411 824 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

136 224 [222]

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

[222]

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[411]

136 224 223 237 261

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

[825]

— 34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[278]

Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 6) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the toucan, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

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[438]
[278]

The blowgun and curare dart poison are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jivaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

[224]

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

such through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jívaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

411 [224] [171] 411 224 [223]

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

224 [231] [411]

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call partners without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

223 edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.
224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go
512 hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as
461 follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he rests, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of footholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs. 178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsentse* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier. 178 251 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance. 178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has 178 184 438 278 411 [224]

1: Karsten--143 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 226, 411 (1920-29)

"Besides firearms, which are now known to most tribes, the lance and the blowgun are the most important hunting implements of the Ecuadorian Indians. The lance is used for killing big game like the tapir, the wild hog, and the deer, as well as beasts like the jaguar and the bear. With the blowgun and poisoned arrows the Indians hunt birds, monkeys, and other smaller quadrupeds.

For hunting big game and smaller animals the Indians commonly use dogs of a special mixed race which are bred with great care. This is particularly the case with the Jibaros, who are in the habit of making a great feast in honour of their dogs, called 'the feast of the dogs', by which strength and ability for the tracing and pursuing of the game are supposed to be imparted to them."

1: Karsten--155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 754 (1928-29)

"Certain demoniacal animals and birds, like snakes, the nose-bear, vultures, owls, and hawks, are never shot with poisoned arrows. The poison in that case would entirely lose its efficacy and it would become impossible to bring down any edible animals and birds with it. The animals mentioned, it should be understood, are particularly detested by the Jibaros because they believe that the witch-doctors are in the habit of sending off their magic arrows by these very animals. This superstition of the Jibaros will be further dealt with in the chapters on their religion.

Nor are poisoned arrows nowadays used by the Indians in war. If a human being is killed with a poisoned arrow, that poison can no longer be used for hunting animals that are eaten. An animal killed with such poison would assume the same taste as human flesh, and no Jibaro Indian would dare to touch it."

1: Karsten--157-158 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

"When the Indian wants to go out hunting he prepares a number of poisoned arrows. The night before starting, their points are smeared with poison to a length of 2 to 3 cm. and the arrows are then stuck into the earth round the fire so that the poison may partly dry. Otherwise much of it would be brushed off when the arrows are placed in the quiver. The opposite end of the arrow is wound round with wild cotton (ceibo) so that, when the arrow is put into the blowgun, it fits the bore tightly and can be blown out with force. The arrows are kept in a quiver about 25 or 26 cm. long consisting of wild bamboo cane and worn hanging on the stomach from a band round the neck. To the lower end of the quiver [158] a round gourd is attached, provided with a small hole. In this gourd the wild cotton needed for the arrows is kept and pulled out through the hole as it is required.

At the upper end of the quiver hangs a small tool which is of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians it consists of the extremely sharp jaws of the fish paña (Serrasalmo), among the Jibaros again of the equally sharp nippers of the fresh water crab uriki. When the Indian wants to shoot an animal or a bird he first makes a cut in the arrow with this sharp instrument at the point where the poison ends, so that it will break with the least effort. Experience, it should be noticed, has taught the Indian that certain animals, especially monkeys, but also the bears, when hit by a poisoned arrow, at once pull it out from the body in which case the poison cannot

develop its full efficacy. If, on the other hand, the small operation just mentioned is performed, the arrow at once breaks when the animal tries to extract it, and the poisoned head remains in the body.

With the blowgun the Indians are able to shoot as far as 30 or 40 metres, and in general they display remarkable dexterity with it. The power of resisting the poison is of course different in different animals, and also varies according to the efficaacy [sic] of the poison. Small birds fall at once to the ground in agony, bigger birds generally after a few minutes. Even if the poison does not immediately cause death, yet it brings about a certain paralysis of the muscles and stupefaction, causing the bird to move reluctantly, and if it manages to fly away, it usually does not go far and the Indian, following the direction of its flight, can be sure to catch it in a few moments. Monkeys possess little power of resistance to the arrow-poison and fall to the ground in about five minutes. Bigger animals like the wild hog and the bear cannot be killed with one single arrow, but require several. The bear, for instance, I was told, can only be brought down with some 10 to 30 arrow-shots, according to the action of the poison. The animal is shot after it has taken refuge from the pursuing dogs in a tree. The largest wild animals, like the jaguar and the puma, are seldom hunted with poisoned arrows; to kill them requires a great number of arrows and even then they

would be able to retire to the thickets of the forest where they will die only after several hours."

1: Karsten--162-167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224 (1928-29)

"Among the Indians of Ecuador large hunting expeditions are especially undertaken for the great feasts in order to secure a good supply of food; these expeditions last from eight to fifteen days. Among the CANELOS INDIANS the following preparations are made.

Early in the morning of the day when the expedition is to start all hunters assemble in the house of the Indian who makes the feast (called chayu, 'feaster'). Their wives bring with them the drums which are to be beaten in the house of the 'feaster' at the small drinking-feast that precedes the starting. The hunters, dressed in festival style and each holding his drum, wander in a circle in the middle of the house in slow time, incessantly beating their drums but without chanting. Meanwhile manioc-beer (asua) is being drunk by the hunters and by the other people in the house, the women preparing the drink and serving it to the men. The beer-drinking and the beating of the drums are continued for about one hour. Before leaving the house, the hunters range themselves in a row. An old woman has a gourd ready, containing some mani or earth-nuts. Each grain in the gourd is painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). In another small gourd she has prepared some crude roucou with which the hunters' faces are to be painted. The old woman also holds a branch of a certain tree with large soft prickles, which the Indians call chini papaya. (1) Each hunter in turn steps forward to

"1. The Canelos Indians call it by this name owing to the similarity of its leaves to the leaves of the cultivated tree Carica papaya."

the old woman, who paints the whole lower part of his face red with roucou and then slightly strikes him on the head, the shoulders, the arms, and the legs with the prickly branch, at the same time saying to him: sinchita callpángi, 'may you run fast'. The hunter thus treated now starts to run away from the house, all the women throwing after him the red mani grains. Then the next hunter steps forward to the old woman, to be treated in the same way, then the following one, and so forth, until the last of them. After the hunters have left, the women pick up the mani grains and eat them.

The hunters, on leaving the house, have gone down to the river where their canoes have been held ready. Afterwards the women also come down there, each carrying the drum of her husband. The drums must go with the hunters on the expedition, but the women must carry them down to the canoes, just as previously they had carried them to the house of the 'feaster'. [163]

It is considered necessary that the hunters should be painted in the face with roucou before they start on the expedition, otherwise they would not be able to catch any game. Similarly, when the women throw upon them mani grains painted red with roucou, this is done for the same purpose, or more strictly speaking, in order that the hunters shall have good luck in general, and especially that they shall be able to catch female monkeys with young. Young monkeys are much appreciated by the Indians who keep them for the purpose of taming them.

While the hunters are away on their expedition, the wife of the 'feaster' takes care not to sweep the house with a broom, but leaves all dirt and waste lying untouched until the hunters return. If she swept the ground and removed the waste, the hunters would be unable to bring home any game.

The Indians on their hunting expeditions travel far away, to uninhabited and often quite unexplored parts, since in the home regions there is little game to be found. Arriving at the district where they propose to hunt they make some provisional shelters whence they undertake smaller expeditions in different directions every day. In the afternoon the hunters return to the shelters with the game killed or the fish caught during the day, and at once prepare and roast it at the fire, preserving it in this form until they arrive home. If the hunters have had good luck, they beat their drums again in the evening and rejoice by drinking manioc-beer.

When the hunters return home from their expedition, they announce their arrival by beating the drums. As soon as the game is brought up, some of the oldest men of the tribe are elected to count it. Each piece of the roasted meat, each bird, each fish caught, is counted by the old men, who form the authorities of the Indians and are called huarayu. Each of the men elected is also to have a share of the game. The 'feaster' now prepares a big banquet, called camari, to which all are invited. When the guests arrive, they are received in a festive way. A table loaded with game and

other kinds of food stands in the background of the house. Close to it one Indian is beating a drum and another playing a flute, while the rest of the men dance slowly to and fro in front of the table. Then they all sit down to eat.

Before the Canelos Indians start on a hunting expedition, they abstain for eight days from eating salt and Indian pepper (útchu). If they eat these things, the dogs will suffer and be unable to scent and hunt anything. During these days of preparation the dogs are also kept tied up in order that they may not eat excrements. If they eat excrements they will, [164] according to the idea of the Indians, be incapable of tracking and hunting animals. --During the eight days mentioned the hunters also abstain from cohabiting with their wives. Otherwise they are supposed to become unable to aim at and shoot the animals and birds with gun or blowpipe.

Whether the hunting expedition is undertaken for a feast or not, the Canelos Indian never omits to paint his face red with roucou before starting. The red paint is supposed to attract animals and birds, and thus to give good luck in hunting. For this reason even the dogs used for hunting are painted before leaving, the fell being profusely coated with crude roucou. The Canelos Indian says that if he does not paint himself with roucou before going to hunt, he will be unable to kill any game.

Besides the body-painting with the seeds of the Bixa orellana, various other charms

are used in hunting by the Indians of Canelos. These charms most commonly consist in small round stones or pebbles, small balls of hair, pieces of wood, etc., found in the stomachs of certain birds or animals. The small stones are generally taken from the stomachs of the birds, especially of the tucan, the paugi, and the wild turkey, which are most appreciated as food and because of their feathers. As soon as the Indian finds such a stone, he washes and dries it carefully and then puts it into a small round gourd which is closed with a tap or a cover and sealed with wax. The Indian only removes this seal and cover when he is to start on a hunting expedition. Then he takes out one of the small stones, and with the powder which has formed itself round it he paints certain ornamental figures on the face, which figures of course are scarcely visible on the skin of the Indian. Then the stone is again put into the gourd, the cover of which is carefully sealed with wax as before. This charm is also taken on the hunting expedition, being kept in the small bag of chambira which the Indian always carries when travelling. He is thus able to renew the facial painting with the small stones whenever he likes. The charms described, which are called misha by the Canelos Indians and yúkka by the Jibaros, are believed to have a wonderful power to attract those very birds from whose bowels the stones have originally been taken. Thus there is a special misha for the tucan, another for the paugi, a third for the wild turkey, and so on, all of which are kept in different small gourds and carried by the Indian hunter when he goes out in the

forest.

Again, the misha of certain big animals generally consist of other small objects. Thus in the stomach of the tapir (sacha huagra) small balls [165] of hair are frequently found, probably owing to the habit of these animals of licking the sweat off each other's skin and swallowing the hairs. When the Canelos Indian goes out to hunt the tapir, he rubs the fell of the dogs with such a ball of hair. The dogs' noses are by this means supposed to become particularly keen in tracing the tapir.

Again, in the bowels of the deer the Indians say they sometimes find certain small round wooden pins the existence of which they cannot explain in a natural way. These pins form the misha for attracting and killing the deer. Consequently they are kept with the same care as other similar charms, and when the Indian wants to hunt the deer he scrapes, with a knife, a little powder from each pin and puts it into the food given to the dogs before starting. The charm will attract the animal, and the dogs will have ability and strength to trace and pursue it.

The misha for attracting certain birds and animals may also consist in a small parasite, the garapata or tick, living on these birds or animals. This small insect is said to be especially found in the down under the wings of the tucan, a bird much hunted by the Indians both on account of its flesh and its brilliant feathers. The tick living on the

tucan is, however, said to be very difficult to catch. As soon as the bird, killed by the shot or the poisoned arrow, falls to the ground, the parasite quits the body of the bird and disappears. Sometimes, however, it happens that a wounded tucan, when it falls down from the tree, still keeps the little insect, and the experienced Indian hunter, who quickly seizes the bird and knows where to seek the tick, is able to catch it. He immediately shuts it up in a small gourd in the same manner as is done with other kinds of misha. When the hunter goes out in the forest to shoot a tucan, he carries this charm, and whilst wandering about seeking the bird he shakes the gourd containing the tick in the belief that it will attract the bird. The tick is therefore called aicha mama, 'the mother of the game'.

The aicha mama which is a tick is also said to be found in the coats of certain quadrupeds, like the wild hog (huangána), and is used in the same way for hunting that animal.

The Canelos Indians appreciate their misha extremely, considering their whole luck in hunting bound up in a mysterious way with these small objects. An Indian who sells or gives away his misha thereby not only gives away the power of killing game with this particular charm, but his whole luck in hunting in general. He will not be able to kill any more birds or animals with gun or with poisoned arrows. It is, therefore, very difficult to induce an Indian to sell these charms, and a price [166] must always be paid

for them which stands in no reasonable proportion to their real value.

Another charm for attracting and killing the tucan is a small plant which is called by some Canelos Indians sicuánga ahuiringri, by others sinsimbu. The juice contained in this plant is pressed out with the fingers and taken as a 'medicine' by the Indian hunter eight days before he starts hunting. It is supposed to attract the tucan and to make it tame, so that it can be easily shot. During the following eight days, or until the Indian starts, he has to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only boiled plantain. If he does not fast, the plant sicuanga ahuiringri or sinsimbu will fail to attract the bird.

There is a fowl frequently hunted by the Indians, called by its Spanish name mondete by the Canelos Indians, and ayáchu by the Jibaros. When the Indians have killed and eaten this bird, they take care not to let the dogs eat its bones, since otherwise the dogs will deteriorate and become unable to trace the bird. This bird generally lives on the low bushy banks of the river near the forest, and when it is disturbed by the dogs it flies up into a tree where it can be easily shot. But if the dogs have previously eaten the bones of the bird, then the bird, when scared by the dogs, flies up into a tree, but is immediately drawn again to the ground, from where it again flies up into a tree, again falls to the ground, and so on, so that the hunter gets no opportunity to shoot it. This peculiar behaviour of the bird is due to the dogs having previously eaten its bones.

The Canelos Indians have the same superstition in regard to the great macaw, guacamayo. The dogs are therefore never allowed to eat the bones of this bird.

When the Jibaros and Canelos Indians go out hunting on hills, especially on some they have never visited before, they take care not to speak loudly but keep strict silence. Nor do they use their firearms on those hills but merely their blow guns with which they can kill the animals without making any noise. If they speak loudly or shoot with a gun, the spirit of the hill will be angry and immediately send a heavy rain, the hunters being then unable to kill any game. The hills and high mountains, according to the ideas of the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros, are inhabited by particularly malicious spirits (supai, iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers or medicine-men.

A good Indian hunter is supposed to be able to transfer his skill in shooting birds and animals with the blowgun to another younger Indian by taking some juice of tobacco into his mouth and blowing it directly [167] into the nose of the other Indian. This custom is due to the superstitious ideas the Indians have about tobacco in general, which is one of their great 'medicines'.

When a young Indian feels that his sight is not strong enough to aim at the birds and animals with the blowgun, he goes to the oldest man of the family, or to a medicine-man, tells him what is the matter with him, and asks for a remedy. The old man then generally takes the fruit of utchu or Indian pepper, parts the pod, takes out some of the

seeds and puts them straight into the eyes of the younger Indian, at the same time whistling and chanting a conjuration. This operation, owing to the strong properties of the pepper, at first makes the young man almost blind, but afterwards, it is supposed, he will become extremely keen sighted in aiming and shooting with the blowgun.

When a son is born among the Canelos Indians, the father has to fast for eight days and is not allowed to go out hunting in the forest or to do any work. When the eight days have elapsed and the father goes out hunting for the first time, he takes some ceibo (wild cotton), which he uses to fit the arrow into the blowgun when he shoots, makes a small ball of it and throws it upon his new-born son. This is supposed to make the child a very good hunter in the future."

"...the wild JIBAROS also use those charms for hunting which consist of small stones and other objects found in the stomachs of animals and birds, calling them yúkka. The Jibaros however, do not seem to attribute the same extraordinary importance to these charms as the Canelos Indians. Likewise, although the Jibaro Indian never fails to paint his face and his body with roucou before starting on a journey through the forest or a voyage on the river, believing that the body-painting will give him strength, he does not do it especially with the idea that it will attract the game. On the other hand, all Indians are imbued with the idea that the bones, and especially the skulls, of animals killed in hunting have the power of attracting the same species of animals. This is the reason why almost in every Jibaro hut one can find a number of skulls and other bones of animals killed in hunting during recent months and even years. The different skulls are connected with each other by a string and the whole row is hung from the ceiling, [168] where the bones are thus kept after being carefully freed from flesh and washed. The feathers and heads or beaks of birds are kept in the same way and for the same purpose. These objects not only serve as charms for continued good luck in hunting, but at the same time are trophies which fill the Indian with pride and show the visitors what a skilled hunter the head of the house is.

Sometimes, when the Jibaro Indian is out hunting and has killed for instance a monkey and eaten it in the forest, he afterwards makes the skull of the animal clean

and suspends it, tied to a vine, between two trees in the neighbourhood of the place where he shot it. The skull is then supposed to draw other monkeys to the same place.

All Indians, when hunting, make great use of the method of imitating the sounds of the birds and animals they are seeking in order to attract them, and they generally do it with unrivalled skill. They especially imitate the cries of different birds, but also the sounds of various quadrupeds, the grunt of the hog, the whistling of the tapir, the peiping of the small rodent aguti, etc. This of course is really a good way of decoying the game, but to the mind of the Indian the method is also mixed with superstition: in his religion he imitates the spirits in the same way when he wants to summon them.

To catch certain birds and small animals the Jibaros use a kind of trap, just as in their wars they make use of other traps to defend themselves against their enemies. There are two different small traps which play a part in the hunting of these Indians. The one is called timbya: generally speaking it consists of two sticks or tree branches, one larger lying on the ground and often covered with dry leaves, the other smaller lying on the first one when the trap is closed. When the trap is open, one end of the thinner stick is bent upwards, so as to form an angle of about 30 degrees ground, with the [sic] and is connected with the lower stick by means of certain strings. The trap is so constructed, that when the bird or the animal steps upon the stick lying on the

ground, the upper stick falls upon it with force, crushing it or keeping it fixed. The mechanism by which the upper stick is kept bent and released is rather complicated and cannot be accurately described in words. This trap is placed in the forest on the narrow path frequented by pigeons, partridges, and certain parrots, or small animals like the agouti and the squirrel. Sometimes it is also placed in the house with a view to catching rats and frogs coming in at night.

The other trap is called kuáka. It consists essentially of a small [169] flexible branch of a tree fixed in the ground in a vertical position. To the top of this stick a thin liana or a chambira string is attached, the end of which forms a snare. In order to make the trap ready to operate, the stick is bent down against the earth and in a certain simple but ingénious way fastened to another small stick fixed in the ground. The latter, again, is connected with a thin stick lying on the ground, upon which the end of the string, forming a snare, is laid. When the bird steps upon this stick on the spot where the snare is laid, the branch bent against the earth is released and flies up, the bird being thereby caught in the snare by the legs and lifted in the air. Pigeons and partridges are the birds most frequently caught with this trap."

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

"Of greater importance to the Jibaro Indians for hunting than all charms and traps are, however, their dogs, which, as pointed out before, are bred with extraordinary care. The 'feast of the dogs', Yawápani, is one of the five great feasts of the Jibaros, and takes place when the training of a young dog is completed and it is supposed to be able to track and hunt game. Just as the Jibaro, when he is about to marry, makes a special feast for his young wife to impart to her strength and ability for agriculture and other work incumbent upon a housewife, [170] so he makes a feast for his young dog when it is full-grown, in order to give it a keen nose for tracking game and strength and endurance for pursuing it.

When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must

they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch. As soon as the little dog has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals[sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die. The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die.

When the dog is full-grown and supposed to be able to track and hunt game, the feast Yawápani takes place. When this feast is made on a large scale, it is almost as grand as the head-feast or the feast of the women. Even the ceremonial drinking of natéma formerly took place at the Yawápani, just as it still forms a ceremony at some of the great feasts. It is preceded by the usual preparations, the planting of manioc and plantain, the brewing of a large quantity of manioc-beer, the making of new clay

vessels, and so on. The feast proper lasts three days, and the ceremonies, as is the case at all feasts, are led by an old man or priest, called whuéa. [171]

Three days previous to the feast proper a conjuration takes place consisting of a special dance, called Wuimchi, at which different birds and animals, which the Jibaros most generally hunt, are enumerated. The dance begins when darkness sets in and is continued the whole night, until dawn. It is performed by young men, invited to the feast, who move round one of the pillars in the middle of the house holding each other by the hand. The conjurers, whilst thus moving round, again and again mention certain birds, valued by the Jibaros, like the tucan (tsukánga), the paugi (máshu), the wild turkey (kúyu), and the parrot (kávashu), and of animals especially the wild hog (pákki) and different kinds of monkeys, which are much hunted by the Indians on account of their flesh, their teeth, which are strung into necklaces, and their skin, which is used for drums and for making small bags which the Jibaros carry when travelling.

The object of this conjuration, which also takes place at the victory feast and the feast of the women, is of course to give the 'feaster' good luck in hunting with the new dog.

During the feast proper the principal ceremony consists in a magical drink being repeatedly given the dog. This drink is prepared from a small plant, specially cultivated for this purpose by the Jibaros, which is called kungúna. The leaves of the plant are boiled together with the leaves of the guayusa (Ilex), a tree which plays an important part

in certain magical rites of the Indians. It is the priest, whuéa, who has to give this medicine to the dog. For this purpose he first fills his mouth with tobacco smoke and blows it upon the dog, then he opens its mouth and puts a little of the liquid into it, at the same time chanting an incantation or conjuration adapted for the occasion. This ceremony is repeated several times in the course of one or two days of the feast. Again, each night from about 6 o'clock till dawn, a general dance, called Ihiámbrama, is performed, which takes place at all feasts of the Jibaros. Both the men and the women take part in this dance wearing the usual festal ornaments, moving in a ring in the middle of the house and chanting incantations. On the third and last day of the feast the priest washes the eyes of the dog with a special solution, prepared by soaking a leaf, called shishíngya, in water. Other Jibaros, again, make a certain poisonous ant bite the dog in the eyes. By this procedure the dog is supposed to get strong eyes and a good nose for tracking the game. This done, the priest initiates the mistress of the house into her coming duties with regard to the dog, since she has to take care of the hunting dogs and to feed them. The priest [172] first gives the woman tobacco juice to drink, then grasps her by the right hand, makes her take a piece of boiled manioc from a gourd held ready and give it to the dog, whereupon he makes her caress its back with her hand. Finally the priest paints the dog with genipa, as is done with men and women at all great feasts,

applying the black dye to the fell of the animal from the nose downwards along the stomach. This ceremony brings the feast of the dogs to an end.

This feast, however, is not always celebrated on such a large scale, nor is it exclusively made for young dogs which are to be initiated for hunting. When an old dog is growing too lazy to pursue game and losing the power to track it, is [sic] owner may improvise a small feast for it, at which he himself gives the dog the medicine prepared from the kungúna and the guayusa leaves, accompanying the ceremony with the usual incantations and conjurations. He may give the dog kungúna repeatedly during the day, whereupon he takes it out in the forest to see whether it has regained its power. If the result is not satisfactory, he may give it the same medicine the next day, and so on, until it takes effect and the dog recovers its power.

The drink prepared from the kungúna, owing to some extraordinary properties ascribed to this plant, is supposed to exert a mysterious, favourable influence upon the dog, making it strong and vigorous to pursue game. The kungúna thus plays much the same part at the 'feast of the dogs' as tobacco plays at other great feasts of the Jibaros. The idea that underlies all feasts of these Indians is that the magic medicine then taken will fill the person in question with supernatural power, which is automatically transferred to every sphere of his life. It is the same with the feast Yawápani. The mysterious power which is imparted to the dog will, as it were mechanically, display itself

in the good luck which ever afterwards follows its master in hunting: in his house there will thenceforward be no lack of game. At least this will infallibly be the case if the ceremonies have been duly performed and the owner of the dog as well as his wife have, during the time of preparation, fasted in the way prescribed by custom. Should the result of the feast be unsatisfactory and the dog prove of little use for hunting, their explanation is that its masters have infringed the rules of diet, or else committed some fault in celebrating the feast.

As already mentioned, it is the duty of the housewife to feed and take care of the dogs. Just as the married Jibaro woman is believed to have a mysterious influence upon the fields which she cultivates, so she is [173] supposed to exert a similar influence upon the hunting dogs confided to her care. The competence of the dogs and the plentifulness of game in the house thus correspond to the ability of its mistress. Hence, when at the 'tobacco feast of the women' (noa tsángu) the newly married Jibaro woman is initiated for her coming obligations as a housewife, mention is made not only of the fields and of different domestic plants, the swine, and chicken, but also of the dogs, and special incantations are addressed to the Earth-mother Nungüi on behalf of these domestic animals.

After the feast Yawápani the dog is taken out in the forest together with other older dogs to hunt, the wild hog being the game then especially sought. As soon as a hog or

some other animal has been killed with the aid of the dogs, the back of the newly-initiated dog is thickly coated with its blood. By this procedure it is supposed to become keen in hunting that animal.

The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house.

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (tũnchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them. --"

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani."

2: Stirling--85 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

"Attached to the dart quiver (pl. 36) is part of the jaw of a fish with sharp teeth (Serrosalmo piraja). This instrument is used for making a circular cut around the dart about an inch from the point so that this section will break off in the wound. This procedure is particularly necessary in shooting monkeys, as a monkey always will attempt to pluck the dart out immediately upon being hit."

2: Stirling--105[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The Jivaro is at his best when hunting in the forest. His knowledge of the habits of the game animals, his keen ears and eyes, his ability to imitate the calls of animals and birds, all contribute to his success in the hunt. Where a white man could walk through the forest without being aware of any game in the vicinity, the Indian is constantly aware of the presence of birds and animals and is able to tell from the sounds just what varieties they might be..

A common Jivaro method of hunting is to construct in a suitable location a blind made of palm leaves in which the hunter sits quietly with his blowgun, from time to time repeating the calls of certain birds or animals so that the game will come to him instead of his pursuing the game. Great patience is exhibited in this form of hunting, and as a rule is rewarded by success."

2: Stirling--105-106 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 224

"When any member of a jivaría locates the trail of a herd of peccaries or wild hogs a community hunt is organized. Preparations for such a hunt constitute somewhat of a social occasion. All of the dogs owned by the jivaría are put on leash and, under the care of the women, are brought with the hunting party into the forest to the point where the trail of the herd has been seen. A consultation then takes place between the leading men in order to decide the probable course taken by the herd. Many things are taken into consideration, such as the direction of the wind, the occurrence of trees furnishing suitable foods on which the animals are likely to be feeding, the physical nature of the terrain itself, and the probabilities of the herd being turned aside by streams or gullies. After the likely location of the herd is determined, various individuals are spread through the forest to act as drivers, while others are stationed [106] with their weapons at favorable points where it is expected the animals will be driven past."

"Guns, lances, and blowguns are all used. The peccary is a dangerous animal when aroused and a man in the path of a charging herd is forced to take to a tree in order to save his life. Because of this fact, a great deal of excitement prevails at the final contacting of the game. The beaters with their dogs have all arranged a series of signals sounding like bird calls, by means of which they make their presence and position known one to the other. With the dogs howling as the trail is struck, the woods are filled with bedlam as the animals are driven out and swing into motion.

As the herd approaches, grunting and with teeth clashing, the hunters stationed along the path grow excited as the shooting begins. Those with guns fire and reload as rapidly as possible. The men with lances station themselves at the base of trees where they are able to receive the rush of the animals, lancing one or two if possible as they charge, and then immediately taking to the tree above them in order to escape the rest. As soon as the herd has arrived, all of the Jivaro hunters are to be seen seated on the lower limbs of small tree, frantically ramming charges in their muzzle loaders or shooting blowgun darts as rapidly as possible into the herd of charging animals. The men with the lances lower themselves from the trees in order to use their lances effectively, but taking care not to allow themselves to fall to the ground or get in the path of the peccaries.

In due course of time the excited animals rush past and the hunters descend from their perches and collect all that have been killed. Those shot with poisoned darts it is necessary to follow a considerable distance. All of the dead animals are then brought together,

singed, cleaned, and carried back many weary miles through the jungle to the jivaría. All of the carrying is done by the women. In case there are not enough to bring all of the animals which have been killed, instead of the men helping so that it could be done at one trip, the women return and make a second trip in order to secure the remainder.

Meat which is obtained as the result of a community hunt is divided among the hunters by the curaka. On one occasion when we were present at a peccary hunt of this sort we were unable to purchase any meat because of the fact that, inasmuch as it had been a community venture, there was no one entitled to receive payment for it. The only solution was to give us part of the meat as our share for participating in the hunt.

Another mass method of killing wild pigs or peccaries is to drive them into a large stream where they are pursued in canoes and lanced in the water. A hunt of this nature was witnessed on the Marañon when five pigs were secured from a large herd crossing the river."

2: Stirling--107 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 262, 224

"Certain of the available animals are not utilized by the Jivaro for food purposes on account of magical taboos. Notable among these exceptions are the deer and tapir. Deer are considered to contain tsarutama of the feared spirit, Iguanchi. The Indians have no hesitancy in killing deer and furnishing them to white people to use as food, but no Jivaro will partake of deer meat himself. In the same way, in some regions, the flesh of the tapir is taboo."

3: Simson--391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 224, 581

Once a proficient hunter [KS: the Canelo] and possessor of good poison, of which fact the community is made aware by the number of toucans' tails with which he adorns his person--this bird being one of the most difficult to kill as it is nearly always seen at the tops of the highest trees and is one of the toughest preys to the Tecuna poison--he finds no difficulty in successfully making his advances to any young squaw to whom he may have taken a fancy. In reality there is little romance in the Indian maiden's preference for the greatest hunter: her 'penchant' for him lies in the hard probability that he, above others, will be more likely to provide her with an abundance of animal food."

4: Up de Graff--213-214 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 278

"The big monkeys are the hardest game to bring down with shot-gun or rifle. I have shot them to pieces with a Winchester, until their entrails actually fell to the ground, before they have fallen. Even when dead, very frequently they remain suspended by the tail, and the tree has to be climbed before they can be recovered. But the poisoned dart from a blow-gun, as long as the skin is broken at any point, kills them within two minutes. Experiments which I have carried out on domestic animals have proved, moreover, that the poison (of which I brought home a small quantity) acts painlessly, the effect being much the same as an overdose of morphine. This fact leads me to believe that a drug could be manufactured from the same vegetable which would be invaluable in medicine. A trial was once made in the Guianas by an English naturalist with the same drug (under the local Indian name of huareli) on a bullock, which died in twenty minutes as a result of three arrow wounds. The vine from which it is made grows in great profusion throughout the Upper Amazon zone, and the process is simple in the extreme. It is cut into sections a foot in length, and the thin hard outer crust of bark is carefully removed by [214] scraping. The main bark, white when first exposed to the air, turns brown in just the same way as an apple. This inner bark is scraped into fine shavings by means of shells and flints, and these are placed in a colander which rests upon a pot in which water is boiling. The water is poured over the contents of the colander repeatedly, until the constant action on it has drawn out the alkaloid, when the lifeless shavings are thrown away and the residue is boiled down until it resembles, both in

consistency, colour, and smell,plain chocolate. While still warm, it is poured into the bamboo receptacle previously described and when cool, it becomes semi-solidified.

Of course there is a great deal of superstition among the Jívaros in connection with the manufacture of this poison. The medicine man alone can make the pots which are used to boil it, and he is furthermore the only person who is privileged to make the poison itself. He collects the stings from various species of noxious insects. Spiders' teeth are also greatly favoured; both these ingredients are introduced into the pot with due ceremony and unlimited confidence in their deadliness. If water can be obtained from the spot where a rainbow touches the earth, then indeed the brew will be immeasurably potent! But be that as it may, the poison which we bartered to the Antipas had not been tempered with any strange charm, as we who made it know, and yet it is declared by them to be the best they had ever used.

There is really a certain amount of risk and danger connected with its manufacture, insomuch as the fumes given off by the boiling liquid are pungent and noxious. I believe that they would prove fatal if inhaled in sufficient quantities; which supposition lends credence to the stories of the Indians that many a medicine man has been found dead over the pot."

4: Up de Graff--226-227 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224

"The anungatas (steersmen--Jívaro) made for the shore. We landed, all of us except Game and Noagra, who stood guard over the canoes. Game was a little chary of venturing barefoot into the woods, after what he had gone through on our passage upstream. Then started an exhibition of rifle versus blow-gun, in which the latter came out with flying colours. The type of monkey which we were after, the coto (the howling monkey--Inca), weighs about thirty pounds, and is like the ostrich, in that it hides its eyes in the conviction that it is itself concealed from its enemies. Hanging by its hands, feet and tail from the underside of one of the big limbs, it remains immobile, and even the crack of a rifle does not scare it into flight. This animal is the evening and morning 'songster' of the Amazon woods. At sunrise and sunset, each troupe parades in single file about the branches of the tree which is their temporary home, uttering a deep growling call which can be heard for miles. The first time I heard it, a monkey was the last thing which occurred to me; it seemed that all the tigres on the Amazon were engaged in a death-struggle. Breaking through the silence of dawn, the loneliest hour of the twenty-four, it drowns the squawk of the waking parrots, and sets the woods reverberating. The coto has ten fingers and as many toes, and its tail, two and a half inches in diameter at the thickest part, is tremendously powerful. When shot, he first lets go his hand-grip, and then his feet loosen [227] their hold; last of all his tail slips gradually from the branch to which it is tied, and down he crashes. Sometimes he dies where he hangs, his tail coiled about the limb in a grip which tightens more and more as

4: Up de Graff--226-227 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 224

his body grows cold. That was when Ungucha had a chance of showing his skill as a climber. Up the strands of bejuco he went, hand over hand, a hundred feet and more, until he was among the topmost limbs of a big tree where he swung from branch to branch until he reached his prey, which came crashing to earth a moment later."

4: Up de Graff--232-234 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 251

"Finding plenty of hog-tracks in the vicinity, we de[233]cided to hunt them down and cure their meat against the day when we should be setting off up-stream once more. The meat of these hogs or peccariesi seems to preserve its flavour, despite the daily smoking to which it must be subjected to protect it from insects, better than any other meat to be found in the forest. Of this game there are two species, the huangana and the sajina (both Inca); the former is more the shape of a domestic pig than anything else, is black, and weighs about a hundred pounds; it carries a musk-sack on the middle of the back, the use of which is somewhat obscure to me; perhaps it may be a form of protection against insects; anyway, a man can track them through the woods by scent as easily as a hound follows a hare, so powerful is the smell they leave behind them on every object against which they rub. It is armed with a pair of fine tusks set in the lower jaw, which it uses both to dig up roots, and to rip the entrails out of its antagonists, the jaguars. The latter are afraid of them, but occasionally follow a herd in the hopes of being able to grab a young hog and make off with it. Not always do they succeed, and when caught their fate is sealed. They are torn to pieces by the infuriated beasts and devoured, head, tail, skin and feet. The huangana will eat snakes, lizards, and anything else that he can find. The herd can be smelt a full mile away if the wind is set right, and long before one is found it will be heard rooting and snuffling in the ground, cracking nuts, one animal fighting another for the tidbits which the monkeys have dropped. The herd often numbers two hundred or more and will attack on sight. To approach

these beasts is easy, for they are too busily occupied in searching for food; their sight and scent are not highly developed, no doubt because they have never had to fear anything that walks in the woods. If you are stalking these animals you will be wise to select [234] your tree before you cover the last fifty yards (and see that the tree contains no ants' nor hornets' nests!) When the nearest huangana sees you, he will utter his war-cry--an ominous rattling of his tusks--which is taken up by the whole herd. A noise is produced which is at the same time fearful and wonderful. It is like a thousand pairs of castanets. It echoes and re-echoes round the woods until it seems to come from every tree. With what terrific speed the lower jaws of this animal must vibrate to give out such a volume of sound may well be imagined.

Select your tree, then, and stand ready to jump as soon as you have fired your shots. The herd will start milling round looking for something to charge, until it sees your smoke, or a movement of your body. Then jump! And may the branch bear your weight, or you will shoot no more huanganas!

The herd, usually sweeps on under the tree and leaves the hunter to descend in peace, pick up the kill, and make his way back to camp. In any event you will be left in peace, if you are not located by sight or scent, for the hogs will go tearing off in one great avalanche, charging some imaginary enemy, and will not pull up until they have covered four or five miles and feel like settling down to continue their feed."

4: Up de Graff--234-235 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 224

"The second species, the sajina or collared peccary, is [235] somewhat smaller and, though fierce enough when disturbed, is not so formidable as its cousin. Briefly it can be described as closely resembling the wild boar of Europe--thinnish wiry hindquarters, heavy shoulders, and short thickset forelegs, a lean flat barrel, bushy hair on shoulders and neck, long fierce tusks, and patches of white to relieve the dead black all over the body. It hunts in pairs, or very small groups of a few pairs.

I once had occasion to prove the temper of the sajina. Having strayed from camp a little way without my rifle (a risky thing to do, I must admit) I came across a couple rooting for food in the bush. They came out into the open to within twenty yards of where I was working with an axe, regardless of the noise and flying chips.

They would perhaps have left me alone, had I not thrown a stick to frighten them off. The challenge was accepted, however, and one of the beasts came on with such an ugly snort that I turned monkey at once and took to the upper branches. After one look into those wicked little eyes, I felt that a well-covered retirement was distinctly indicated. An axe has its uses. It is all very well for chopping trees, for if you miss your swing, the tree won't bite your leg off. For carving pork on the hoof I prefer an instrument with a longer reach."

10: Anthony--150 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The men are hunters of the highest order, and are keen observers of all that takes place in the jungle about them. They penetrate the thickest tangle, using game trails wherever they find them; the bear makes many a highway for these hunters. They never get lost and their highly developed sense of direction enables them to point back at any time toward a given place, such as the camp they left in the morning. This ability is known to those whites who occasionally penetrate into 'Jivaría.' Sometimes a white man, wishing to test their powers, will ask them at different times to point out the direction to camp or to a certain river, thereby earning the supreme contempt of the Jivaro, who thinks that any fool should know such simple matters."

10: Anthony--152-153 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 411

"A great part of their game the Jivaros kill with the blowpipe or blowgun. The blowpipe is a long, slender rod of wood, made from two strips which are carefully hollowed out down the midline, in such fashion that when bound together by a long strip of bark there is a straight, smooth, cylindrical bore the full length of the rod. The blowpipe is generally made of black palm, which has a very tough, interlacing fiber, so that the rod, though slender, has great strength and will not warp or twist. The ammunition for this weapon may be either little balls of clay or arrows. Clay is shaped into small balls, of a diameter just big enough to fit the bore. These balls, after having been baked in the sun, are placed in the mouth and blown through the tube as a small boy blows a bean in a toy blowpipe, but the length of the Indian blowpipe, often eight to ten or more feet, gives the clay ball a great velocity. As a result the projectile will kill small birds or mammals such as squirrels or rabbits. The arrows are long, slender strips of cane, straight and with a sharpened point; a tuft of cotton is twisted about the rear end of the arrow to make it fit the bore in an airtight manner. These arrows fly exceedingly true and game may be struck with them at long distances. For larger game poison is used; for small birds the arrow is plain.

For this purpose the Jivaros use a black gumlike substance brought up from the lower Amazon and undoubtedly a form of curare. The arrows are prepared by dipping into the

poison about half an inch of the tip which then looks very much as if it had been coated with tar. This poison is narcotic in its action and very deadly and an animal that has been wounded with an envenomed arrow will drop in a very few minutes. If the Indian is hunting monkeys, his favorite game, the arrow is scored with a knife about an inch back of the point so that it may break readily at this place. The monkey shows considerable cleverness when hunted and, if wounded, invariably plucks out or breaks off the arrow. He is outwitted, however, by this precaution, because the [153] arrow breaks and leaves the poisoned tip in the wound. I was told that salt is an antidote for the poison, and if the Jivaro wishes to take a monkey alive, he may do so by hurrying at once to a stricken animal and placing salt in its mouth."

12: Rivet--603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151, 224

Perfect knowledge of the forest and its inhabitants, great power of observation, an inexhaustible patience, an unheard of endurance, make the Jíbaro a hunter without peer. Hunting the tayo (Nyctidromus), the femurs of which serve to make the ornament which I described under the name tayucunchi, is one of the biggest occupations. This very mistrustful bird lives in numerous bands and sleeps in caves in rock cliffs. When the Indian discovered one of these refuges, he goes late at night and closes the opening and smokes out the poor creatures or captures them all simply by hand.

"At 7.30 Kuashu announced his intention of going off hunting in the jungle. Without further ceremony, he picked up his long blow-gun and casually sauntered off through the plantation of young yuca growing round about the house. He made no effort to persuade others to accompany him. Anyone who wanted to come along was welcome. If nobody wanted, well and good, it made not the slightest difference. Mihanda was the only man who did not respond. Apparently, he preferred to stay at home by himself, so we left him seated on a log whittling down a long chonta stick. Why he looked so solemn we did not know, for after all the making of a spear did not strike us as being a very serious business.

We-suma and Himbikti were in sharp contrast to their elder brother. They seized their weapons eagerly and dashed after their father full of life and energy. Chingasso was the only woman to join us. She was not under quite the same obligation to toil with the rest of her kind in the family banana patch, because she was unattached and the chief's daughter at that. For a short distance the female element trailed along in the rear of our procession, carrying big wickerwork baskets on their shoulders, but within five minutes or so, they disappeared down some side track that led to one of the many plantations where they could collect the usual supply of food for the day.

It was a superb morning. By eight o'clock the sun seemed to stab into the very heart of the forest. For once those dim recesses, usually so melancholy and depressing,

seemed to pulsate with the joy of life. Every leaf held beads of silvery dewdrops, which fell in a perfect shower of crystal fragments if we as much as looked at them. Our Indian friends slipped through the rank undergrowth without jarring a petal, whereas Johnston and myself brought down a fair deluge of moisture at every movement."

20: Dyott--161 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"Once we were well clear of the house, the pace was slackened and we moved more cautiously, stopping every once in a while to listen to some forest sound that suggested the presence of game. From the moment we left, not a word had been uttered. Indians seldom talk when on the move unless they are drunk or returning from a successful chase. I have often marvelled at their ability to keep silent and pass through the densest brush without snapping a twig. The average white man with his chatter and awkward movements, disturbs the game and advertises his approach more surely than any elephant in its passage through a bamboo forest."

20: Dyott--161-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 224, 151

"An Indian whose hunting propensities have been aroused is a magnificent sight. To see the same man stretched out on his rack at home, you would say he was a monument of sluggish lethargy, but in the forest--what a difference! The slightest sound made by animal or bird electrifies him into action. With muscles taut, he will creep off silently as a ghost, leap on to a fallen tree, run along its slippery trunk with the agility of a panther, and vanish. For some minutes you will watch the place where he disappeared, wondering what has happened to [162] him, anxiety taking the place of wonder, and then a grunt from behind startles you out of your senses. You swing round and there stands your companion unconcernedly holding in his hand a dead tucan or some other evidence of his skill as a hunter."

20: Dyott-162 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224

"Kuashu's attention would often be arrested by some trivial sound. He would stop instantaneously, and the moment he did so everyone else followed suit. A few grimaces would be exchanged between the men, all of which had some peculiar significance which they understood,and then on again we would go.

We had been wandering about the forest for over an hour when Himbikti, in the rear, gave a low whistle, imitating the call of a paujil. It was a recognized signal, for immediately everyone became rigid. Kuashu turned his head slowly to inquire what was happening. Himbikti pointed with his chin, in the direction of some tree-tops. The movement of an arm might be seen, and is seldom employed when hunting. From the branches of a big tree, not far away, came a faint chirping. The men looked at each other and grinned. At first, it was hard to distinguish the sound from the other jungle noises, but soon even my poorly trained ears recognized the call of Humboldt's woolly monkey."

"Kuashu was now a bundle of bulging muscles, a steel spring wound up ready to fly loose. He made a stealthy movement to one side, and putting a hand over his mouth, mimicked the peculiar chattering noise these animals make when disturbed. Almost immediately an answering call came from the green canopy overhead, and the rustle of leaves heralded the approach of some living creature. In a few moments a full-sized woolly monkey came swinging through the trees, peering about him and looking this way and that for the member of his family he supposed to be in difficulty. For a fraction of a second his dark body could [163] be seen clearly, leaping across an open gap in the tree-tops. This was Kuashu's chance, and he did not miss it. The blow-gun was already at his lips, and at the psychological moment a tiny dart was launched on its silent mission of death.

For a second the monkey wavered, then leapt to another branch, jumped once more, but this time lost his hold and dropped ten feet before regaining his equilibrium. He steadied himself to take yet another leap, but hesitated as if his limbs refused to obey him. Again he braced himself, but the end had come; his hold loosened, and he fell dead to the ground. The aim had been perfect; the tiny wood splinter had caught him on the shoulder, and the deadly poison which produced paralysis of the heart had done the rest.

A fairly animated conversation ensued. The monkey was passed from hand to hand,

20: Dyott--162-163 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 153, 224

each man admiring its thick, woolly coat and examining its strong prehensile tail, the extremity of which, on its under surface, was covered with a hard skin, like the palm of its hand. Everyone satisfied, the quarry was turned over to Chingasso to carry, and we resumed our prowl in silence."

20: Dyott--163-164 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 153, 224

"Not long after this episode, we came out on one of those boulder-strewn spaces near the river which, at one time or another, had been occupied by the scurrying waters of the Upano. We halted as usual to look about for signs of animal life, but the place was deserted and only a few shrubs waved their green foliage vacantly in the wind. We were about to take ourselves off when a small red deer broke cover on the opposite side. It saw us and immediately sprinted across the open. We-suma had his spear up in a jiffy, ready to hurl it through space at the rapidly-moving animal; but Kuashu was still quicker in getting into action. Quick as a flash, he seized a large rock, swung it over his head, and let fly with the power of a [164] catapult. The missile went sailing through the air and landed squarely on the animal's head, dropping him like a stone.

'Ihuta-Ihuta' (spear him) shouted Himbikti, rushing forward in a frenzy of excitement, and brandishing his weapon. But there was no need for such a measure. The stone had broken the deer's neck.

Things happen so quickly at times that it is difficult to take in details, especially an incident like this, which was all over in a matter of seconds. Johnston and myself gaped in astonishment. Kuashu's brilliant exhibition of skill, the precision with which the rock was flung through the air, and the sudden termination of the fray, left us speechless with admiration. Without fire-arms, what chance would a white man have in conflict with such people as these?"

"Whether it was the success of our hunt, or the chance meeting with Napi, we could not say, but Kuashu was obviously pleased with the morning's work. The stranger remained with us, and on returning home, he was treated with unusual consideration. There was quite a change in the general atmosphere of the house when we got back, and we noted that Mihanda was a different mortal to what he had been earlier in the day. He acted as if a weight had been removed from his chest. His spear was finished and his friends regarded its well-shaped lines with approval.

There was a real reason for this change of manner on Mihanda's part which needs explanation. The Jivaro finds it difficult to distinguish between himself and his [168] personal belongings. Everything he uses or makes, particularly weapons, are regarded as part of himself, and in the making of them, he instils much of his own personality. So strongly ingrained is this feeling that the making of an ordinary spear (nanki) is accompanied by a certain amount of ritual. He must eat only certain foods, his thoughts must not be disturbed by conversation with others, he must not live with his wife. If he does these things, then the spear will be worthless and he himself may die. Even the chonta wood from which spears are made is regarded with superstition. They believe that this palm, with its formidable spikes, is the abode of a very potent spirit, so that a spear made from it inspires both man and beast with fear. This intimate tie between man and his material belongings is very strong, but between members of a

family the bond is infinitely stronger. If Mihanda had been sick, then his wife and brothers would abstain from eating certain foods, for if they partook of them, it would harm the patient just as much as if he himself had done so."

20: Dyott--169-170 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224, 868

"As the weather kept fine, another excursion to the forest was planned. Kuashu, Himbikti and the small boy Katani, made up the party. Mihanda and We-suma left on some secret mission, the import of which we were to learn later, while Napi went off by himself to pay a few calls on his friends.

Our ramble through the jungle proved particularly interesting as it threw considerable light on the way children are brought up and the kind of rough education they are put through by their elders. Katani seemed quite a favourite with his grandfather, and the old man never lost an opportunity of instructing him in the use of his eyes or help develop his powers of simple deduction. [170]

We are all aware how easily some people get dizzy and lose their sense of the horizontal, but we do not realize how civilization has blurred our sense of direction. You will, however, soon find out if ever you happen to be dropped down in some virgin forest in the heart of nowhere. You will walk in circles, regardless of all nature's sign-posts which she displays for your benefit. An Indian teaches his sons to note the direction of streams, the inclination of the ground, the length of the shadows--anything, in fact, which makes him use his eyes and put two and two together so that they make four and not sixes or sevens."

"Barely fifteen minutes after our start, some tapir's tracks excited Kuashu's curiosity. They were almost invisible to me, except when we followed them out into the open across a small sand-bar near the river. After what seemed like a cursory examination, Kuashu had an interesting story to tell. He pointed out to Katani how the tracks started wandering hither and thither till at a certain spot they took a straight line for the river's margin, at which point their character changed. From this it was deduced that the animal had been disturbed while feeding , and in all probability, frightened to such a degree that he had charged through the underbrush in a hurry. Himbikti's observant eye noticed a few bloodstains on the bushes, and where small branches had been broken off he pointed out a few hairs adhering to their jagged extremities.

The whole story in English was plain enough. The tapir had been walking quietly through the woods when a jaguar had pounced upon his back. Unable to rid himself of his assailant, the tapir had wisely bolted for the river, charging through the thicket hoping to scrape his adversary off his back by so doing. The jaguar was not going to forsake his prey so easily and held on tenaciously until the wily tapir had plunged into the river and then, of course, he had to let go, or drown, because his victim could remain [171] under water much longer than he could. Farther down the stream, we encountered the tracks of the disappointed jaguar, where he had swum ashore and taken himself off to the forest.

20: Dyott--170-171 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 151, 224, 868

All the points of the lesson having been duly expounded, we sat down on the bank of the Upano in the shade to stretch our limbs. Some years previously, Kuashu must have had an encounter with a three-toed sloth near this very spot, for he began telling Katani of the event, pointing aloft to the sprawling limbs of a tall tree, and telling how he had ascended into the topmost branches and there slain the animal with his spear. This curious denizen of the forest called U-yushi by the Indians, will hang upside-down for hours at a time from the roof of the jungle, looking like a huge parasitic plant rooted to the spot. Kuashu told Katani that many years ago this animal was a man, a very old man called U-nupi, who belonged to an enemy tribe. He was married, of course, and his wife's name was U-nuchi, and he had a brother called Yungra. U-nupi. was such a lazy fellow that he would not even take the trouble to build a house, but lived up in the trees instead. In this secure position, he slept so much and hunted so seldom that in the end his children turned into animals."

26: Brüning --64 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 224

The Indians obtain their main articles of food by hunting and fishing. With regard to food they do not seem to be very choosy. They hunt simply everything. Their main hunting weapon is the blowgun. But you can also see firearms, though of the worst kind and all of them single-barrelled. Gun powder, shot and matches with protection against humidity are highly desirable barter objects, and every traveller should bring them along.

26: Brüning--65 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224

To prevent too much deviation from the straight line, the Indians try to shoot their arrows in a vertical direction as often as possible.

In Huavico I witnessed a scene in which an older boy shot with the arrow from his blowgun a pigeon-sized bird that had strayed into the house. The arrow penetrated the bird at a height of approximately 7-8 meters and fastened it to a rafter in the roof.

26: Brüning--65 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224, 251

The Indians frequently go on hunting expeditions in regions that have plenty of wild life. They bring the entire household (men, women, children, dogs, and especially large containers with masato) into a canoe and paddle to the hunting area. These hunting expeditions sometimes last for weeks and frequently even for months. The meat which they obtain is soon made into a durable preserve; part of the meat, however, is eaten right away. To smoke the meat, the natives build on four low posts a grill (size: one square meter) of closely placed bamboo sticks. The meat is placed upon the grill. On top the grill is covered with a roof of palm leaves. A fire is made under the grill, and the natives see to it that there is more smoke than open flames. In this manner the meat is dried and smoked at the same time. The Indians call this apparatus pungámo. Our crewmen frequently built these pungámoe close to our camping sites whenever the hunt had yielded more than we needed at the moment. Over the roof the Indians dried their itipes, if they had gotten wet.

When the Indians return from such a hunting expedition, they invite all the neighbors to a big festival. On these occasions, the rubber collectors told us, they eat up in a few days what they had hunted in many a month.

28: Tessman--351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

Karsten (in his Contributions, pp. 36 ff.) reports on the hunting customs. My own information is the following: The blowgun(Aguaruna: úme, Atschual: uombi) is wound with liana fiber and has no resin coating. The small sight is made of resin. The mouth-piece is a piece of tubular bone of the white-bearded peccary. They clean their blowguns with a liana which has a cotton tuft in the middle. The small arrows (tsínsak) have points that are smeared with poison (tsias); the Atschual Indians buy the latter from the whites. We gather from Karsten's reports (in Beiträge etc., pp. 1 ff.) that only a few Chiwaros have the knowhow for preparing this poison. There are many prescriptions in connection with the preparation of this poison. According to my information, the quivers are made of bamboo. They call the quiver hinduk. The little arrows are reproduced by Rivet in L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 366. The bamboo-quivers have a tree-calabash at the bottom; the Chiwaro-Makas Indians have such a calabash also on top.

28: Tessman--351 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 224

They have a trap with pull-action (weiši) for birds, and a spring-trap (tšina) for small mammals. See Plate 60, Fig. 5. They manufacture a large spring-trap in which jaguars are killed. They have well-camouflaged pitfalls with palm-wood points inside. According to Karsten the Chiwaro-Makas Indians call the spring-trap timbya, while the pull-action trap is called kuáka.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguaza region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*achuari huni*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguaza and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsunki huni*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[20]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *tsantsari huni* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. 342
The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a [712]
single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the door- 342
ways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn 712
wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even 362
though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually 342
after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for 356
abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity [313]
of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of [224].
wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game [224] requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In [628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous [768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
342 building work technically could be done by the dwelling
462 owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
512 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
313 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar [252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled [252] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on [262] fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his [606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in [535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually [262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children [855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about [606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

• 224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[144] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of [222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[5] but this [136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of population [222] for any particular species. This low density sometimes [136]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

136 224 [222]

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Corgüini, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find [222] collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging [411] from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

136 224 223 237 261

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 5). Rabbits and deer, [825] although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

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Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 8) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the motmot, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

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The blowguns and curare dart poison are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jívaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

[224]

Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stuck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jívaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

411 [224] • [171] 411 224 [223]

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

224 [231] [411]

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call parrots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

223 edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.
• 224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go
512 hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as
461 follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he rests, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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To ensure success in hunting, young men (both married 276
and unmarried) may join together in a small group under the supervision of an older master of ceremony (*tsesi*) to inhale tobacco smoke for a three-day period during which they alternate the smoke-inhalation sessions with hunting in the forest with blowgun. During the *tsesi* sessions, called *kumpan*, the men take turns blowing tobacco smoke through gaudus bamboo tubes into each other's lungs. It is believed that a man must entirely swallow the smoke he receives in order to be certain that he will not fail as a hunter.

A variety of fish and shellfish is present in streams and 225
rivers, but swift currents and the small size of many waterwaters seem to limit the degree of emphasis on their exploitation in many localities. Fishing roughly contributes perhaps [146]
only a little over 5 per cent of the total diet, significantly less than hunting. Corvina, suckers, and shore-fish are taken from main streams and rivers, while crayfish and fresh-water crabs are gathered in the shallows.

Fishing techniques range from simply wiping fish by hand to complex river-poisoning operations. The fish that are caught here-handed belong mostly to a species (*tsayumpi*) capable of fastening itself to the underside of river boulders by means of a suction pad appendage. Hook-and-line fishing is done from a riverbank. Any handy stick is used for a pole, while an iron trade hook is baited with a piece of manioc, ripe plantain, or an earthworm.

A few men possess rectangular throw nets for catching medium-sized fish. A pair of fishermen, or a man and his wife, enter the shallows about ten feet apart. One tosses an end of the net to his companion with a circular motion. As the net is drawn to shore, balsa wood floats support its top edge, while stone sinkers keep it vertical in the water. Good-

14:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Zivaro SD9

262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
570 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, mos-
[231] tly fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[144]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These are only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
• [224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A fam-
ily without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much
of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs
against surprise attacks. Located to beds in the women's end
of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually
results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to
defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking in-
dicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[925] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for
dog, *mirsid*, is the same term used to designate the feared
and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden,
and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[799] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives ob-
serves a kind of *couvade*, in which she lies abed with the birch
to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is
nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in
adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its
owners, and is fed pronounced manioc in a special wooden
[274] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic
Datura to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
[499] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shamans store the water with which
271 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[270] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[494] used by men as containers for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] water-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[224] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[299] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
499 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[197] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading
[498] partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
• 229 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
499 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

779 they encountered Nuṇui digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuṇui, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nuṇui is also believed to have given the dog to the Jivaro
231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuṇui is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
• [224] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuṇui, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuṇui for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

792 Women also sing to Nuṇui to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes
594 far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make
272 possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other house-
261 holds. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and
554 eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host, and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

• 224 A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be
595 available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the
[462] other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore more willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

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34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 DD9 Jivaro DD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the men, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vaginal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes

34 Morner E-6.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD79 Zivaro SD9

6. Hunter returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blow-gun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Río Cuniini, 1956-57).

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34:Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only 462
duty. 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only 868
the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her [323]
by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form [532]
and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with [926]
clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to [831]
touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blow- 224 •
gun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less 462
than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at 857
that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to 868
shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them [262]
himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

178 461 517 439 [592] [512] [412] [286] [291] [281] [224] Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

178 591 [851] [578] [583] [411] The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

178 411 [721] [439] The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs. 178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier. 178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance. 178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has 178 184 438 278 411 [224]

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To assure success in hunting, young men (both married and unmarried) may join together in a small group under the supervision of an older master of ceremony (*uwi*) to inhale tobacco smoke for a three-day period during which they alternate the smoke-inhalation sessions with hunting in the forest with blowguns. During the *tirual* sessions, called *kumpan*, the men take turns blowing tobacco smoke through guadua bamboo tubes into each other's lungs. It is believed that a man must entirely swallow the smoke he receives in order to be certain that he will not fail as a hunter.

A variety of fish and shellfish is present in streams and 225 •
rivers, but swift currents and the small size of many water-courses seem to limit the degree of emphasis on their exploitation in many localities. Fishing roughly contributes perhaps [144]
only a little over 5 per cent of the total diet, significantly less than hunting. Corvina, suckers, and sheat-fish are taken from main streams and rivers, while crayfish and fresh-water crabs are gathered in the shallows.

Fishing techniques range from simply seizing fish by hand to complex river-poisoning operations. The fish that are caught bare-handed belong mostly to a species (*nayumpi*) capable of fastening itself to the underside of river boulders by means of a suction pad appendage. Hook-and-line fishing is done from a riverbank. Any handy stick is used for a pole, while an iron trade hook is baited with a piece of manioc, ripe plantain, or an earthworm.

A few men possess rectangular throw nets for catching medium-sized fish. A pair of fishermen, or a man and his wife, enter the shallows about ten feet apart. One tosses an end of the net to his companion with a circular motion. As the net is drawn to shore, balsa wood floats support its top edge, while stone sinkers keep it vertical in the water. Good-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

225 sized fish are also caught in deeper waters with a special thin, long palm wood thrusting spear.

225 278 Fish poisoning is undertaken perhaps every few weeks to secure a large catch. Men, women, and children from several neighboring houses usually participate. They select a section of river where it is bisected by an island or sandbar, to which the men and boys construct a low dam of river boulders from one bank. This stone dam is constructed to form a lagoon where the poison can sufficiently take effect in the slowed current. Other men meanwhile build split bamboo grating-like fish traps at several low points on the dam and prepare the fish poison.

[824] Three types of plant piscicides are used: *timu* (in Spanish, *barbasco*), *masu*, and *payai*. *Timu* is considered the best of these, but is used in combination with *masu* for maximum success. Large quantities are required, and the fishermen often prepare six to eight bushel-sized baskets. They pound the plants to a pulp between river boulders and dump them into the water upstream. If all goes well, within twenty to thirty minutes stunned fish begin rising to the surface and float toward the dam. The men who constructed the traps seize the fish as they are washed onto the bamboo gratings. Everyone else, regardless of age or sex, wades into the lagoon and grabs for fish. Each person owns whatever he catches, although he often may give some of his catch to a less fortunate participant. Fish poisoning is sometimes pursued at night because the fish tend to be nearer the surface and therefore more susceptible to the poison. Both poisoning and netting are most effectively conducted during dry periods, when the rivers and streams are low and the current slow.

622 [146] Gathering activities contribute quantitatively relatively little to the diet, approximately 5 per cent annually, but do provide a variety of delicacies to supplement it. Various species

1: Karsten--40 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
226 (1928-29)

"My Indian servants practise fishing during the whole journey to eke out our store of food. From time to time they suddenly stop paddling and attentively watch the river some distance in front of the canoe, whereupon they seize their nets. In the shallow water close to the bank they have noticed a movement on the surface of the water which indicates that a multitude of bocachico fish are assembled on this very spot. One of the Indians arranges the long net in his hand, jumps into the water and cautiously wades to the place where the movement was noticed. The next moment he throws the net like a lasso, so that it unfolds on the outside of the spot where the fish is supposed to be assembled. The majority of them of course escape, but generally several of them are caught in the meshes of the net. Sometimes the Indians succeed in surprising in the same way a big bagre, s [sic] sheat-fish, and in such cases a fierce fight ensues in the water when the violent fish tries to disengage itself from the net and the firm grasp of the Indians. Generally, however, the Indians catch the sheat-fish by harpooning it."

"The customs of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians in regard to fishing can be more briefly described. Generally speaking, there are five methods of catching fish which are practised by all the tribes: catching it direct with the hands in diving; with hook and line; with harpoons; with nets; and with poison.

In the small affluents of the bigger rivers, with a stony bottom, there lives a kind of small fish which the Indians are in the habit of catching simply with the hands. Moving about in his canoe and watching the bottom through the clear water, the Indian with his keen sight and experience is able to perceive the fish hiding the main part of its body under a stone. He immediately throws himself into the water, removes the stone with his hands, and catches the fish, which he kills by a bite in the neck. The Canelos Indians and the Jibaros usually have recourse to this mode of fishing when they are travelling or when they want some fish quickly. This kind of fish, which is called shachma by the Jibaros, is eaten by these Indians especially on occasions when they are bound to observe ceremonial fasting.

Most Indian tribes in Eastern Ecuador nowadays practise angling, using hooks received from the whites. Before the iron hooks were introduced, crooked bones were used for this purpose. Pieces of flesh and certain seeds serve as baits when angling. When the Indian throws out the line he whistles a chant in order to attract the fish.

Harpooning is an ancient and very common Indian method of catching large fish. The

Napo and the Canelos Indians use for this purpose lances about four metres long, made of the hard wood of the chonta palm. The harpoon itself consists of a barbed iron head fixed to a piece of wood, which is holed so that the shaft can be loosely inserted into it. One end of a long string or line is fixed to this head, the other [176] end of it being attached to the shaft. The struggle of the fish, when hit by the harpoon, immediately causes the head to be detached from the shaft, and the latter floats on the water, but remains connected with the fish by the line, thus serving as a buoy to mark the position of the fish. The fish is then gradually tired out and drawn nearer to the harpooner who is then able to kill it. This is especially the method of catching the paichi (Arapaima gigas), an enormously large fish living in the great rivers and lagoons of Amazonia, as well as the somewhat smaller sheat-fish, called sungarápu by the Quichua-speaking Indians and tungá by the Jibaros.--The great water boa or anaconda--when the Indians dare to attack it at all--is caught and killed in the same way.

The lance must necessarily be of chonta wood, not only because it is very hard, but also because the chonta palm is to the Indians a demoniacal tree owing to its large thorns. A harpoon made of this wood is therefore supposed to hit and kill the fish better than one made of any other wood.

Before iron harpoons were introduced among the Indians, they used harpoons or

lances wholly made of chonta, the end of the lance being pointed and provided with barbs. Smaller harpoons of this kinds [sic] are still used at least by the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros, who make them of a kind of wild cane or bamboo called shingyána. The original knife of the Indians, which is still used on certain ceremonial occasions, was made of the same kind of cane.

Before the Canelos Indian goes out to harpoon the paichi or the sungarápu, he ties round the wrist of his right hand the rind of a certain tree which these Indians call nina cara cáspi ('the fire rind tree'). This rind is believed to make the arm very strong and steady to point and throw the harpoon at the fish.

Net-fishing is also commonly practised by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The nets are always spun of the strong fibres of the chambira palm. There are, two ways of using these fibres; sometimes they are used in their natural state, directly taken from the chambira leaves and dried. Of these crude fibres the Indians also make the large bags (shigra) in which they carry their clothes when travelling. For making nets, on the other hand, the string is prepared in a special way. The chambira leaves are first boiled for many hours, so that the fibres dissolve and, pulled with the fingers, produce a soft flax-like pulp, which is spun in the ordinary way into a fine but exceedingly strong thread. It is from this thread that the nets are made. The nets have much the same [177] shape as those used by the whites, but are generally smaller, at least

among the Jiberos. These Indians, living as they always do on the banks of small rivulets or affluents of the bigger rivers, mostly catch with their nets (called nekka) only small sardine-like fish. The Canelos Indians, who use their nets (lica) in the big rivers Bobonaza and Pastaza, make them somewhat larger, several metres in length. Along the lower edge of the net small round stones are attached so as to keep it down in the water. To the upper edge are tied pieces of a light kind of wood, called balsa, which serve as floats.

The Indian uses his net in different ways. Sometimes he closes the mouth of a small rivulet or affluent with it, leaving it suspended there for some hours or a whole night, in order to catch the fish entering the main river. His favourite method of using the net, however, is by throwing it. The Indian, having the net folded in his hand, is able to throw it upon the water like a lasso in such a way that by a single cast it becomes extended almost to its whole length. Thus he surprises and catches the fish gathered on a certain spot, which he recognizes from certain movements on the surface of the water. The bocachico (called challua in Quichua) is the fish most frequently caught in this way. This fish is in the habit of gathering in great numbers especially on the spot where a small river empties itself into a larger, or close to the flat banks of the rivers. The Indian then approaches with great caution in his canoe or wading in the water, and throws his net in such a way, that it either falls directly upon the fish if the ground is

flat, or remains floating above them if the water is somewhat deeper, thus barring the way for the escaping fish and catching them.

Frequently when the Indians, travelling in a canoe, come to a spot in the river where many fish are evidently collected, and where the water is not so deep that it is necessary to swim, they use their nets as in trawling. The Indians jump into the water extending the net across it. It is held by three men, one at each end, and one in the middle. They then pass the net slowly down the river trying to catch the fish going up against the stream. As soon as the Indians feel that a fish is caught in the net, they at once loosen it and kill it by biting it in the neck, and throw it into the canoe following them."

1: Karsten--177-178 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 226, 278 (1928-29)

"The last and most interesting method used by the Indians in fishing is by poisoning the water in the river. The poison most commonly used for this purpose is the one known under its Spanish name barbasco, a name also used by the Quichua-speaking Indians in Eastern Ecuador. [178] Under this name, however, various poisonous plants are comprehended. The plant most commonly used is probably Cracca toxicaria, which is cultivated both by the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The same plant, as we have seen, is used at the preparation of the arrow-poison. The root of the bush is the part used. Several roots are first crushed with a club in a hole made for the purpose in the ground, to free the poisonous juice they contain. Then they are put into one or several baskets woven of forest vines, of the kind used by all Indians.

There is also a wild varvasco plant which has the form of a vine. For the purpose of extracting the poison the vine itself is crushed and the juice is pressed out, just as is done with the roots of the cultivated barbasco plant. The scientific name of this vine is unknown.

The savage Jibaros, however, have two fish poisons more, of which the one is called massu (probably Paulinia or Sejania species, of the family Sapindaceae). The leaves and the stem of this plant are the parts used; they are crushed with clubs in a hole in the ground, the mass is soaked in some water and the poisonous liquid used in the same way as the ordinary varvasco poison. The other fish poison is by the Jibaros called

payashi (Paulinia pinnata?), of which the root is used in the same way as the root of the varvasco."

1: Karsten--179-180 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 226 (1928-29)

"The small river or rivulet, where the Indians propose to fish, has previously been barred with stones and sticks arranged so as to form a kind of fence, the whole thing forming an angle, the point of which is placed in the middle of the river. At this point there is a kind of small platform made of split bamboo placed in an oblique position with the upper side outwards. On this platform, which is called barbacoa, the poisoned fish will appear and be caught, brought there by the stream.

At a little distance above this spot the poison is put into the river, the baskets containing the varvasco roots being repeatedly sunk in the water, again beaten with clubs, again sunk, and so on, until the main part of the poison has run through the holes of the basket into the river. The poison is rapidly spread all over the water with the stream and drops downwards, thus poisoning the whole river at that particular spot. The fish, of whatever kind it may be, have little power of resistance against the varvasco poison, although they are generally not killed but merely stupefied. About a half an hour after the poison has been thrown out all sorts of fish are generally seen floating on the surface of the water, all being brought by the stream towards the barbacoa. The Indians at once start to catch them, some moving about in canoes, others wading in the water, and seizing some of the fishes with the hands, whilst the larger ones are speared. The rest are taken up at the barbacoa.

Sometimes the Indians do not deem it necessary to construct any barbacoa at all,

but they simply throw the varvasco poison into the river, allowing it to flow down with the current. After a while they go down the river in their canoes, catching the fish which is seen to float on the surface of the water, stupefied and half dead. The Indians told me that the large sheat-fish is almost the only fish that cannot be caught with varvasco poison. It seems to feel instinctively when the water has been poisoned and speadily [sic] gets away down the river so as escape the effects of the poison.

By this method enormous quantities of fish are often caught in a few hours. The Indians have recourse to it especially when they want to provide a large supply of fish for a feast.

The varvasco is also poisonous to man, but does not in any way affect the flesh of the fish killed or stupefied with it.

Fishing with varvasco poison is a genuinely Indian method of fishing on a large scale. The discovery of this poison and the use made of it reveals, in its way, the Indian's wonderful knowledge of pharmacology [180] which also, and still more strikingly, appears in his preparation of the arrow-poison.

The Indians, especially the Jibaros, preferably choose moonlight nights for fishing, experience having taught them that the fish are then more easily caught."

1: Karsten--180 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 226, 777 (1928-29)

"Just as the Indians use misha for hunting, they use such charms also for fishing, consisting of peculiarly shaped stones and other hard objects found in the stomachs of fish caught. A Canelos Indian showed me once such a misha, which he himself had bought at a high price from the Napo Indians. It was a small round coloured stone, in which the water had engraved certain spiral lines and formed in such a way that it was somewhat like a snail. The stone had been swallowed by a bagre and was found in its stomach by the Indians who caught it. The Canelos Indian would not sell the stone to me at any price, believing that it would give him extraordinary luck in fishing the bagre. Such a charm is used by the hook being rubbed with it before it is throw [sic] out in the water. This treatment is believed to draw the fish to the hook.

Charms consisting of the spines and heads of large fishes are also frequently found in the Indian huts together with the skulls and bones of animals killed in hunting. The spines are believed to have the same effect, namely, to attract the fish and to give good luck in fishing."

2: Stirling--103 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 226, 262

"In the higher mountain regions where the streams are small and torrential very few fish occur. In most of these streams the only food fish is the naiumbi, a curious looking fish whose body is surrounded by a hard shell and which attached itself on the under surface of rocks by means of a sucking appliance similar to that of the pilot fish. These ugly and bony creatures, while not very delectable in appearance, are sometimes the only available food supply in the gameless regions of the higher mountains. The Indians capture them by simply wading out into the stream and overturning rocks to which they are attached, removing them with their fingers. In the lower regions and along streams which are less turbulent fish life is very abundant and the Indians have devised many different ways of capturing them. Fishhooks are seldom used excepting where the Indians have been able to obtain them from the whites. The Jivaros apparently do not make or use fish nets at the present time.(26)"

"26. Up de Graff describes the use of nets among the Antipas, saying: 'Their nets are made of palm fiber, and in place of corks and leads they use balsa wood and stones. The net is fixed across a rivulet, and the party makes its way by a detour to a point upstream. There they throw stones into the water and frighten the fish into a hurried flight to where the trap awaits them. The meshes of the nets are so proportioned as to catch the fish by the gills as they rush downstream.' Up de Graff, p. 210."

2: Stirling--104
116, 226, 278, 461

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The aboriginal methods of fishing appear to be poisoning, trapping, and spearing. Fish traps as a rule are constructed during high water in overflow areas where streams are about to subside, or along small swollen streams up which fish have ascended from the main rivers. For poisoning fish a dam is generally constructed along a small stream during low water. Barbasco shrub is gathered in sufficient quantities, macerated by means of pounding it between large stones, and then thrown into the water, being careful to distribute it evenly at a point 30 or 40 yards above the fish dam. The juice of the plant spreading through the water stupefies the fish, which rise to the surface in a more or less helpless condition, where they are gathered up by the Indians. On these fish-poisoning occasions generally a large part of the community participate; men, women, and children taking part and make of it an enjoyable social affair."

4: Up de Graff--209-210 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 226, 278

"Anxious to see how the Antipas supplied themselves with fish, I once went with them (men and women) for a day's sport to a small stream a couple of miles from the settlement. While making our way along the trail, the women cut down barbasco wood (the Inca name for a vine whose sap is a deadly poison) and packed it along with them. Arrived at the water's edge, we looked for a suitable pool, exercising great care not to scare the fish away. The party divided into two sections, and each formed a barrier at one end of the pool. The men proceeded to pound the barbasco between heavy stones and throw it into the pool, where it floated about without having any apparent effect on the water. Within a minute or two the fish began floating to the surface, upside down, and swam about aimlessly in a dazed condition, easy prey for the savages who waited about (swimming and diving themselves when necessary) collecting them. We caught in half an hour at least a hundred pound weight.

This is the only method of catching fish they know, [210] except netting. Their nets are made of palm-fibre, and in place of corks and leads they use balsa wood (Spanish) and stones. The net is fixed across a rivulet, and the party makes its way by a detour to a point up-stream. There they throw stones into the water and frighten the fish into a hurried flight to where the trap awaits them. The meshes of the nets are so proportioned as to catch the fish by the gills as they rush down-stream."

10: Anthony--153 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 226

"The Jivaro lives along the water courses and does considerable fishing in a very ingenious fashion. A variety of creeper or vine called barbasco, is gathered at some point along a stream, and then the plants are pounded into a pulp upon the rocks. When sufficient barbasco has been prepared--the quantity may total from two to three hundred pounds--and the Indians have stationed themselves down stream, the mass is thrown into the river. The juice of the bruised vine is a poison and, if the river is not flowing a great volume of water, it kills any fish in its path for a distance as great as three miles down stream. The Jivaros catch the fish as they come floating along belly up and in this way secure great hauls. The use of barbasco does not spoil the fish for human consumption, as we can attest through personal experience. One disadvantage in its use is the heavy drain upon the fish life of that particular region, and a stream cannot be fished in this manner indefinitely. Even a large river may be poisoned by this comparatively small amount of barbasco."

12: Rivet--603-604 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 226

For fishing the Jíbaros use the barbasco (Jacquinia armillaris). They make two or three holes in the ground where they put a great quantity of branches and roots of this plant, then armed with big pointed sticks, they crush them in order to form a sort of paste of the earth and the juice of the plant. During this time, other Jíbaros 150 or 200 m. downstream construct the atarraya: a barrage formed of interwoven sticks, securely set in the bed of the stream and extending the whole width of the latter, is instructed at a point where the gradient of the stream is steeper than elsewhere; it is destined to support the weirs. The latter are large parallelopiped rectangles made with sticks of cana guadua (Guadua angustifolia) and measure 3 m. long, 60 cm. wide. The apparatus is oriented against the current, the open forward end resting on the sream bed itself and the rear end on the dam. The barbasco paste is then thrown into the water, which becomes milky and soapy at its contact. The fish are stupefied in a few minutes, and rise to the surface, bellies upward. Swept along by the current, they are stopped by the traps. When the stream of water is too large to install an atarraya, the Indians catch the fish themselves, it is marvellous to see them swim with an indescribable dexterity, seize [604] the fish with their hands, teeth, even the feet and bring them to the canoe. Their skill is such that a missionary has seen them trap fish swimming without using barbasco. He also saw them beat the stream, divid- into two groups, so as to drive the fish toward one bank and harpoon them with lances

in the cavities of the rocks where they take refuge (1). Hunting of the manatee (Manatus americanus) and big fish (particularly the Vestres gigas) is also done with the lance.

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1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionaire dominicain, etc..., op. cit., p. 172-173.

25: Vigna--44-45 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 226, 462

Fishing is carried out indiscriminately by men and women. With the crushed root of the barbasco they numb[45] the fish in the brooks or rivers. They are then gathered in a sort of mat which is placed a certain distance from the spot in which they have thrown the barbasco. The Jíbaros are fond of fish and fishing constitutes a social event.

26: Brüning--66 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 226, 262, 411

In addition to meat the Indians eat a great deal of fish. Fishing is done by a variety of methods. They obtain the largest catch when they stupefy fish. For this purpose they use two plants, each one separately. One is the herbaceous plant másu, the other the bark of a liana (tímu). Both are pulverized and thrown in quiet coves of the rivers and brooks. The narcotized fish soon come to the surface where they are speared with long pointed chonta sticks (šikít). These fishing spears have a circular cross-section and a diameter of about 2 cm. Their length is 3 - 3.5 m.

When the rivers are on the rise, the Indians are quick to make an estacada (a sort of grill) of bamboo and place it across the mouths of the brooks and inlets. When the waters are falling again, the fish remain behind these estacadas. The natives even use fish-hooks which are a desirable article of barter.

These are the main articles of food in the realm of fauna. According to the rubber collectors, the natives are said to eat a large beetle larva which occurs in decaying wood.

28: Tessman--350-351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 226

Fishing is just as important as hunting. They stupefy the fish with the poison of a wild leguminous plant (barbasco), called tímu by the Aguarunas and tímiŏ by the Atschual Indians. Another fish-poison is Clibadium (Aguaruna: máso, Atschual: māsgŏ). They also have a weir (Aguaruna: wašim, Atschual: wăsimp). The fish-hook is called sau. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 53) it was formerly made of bone. Fish-nets (lika), according to Karsten, are several meters long. At the bottom they are weighed down with stones, on top [351] they are equipped with pieces of Ochroma-wood. They are primarily used to fence off watercourses, but also as casting nets. and even, when held by three men, as hand-nets. Before fish are stupefied the watercourses are obstructed with an angular fence, on top of which there is a seating platform. (See Karsten, Contributions, p. 56). From this platform the stupefied fish are caught. According to my information fish are also speared with a spear-point made of palm-wood.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguasa region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*ačuarä šuarä*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguasa and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsumu šuarä*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[36]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri šuarä* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
224 from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
411 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untä*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
602 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
628 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another
726 expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

2: Stirling--104 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 227

"In constructing a typical fish trap a mat is made of flattened bamboo strips. This is laid across parallel sticks and two winged dams are made to divert the water onto the mat. In flowing over the mat the water strains through, leaving the fish stranded as they swim downstream. The edges of the mat are rolled up a little so as to make a trough of it, and a dam of leaves is placed at the far end to prevent the fish flopping out (fig. 6). Fish spears are made of a long, slender shaft of chonta palm, fitted with a bone point."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[727]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only
178 women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
278 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
411 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
824

1: Karsten--158-159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 231, 278 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians told me that domestic fowls and swine are immune to their arrow-poison. This statement has been confirmed by a physiological examination of the poison, although the immunity is [159] only relative. (1) The same is probably true of the arrow-poison of the Achuares."

"1. See Santesson, Pfeilgiftstudien, p. 213."

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

"Of greater importance to the Jibaro Indians for hunting than all charms and traps are, however, their dogs, which, as pointed out before, are bred with extraordinary care. The 'feast of the dogs', Yawápani, is one of the five great feasts of the Jibaros, and takes place when the training of a young dog is completed and it is supposed to be able to track and hunt game. Just as the Jibaro, when he is about to marry, makes a special feast for his young wife to impart to her strength and ability for agriculture and other work incumbent upon a housewife, [170] so he makes a feast for his young dog when it is full-grown, in order to give it a keen nose for tracking game and strength and endurance for pursuing it.

When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must

they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch. As soon as the little dog has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals[sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die. The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die.

When the dog is full-grown and supposed to be able to track and hunt game, the feast Yawápani takes place. When this feast is made on a large scale, it is almost as grand as the head-feast or the feast of the women. Even the ceremonial drinking of natéma formerly took place at the Yawápani, just as it still forms a ceremony at some of the great feasts. It is preceded by the usual preparations, the planting of manioc and plantain, the brewing of a large quantity of manioc-beer, the making of new clay

vessels, and so on. The feast proper lasts three days, and the ceremonies, as is the case at all feasts, are led by an old man or priest, called whuéa. [171]

Three days previous to the feast proper a conjuration takes place consisting of a special dance, called Wuimchi, at which different birds and animals, which the Jibaros most generally hunt, are enumerated. The dance begins when darkness sets in and is continued the whole night, until dawn. It is performed by young men, invited to the feast, who move round one of the pillars in the middle of the house holding each other by the hand. The conjurers, whilst thus moving round, again and again mention certain birds, valued by the Jibaros, like the tucan (tsukánga), the paugi (máshu), the wild turkey (kúyu), and the parrot (kávashu), and of animals especially the wild hog (pákki) and different kinds of monkeys, which are much hunted by the Indians on account of their flesh, their teeth, which are strung into necklaces, and their skin, which is used for drums and for making small bags which the Jibaros carry when travelling.

The object of this conjuration, which also takes place at the victory feast and the feast of the women, is of course to give the 'feaster' good luck in hunting with the new dog.

During the feast proper the principal ceremony consists in a magical drink being repeatedly given the dog. This drink is prepared from a small plant, specially cultivated for this purpose by the Jibaros, which is called kungúna. The leaves of the plant are boiled together with the leaves of the guayusa (Ilex), a tree which plays an important part

in certain magical rites of the Indians. It is the priest, whuéa, who has to give this medicine to the dog. For this purpose he first fills his mouth with tobacco smoke and blows it upon the dog, then he opens its mouth and puts a little of the liquid into it, at the same time chanting an incantation or conjuration adapted for the occasion. This ceremony is repeated several times in the course of one or two days of the feast. Again, each night from about 6 o'clock till dawn, a general dance, called Ihiámbrama, is performed, which takes place at all feasts of the Jibaros. Both the men and the women take part in this dance wearing the usual festal ornaments, moving in a ring in the middle of the house and chanting incantations. On the third and last day of the feast the priest washes the eyes of the dog with a special solution, prepared by soaking a leaf, called shishíngya, in water. Other Jibaros, again, make a certain poisonous ant bite the dog in the eyes. By this procedure the dog is supposed to get strong eyes and a good nose for tracking the game. This done, the priest initiates the mistress of the house into her coming duties with regard to the dog, since she has to take care of the hunting dogs and to feed them. The priest [172] first gives the woman tobacco juice to drink, then grasps her by the right hand, makes her take a piece of boiled manioc from a gourd held ready and give it to the dog, whereupon he makes her caress its back with her hand. Finally the priest paints the dog with genipa, as is done with men and women at all great feasts,

applying the black dye to the fell of the animal from the nose downwards along the stomach. This ceremony brings the feast of the dogs to an end.

This feast, however, is not always celebrated on such a large scale, nor is it exclusively made for young dogs which are to be initiated for hunting. When an old dog is growing too lazy to pursue game and losing the power to track it, is [sic] owner may improvise a small feast for it, at which he himself gives the dog the medicine prepared from the kungúna and the guayusa leaves, accompanying the ceremony with the usual incantations and conjurations. He may give the dog kungúna repeatedly during the day, whereupon he takes it out in the forest to see whether it has regained its power. If the result is not satisfactory, he may give it the same medicine the next day, and so on, until it takes effect and the dog recovers its power.

The drink prepared from the kungúna, owing to some extraordinary properties ascribed to this plant, is supposed to exert a mysterious, favourable influence upon the dog, making it strong and vigorous to pursue game. The kungúna thus plays much the same part at the 'feast of the dogs' as tobacco plays at other great feasts of the Jibaros. The idea that underlies all feasts of these Indians is that the magic medicine then taken will fill the person in question with supernatural power, which is automatically transferred to every sphere of his life. It is the same with the feast Yawápani. The mysterious power which is imparted to the dog will, as it were mechanically, display itself

in the good luck which ever afterwards follows its master in hunting: in his house there will thenceforward be no lack of game. At least this will infallibly be the case if the ceremonies have been duly performed and the owner of the dog as well as his wife have, during the time of preparation, fasted in the way prescribed by custom. Should the result of the feast be unsatisfactory and the dog prove of little use for hunting, their explanation is that its masters have infringed the rules of diet, or else committed some fault in celebrating the feast.

As already mentioned, it is the duty of the housewife to feed and take care of the dogs. Just as the married Jibaro woman is believed to have a mysterious influence upon the fields which she cultivates, so she is [173] supposed to exert a similar influence upon the hunting dogs confided to her care. The competence of the dogs and the plentifulness of game in the house thus correspond to the ability of its mistress. Hence, when at the 'tobacco feast of the women' (noa tsángu) the newly married Jibaro woman is initiated for her coming obligations as a housewife, mention is made not only of the fields and of different domestic plants, the swine, and chicken, but also of the dogs, and special incantations are addressed to the Earth-mother Nungüi on behalf of these domestic animals.

After the feast Yawápani the dog is taken out in the forest together with other older dogs to hunt, the wild hog being the game then especially sought. As soon as a hog or

some other animal has been killed with the aid of the dogs, the back of the newly-initiated dog is thickly coated with its blood. By this procedure it is supposed to become keen in hunting that animal.

The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house.

1: Karsten--169-173 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 224, 231 (1928-29)

Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (tũnchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them. --"

2: Stirling--91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 343, 231

"To a limited extent, particularly on the Upano, the Jivaros keep domesticated fowl and pigs, these having been early introduced by the Spaniards. They are cared for by the women and regarded as the women's property. The native 'pavo' (Penelope cristata) is also sometimes domesticated. Small conical structures, strongly built of poles, are erected in the clearing of the jivaría where the domestic animals repair at night as protection against prowling members of the cat tribe (pl. 26, b). Various pets are frequently encountered in the jivaría, monkeys, parrots, and toucans being the most common. These, as well as the dogs, are kept inside the house."

5; Reyes and Teran--104-105 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 231

"The only animals raised by the natives are the chancho [GCB: agouti] and the dog, both of which are given little care. The chanchos are of an almost wild species. As a general rule, the women have charge of their care, abandoning them completely to the woods [105] during the day, and calling them with shouts at about sunset. On hearing the voices of the women, they return to get something good to eat, but many times when they find good feed in the woods, they do not return for several days, and thus become easy prey for jaguars and pumas."

12: Rivet--590 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 231

Near the house some small enclosures are reserved for the hens and hogs, the only domestic animals that the Jíbaro raises, outside of the dog, a few parrots and a few monkeys. There is not a house where there are not veritable packs of hounds. The animals are tied day and night to the foot of the women's beds, there being two, three and even more per bed. As they reproduce with difficulty in these regions, for what reason I do not know, the Jíbaros acquire them either from whites living in the vicinity or during the course of visits to the Ecuadorian sierra. The first concern of the savage, every time that he acquires a new boarder, is to force him to swallow a tobacco infusion, for the purpose of provoking abundant vomiting and to wash out the stomach completely. He has in fact noticed that in the mountains the dog subsists solely on filth, of which the vomiting purifies him to some extent. Then the training for hunting begins. I will point out to French hunters the method employed by the Jíbaro to punish lazy animals. He ties up his legs and leaves him several minutes, thus disarmed and incapable of moving, on an anthill. It seems that this cruel punishment gets remarkable results. The number of dogs that an Indian possesses enters into the estimation of his fortune in the same way as the number of his clothes, his pigs---and his wives.

18: Hermessen--445 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

"In this part of Oriente there were no cattle, horses, mules, or burros. The Jibaros kept pigs and fowls, but sustained themselves chiefly by the products of the chase."

25: Vigna --44 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 231, 222, 462

The Jîbaro women breed domestic birds, hogs, little monkeys, parrots, and even wild birds, with astonishing skill. They do not keep fruit or products of the earth in their house which is always painstakingly clean, but every day they go to the garden to obtain the necessities for the day.

26: Brüning--55-56 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 231

Many dogs are in evidence everywhere in the Indian houses. They are tied to the tops of the bedposts so that they can rest on the beds. They barked violently when we approached, and they pulled furiously on their liana lines. They are small snappish mongrels. The women give them special attention, and once in a while the dogs would be escorted out of the house so that they could relieve nature. [56] It seemed to me as if the food for the dogs was prepared with special care. In the case of puppies I have witnessed how the Indian woman first chewed the food and then offered it to the dog out or her own mouth. Very young puppies are carried by the women in the fold of her upper dress and they are allowed to suck on the women's breasts. On their travels the natives tie the dogs to some object on the resting place in the open field, and the dogs may lie down on a large leaf of some plant which is placed there for the purpose. I have never seen dogs running wild. The whites told me that the Indians use their dogs for hunting purposes. On this subject, however, I have not been able to assemble definite data.

26: Brüning--56 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 231

Aside from dogs the Indians, or rather the women, keep a great number and variety of other animals, and I was impressed by the fact that all animals become tame very readily, and they have the run of the house and its environs. The Indians have a predilection for the various kinds of parrots and araras, fowl like birds, various types of turkeys, Paujiles and trumpeters, in addition to diostedé and various kinds of monkeys. The Indians bring these animals into the house when they are still young, and it is the women's business to domesticate them.

Of domestic animals, aside from dogs, I have seen, and this in isolated instances, chickens only and, in one case, a pig. According to my white informants, the Indians keep poultry not on account of the eggs (which they do not eat), but for the sake of insect control. During our journey we had a hard time to obtain either poultry or eggs.

28: Tessman--350 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

Dogs are used for hunting. They keep chickens to eat their meat and eggs. Pork (pigs: kutsi) is eaten by both sexes. In the atšuim region, along the upper Cenipa, a very secluded part of the Aguarunas is said to have very large pigs,

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[16]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 411 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

173 The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
648 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
177
439 In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri šuarā*] lived near the
[131] Río Paute. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *šuarā*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Mačabeos asked, "Do you have
[412] pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of
[411] the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs
[231] to Macas. The two *šuarā* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy
[412] with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *Iusrá*.
439

[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[231] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
[436] plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

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stuck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with 411
kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with [224]
which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jívaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the [171]
Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so 411
easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, 224
from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more [223]
accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and 224
ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or car- [231]
bine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a pec- [411]
cary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call par- 223
rots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*nukintü*, *čarayčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tawpirulü* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyayü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntü*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kiyak*, *kuakal*, *ampakai*, *tirintü*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakai, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [273]
kumai) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*uyusi*, *tučinč*, *ipü*, *wayat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
• [231] [146] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A fam-
ily without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much
of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[126] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs
against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end
of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually
results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to
defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking in-
dicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for
dog, *mirud*, is the same term used to designate the feared
and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden,
and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[799] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives ob-
serves a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the birth
to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is
nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in
adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its
owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic
Datura to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
[439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

34:Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tained, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jivaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jivaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available.

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mañi* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass, and the *keyene mañi* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jivaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mañi* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jivaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jivaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and trowls. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jivaro of the Rio Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use

14:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

773 they encountered Nuṇui digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuṇui, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nuṇui is also believed to have given the dog to the Jivaro
• 231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuṇui is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[229] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[792] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuṇui, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuṇui for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

792 Women also sing to Nuṇui to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to 854
come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 533
539

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and 853
the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the 862
weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued [231]
and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-H/

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found [761]
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

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765
When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers 727
return to their separate homes and begin to make prepara- 796
tions for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will 244
host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food 574
are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally
has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to
plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these [231]
two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no
sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing
and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as
for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting.
Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a [342]
new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often
two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men 727
who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long 796
distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or 805
ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic 824
system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able 765
to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests
at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might 224
be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each 574
hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same
stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for
the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully
ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration.
The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk
to those invited guests living at some distance so that they,
too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a 574
month later, by the third feast (*napin*). This is the largest of 796
all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. 765
He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the [727]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jívaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

[114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jívaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jívaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women; the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; at other times houses often have no walls at all. The [171] permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jívaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were among the Achuara.

[127] 13. Cieza de León, 1943, pp. 295–96; González Suárez, 1890, p. 54. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jivaroan groups other than the Jívaro proper (*untsuri šuarä*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 174–77.

• [231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jívaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jívaro is first definitely reported in 1683 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual inroduction by a century or longer.

[135] 16. Velasco, 1842, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1842, p. 153; and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1842, pp. 153–57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 105–7; 203; 209–10; 286–288; and in Velasco, 1842, pp. 158–60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 43–44.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrueco, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jívaro; Compte, 1885, p. 56; Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 366, 420–21.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jívaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 329).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

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While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaṇā*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main kinds of gathered foods. 222

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*mukintü, čaraŋčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampaŋ*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirušä* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyaŋü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntä*) also are collected. [261]

The various species of palms are the most important source of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kiŋak, kuakaš, ampakai, tirintä*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the *ampakai*, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and *kumai*) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*uŋusi, ručinč, ipü, waŋat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete. [262] [252] [273] [262]

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept. 231 [235] [417]

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, especially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to 262 574 765 [235] [231]

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412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [244] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taračī*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously. 415 [235] [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north. 323 415 [462] [824] 415 531 [439]

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. 415 [273] [276] [278] [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273] [515]

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527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hanse-*
[273] *matä*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high
[273] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[373] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

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25. From oral histories given by elderly Jivaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1886, p. 329).

26: Brüning--59-60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301, 237, 777

The Indians, while wearing very simple clothes, have a great variety of ornaments, especially the men. In contrast to [60] the cultural life of other countries, it is the Indian male that devotes more time to the adornment of his exterior than the Indian woman. The woman does not have the time for it: she is the working part. I believe that I may divide the ornaments into two categories: the ornaments used in everyday life, and ornaments used in connection with festive occasions only.

Into the first category we may place the bracelets made of the skin of the iguana lizard. The natives cut the skin crosswise so that they obtain rings that are closed and about two centimeters wide. When wetted the skin may be stretched and easily slipped over the hand. Upon drying the bracelet shrinks and cannot slip off the arm. Men and women wear several of these bracelets around the wrist. Even the rubber collectors who live among the Indians wear these bracelets. These bracelets are said to prevent the wearer from becoming tired while working.

/331 cont./

29/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /XX/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dirt-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tacua) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are preferably used.

/XI cont./

preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

Assured and proud, the Ifugao moves in the consciousness of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies, disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /XII/ but the dotgers of the Quechua Indians may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotiations, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Ifugao connect himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the monolitic Christian preachers all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified under the conditions that we find among the Ifugao. In the case of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes residence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the individual families, live in war and conflict, the men must always be ready to defend his person and his property. He must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
719 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[559] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[721] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off, eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[269] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
727 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
796 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
273 gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[574] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
[931] drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
● [237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

727 335 cont.
796 better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made
[237] of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear
[301] richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of
[534] which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is
[535] produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

[345] When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept
[356] off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

/336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as
768 after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience
763 of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A
[242] small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

787 If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important
823 decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and
[216] their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful
133 spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
• [237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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237

12. Man wearing an *etsemat* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Rio Cangaimi, 1956–57).

13. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-A/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178
from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178
ners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to
develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara [278]
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essen-
tial result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317]
of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and
machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming
from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow-
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [412]
tier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [237]
the Achuara. [278]

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh-
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 439 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large
[202] wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside
[412] daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapimiuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both
513 in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

• 24 Each household has either a single large garden or several
[351] smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the
[146] exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

season,[1] and a diversified crop inventory all contribute to 24 •
making a continual supply of agricultural products possible throughout the year.

Crops grown for their tubers or corms include, besides sweet manioc, two varieties of sweet potato, *papa china* (from Spanish) [taro?], and three other members of the Araceae family (*sapu*, *tuka*, *wanĉup*), the carrot-like *maya* (arracacha?), and peanuts. Of these, manioc is grown in by far the largest quantity, and is the chief source of starch. The most important non-tuberous food plants are plantains and "white" maize. Other crops grown in relatively small quantities are squash, red peppers, tomatoes, onions, the "gold" banana (*guineo de oro* in Spanish), pineapple, papaya, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton. *Tsapay* (for heavy [222]
cordage), various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs, especially *Banisteriopsis* species and *Datura arborea*, are both cultivated in the garden and collected wild in the forest.

Gardens are abandoned after three plantings of manioc, in 241
other words, after about three to five years, because of the growing amount of labor required to clear the ever increasing numbers of weeds. New garden clearings are made nearby in virgin timber except when the actual household is being moved, in which case the gardens are planted at the new house location. This practice of shifting gardens, the so-called "slash-and-burn" or swidden technique, is made possible by the plentiful supply of land. The Jivaro recognize this method, despite the necessity of making new clearings, as involving less effort than attempting to cope with the weeds at the old site.

If a man clears the forest without the aid of neighbors, he 241
tends to make small clearings at different times, while the 595
rarer communal effort results in one large clearing. Whether [476]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[727]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
• 24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jivaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
411
824

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jivaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jivaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 • 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jivaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nugui and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

1: Karsten--115[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 241 (1928-29)

"A considerable number of edible plants are cultivated by the Jibaros, and vegetable food is as a matter of fact never lacking in a Jibaro house. The most important of these plants are the manioc and the plantain or banana, but in addition they raise crops of sweet potatoes and another kind of potato which is a vine and called kingi, maize, a kind of carrot, earth-nuts, beans, and some other edible plants of minor importance."

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

"The agricultural practices of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are founded on a special animistic view in regard to the plants which they cultivate. All trees and plants are animated by spirits--the Jibaros call them wakani, the Canelos Indians aya or supai (1)--who affect their growth and the ripening of their fruit. These wakani, aya, or supai are to the Indians nothing but spirits or souls of men which have taken up their abode in the plants and have thus become plant souls. The animistic philosophy of these Indians does not recognize any particular kind of plant spirits as distinct from spirits of men, just as it does not recognize particular animal spirits or spirits of inanimate natural objects. There is only one kind of spirit or demon, who inhabits men, animals, plants, or inanimate objects, and who may also permanently or occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. This view which, of course, is intimately connected

"1. In the Quichua language aya means 'soul' in general, whereas supai means 'demon'. All supai are aya, but all aya are not supai. According to the idea of the Canelos Indians, poisonous plants--for instance those ofwhich they prepare their arrow-poison-- and plants with extraordinarily strong properties are animated by supai, the rest by aya."

with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, forms a characteristic feature of the religion of the Jibaros, as, in fact, of the Indian religion in general. According to the mythology of the Jibaros, all animals have once been men, and although there is not a similar myth in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that animate them have once inhabited human bodies, just as they may once more, either for a longer period or only incidentally, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thoughts and feelings, and when intoxicated by certain narcotic [123] drinks--made of tobacco and two other narcotizing plants--the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definite human form, namely as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with this belief. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant; some trees and plants are supposed to be men, others--and in fact the majority of them--are said to be women.

This idea also explains the division of labour which prevails among the Jibaros with regard to agriculture. Those plants which are 'men' must be sown and tended by the men, whereas those which are 'women' must be cultivated by the women. Of those fruits that form the staple food of the Indians, most are regarded as female. Hence

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

among the Jibaros, as in fact among most Indian tribes, agriculture is essentially, although not exclusively, a duty incumbent on the female sex."

1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 192, 137, 241 (1928-29)

"The following trees and plants are cultivated by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians; the names in the Jibaro and in the Quichua language are indicated with Jib. and Qu. respectively:

Manioc (Manihot aipi, Jib. máma or tsanímba, Qu. lúmu) of many different classes, plantain (Jib. pa'ándama, Qu. palánda), batatas(Convolvulus batatas, Jib. ínchi, Qu. kumál), mani or earth-nuts (Jib. nussi, Qu. ínchi), beans (Jib. mika, Qu. poroto (1), sanahoria (Daucus carota, Jib. maya, Qu. sanahoria), maize (Jib. sháya, Qu. sara), mandi (2), (Jib. sángu, Qu. mandi), a kind of sweet potato (a vine), (Jib. kingi, Qu. papa chambo), pumpkin (Jib. yui, Qu. sapallu (3), the chonta palm (Jib. uí, Qu. chuntarúru), and the sugar cane (Jib. pa'ata, Qu. huiru).

The Indians also cultivate the Capsicum or Indian pepper (Jib. hímya, Qu. uíchu), the naranhilla (Solanum quitense, called narangi in both languages), and the tomato which the Jibaros call kukuchi.

The gourd tree (Jib. tsáppa, Qu. pilchi) is also cultivated, but only because of the dishes and water-bottles which are prepared from its large fruit, and which the Indians use in their daily life."

"1. Spanish poroto.
2. A plant producing a fruit similar to the manioc.
3. Spanish zapallo."

1: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

"Of the numerous cultivated plants which play a part in the magical medicine and the religious customs of the Indians the following deserve to be mentioned:--

First of all we have the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsańgu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. natema, Qu. aya huasca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huańtuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians.

How the tobacco, the natema, and the maikoa are used, will appear from descriptions given later on.

Varvasco is a common name for certain poisonous plants which play an important part in Indian fishing. They will again be dealt with in the chapter on the Indian fishing practices.

Tsinsímba is the name of a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, to which a magical power is attributed. The leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva (in the same way as the leaves of the tobacco), and given to the women and children at certain feasts to make them strong and active.

There is another similar plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called chikí. The root of the plant is warmed up in a clay pot half-filled with water, together with some leaves of tobacco, and the drink is given to a woman at the 'feast of the women'. This

drink has the effect of a vomitory and is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman.

Among the magical plants cultivated by the Jibaros and Canelos Indians must also be reckoned the roucou shrub (Bixa orellana; Jib. ipyaku, Qu. manduru), the fruit of which affords the red dye which the Indians use for painting the face and the body.

Of the plants mentioned above, the following are regarded as 'women', that is, as being animated by a female wakani (aya): the manioc, the camote, the sanahoria, the bean, the earth-nut, the sweet potato, the mandi, the pumpkin, the gourd tree, the tsinimba, the chiki, and the roucou shrub; whereas the following are regarded as 'men', that is, as animated by a male wakani or aya: the plantain, the maize, the chonta palm, and the narcotic plants tobacco, Banisteria caapi, and Datura arborea, as well as the varvasco.

Consistently with this idea we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Mama (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nussi (earth-nut), Ipyaku (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paandama (plantain), Ui (chonta palm), and Maikoa.

As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the

1: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--125-126 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 773 (1928-29)

"All agricultural practices of the Jibaros centre round the particular deity of the women, the great Earth-mother Nungüi. She has not only taught the women agriculture, but also all kinds of housework and duties incumbent on the married Jibaro women, especially how to feed and tend the principal domestic animals, the swine and hens, and the hunting dogs. In order fully to understand the Jibaro customs relating to agriculture, it seems therefore necessary to know the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi.

In the chapters on the myths of the Jibaros I shall relate this myth in full. Here it may only be necessary to mention its main points.

Nungüi, the Earth-mother, is the being who is worshipped by the Jibaros as the originator of that important part of the Jibaro culture which is represented by the women. In ancient times, we are told, the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruits which they cultivate to-day and they had nothing to eat. At that time there lived a Jibaro woman called Ungucha. When wandering on the bank of the river looking for food she met the Earth-mother Nungüi and asked her for manioc. Nungüi gave her manioc-beer ready made in a clay pot; she gave her plantations ready worked up and sown with manioc, plantain, batatas, maize, earth-nuts, and all other fruits which the Jibaros now cultivate; she gave her all kinds of game ready prepared. Everything was given to Ungucha gratuitously, without her having to work. But Ungucha proved ungrateful and made unjust demands on Nungüi, so that at last Nungüi left her and retired to the

interior of the earth where she still lives. Now the Jibaros would again have suffered from famine after the Earth-mother left them. But she had already taught them agriculture, to make plantations and to sow the seeds, and the fruits thus grew of themselves in due time.

Nungüi is still worshipped as the great Earth-mother by the Jibaro women--the word Nungüi itself is derived from the same root as the [126] word nuńga, 'earth'. When new plantations are made, when the plants are sown, the women never fail to invoke, in special incantations, Nungüi herself and also her mythical husband, Shakaĕma, who formerly did the same agricultural work as the Jibaro men still do, namely, clearing the ground for making new plantations. When at the 'feast of the women', or on other occasions, the married Jibaro women drink the narcotic natemá, Nungüi afterwards appears to them in a dream and teaches them how to tend the fields in order that they shall be very fertile. When the crops fail owing to dryness or from other causes, and famine threatens the Jibaros, then Nungüi again appears to the women in a dream consoling them: 'You will not die, the fields will again prosper all right and give you food.'"

1: Karsten--126 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

"I have mentioned that an intrinsic connection is supposed to exist between the woman and the plants which she cultivates, just as she is believed to exert a particular influence upon the domestic animals that are confided to her care. This especially holds true of the married woman. When a Jibaro marries and has to found a new household, to make new plantations and breed domestic animals, swine, chickens, and hunting dogs, his first business is to make a special feast for his young wife, through which power and ability is, in a mysterious way, imparted to her for her future obligations. This feast--next to the head-feast the greatest feast of the Jibaros-- is called Noa tsańgu, that is, 'the tobacco feast of the women'. Fully to understand the ideas the Jibaros have about agriculture it is necessary to know the general significance of this feast."

"The most important of the domestic plants is the manioc, and when new manioc fields are made for a feast, the work is done with special ceremonies.

To plant the manioc, two pieces of the stem of the shrub about ten inches in length, are cut off and fixed in the ground in an oblique position close to each other. Such manioc sticks are planted all along the field at a distance of one to two yards from each other.--The plant bears fruit in about six months.

The rough work, as pointed out before, is done by the men, who fell [127] the trees and clear and level the ground selected for the new plantation --extremely heavy work which takes a long time. This was especially the case in former times when the Indians had only stone axes and knives of chonta wood to use in clearing the virgin forest to make plantations. After this the work of the women begins, who further prepare the ground for the planting.

The young Jibaro woman, in whose honour the feast is to be held, is assisted at the work by an older women who will also lead the ceremonies at the coming feast and is called whuéa. Moreover, her mother, sisters, and other female relatives living in the same house, generally take part in the planting.

To begin the ceremony, the old woman (whuéa) brings a pole or stick, elaborately made of the hard wood of the chonta palm. With this pole, which is called shingi, holes will first be made in the ground for fixing the manioc stems. The latter are, at the

beginning of the work, heaped at one end of the new plantation. Close to these stems the chonta pole (shingi) is fixed well into the ground by the whuéa. Each woman is provided with a fully ripe manioc fruit upon which she sits when planting. The woman who is to make the feast and her assistants also are painted red in the face with roucou (Bixa orellana) and have red stripes on the breast and the back.

Before proceeding to work [JKM: planting manioc] the women sit down round the heap of the manioc stems, chanting first to the stems and afterwards to Nungüi herself, calling upon her to be present and to help them in the work:

> 'Don't touch the stems with hard hands,
> slowly, with caution may you touch them,
> Although we have cut them with the iron of the whites,
> may they not take it amiss;
> only to cut the pieces have we used the knife.
> May it do no harm; may you grow well,
> may you bear abundant fruit', etc.

Then follows the chant to Nungüi herself. Besides the heap of manioc stems and the shingi, there is a third sacred object. This is a small round stone red or brown in

colour, which has clearly been found somewhere in the ground. The Jíbaro women, however, pretend to have got it in some mysterious way. Nungŭi herself has given it to a woman [128] in a dream, when she was intoxicated with the narcotic natéma, in order that she should have luck in agriculture. This wonderful stone is called nantaŕa and is regarded as the special symbol of Nungŭi, containing her soul and at the same time the soul of the manioc plant (tsanimba wakaŋi). The stone is therefore supposed to have the power of summoning Nungŭi to help in the work, and consequently of making the manioc grow well. The nantaŕa is covered with an upturned gourd, and the women sit around it while chanting the song to Nungŭi:

'Being daughters of Nungŭi, the woman,
we are going to sow.
Nungŭi, come thou and help us,
come and help us!
Art not thou, art not thou our mother,
are not we thy children?
Whom should we call upon?
We only behold wood and hills.
Thou art the only one who can help us,
us that are going to plant the fruit'.

In the following chant the women mention all those different kinds of manioc which the Jibaros know and cultivate, i.e.: the apaćhi maḿa (1), chiaǵrapo tsanimba, huambaǵtsi tsanimba, parmaćhi tsanimba, wambuchaŕa tsanimba, kapaǵdinyu tsanimba, chachira tsanimba, nungüimēra tsanimba, sukimaḿa, sūtinyu tsanimba, mukuǵdra tsanimba, ikiaǵchama tsanimba, suamaŕa tsanimba, kanūsara tsanimba, and ayaǵdkashi tsanimba. Each kind of manioc, or rather the soul (wakaǵni) of each manioc plant, must be especially called upon by name in order to secure a good crop.

When the chants are finished, the women proceed to plant the stems. One of them, the first that the woman who is preparing for the feast will fix in the ground, is taken out from the rest and painted red with roucou. In a small clay pot the whueá has prepared some juice of tobacco by chewing the leaves and mixing them well with saliva. The whueá first gives the younger woman a small quantity of this medicine to drink. The latter, who is bent down for the work, has her manioc fruit placed [129] in the joint between the leg and the thigh. The whueá now takes her by the wrist and guides her hand to the chonta pole, with which she slowly and cautiously makes a hole in the ground.

"1. 'The manioc of the whites'."

Immediately afterwards the whueá guides her hand to the manioc stem, painted red with roucou, which is held ready, and makes her place it in the hole with the same caution. Even during the latter operation the whueá is holding her arm by the wrist.

The first manioc stem having thus been ceremonially put in the ground, the work of planting is continued in the ordinary way by the women, each of whom sits upon the manioc fruit with which she is provided, or holds it between the leg and the thigh in the same way as the first woman.

After the work [JKM: planting manioc] is finished, the old woman fixes the chonta pole (shingi) well into the ground at the end of the field where it is then left. The idea is that just as the shingi is firmly planted in the ground, so also the manioc which the women have planted will grow steadily and without disturbance. It still remains, however, for the women to chant to the shingi itself. Sitting round the pole they sing the following chant by which, at the same time, Nungüi and her husband Shakaïma are 'awakened' in order that they may take notice of the planting just finished and promote the growth of the crop.

This chant in the Jibaro language runs as follows:

Shingi wairu tu tahei,
'Lifting up the earth with the shingi we have
done the work (of planting),
tu aweiru shindyantamrya,
Thus we have digged in the earth to awaken thee,
tu tahei, ty tahei.
Thus we have done, thus we have done.
Nungüi noachi assana
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
hui tu tahei, tu tahei,
thus here we have done.
Mamankutu untsuaheita,
May thou multiply our crop of manioc,
shindyantamrya, shindyantamrya,
wake up, wake up.
Aishiru kutu, tsukahei vaitya, [130]
Dear husband (1), myself I am hungry,

"1. i.e., Shakaëma, the husband of Nungüi, whom the women invoke as their own husband."

aishiru ˆkutu, tsukama ˆhuahua,
my husband, hungry is also my child.
Shindyantamrya,
Wake up, wake up,
wari kureitkura,
quickly appear!"

This chant is sung to the same melody as the other incantations at planting and sowing. An example of it will be given later on.

The shingi, as we note, is used not only for making the holes into which the manioc stem are planted, but also with a view to awakening, by the digging, Nungüi herself and her husband, who are supposed to dwell in the earth and may perhaps be sleeping.

When the women return to the house, each of them carries in a basket (changina) the manioc fruit on which she has sat at the planting. The manioc is at once cooked and eaten by the women, who in eating do not touch the food with their fingers, as is generally done, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

For some time the woman who is the owner of the plantation and is preparing for the tobacco feast, besides observing the rules of diet mentioned above, takes care not to drink the strong tonic guayusa (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), which the Jibaros

use as a vomitory and for washing out the mouth. If she takes guayusa, the tender manioc plantation may dry up. The same would happen if she tasted the brandy of the whites. Nor does the woman, after the work of planting, paint her face with sua (genipa). The black paint prepared from this fruit is very astringent and would therefore make the manioc dry up. Some Jibaro women also take care to loosen the cotton bands (called patáki), which they usually have tied round their upper arms. If the arm is tied with this band, the manioc will likewise be 'tied', so that it cannot grow and develop.

Later on, when the women tend the new manioc plantation and clear it of weeds, they likewise usually chant incantations to Nungüi and the manioc spirit.

Moreover, there is a special danger threatening the tender plant [JKM: manioc] from the machinations of evil witches. A witch-doctor of an enemy [131] family or tribe comes and sees the new plantation, grows jealous, looks at it with an evil eye (tuna hĩ ísaama), and pronounces a curse that the whole thing may be spoiled.

'I have seen the shingi which they have fixed at the end of the field, May everything get spoiled, may the whole plantation rot away, may it turn into forest, may nothing grow there, so that they may have nothing to eat."

In order to counteract the effects of this malediction and the evil eye of the witch, the women also chant incantations while tending the plant. --"

1: Karsten--III (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241, 462 (1928-29)

"Next to the manioc, the plantain is the most important of the fruits that are especially sown or planted for a tobacco-feast. The sprouts of the plant are put into the ground by the men, namely, by the husband of the woman assisted by other male relatives, without particular ceremonies. The success of the work, however, the rapid growth and fruitfulness of the plantation, depend to a great extent on the strict observance of the rules of diet which are imposed upon the husband as well as upon his wife.

After the Jibaro has planted the plantain he, moreover, for some time after takes care not to drink guayusa (weisa) or to wash the mouth with this tonic, believing that otherwise the root of the plantain will rot away. The same would happen if he painted his face or head with genipa (sua), which therefore he avoids using."

"The Jibaros also try to promote the growth of the plantain by incantations, directed to Shakaĕma, the husband of Nungüi. This, however, does not take place at planting, but some months later when the plantain has already grown large. Both the women and the men sing, sitting inside the plantation. The incantation has reference not only to the plantain, 'the son of the tumba', but also to the manioc, now half-grown; hence, besides Shakaĕma, Nungüi is also mentioned in it.

The incantation, which is sung to the same melody as the last one, runs as follows:

Tumbá uchiru apuhkahei,
'The son of the tumba I have planted,
pingéra ahásahei.
nicely I have put the sprout in the earth.
Shakaĕma aismanguchi, aishmangú,
Shakaĕma, man in the earth,
aramú ityursan tsapaicheindyá, [132]
why don't you promote my plantation?
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
Why don't you make it grow, why don't you make it flourish?
Tumbāru, waiari, waiari,

My plantation of tumba (1), promptly make it grow,
winchúra, waiari, waiari;
my plantain, promptly, promptly make it develop!
pand'machiru, pand'machiru
My little plantain field,
ityursán tsapaicheindya,
why don't you make it flourish?
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, also, the woman, we sing:
wambagrura (1), waiari, waiari,
Our manioc sowing, quickly, quickly make it grow!
Shakaéma, aishmangune, apusa,
To Shakaéma, the husband, as well, who planted the plantain,
pingera, tsapaitei, tsapaitei,
make it nicely grow, make it flourish!

"1. The Jibaros here poetically speak of the tumba, the mythical ancestor of the plantain, as if they cultivated also that plant."

winchura (2), waiari, waiari.
My plantain field, quickly make it grow!
Araki, ityursan tsapaicheindya,
My sowing, why don't you promote it,
(i) tyursangi tsapaicheindya.
why don't you promote it?
Ivyarkamrusmá, ityursanginú
Having nicely cleared the ground,
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?'"

"2. wambagrúra and winchúra: poetical expressions for the manioc and plantain fields, instead of mamáru (mamanchíru) and pand'máru (pandmachíru)."

"A Jibaro woman who is preparing for a tobacco feast generally sows also batatas (inchi), sanahoria (maya), the kind of potatoes called kingí, beans (mika), earth-nuts (nussi), and the root called sangu. Besides this the men have to sow maize (shaya). Of these plants, the beans, the earth-nuts, and the maize are of special interest because of the rules in regard [133] to fasting to which the women or men are subject after the sowing, and which must be observed whether the sowing is done for a tobacco feast or not. Sundry plantations of manioc, plantain, beans, earth-nuts, maize, and so forth, are of course frequently made by the Indians without particular reference to a feast.

I shall presently give an account of the practices which the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians observe at the sowing of beans, earth-nuts, and maize, especially as regards fasting. For the moment it is necessary to mention certain other customs connected with the making of new plantations, which take place especially when the work has been done on a large scale for a feast.

When the whole work of sowing and planting is finished, the women perform certain ceremonies in the house, consisting of dancing and chanting, in order to make the new fields grow well and secure a good crop. During five successive nights, from sunset to dawn, they perform a ring dance called Ihiámbrama in the house of the principal wōman (i. e., the woman who will make the feast), wearing festival dresses and rattles

round the cincture, and singing incantations to Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma. These incantations are much the same as those sung before when sowing the plantation, and they are also sung later, at the great fertility feast itself, the Noa tsangu.

The following is an example of these incantations.

Kashi ningi
'At night united we sing,
Nungüi noa assana,
being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
Nungüi noachina:
to Nungüi, the woman, we sing:
mama untsuaheita,
Multiply the manioc,
inchi untsuaheita,
multiply the camote,
nussi untsuaheita,
multiply the earth-nuts,
kingi untsuaheita,
multiply the potatoes,

sangu untsuaheita, [134]
multiply the sangu,
ashi, ashi untsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Nungüi noa assan kutú,
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we imya untsumarahei.
we thus have called upon her.
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, the woman,
arutama nunganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungüi noana tu tihei:
to Nungüi, the woman, thus we have sung:
yurúmgachi úntsuaheita,
Promptly multiply thou our crops,
mamankutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of manioc,
inchikutú úntsuaheita,

multiply our crop of camote,
nussikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
sangu, sangu, úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of sangu,
ashi úntsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Shakaëma aishmanguchi,
Shakaëma, the husband, as well,
amisha húi úntsuaheita.
may thou fructify the crops!
Amisha ni, kambungisa,
Thee also, who hast felled the trees,
ivyarsamunmá,
who hast cleared the ground,
imya untsumárahei:
thus we have called upon:
Mamankutú úntsuaheita,
Multiply our crop of manioc,

inchikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of camote, [135]
nussikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
ashi, ashi úntsuaheita.
everything, everything multiply"!

Other chants, sung on the same occasion and in connection with the dance, are directed against certain enemies of the new plantations, the rats, rabbits, and other rodents, which eat the tender sprouts or dig [136] up the seeds sown in the fields of the beans, the earth-nuts, and the maize.

The plants, however, are more infested with these enemies at a later period, or more strictly speaking, when the fruits are ripening. The rats then especially damage the manioc, plantain, and camote fields. In order to exorcise this danger and protect the crops the Jibaro women perform the following ceremony. They take the shell of a manioc fruit, which has been eaten by the rats, and put some ashes into it. Upon this shell they put the shell of a plantain, gnawed by rats, together with some ashes. Lastly, upon these shells they put a third shell of a camote, gnawed by the same rodents, the shell being likewise strewn with ashes. All three shells are Then placed in a piece of an old, broken clay pot (called hakáchi). The women now form a ring round the broken

clay pot containing the three fruit shells and begin to dance, singing a sort of chant or incantation to expel the rats.

This incantation runs as follows:

Katipichi, pand'machiru,
'Little rat, my crop of plantain,
Katipichi, inchichiru
little rat, my crop of camote,
takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Mamanchiru takarseipya,
My little manioc crop, don't touch it,
takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Winya mamaru,
My manioc field,
winya pand'maru,
my plantain field,
winya inchiru,
my camote field,

takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Yapamikipya,
Don't eat my crop at night,
Yapamikipya,
don't eat it at night!" [137]

After the dance is finished the broken clay pot, with the fruit shells which it contains, is thrown away into the forest. The rats are now believed to leave the plantations unmolested.

With regard to the ceremony just described it must be mentioned that the Jibaros make use of broken clay pots (hakáchi) at certain cathartic rites, when they want to get rid of something that is dangerous, impure, and detestable. Ashes, again, are regarded as an antidote against evil spirits.

Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians the earth-nuts, the beans, and the maize are sown with special care, and the men or women who do the work must afterwards observe certain strict rules with regard to their diet, even when the sowing has not been done particularly for a feast. This seems to be due to the fact that the plants mentioned are more delicate than other domestic plants, the sowing being easily damaged or spoiled from various causes.

When earth-nuts are sown among the Jibaros, the women who take part in the work have their faces painted red with roucou, transverse red strokes being likewise painted over and below the chest and on the [138] back. Moreover, each seed put in the ground is painted red with the same dye. If one asks the reason for this practice, the Jibaros only answer that it is a custom handed down from their ancestors that when earth-nuts are sown both the women themselves and the seed must be painted red in this way. Otherwise the plant would not flourish.

When the work is finished, the women perform the dance Ihiámbrama for five successive nights in the house, incantations being sung to Nungüi, just as after the planting of manioc. Chants are likewise sung to prevent the rats from harming the new sowing.

For some months afterwards, or until the plant [JKM: earth-nuts] is nearly full-grown, the women have to observe the following rules of diet. They are not allowed to eat the flesh of the howling monkey (yákuma) or of the squirrel (kunámbi); nor must they eat the intestines (ambúhe) of any animal, blood, the fat of swine, tadpoles (wambúcha), fish roes (têri nâmaka), a crab living in fresh water called uriki, or snails (tsuntsu), nor chew sugar cane. Of vegetables they are forbidden to eat palm tops (ihu). As to fish, they must not eat the two large fishes wámbi (Spanish bocachupa) and the sheat-fish (nápi).

These rules of diet are based on the following ideas. The fell of the howling monkey and the squirrel is reddish-yellow, as if it had been burned by the sun. If the women eat the flesh of these animals after having sown earth-nuts, the new plants will soon have the same reddish-yellow colour, that is, they will be burned by the sun and dry up. If the women eat the intestines of various animals, the plants will soon fall asunder in small pieces and be spoiled. The same will happen if they eat things that flow, or that easily melt away and vanish, like blood, the fat of swine, and the sweet liquid contained in the sugar cane; or that are of a very loose consistency so that they easily dissolve, like tadpoles, fish roes, and the flesh of the crab and the snail. The plants will lack consistency, dissolve, and be spoiled. For the same reason the women must abstain from eating the palm top, which consists of loose fibres and easily falls asunder.

That the women are forbidden to eat the fish wámbi is due to the fact that this fish has a red tail and red fins, though the rest of it is entirely white. The Jibaros fancy that the leaves of the tender shoots will soon get the same colour as the tail and the fins of the fish, that is, they will dry up.

Again, the large and strong nápi is a very lively fish, which, when caught, sprawls violently and is difficult to restrain. If the woman eats this fish after having sown, the seed will get no rest, and will not be [139] able to grow quietly, but will be continually

disturbed by some enemies (animals, violent winds, etc.) and consequently spoiled[1].

When the Jibaro women have sown the beans, they are subject to the same rules of diet for some months afterwards, or until the crop is well developed and begins to bear fruit."

"1. It is worth mentioning that when, among the Jibaros, a child is born, the father and mother for some time afterwards abstain from eating the fish nápi for the same reason. Otherwise the delicate new-born child would be tired out and get no rest."

1: Karsten--139 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

" Similar restrictions in regard to food are laid upon the men after they have sown the maize. Thus they do not eat Indian pepper (hīmya), because otherwise the maize would become red and inferior in quality. Indian pepper (Capsicum), as is well known, is red in colour. They abstain from eating the larva mukíndi, which lives in the tops of certain palms, because otherwise the maize would be infested with worms. They moreover abstain from chewing sugar cane, because in that case the maize would rot away, and from eating the top of the palm called tunduáma, because if they do eat it, the cobs of maize will become empty (without grains) owing to the effects of violent winds."

1: Karsten--139-140 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241 (1928-29)

"As to the sowing of the maize, it may be mentioned that the Jibaros formerly used to put in the seeds with the same care as is still used with the manioc, the trees being felled first, the ground cleared, and the plantations elaborately made. Even a chonta pole (shingi) was then used for making the holes in the ground, and the same ceremonies observed with it as at the planting of manioc. This mode of sowing the maize still prevails among the Canelos Indians. On the other hand, the Jibaros proper nowadays simply throw the seeds on the spot in the forest selected for the field and let them grow, without previously clearing the ground. It is not until later on, when the plant has a length of about 20 to 30 cm., that the trees are felled. The trunks, however, are not removed but left on the field, as they protect the new plantation against the violent hurricanes which might otherwise destroy it.

When the maize is ripe, the plant is frequently infested by maggots which enter the maize-heads under the leaves and eat the fruit. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians then try to exterminate the maggots in the following way. They take a maize-head which is particularly infested with maggots, put some chewed tobacco leaves together with some Capsicum or Indian pepper round it, envelop the whole thing in some other leaves and take the bundle into the house, where it is hung up [140] in the smoke over the fire. Here the bundle is left for some time, until it is quite dried and half consumed, after which it is thrown away. By this procedure the maggots are supposed to disappear from the whole plantation."

1: Karsten--140-142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241 (1928-29)

"The rules of precaution observed by the CANELOS INDIANS in connection with agriculture differ in some details from those in vogue among the Jibaros. When, at Canelos, a woman has planted the manioc, she abstains for eight days from touching a broom to sweep the house. All dirt and waste is left untouched until the eight days have elapsed. If she cleaned the house, the manioc would fall asunder and be spoiled. For the same reason she refrains, during the same period, from sharpening a knife with a stone; nor does she split the fire-wood with an axe, but instead of that uses a big knife (machete). If she touched the axe, the manioc would not grow thick but very thin like the handle of the axe.

Again, when the men have planted the plantain, for eight days they abstain from eating roasted plantain, since otherwise the fruit in the new plantation would grow very thin and small. Nor do they bathe in the river during the eight days, lest the new plantation should get too much water and rot away.

When the Canelos women have sown earth-nuts (inchi) and beans, they take care not to taste sweet things, brandy, and other strong drinks, the fat of swine, blood, the intestines of any animals, a snail living in the water (chúru) and a fat worm or larva called túku, living in the top of a certain palm and generally eaten by the Indians. If the woman infringes these rules, the earth-nuts and beans will grow very small, or the whole crop be spoiled; they also take care not to eat a certain fish called náchi which

has very sharp teeth and eats hard seeds and kernels. If the woman eats this fish, the new crop will be badly infested with rats and rabbits. For the same reason she does not eat the squirrel and the guatusa (agouti), rodents that are great enemies of the plantations of the Indians, or the parrot, which likewise has a sharp beak and eats seeds of any kind.

Having sown earth-nuts, the Canelos woman also abstains from eating and touching the flesh of the deer as well as of the nose-bear (Nasua rufa). If she eats the flesh of these animals, or even touches it with her hands, a certain ant which the Canelos Indians call rahuai añangu, 'the blood ant', will infest the sowing. The deer was formerly, and the nose-bear is still, to the mind of these Indians a demoniac animal.

[141] All these precautions are observed for two or three months, until the new plantation has grown and is well developed.

When the men have sown the maize, they too for a couple of months are subject to certain precautionary rules. They do not eat palm tops (yúyu), for otherwise the maize would grow very small, nor the larva túku, for then the new plants would rot away, the túku making the palm tops where it lives rot. Similarly they abstain from eating the harmful rodents, the agouti and the squirrel. Nor do they eat a large fish called hándya which has very sharp teeth, for then some rodents will eat the maize. When a Canelos Indian has been out hunting and returns home with some birds, he takes care

not to pluck the birds in the forest or on the way, but takes them home feathers and all. The men themselves cannot pluck them; this is done by the women or the children of the house. If the man himself plucked the birds, the leaves of the maize plant would fall asunder like the plumes of the bird, and the plantation be spoiled. With regard to a sort of woodpecker, called chili, it is considered necessary that it should be plucked in the maize plantation itself, where the feathers are then left. When afterwards the man who has sown the maize and caught the bird happens to come to the plantation and see the feathers, he immediately takes the precaution of blackening his hands with carbon and, moreover, makes cutting movements all around them with a knife. In his having seen the feathers it may seem as if he had himself plucked the bird, and the precaution mentioned will counteract the evil consequences arising from this.

Even certain plants that do not serve as food, but are cultivated for other purposes, require that the person who has planted them should, before or afterwards, observe certain rules with regard to his mode of life.

When among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians the men plant the varvasco, they afterwards abstain from eating the intestines and blood of animals. They are also forbidden to eat the small fish called sachma; nor do they drink strong drinks like brandy, guayusa, and the narcotic natéma (aya huasca). They cannot touch the blood of the

agouti nor skin that animal or take out the intestines. Roasted plantain they do not eat; in that case the varvasco will dry up. The intestines of animals--also parts like the lungs, the heart, the liver--they cannot eat because the plant would rot away. Brandy, guayusa, and natéma they cannot drink, because these strong drinks would have harmful effects upon the plant. [142]

These rules must be observed until the varvasco is half-grown. After the Indians have put the shoot in the earth they blow chewed tobacco and strew mashed Indian pepper upon the plant, which will have the effect of making the varvasco poison strong.

When the Jibaro men have to plant the narcotic plants natéma and maikoa, they abstain for some days previously from cohabiting with their wives. When engaged in the planting work they must be 'chaste as youths', otherwise the plant will soon dry up. This custom is, at all events, observed by some Jibaros. Others, on the other hand, have asserted to me that they do not observe particular precautionary rules in connection with such planting.

When the Indian women have planted the gourd tree, they afterwards strike themselves with the hands on the breasts, in the belief that thus the fruit of the gourd tree will grow large like the breasts of the women. When the tree has grown big, the Canelos women are in the habit of hanging the shells of the forest snail (called chúru) upon its branches, in order that it shall bear large and abundant fruit."

2: Stirling--107 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 262, 462

"Although the Jivaros receive a considerable part of their subsistence from the products of the chase and from fishing operations, they might safely be termed a truly agricultural people. Maintenance of the gardens is almost solely the duty of the women. The only portion of the labor of preparing and maintaining a garden clearing which is done by the men consists in the felling of trees in making the original clearing. The planting, care, and harvesting of the crops is all women's work.

Sweet manioc, taken in the form of nijimanche, constitutes the most important single food item. The boiled fruit of the chonta palm is likewise used to form a drink prepared in the same manner as nijimanche. To a lesser degree, maize, sweetpotatoes, sugar cane, squash, and peanuts are raised. As a general rule, a good-sized garden clearing surrounds the jivaría itself, but frequently additional fields are maintained which are a mile or more distant. Bananas, plantains, and papayas are grown extensively, but require no care other than planting."

2: Stirling--107[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 412, 482, 462

"The ground is not tilled in any fashioned. The only agricultural implements are a digging stick and a planting stick; frequently, the same implement serving both purposes. A typical digging stick is made of hard chonta palm, is about 4 feet in length, 1 1/2 inches in diameter, and is flattened at one end (pl. 23, a). The manioc is planted by taking small shoots from growing plants and placing the stems in shallow holes punched in the ground with the digging stick. The earth is then packed around the stem with the fingers and the plant requires no further care, the moist ground and the more or less continual rains doing the rest. The roots of the manioc are usually harvested when about a foot in length. If permitted to grow to a much larger size the tubers become coarse and woody. In harvesting manioc, which is one of the principal routine duties of the women, the tubers are excavated by means of the digging sticks, placed in the carrying baskets and borne by means of a head strap from the gardens to the house. This is no inconsiderable task, especially where the fields are at a distance over steep mountain trails from the jivaría (pl. 23, b)."

2: Stirling--108 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252, 241

"Bananas and plantains, as is customary in the region of the eastern Andes, are seldom permitted to ripen. When the fruit is mature the bunches are picked. The bananas or plantains are first peeled and then either boiled while green or roasted in the coals of the fire. The Indians prefer it in this mealy and tasteless fashion rather than in the form of ripened fruit."

2: Stirling--108 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241

"The combination of fertile soil, warm and abundant rainfall, and mild temperature causes the various agricultural products to grow rapidly and luxuriantly. No finer bananas or plantains are to be seen anywhere in the world."

4: Up de Graff--202-203 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 221, 361, 241

"The Antipas, then, are semi-nomadic. The year for them is divided into three parts, not corresponding to the seasons as we know them, but to the capacity of the crops which they plant for keeping them alive; that is to say, they have three distinct homes, some ten or twenty miles apart, each with its own clearing (chacra in Inca), between which they divide their time. At each homestead they plant fresh crops before leaving for the next, living the while on the produce they find waiting for them on arrival, the result of the last sowing. Each crop takes about eight months to mature, on an average. The exception, of course, is the banana-plant, which bears fruit for many years; the old plant dies each year, after bearing one bunch of fruit, but automatically there spring [203] up round the roots fresh shoots which bear the next year.

Living as they do well to the west of the area which is annually inundated, and consequently being free from dependance on the seasons, they can sow at any time of the year, with the certainty of reaping at the end of the unvarying number of months which are needed in order that the crop may ripen. Yuca, for instance, is ready in six months; Indian corn in three months; yams (a potato which grows three to four feet in length and fifty pounds in weight) in a year; sweet potatoes, peanuts, and tobacco are also cultivated in large quantities."

4: Up de Graff--203-204 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 412

"If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.

The first step in making a chacra is to remove the undergrowth; the soft stems are cut with hard-wood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works for days and weeks, until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable net[204]work of creepers among the upper branches. With a rending crash, a hole in the roof of the forest is made, and the sunlight pours in. At the same time the Indians pour out, leaping for their lives not only from the falling trees, but from the myriads of ants, bees, wasps, hornets, scorpions and centipedes which have been aroused. Worst of all is the iuturi (Inca), a dark red ant an inch and a half in length, which stings with its tail the moment it touches flesh, unlike any other poisonous

insect or snake in those woods; it does not wait to be disturbed but attacks of its own accord. I have even seen one make its way along the canoe rope, which was purposely passed under the water for a distance of two or three feet as a protection against crawling things. It must have been immersed for a full minute.

After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers."

5: Reyes and Teran--103-104 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 241

"Among the cultivated plants the following are outstanding: sugar cane, the plátano [GCB: plantain, or banana, tree and fruit], the yuca [GCB: yuca or cassava plant?] which are easily the basic item in the diet of the natives; the pelma, whose bulb has some similarity to the potato; the camote [GCB: sweet potato], the café [GCB: coffee tree]; the achiote [GCB: arnotto tree]; the tobacco plant, the algodón [GCB: cotton plant]; the arroz [rice] plant; the maíz plant [GCB: maize or Indian corn]; the papaya, the piña [GCB: pineapple]; the guaba [guava]; the chontaruro; the guayaba [GCB: fruit of the guava tree]; the orange; and many other fruit trees which yield rapid and abundant crops. Water, light and warmth, the decisive factors [104] in the development of plants, are the patrimony of the Oriente lands. To these factors is due the vigor with which they increase and multiply. Unfortunately, the isolation of these vast regions prevent these cultivated plants from being useful for any more than local consumption."

12: Rivet--590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 241

In the cultivated land which surrounds the house, there are a great many chontaruru plants (Guilielma speciosa), the fruits of which, with its yellow, nutritive, and tasty pulp, weighs 4,500 to 7,000 gr., an abundance of banana plants and manioc (Manihot aipi), sweet potatoes (Convolvulus batatas), and often maize and cotton.

18: Hermessen--443 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 241

"Yuca of the bitter variety (Manihot utilissima), maize (Zea mais), plantains (Musa paradisica), and ground-nuts (Arachis hypogaea) were cultivated for food, each house having its own garden plot in the same clearing, as well as a larger plantation some way off."

20: Dyott--181-182 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 132, 241

"At the first streak of dawn, Napi took his departure. There was no elaborate leave-taking. Conversation simply reached a crescendo, and after the climax, the final word, 'pumata' was spoken in subdued tones. With this brief farewell the visitor disappeared down the pathway and the jungle swallowed him up.

After breakfast, Johnston and myself joined the ladies on their daily excursion to the family banana patch, as there was not much chance of hunting when issues of life and death were at stake. Kuashu was the only man to accompany us, the others remaining at home engrossed in their warlike preparations.

It was a very dreary morning. Rain threatened any moment and the water-logged clouds dragged themselves wearily over the tree-tops. Within ten minutes after starting, we found ourselves on the edge of a substantial clearing, half of which was planted with yuca and banana, the remain- [182] ing portion being barren. It was not even ready for planting, as the trees had only recently been felled. Some of the clearing had received a preliminary burning off, but most of the wood was still green. Huge trunks lay prostrate on the ground, and as we clambered over them Johnston remarked that the word 'clearing' was very inappropriate for a place so littered with obstructions."

20: Dyott--182 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

"The felling of trees and other work connected with the making of clearings, falls on the shoulders of the men and is one of their most arduous duties. Wherever the forest growth is small and stunted, the ground is obviously of poor quality for agricultural use. On the other hand, wherever the soil is rich and deep, the trees are of great size and their removal is no easy business. The usual procedure is to cut down all the underbrush around the roots of the largest trees first, and when this has all dried out, to set fire to it. It is then easier to tackle the big fellows. The real giants are generally ringed about their base, so that they die and are more easily handled afterwards. A second burning gets rid of a lot more rubbish, but it will be some time before the ground is reasonably clear. Nothing is carted away. What won't burn is allowed to rot where it falls. So with the combined effort of time, fire and rough axes, the land eventually becomes suitable for cultivation. The circumference of many a tree is so great that it is beyond such primitive methods of handling. The trunk will therefore be cut off forty feet above the ground, or in many cases, left standing where it is, a gaunt skeleton of spreading branches."

"While we were rummaging about the clearing, the women were busy cutting down a solitary bunch of bananas. They made a lot of work out of so simple a task, just as Kuashu did over chopping up a few logs. A banana tree produces but a single bunch of fruit. When that has been cut, no further bunches appear, and the stem can be cut away. It is soon replaced by several other shoots or suckers that have sprung up about its base. In this way, the plant spreads, and from a single shoot stuck in the ground at the outset a small forest of banana stems will eventually sprout. What with rotting tree-trunks lying on the ground and the constant lopping-off of banana stalks as the fruit reaches maturity, an Indian plantation does not present a very orderly appearance. To add to the confusion, many trees get blown over by the wind, especially if laden with a heavy bunch of fruit.

Bananas are never left on the tree to get ripe. They mature better if cut green and hung up in a house. The sight of ripe plantains is unusual. There are so many hungry mouths waiting to be fed that everything is consumed as soon as it is picked, and it never gets a chance even to turn yellow. My preference was always for the ripe fruit. In the green state, I found plantains stodgy and tasteless, although I believe if you eat them long enough, you will always end up by eating them green. Probably the slight sweetness of the mature fruit palls on one after a time, but I never reached that stage myself. The banana or plantain of the Indian must not be confused with the [184] sweet fruit varieties we are accustomed to see on sale in our own country. The latter, if

cooked, would be too sickly for words; but the plantain, even when ripe, is very tasteless, and the process of cooking seems to bring out the flavour much as it does that of a sweet potato."

20: Dyott--184-185 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 241

"It was amusing to watch these Indian women at work. They talked like magpies, continually stopping to relate some story or other. When the bunch of bananas had been collected, they moved off to the yuca patch and proceeded to pull off a number of selected plants by the roots, having [185] first of all cut off the branches. The roots did not lie very deep in the soil and it was surprising to see how many of these carrot-like vegetables could be obtained from a single bush. Some individual specimens measured two feet long and eight inches in diameter, but the majority averaged ten inches by three. The yuca is one of the chief sources of food amongst the Indians. Yucas grow very much like potatoes and have to be eaten within a day or two, otherwise they go hard and won't cook properly.

When a sufficient quantity of roots had been collected by the women, they were put into wicker baskets ready to carry home. The area from which the roots had been dug was then smoothed over and stalks from the original plant stuck back again into the ground. Eight months later, each of these would again produce roots of sufficient size to harvest."

25: Vigna--39 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 241

A special Principle, similar to a goddess, presides over the sowing. They direct songs to her in order to propitiate her.

26: Brüning--66 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 241, 462

Vegetarian foodstuffs are no less numerous than animal foods. We have to distinguish between cultivated and wild-growing plants. The former include the yucca (máma, non-poisonous Manihot), the banana (pandáp), the ground-nut (dúse), and perhaps the sweet potato: camote, (íntši).

As a rule, the fields are in the middle of the forest. Here the man cuts the trees in order to make a clearing. Today he uses bartered steel axes, made in U.S.A. Not so long ago they are said to have used stone axes. In spite of my inquiries I have not been able to see one of these. The rest of the work--the burning of the branches (they leave the burned trunks in the fields), sowing, and harvesting--is done by the women.

The foremost cultivated plant is the yucca (máma). It is the basis for the masato (term used by the whites), the Indian beverage, called nijamántši in the Aguaruna language.

28: Tessman--351 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241

Banana--maxétši. They have only the non-poisonous type of manihot (see Glossary). White yam is called kŏngĕ by the Aguarunas and kingii by the Atschual Indians. Pale violet yam is kaímpi. Groundnut: njósi. Makabo =sangu (according to Karsten). Sweet potatoes: íntsi. Pumpkin: yui (according to Karsten). Guilelma-palm: ui.

28: Tessman--351 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241

Holes are made and bulbs are harvested with the dibble: wẽi (shingi according to Karsten.)

28: Tessman--351 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

Karsten is our authority (in his Contributions, pp.1 ff.) for the following information: Indian corn, Plantain, and Guilelma palms are planted by the men; the other useful plants by the women. This division of labor is related to the Chiwaro belief that Indian corn, Plante, and Guilelma have masculine souls, while the other useful plants are endowed with feminine souls. About the Nüngi, i. e., the good demon of the earth, see Part III. Useful plants are planted in a ceremonial manner, and in this connection they use a great deal of fertility magic. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 5) the Chiwaros also plant beans (mika).

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant; labialized when preceding ë; palatized when following ë or i plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following ë or i plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[2] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph. 121

[3] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[4] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[5] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 774 [194]

[6] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[7] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [876]

[8] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. [787]

[9] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. [778]

[10] There is also a rare super-arutam, *amasag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [726]

[11] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 726

[12] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near-shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. 774 [191] [892]

[13] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muisha*. 774

[14] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [795]

[15] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 774 775 114

[16] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens. 775 [241]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

season,[1] and a diversified crop inventory all contributes to 24
making a continual supply of agricultural products possible throughout the year.

Crops grown for their tubers or corms include, besides sweet manioc, two varieties of sweet potato, *papa china* (from Spanish) [taro?], and three other members of the Araceae family (*saŋu*, *tuka*, *wanĉup*), the carrot-like *maya* (arracacha?), and peanuts. Of these, manioc is grown in by far the largest quantity, and is the chief source of starch. The most important non-tuberous food plants are plantains and "white" maize. Other crops grown in relatively small quantities are squash, red peppers, tomatoes, onions, the "gold" banana (*guineo de oro* in Spanish), pineapple, papaya, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton. *Tsapaŋ* (for heavy [222]
cordage), various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs, especially *Banisteriopsis* species and *Datura arborea*, are both cultivated in the garden and collected wild in the forest.

Gardens are abandoned after three plantings of manioc, in 241
other words, after about three to five years, because of the growing amount of labor required to clear the ever increasing numbers of weeds. New garden clearings are made nearby in virgin timber except when the actual household is being moved, in which case the gardens are planted at the new house location. This practice of shifting gardens, the so-called "slash-and-burn" or swidden technique, is made possible by the plentiful supply of land. The Jívaro recognize this method, despite the necessity of making new clearings, as involving less effort than attempting to cope with the weeds at the old site.

If a man clears the forest without the aid of neighbors, he 241
tends to make small clearings at different times, while the 595
rarer communal effort results in one large clearing. Whether [476]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
585 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its
[554] number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

may invite his neighbors to help him make a clearing, but this practice is infrequent. 241 476

All the above crops, except maize, are planted together in the same cleared plot. Manioc plants, which are the largest in the garden, are spaced slightly less than two yards apart throughout, with the smaller plants between them. A line of plantain and banana crees separates the garden from the forest. 244 [243] 241

Crop planting is done with two aboriginal tools and the machete. The former are a sharp-pointed planting stick thrust into the soil to make seed holes, and a flat-bladed palm wood digging stick used as a lever to excavate holes for planting and digging up manioc and other tubers and corms. The machete also functions as an excavating tool in planting. 412

Times of planting and harvesting overlap and thereby assure a constant reaping of agricultural staples. Sweet potato, *papa china*, and Araceae species are planted at any time of the year. Sweet potato and *papa china* mature in about six months, while the Araceae tubers and the carrot-like *maya* require a year. Plantain and banana are planted during a full moon at any time of the year, and are harvested twelve to fifteen months later. "White" maize and peanuts are usually sown semiannually at the blooming of the *hutsi* flower, maize maturing in seven months, the other crop in five. 241 244 [243]

The most important crop, sweet manioc, is planted and harvested daily in the same act. As the women dig up the manioc tubers, they place several cuttings from the same plant's stalk in the old hole and partially cover them with earth. Manioc matures in ten to twelve months, but the actual harvesting can, if desired, be delayed as much as an additional year. This continual replanting of the manioc crop on a year-round basis, as the individual plants are dug up, is an important factor in the reliability of Jívaro crop production. Thus the Jívaro, in a real sense, "store" much of [462] 241

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 their food in a living state in the ground and only need to dig it up, as desired, to supply food and to make the large quantities of manioc beer which constitute a basic part of their diet.

273 The manioc beer (*nihamanchi*) is prepared by first peeling and washing the tubers in the stream near the garden. Then the water and manioc are brought to the house, where the tubers are cut up and placed in a pot to boil (see Plates 4, 5 and 10). When the manioc has become soft, the pot is removed from the fire and allowed to cool. The manioc is then mashed and stirred to a soft consistency with the aid of a special wooden paddle (see Plate 6). While the woman stirs the mash, she chews handfuls and spits them back into the pot, a process which may take half an hour or longer. The mastication of the mash is considered by the Jívaro to be essential to the proper and rapid fermentation of the brew, and their view seems to be supported by Western physicians who have informally voiced the opinion that the enzymes in the saliva, as well as the bacteria in the mouth, probably hasten the fermentation process.

After the mash has been prepared, it is transferred to a beer storage jar and left to ferment. Although the fermentation takes place rapidly, the beer is usually too much in demand to be allowed to sit very long. In being served, the beer is strained through a tree-gourd sieve to remove manioc fibers, and about one part of water is added to two parts of beer. The resultant liquid tastes somewhat like a pleasingly alcoholic buttermilk and is most refreshing. The Jívaro consider it to be far superior to plain water, which they drink only in emergencies such as when their beer canteens run dry while they are out hunting. Male informants, in addition, expressed the opinion that the beer is at its best if it has been chewed by a pretty girl rather than by an old woman. Beer is also made, in a slightly different fashion (see Plate 7), sea-

[271]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat. 273 462 512 594

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a copal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar: 273 462 512 313

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc [241]

34:Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
594 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A fam-
ily without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much
of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs
against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end
of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually
results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to
defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking in-
dicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for
dog, *wirui*, is the same term used to designate the feared
and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden,
and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[799] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives ob-
serves a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the birth
to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is
nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in
adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its
owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic
Datura to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
[459] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously. [235] [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *apalawa* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [324]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation 531
jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, sweeping about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, 415
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store [273]
the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [296]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [291]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273] [515]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less fre- 291
quently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special 292
wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained ma- 574
chine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from 291
bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and 287
is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuṇui

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a 776
system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named 241
Nuṇui. Whether *Nuṇui* is best viewed as a class of crop fairies 824
or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[2] On the one hand, the Jivaro usually speak of *Nuṇui* in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, *Nuṇui* will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuṇui, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract *Nuṇui* to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based [782]
upon a knowledge of *Nuṇui*'s two main demands from the Jivaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that *Nuṇui*, who is about three feet high [787]
very fat, and dressed in a black *tawaṉ*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[787]

likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

[782]
[782]

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for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the ayusí [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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The introduction of machetes and steel axes has made woodworking and tree felling more efficient and rapid. The formerly tedious work of felling trees for garden clearings with the aboriginal stone axes has been described by Up de Graff for the Jivaroan "Antipas" (a neighborhood of the Aguaruna or Huambisa) among whom he resided in the late nineteenth century:

> If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to a pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.
>
> The first step in making a *chacra* [Spanish: garden] is to remove the undergrowth; the soft stems are cut with hardwood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works *for days and weeks* [emphasis supplied], until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable network of creepers among the upper branches . . .
>
> After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[8]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[9] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1915. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

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There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

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[412]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 • 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend 461 in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent 517 on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the 439 adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western [592] and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading part- [512] nerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his [412] time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain [286] skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become [291] shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon [281] after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple com- [224] monly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this 591 change are not clear except that some informants said that in- [851] laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the [578] old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary [583] matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's [411] father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 turn of the century, constituted a major technological change 411 in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of [721] steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The [439] new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
585 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its
[554] number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
• [243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

may invite his neighbors to help him make a clearing, but this practice is infrequent. 241 476

All the above crops, except maize, are planted together in the same cleared plot. Manioc plants, which are the largest in the garden, are spaced slightly less than two yards apart throughout, with the smaller plants between them. A line of plantain and banana trees separates the garden from the forest. 244 [243]

Crop planting is done with two aboriginal tools and the machete. The former are a sharp-pointed planting stick thrust into the soil to make seed holes, and a flat-bladed palm wood digging stick used as a lever to excavate holes for planting and digging up manioc and other tubers and corms. The machete also functions as an excavating tool in planting. 241 412

Times of planting and harvesting overlap and thereby assure a constant reaping of agricultural staples. Sweet potato, *papa china*, and Araceae species are planted at any time of the year. Sweet potato and *papa china* mature in about six months, while the Araceae tubers and the carrot-like *maya* require a year. Plantain and banana are planted during a full moon at any time of the year, and are harvested twelve to fifteen months later. "White" maize and peanuts are usually sown semiannually at the blooming of the *hatsi* flower, maize maturing in seven months, the other crop in five. 241 244 [243]

The most important crop, sweet manioc, is planted and harvested daily in the same act. As the women dig up the manioc tubers, they place several cuttings from the same plant's stalk in the old hole and partially cover them with earth. Manioc matures in ten to twelve months, but the actual harvesting can, if desired, be delayed as much as an additional year. This continual replanting of the manioc crop on a year-round basis, as the individual plants are dug up, is an important factor in the reliability of Jívaro crop production. Thus the Jívaro, in a real sense, "store" much of [462] 241

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 231
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [252]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [302]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; 177
and the *kayenu mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [352]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

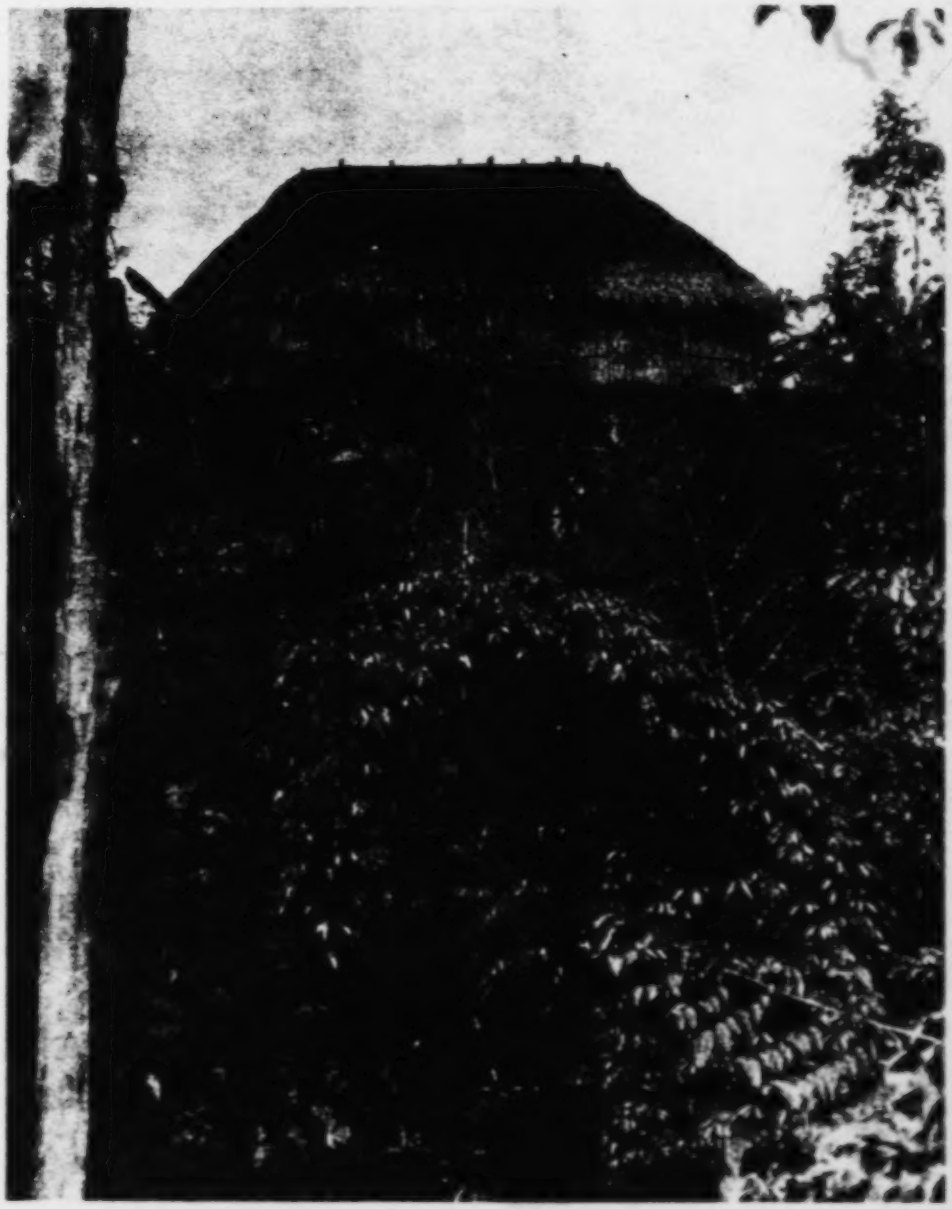
321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [244] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*tarachi*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



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2. Side view of a Jívaro house and its surrounding garden (upper Río Yuquipa region, 1956–57).

/p. 90-B/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

765
When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers 727
return to their separate homes and begin to make prepara- 796
tions for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will
host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food 244
are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally 574
has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to
plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these [231]
two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no
sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing
and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as
for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting.
Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a [342]
new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often
two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men 727
who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long 796
distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or
ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic 805
system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able 824
to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests 765
at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might
be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each 224
hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same 574
stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for
the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully
ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration.
The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk
to those invited guests living at some distance so that they,
too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a 574
month later, by the third feast (*napiy*). This is the largest of 796
all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days.
He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the 765
[727]

13: Rivet--243-244 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 247, 535

There is also in Gualaquiza a flower feast, in which the Indians dance around one of the house-posts (on the men's side) ornamented with foliage; and Father Pozzi mentioned a feast, also with dancing, on the day when an Indian puts on for the first time the girdle made of the hair of enemies killed by his own hand (1).

These celebrations are extraordinarily noisy; the assistants shout and sing at the top of their voices, the frightened dogs bark, the tunduli resounds continuously, the sound of the drums, the flutes and the trumpets mingle in a cacophony unbearable to the ear of a European. The dance does not stop an instant; fatigued dancers are immediately replaced by others. The dance, according to an Ecuadorian who has been present at the feast of the flowers in Gualaquiza, consists of the following: sometimes men and women holding hands form around the decorated post a big circle which increases or decreases according to the rhythm of the music; sometimes a couple detaches itself and dances, but without interweaving: the man takes three steps forward and three back, while the woman facing him jumps up and down [244] with her feet together, jingling? rattling the maco which she wears on the shin. These chorographic motions are completely devoid of grace. This description proves that among the tribes of Gualaquiza, contrary to the rule, the two sexes take part in dancing. At Macas, I have already said that this happens only in the marriage ceremony.

1. Luigi Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell'Equatore. Bollettino della Societa geografica italiana. Rome, 15 vol., 1878, p. 97-102.

26: Brüning--58 [7] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286, 248

For their own home production of clothing the Indians cultivate a small amount of cotton (ubúti), which they themselves spin and weave.

/331 cont./

29/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

299 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
291 are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
316 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
326 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
631 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which,
502 seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
531 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
413 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
[326] sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
306 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
[574] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[306] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small
[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucum) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

2: Stirling--108 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 249

"In addition to these staple food plants, other plants for various purposes are raised in the clearing about the houses. Among these might be listed cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, achiote, and barbasco shrubs."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[18] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1901, but it likewise was soon terminated.[19]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[20] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The new universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

4: Up de Graff--205 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 251, 263

"The meat-racks of which we have spoken are built to some four feet in height and placed over the fires, keeping the fish and meat outside the radius of the flames, and allowing it to be cured in the smoke. The Antipas have no salt."

4: Up de Graff--219 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
251

"A woman stretches out her hand and selects a piece of yuca from the pot. She puts it in her mouth and chews it to a pulp resembling mashed potatoes; satisfied that it has reached the desired state, she deposits it on the ever-growing pile of the same pulp, which stands within reach of all on banana leaves. This is the giamanchi, the staff of life . (Preserbed with the human saliva, it will last for six months if stored in crocks and buried in the ground against contact with light or air. When the time comes for it to be consumed, or in other words, when the proper amount of fermentation has taken place, it is mixed with water in a gourd until it looks and tasted like buttermilk. The whole idea is to our modern minds repulsive, but my own experiments have proved that there is no other way (in the woods) of preserving arrowroot. It is a highly sustaining starchy tuber, containing 80 per cent. starch as against the potato's 20 per cent. Cooked when fresh, it is light and fluffy--a delicious vegetable dish."

"Finding plenty of hog-tracks in the vicinity, we de[233]cided to hunt them down and cure their meat against the day when we should be setting off up-stream once more. The meat of these hogs or peccariesi seems to preserve its flavour, despite the daily smoking to which it mustbe subjected to protect it from insects, better than any other meat to be found in the forest. Of this game there are two species, the huangana and the sajina (both Inca); the former is more the shape of a domestic pig than anything else, is black, and weighs about a hundred pounds; it carries a musk-sack on the middle of the back, the use of which is somewhat obscure to me; perhaps it may be a form of protection against insects; anyway, a man can track them through the woods by scent as easily as a hound folows a hare, so powerful is the smell they leave behind them on every object against which they rub. It is armed with a pair of fine tusks set in the lower jaw, which it uses both to dig up roots, and to rip the entrails out of its antagonists, the jaguars. The later are afraid of them, but occasionally follow a herd in the hopes of being able to grab a young hog and make off with it. Not always do they succeed, and when caught their fate is sealed. They are torn to pieces by the infuriated beasts and devoured, head, tail skin and feet. The huangana will eat snakes, lizards, and anything else that he can find. The herd can be smelt a full mile away if the wind is set right, and long before one is found it will be heard rooting and snuffling in the ground, cracking nuts, one animal fighting another for the tidbits which the monkeys have dropped. The herd often numbers two hundred or more and will attack on sight. To approach

these beasts is easy, for they are too busily occupied in searching for food; their sight and scent are not highly developed, no doubt because they have never had to fear anything that walks in the woods. If you are stalking these animals you will be wise to select [234] your tree before you cover the last fifty yards (and see that the tree contains no ants' nor hornets' nests!) When the nearest huangana sees you, he will utter his war-cry--an ominous rattling of his tusks--which is taken up by the whole herd. A noise is produced which is at the same time fearful and wonderful. It is like a thousand pairs of castanets. It echoes and re-echoes round the woods until it seems to come from every tree. With what terrific speed the lower jaws of this animal must vibrate to give out such a volume of sound may well be imagined.

Select your tree, then, and stand ready to jump as soon as you have fired your shots. The herd will start milling round looking for something to charge, until it sees your smoke, or a movement of your body. Then jump! And may the branch bear your weight, or you will shoot no more huanganas!

The herd, usually sweeps on under the tree and leaves the hunter to descend in peace, pick up the kill, and make his way back to camp. In any event you will be left in peace, if you are not located by sight or scent, for the hogs will go tearing off in one great avalanche, charging some imaginary enemy, and will not pull up until they have covered four or five miles and feel like settling down to continue their feed."

26: Brüning--65 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 224, 251

The Indians frequently go on hunting expeditions in regions that have plenty of wild life. They bring the entire household (men, women, children, dogs, and especially large containers with masato) into a canoe and paddle to the hunting area. These hunting expeditions sometimes last for weeks and frequently even for months. The meat which they obtain is soon made into a durable preserve; part of the meat, however, is eaten right away. To smoke the meat, the natives build on four low posts a grill (size: one square meter) of closely placed bamboo sticks. The meat is placed upon the grill. On top the grill is covered with a roof of palm leaves. A fire is made under the grill, and the natives see to it that there is more smoke than open flames. In this manner the meat is dried and smoked at the same time. The Indians call this apparatus pungámo. Our crewmen frequently built these pungámos close to our camping sites whenever the hunt had yielded more than we needed at the moment. Over the roof the Indians dried their itipes, if they had gotten wet.

When the Indians return from such a hunting expedition, they invite all the neighbors to a big festival. On these occasions, the rubber collectors told us, they eat up in a few days what they had hunted in many a month.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
• [251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.
[296]

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
439 chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[177] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *tsawa-*
[273] *mani*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[595] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when
a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to
expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
• [251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his
wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during
the next few days does much hunting until he has brought
home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained
first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high
[278] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently,
and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who
are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can
simply occur when another family happens to drop by on
an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respec-
[235] table beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party
is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since
the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has
survived *makahiri*.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be
brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The women hops
up and down, her shell belt sinking the rhythm, while her
male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[395] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are
lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
593 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
535
527

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the host
[829] [226] [251] [727] declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the manioc which are to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special rite for this role,
726 beyond the usual meal. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[707] [789] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigorous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
707 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from ambushes by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

1: Karsten--115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 252, 462 (1928-29)

"The Indians prepare their food either by boiling it in a clay pot or roasting it at the fire. The latter method is resorted to when the Indians are in camp, hunting, fishing, or working, and it is the only way of preparing food which is considered proper for a man. Boiling the food at home is exclusively a woman's business, the only things cooked by the men at home being the tobacco water and the weisa solution (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), the natema, and certain other magical medicines which according to their ritual can only be prepared by a man."

l: Karsten--115-116 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 252 (1928-29)

"The manioc is the most highly appreciated food, and it is difficult to see how the present-day Indian could do without this very nourishing root. They prepare the manioc either by boiling it in water or roasting it at the fire, the former method being by far the commonest. They also utilize the leaves of the manioc plant which are boiled in water, generally together with the leaves of another cultivated plant called sańgu. This kind of dish is known under the name nańaka. Next to manioc in importance is the plantain of which there are many varieties, one being the sweet banana which is eaten raw. The kind of plantain which is most appreciated by the Indians is generally eaten green, being either boiled in water in the same way as the manioc, or roasted at the fire or in the ashes. Prepared in the latter way the plantain serves as bread and its taste somewhat reminds one of bread. Besides this 'green plantain', which is eaten in ordinary life, the Indians also eat 'ripe plantain' (tsańa, tsamaḱma) either raw, boiled in water, or roasted. 'Ripe plantain' is considered indispensable at the great feasts, and one of the preparations for such a feast is that some bundles of [116] plantain are taken into the house and hung up at the roof about two weeks previously in order that they may have time to ripen.

The earth-nut is frequently eaten raw, but the Indians prepare a dish of roasted and pounded earth-nuts called michaka which is much appreciated. --Sweet potatoes, beans, and other cultivated vegetables are prepared by cooking in the same way as the manioc.

1: Karsten--115-116 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 252 (1928-29)

The only tree producing edible fruit cultivated by the Jibaros is the chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui by the Jibaros. Its extremely nourishing fruit ripens in February and March, and the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians appreciate it to such an extent that they reckon the beginning of the year from the ripening of the fruit of the chontaruru palm. This red apple-like fruit cannot be eaten raw and is always boiled in water, but although it certainly makes a most important and tasty food the Indians still more appreciate the fermented drink, the chontaruru-beer, which they prepare from it.

The virgin-forests of Western Amazonas produce very few edible fruits and the vegetable food they offer the natives, apart from the plants cultivated, is therefore insignificant. The most important is the palm cabbage which really plays a definite part in the economic life of the Indians. It is obtained either from the top of the young tarapoto palm, called tingimi by the Jibaros, or from the top of another palm called ihu. The palm cabbage is rich in oil, and when boiled in a little water yields a very tasty and nourishing soup; but it can also be eaten raw. During their wanderings in the forest the natives frequently have recourse to this vegetable food, so easily obtained, especially when other stores of food have been exhausted, and on certain occasions, when the Indian has to diet and to abstain from other kinds of food, he is allowed to eat ihu or tingimi."

1; Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day the important action takes place which the Jibaros call Cuichi achiktahei matinyu, i.e. 'the slaughter of the swine'.

According to the ritual of the feast, the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine takes place during the night preceding the last day of the feast, or more strictly speaking shortly after midnight, 'when the cocks crow for the first time,' and the new day is supposed to begin. This hour is generally about 1 o'clock in the morning. Since it is, however, difficult both to slaughter a number of swine and to cook their flesh within a short time, the matter is mostly practically arranged so that the slaughtering of the animals takes place on the afternoon of the day before, whereas the cooking of the flesh is done at midnight. That the flesh should be cooked at midnight is considered absolutely necessary, for only in this case will the purpose of the whole slaughtering ceremony, the plentiful increase of the swine for the future, be attained. When the flesh of the animals killed is cooked early in the morning, at the first beginning of the new day, this will have as its consequence that henceforward there will be plenty of swine's flesh in the house of the slayer. The same holds good of the hens, which are likewise slaughtered and cooked during the first hours of the new day; but they naturally are of less importance than the swine.

As has been mentioned before, the swine to be slaughtered at a feast have been procured long before, when the first preparations for the feast began; and they are bred and fed with special care. The victor himself has supervised the rearing of these animals,

giving the proper women instructions which he himself has received directly from the wakáni, the spirit of the killed enemy materialized in the tsantsa, over whom he has acquired complete domination. The number of the swine to be slaughtered at a feast is not exactly fixed in the beginning. Generally a few [358] more are procured and bred than are supposed to be needed for the purpose. Moreover, for the propagation of the race it is necessary that at least a couple should be left alive. When the time for the great feast is approaching, the victor himself decides which of the swine are to be slaughtered and in what order it is to be done. Even respecting these details he receives advice directly from the wakáni, when, with the tsantsa hanging round his neck, he goes out into the swine yard and 'points out' the animals (kuchi anéikama). These swine having been slaughtered in due order and their flesh consumed at the feast, the few remaining ones will increase in number all the more. This is the main idea which the Jibaros connect with the ceremonial slaughter of domestic animals at their feasts.

For a feast at which I was present 11 or 12 swine had been bred, of which 9 were slaughtered, 2 during the first day of the feast and 7 on the day of the ceremonial slaughter proper.

According to the ritual, the slaughtering should be done by some of the invited guests specially selected for this purpose. The host or his household must not touch them on

any account, for then the object of the whole ceremony would be missed, inasmuch as the remaining swine would not increase. The slaughter takes place outside the house, but the animals are not all killed on the same spot but one here and another there, close to the different walls of the house. In this way the impression is produced that the swine killed and eaten at the feast are very numerous, and the effect of this will be that they will really be numerous in future.

The animals, according to an old Jibaro custom, are killed by strangulation, without the shedding of blood. A rope twisted of lianas is tied round the neck of the swine, and a strong stick is stuck under it, the strangulation being brought by about twisting it. As the animals are thus killed they are carried into the house, where some pots with hot water stand ready. The skin is scalded with the hot water, and the hair is scraped off, whereupon the stomach is opened and the flesh cut in the ordinary way.

Of the flesh the priest and priestess receive each one leg as a part of the payment for their services at the feast. The rest of it, with the exception of the heads and the bones, is kept on special shelves until midnight, when it is cooked. The head and the bones, again, are roasted and kept until the day of the departure of the guests, being then divided among them.

When darkness sets in the dance Hantsēmáta, as usual, commences [359] and is continued, with two intervals, until dawn. The first of these intervals occurs at about

10 o'clock in the evening, when the distilled manioc-wine is made definitely ready. The clay pot containing the roasted and masticated manioc substance which, during the first day of the feast, had been arranged for the distillation of the drink is moved forward and placed on the ground. The priest, proceeding with the utmost care, removes the kachini and apai leaves with which the masticated substance had been covered. Then he removes the manioc substance itself with the same care, laying it in another vessel. Finally, in the same way, he removes the apai leaves which had been laid on the shuya sticks collected in the pot, as well as the shuya sticks themselves, which together with the leaves are laid on a special large leaf. The dark-brown essence which has remained in the bottom of the pot is the manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki). The priest asks for another smaller clay pot and for a gourd, which are given him by the women. Then he pours the whole quantity of wine into the new clay vessel, and also a little into the gourd. The gourd is then placed over the mouth of the clay pot so that is [sic] covers it, and the gourd is covered with leaves. The whole thing is thereafter kept in a special place until the following morning, when the drink will be consumed.

This work being finished, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued until about 1 o'clock in the morning, when the cocks are heard crowing, and the host declares it to be the right time to cook the flesh of the swine slaughtered. Various fires have previously been

kindled in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed upon them, and the flesh is divided up among the pots. At the same time a number of hens are killed by wringing their necks; these are plucked and prepared on the spot, their flesh being cooked in special pots. While the cooking goes on the Indians dance the Huatecuata with more vigour than usual, all men and women taking part in it. After the flesh is boiled the pots are removed from the fires, put aside, and kept until morning. It is not until then that the flesh cooked can be eaten, namely, at the common banquet following the last ceremony of the feast, the dressing of the victor.

The dance, as usual, is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the customary bath in the river."

2: Stirling--91 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252, 574

"The women cook in the houses by placing the pots over one of the several fires, the pots generally resting on the ends of the burning logs. The women and girls when in the house constantly chew manioc which they spit in large juicy mouthfuls into one of the big jars placed in front of them for that purpose. Whenever a man enters the house he is at once served with nijimanche by the women and of course it is always offered to a guest who must drink it or else risk offending his host."

2: Stirling--108 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252, 241

"Bananas and plantains, as is customary in the region of the eastern Andes, are seldom permitted to ripen. When the fruit is mature the bunches are picked. The bananas or plantains are first peeled and then either boiled while green or roasted in the coals of the fire. The Indians prefer it in this mealy and tasteless fashion rather than in the form of ripened fruit."

4: Up de Graff--206 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 252, 323

"Ranged round the walls are the 'fireplaces'--mere piles of embers without even a hole in the ground--with the grids placed over them. Each wife has her own, on which she does what cooking she is ordered to do. Piled neatly round the fireplaces are the earthenware pots of various sizes and shapes, all with cone-shaped bottoms, the largest the giamanchi containers, which are about four feet in height, with narrow necks and a maximum diameter of three feet. These gigantic vessels are fashioned without the aid of anything resembling a potter's wheel; ropes of clay are rolled in the hands, and the sides of the pot are gradually built up from the ground, the joints being filled in and rubbed smooth until the whole is as perfect in shape, as far as the eye can see, as a modern piece. After being sun-dried they are baked hard in the fire. They are never painted with any design, a practice common among primitive potters."

4: Up de Graff--228-229 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 252, 262

"That afternoon we dropped some two dozen cotos, only three of which fell to my rifle. The condition of these three caused the Jivaros furiously to think, for they were shot to pieces, and were indeed an ugly mess. We packed them back to the bank, tied by their tails in bunches of four, and carried slung over the head. The game was dipped in the river to moisten their hair. A brushwood fire was built to singe them as they hung by their tails from a pole, which stretched the whole length of the blaze. As the muscles contracted with the heat, a gruesome spectacle presented itself, for their limbs moved, they clenched their hands, and their faces were distorted with an ugly grin which exposed their regular teeth. When singed all over, they were taken from the fire and scraped with machetes. There is only one word to describe the portions of meat which were hacked off--hunks. Regardless of joints or bones, they were chopped up by the savages, who had never known any better instrument than the stone-axe; the pieces were thrown into the boiling-pots, still half-covered with burnt hair which the hasty scraping had missed. For twenty minutes they cooked, emitting an unspeakable odour which was as welcome to the Antipas as that of breakfast bacon to the hungry white hunter.

I have omitted to mention what is always the tid-bit of such feasts. Before the singeing and cooking of the animals begin, they must of course be cleaned. (When meat is scarce, nothing is thrown away but the bones; even the guts are scraped and toasted.) The contents of the stomach are extracted and mixed like giamanchi, with water. Then without any further ado [229] they are drunk. At first the very idea is repulsive, but

4: Up de Graff--228-229 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 252, 262

after all, the monkey lives on fresh wild fruits and his inside is a [sic] clean as ours. He has merely started the process of peptonization and digestion for us, which saves us trouble. "I was expecting, when first I tasted this delicacy, to find a trace of bitter gastric juices, but was pleasantly surprised; only the pure flavour of the fruit-pulp was there, and it made an excellent drink."

4: Up de Graff--256 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
252

"Their [KS: electric eel] peculiar internal organism makes it possible to prepare them for eating by simply slicing them as one does a loaf of bread, no cleaning being necessary. Their meat is pure white and firm, and they make an excellent dish when fried. In this respect they are superior to the rays of which we also caught many."

12: Rivet--590-591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 262, 252

The diet of the Jíbaros consists of manioc, maize, bananas, and game, which they keep in certain leaves which preserve them from decay, and of fish which they are able to smoke. Only the wild hog is esteemed. The domestic hog is most often raised for commercial purposes; the majority of Indians do not [591] eat its flesh because they consider it a dirty animal.

18: Hermesson--443 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
126, 252

"Yuca and plantains were mostly eaten boiled." 6

25: Vigna--42 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 252, 262

The principal foods of the Jíbaro are: yuca, banana, green ear of maize, sweet potato, and the flesh of hogs, monkeys, bears and birds. Frogs wrapped in leaves and roasted slowly in live coals are eaten with relish.

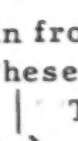
26: Brüning--66 [3] (1902) 1910 Jívaro
116, 262, 252, 137

There is a great variety of wild-growing edible plants, and it would be of great help to the traveller in the primeval forests of the upper Marañón if he would know these plants, for he is frequently forced by circumstances to make use of the prevailing flora. With what keen appetite have we not often devoured some inconspicuous fruit which the Indians designated as edible! Hunger is always one of the most formidable enemies for travellers in this region of the globe. During my short stay with the Aguarunas Indians I learned to know as edible the tender shoots of two palm trees. The names of these palms were tuntuám and wyáy. In order to reach this food one has to cut the entire tree (which brought anguish to my soul, but hunger is all powerful). These shoots are eaten raw or cooked in water. If you cook the shoots, you may drink the water as soup. The taste was similar to that of white cabbage.

26: Brüning--67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 252, 263, 317

I noticed that all dishes are prepared without salt. But when the cooked food is served, a piece of salt is always served with it. In the case of a liquid dish, the Indian places the salt between two fingers and stirs it into the dish, so that a little of the salt can dissolve. Otherwise they bring the salt to the mouth from time to time, or they lick on it. Salt is a very scarce commodity on Aguaruna territory. They obtain it from the upper Marañón where there are said to be some salty brooks. The salt remains as a dirty ash-colored sediment when they laboriously boil the water down in large pots. In Aguaruna language salt is called wig.

26: Brüning--67 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 252

As pointed out before, in front of each bed there is a fireplace, consisting of round logs of a special wood. These logs have an identical diameter, and they are placed in star formation, like this  They are also used as support for the cooking pot. I had the impression that the major part of their food was cooked in water. I have also noticed that their meat is wrapped in large fresh plant leaves and placed on the fire. In this manner the meat remains juicy. On the other hand, meat is sometimes directly placed on glowing charcoal, without having been wrapped first; this is the way it is frequently done here on the coast.

28: Tessman--353 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 263, 252

There are two kinds of salt. One is called wuõi by the Atschual Indians and wõi by the- by the Aguarunas; it is obtained from a salt lake on the Nieva. The other salt (katši) is obtained from salt rocks which are found along the Apaga. Salt is not mixed into the food during eating; rather they make paste by mixing salt, Capsicum pepper (hima in Aguaruna, himiã in the Atschual language) and atšampi and eat the paste while they eat their food.

28: Tessman--353 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 252, 412

To grind the Indian corn they use a stone chopping knife (like 'M.O.G.", p. 166, Fig. 14) on a wooden board. They do not prepare any manihot flakes. They have tubular vessels with pestles.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*mukintu*, *čarayčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirulá* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyayú*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampunzá*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kinak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirinzá*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252] •
ampakai, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [273]
kumai) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*untusi*, *ručjinč*, *ipú*, *wanat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 231
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [252]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [302]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; 177
and the *kayems mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its supe-
rior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Col-
lins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. Dur-
ing the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads
have also been introduced in significant numbers by means
of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of
their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [352]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the
types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the
western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- 412 ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [844] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood [244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taraĉi*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

1: Karsten--119 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258 (1928-29)

"The JIBAROS obtain their salt from certain saline springs the water of which is boiled and allowed to evaporate gradually. In the part of the Ecuadorian Oriente inhabited by the Jibaros there are two springs of this kind, one at the confluence of the river Mayaiku with the Zamora, an affluent of the Santiago, and another more towards the east, at the spot where the small river Curi-Curi unites its waters with the Mangosiza, which in its turn runs down into the Morona. Most of the salt arriving at Macas comes from the Curi-Curi. The saline spring existing here is small and generally it is wholly covered by dirty water, slime, and brush heaps brought there during inundations. The first thing to be done therefore, when salt is prepared, is to cleanse the spring. A large piece of bark is formed into a sort of tube and stuck into the spring in an erect position, whereupon the dirty water is drawn off. From the pure salt water rising in the tube the salt is prepared."

1: Karsten--119-120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258, 784 (1928-29)

"The obtaining of the salt is a real ceremony. Great care is considered necessary, since there is always the danger that the clay pots in which the salt water is boiled may burst. A number of clay pots are arranged in a long row, placed on fires made with chonta wood; another kind of wood would not do. Since the salt is produced by [120] allowing the water to evaporate gradually, it must be boiled at a slow fire, and as the water in the pots dries up they must again be filled. The pots, however, cannot be filled except by a man who is specially qualified for this work: it is an old experienced man who has prepared or obtained salt before and is considered to have a 'steady hand'. He must fast for the whole time that the boiling goes on, for if he filled his stomach with food or manioc-beer the pots would burst and the salt be spoiled. The same would happen, according to belief of the Indians, if an inexperienced man filled the pots. Other men may carry the salt water from the tube placed in the spring, but the old man must pour it into the pots. The boiling begins at five o'clock in the morning and is continued without interruption the whole day and the following night until dawn. Then all the pots should to be full of salt and the boiling is finished."

The commercial relations are very restricted. The natives fatten hogs and raise chickens to sell to the whites, where they are in contact with them. The exchange of salt is certainly the most important because of the rarity of this product in the region. The few sources of salt in the forest are jealously exploited by the neighboring tribes. One of them, called Huénunga, is situated on the borders of the river Maembaimi, another exists not far from the river Zhuizha and bears the name of Mayahiko (1). The Jívaros often go there from considerable distances. The water is collected and evaporated in clay pots; at the end of two or three days it is only necessary to break the container to obtain a big ball of very hard salt.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano Peruano, op. cit. I III, notes on pages 416 and 417. The commerce in salt is very old among the Jívaro. We have actually seen the origin of the struggle between them and the Canaris was over the possession of salt sources.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

18. The saline spring from which almost all of the salt used by the interior Jivaro is obtained. Those living within a day or two of the spring boil the water in pots and trade the resultant salt to more distant neighborhoods (near the upper Río Mangosiza in the eastern Cordillera de Cutucú, 1956-57).

197
317
258
439

/2+ 138-2/

12: Rivet--591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 263, 261

For cooking, they do not ordinarily use salt, not by preference, but because of the rarity of this product in the upper Amazon. Geophagy, which is very widespread, is without doubt related to this lack of salt. The natives ordinarily eat small balls of saltpetrous earth, but they occasionally make use of pieces of pottery (1). This custom is common to a great many tribes of the eastern regions, living under the same conditions. The little Indians of the Napo carefully hide little balls of clay between their toes, to regale themselves unknown to the missionary.

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1. This detail is noted in the report of the expedition made in 1785 by Vallano and Cuesta into the Jibaro country of Zamora, of which I will speak later. The Corregidor, having broken a piece of pottery in the house of a Jíbaro, was surprised to see the Indians present divide up the pieces and crunch them with manifest pleasure. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 22).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

136
poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific 224
kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. [222]
This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find [222]
collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging [411]
from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include pec- 136
cary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, 224
and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their 223
skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized 237
generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except 261
for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, [825]
although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*mukintü*, *čaraŋčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampaŋ*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirušä* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyaŋü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntä*) also are collected.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

773 and encountered a woman washing off sweet potatoes, taro [?], manioc, and peanuts. This woman was Nuŋuí. There were many Nuŋuí there. The people asked that these Nuŋuí give them food because they lacked food and fire. One Nuŋuí had a fat little female baby. She said, "Take this little baby. It is of manioc." But she also said, "Don't beat my baby, or everything will disappear. And never leave her alone in the house, but always take her with you."

So the people took the baby, whose name was Čiki, back to their house. The woman of the family household told it, "Cause manioc to come here." So the baby said, "Let there be manioc." Immediately manioc filled the house. Then the woman said, "I desire a garden." The baby said, "Let there be a garden." At that moment a garden appeared with all kinds of food. Then the woman said, "Now I want a large beer brewing jar." Instantly there were many beer brewing jars. The woman then said, "I now want two of the brewing jars to be filled with beer." Immediately two of the jars were filled with manioc beer. "Now I want meat here." Then plenty of smoke-dried meat appeared. Then she said, "I want many fish." Instantly there were many fish.

These people always took the baby with them, as Nuŋuí had told them to do. As the baby grew bigger, the children of these people grew bigger also. So one day the women went to work in the garden and left the children to take care of the baby. One of the children said to the baby, "We would like to see snakes and boa constrictors." Immediately many snakes and boa constrictors arrived. Then they went away. Then a child said, "Now I want a demon [*iwanči*]." Immediately many demons came. Then one of the children said to the baby, "Why did you bring snakes and demons?", and threw ashes in the baby's eyes. The
• [261] baby began to cry. Then the other child said, "Now I want a dried monkey complete with its head [monkey heads, including the brains, are considered to be a particular delicacy]. Then many monkeys and other animals appeared, but without heads.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 574 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuŋuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

595 224 833 [82]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

1: Karsten--114 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 511, 262 (1928-29)

"Scarcity of food is an almost unknown thing to the Indians of Western Amazonas. As to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, the extraordinary fertility of the soil, the richness of the forests in all sorts of game, and the industry of the Indians, enable them to live easily and fairly well as far as food is concerned. On this point they are much better off than for instance the Chaco Indians, who in certain months of the year approach the very verge of starvation. The Indians of the Amazon territory appreciate vegetable and animal food equally. Their agriculture is well developed, although their methods of cultivating the soil are simple, and meat is secured to them by their domestic animals, the swine and the hens, as well as by the game they catch by hunting. Fish is also an important food. Their vegetable and animal food will shortly be treated separately, and I shall then give a more detailed account of their agriculture and their hunting and fishing practises."

1: Karsten--115[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 241 (1928-29)

"A considerable number of edible plants are cultivated by the Jibaros, and vegetable food is as a matter of fact never lacking in a Jibaro house. The most important of these plants are the manioc and the plantain or banana, but in addition they raise crops of sweet potatoes and another kind of potato which is a vine and called kingi, maize, a kind of carrot, earth-nuts, beans, and some other edible plants of minor importance."

"Pigs and fowls were early introduced among the Jibaros by the Spaniards, at any rate among the tribes of the Santiago and the Upano, where they are still commonly kept as domestic animals. That these animals have long been known to the Jibaros, may be inferred from the important part that the ceremonial slaughter of the swine plays at the great feasts, in which old customs are conservatively kept up. All Jibaro tribes, however, do not seem to possess swine. At any rate the [117] Achuares, at the time when I visited them, had not these domestic animals, nor did I see any among the Aguarunas of Peru.

Although the flesh of swine and hens is an animal food much appreciated, there are still many occasions when the Indians, according to the strict rules prevailing as regards food, has to abstain from eating this kind of meat. The flesh of the swine is, on these occasions, particularly regarded as dangerous, a fact easily explained from the harmful effects that the eating of pork may have upon the stomach and the liver in a tropical climate.

In addition to the swine and the fowls the Jibaros, being clever hunters, highly appreciate different kinds of game. The most important of the animals whose flesh is eaten are the wild hog and the smaller peccary, different kinds of monkeys, the agouti (Dasyprocta aguti) the paca (Coelogenys paca), as well as a great variety of birds. The most important of the latter are the paugi (Crax paugi), different kinds of wild turkey

(Penelope etc.), and a kind of partridge, the trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans), the tucan, and different kinds of parrot, among which the great macaw (Arara) is the most appreciated. As a general rule all small birds of the forest are eaten, being shot with blowguns and unpoisoned arrows.

On the other hand, it must be remarked that there are certain animals, even such as from a European point of view are nice eating, which are religiously shunned by the Jibaros, or can only be eaten by certain people. It is a curious fact for instance that the innocent deer, the flesh of which is commonly eaten by the whites, is never eaten by the Jibaros, who for superstitious reasons generally avoid even touching its flesh. About the same holds true of the tapir, although the fear of this animal is not equally great. If the Jibaros in the neighbourhood of Macas shoot a deer or a tapir, it is chiefly to barter with its flesh at Macas. The skin of the animals, however, may be used. The reasons why the Jibaros shun the deer and the tapir will be mentioned in the chapters treating of their religion.

As is the case with the swine and the fowls, there are many animals and birds of the wood which are in some cases eaten, in other cases again--that is, when the Indians for one reason or another have to observe ceremonial abstinence--are forbidden as food. Such animals and birds are for instance the boar, the paca, the agouti, and among birds the macaw, the tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the parrot, the pigeon, the

umbrella-bird, etc. [118]

Quite peculiar in this respect is the position of the armadillo. It is eaten by ordinary people, but shunned by the medicine-men to such an extent that they even avoid looking at the animal.

Again, among fishes the most common and largest are valued, chiefly such as the sheat-fish, the dourado or golden fish, tha paco or bocachupa (its name in Spanish) as well as the smaller bocachico, the most common fish in the South American rivers. In addition to these there are a variety of small sardine-like fish caught with varvasco poison, which are also appreciated. In regard to these different kinds of fish similar rules prevail as in regard to animal food: in some cases, or to certain persons, they are forbidden as food, in other cases again a person may even be recommended to eat a special kind of fish, as we shall see later on.

Besides this, the following kinds of food, some of which are from a European point of view rather peculiar, may be mentioned.

Of small alligators the Indians eat the tail which, when boiled in water, has a taste somewhat reminiscent of fish. Tortoises are greatly valued as food and similarly their eggs are eaten. The iguana lizard is regarded as a delicacy.

Of frogs there are two kinds of which the one, which is spotted, is said to be poisonous and therefore not eaten. The other again, called poáchi, is regarded as edible.

The same may be said of a crab living in sweet water called uriki, and of the snails, both the one living in water, called tsuñtsu, and the one living in the forest, called kungu. The latter is also valued because of its shell which the Jibaro women use for their important rattle cincture, the kungu. The Jibaros moreover eat fish roes, frog's roes, a fat larva living in the top of certain palms called mukindi, and a flying ant called uku.

As a general rule it may be stated that the Indians shun all animal beings as food the flesh of which is directly harmful or of which they have superstitious ideas of some kind. For this reason for instance venomous reptiles and other kinds of snakes, beasts and birds of prey, vultures, and most nocturnal birds are regarded as unfit for food. I shall have an opportunity to return to this question later on.

I have in the first place spoken of the Jibaros proper, but I have to add that much the same rules as regards food prevail among the CANELOS INDIANS. It may be remarked however, that the latter Indians, nowadays more civilized than their savage tribesmen, have no hesitation in eating the deer and the tapir, which they eagerly hunt. But [119] they are aware themselves that formerly they had the same aversion to these 'demoniacal' animals as the Jibaros."

"The other Jibaro tribes of Eastern Ecuador and Peru, although they do not practise the couvade in the sense that the father must lie in bed after the birth of his child, still deem it absolutely necessary that both parents should observe certain rules in regard to their diet and their mode of life. In regard to the diet, the rules are the following: --as to birds, the father and mother of the child must abstain from eating the tucan (tsukánga), the mango (chui), the wood-pecker (tatáshama), the umbrella-bird (umgúmi), the cock-of-the-rock (sumga), the wild turkey (kuyu, áwacha), and the pigeon (yámbitsa); nor must they eat the intestines of any animal, hen's eggs, or fish roes; as to fish, two common fishes are especially mentioned as prohibited food, namely, the large wambi and the sheat-fish (napi or tungá).

The dietary prescriptions just mentioned are due to the following ideas. The tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the umbrella-bird, and the cock-of-the-rock belong to those birds which, although they are normally eaten, are yet regarded with superstition, because it is believed that they may serve as abodes or vehicles for the magical arrow (túnchi) which the sorcerers let fly against persons whom they want to harm. By the parents eating these birds, therefore, the child may be bewitched, pine away, and die. The Jibaros use for this the expression tapiktinyu. Again, the wild turkey and the pigeon produce very loose feces and constantly excrete as if they were suffering from diarrhoea. If the parents eat these birds, therefore, their offspring will likewise have

diarrhoea--an illness to which small children are particularly exposed--and perhaps die. Similarly the child would be likely to contract diarrhoea if the parents ate the intestines of animals, or hen's eggs. As to the latter the Jibaros have the same superstition as the Canelos Indians: the feces of the child would become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, which would be the sign of some disease of the stomach. Again, if they eat fish roes, the child will get scrofula (kánchа) of the head, a disease fairly common with Indian children.

The reason why the parents [JKM: after the birth of a child] must not eat the fish wámbi is connected with the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. In ancient times, when all animals had human shape, the wámbi was attacked and wounded by some of his enemies while trying to escape from the lagoon where he lived. He was badly hit by a lance, but contrived to draw it out from his body and escaped. However, he lost much blood and, owing to the wound received, has still a red tail and red fins, though the rest of him is quite white. Now if the parents eat the fish wámbi, their delicate [229] child will likewise lose blood, become anaemic, and die. Again, that they abstain from eating the sheat-fish, tungá, is due to the same considerations as make the Jibaro avoid that food after he has sown his maize fields. Since this large fish is extremely restless and violent, the consequence would be, if the parents ate it, that their babe would be 'tired out' and not get the rest necessary for a newborn child.

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

The sort of food just mentioned is particularly regarded as dangerous, but in their general diet the parents are extremely careful during the whole time that the child is suckled. Meat, for instance, of whatever kind it may be, they generally refuse to eat, and particularly food prepared in a strange house is always looked upon with suspicion. Frequently, when I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians, I noticed their reluctance to eat certain kinds of animal or bird, certain kinds of fruit, etc., and when I inquired about the reasons for this I often received the answer, 'I cannot eat it, for I have a sucking babe at home.'"

1: Karsten--229 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The latter precautions [JKM: no hunting or working] are observed for a shorter period, but those relating to fasting must be observed by the father not only for a few days, as among most other Indians, but for two, sometimes three years, or more strictly speaking, during the time that the child is suckled."

1: Karsten--231-232 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"During the following eight days, or until the navel of the child is perfectly healed, the parents [JKM: of a newborn child] have to diet, and the father is obliged to observe certain other rules of abstinence. Thus they abstain from eating the tucan (sicuanga), normally so much appreciated by the Indians, because this bird may sometimes serve as the abode of a demon or as the seat of the chonta thorn (chúnta), which the sorcerers use to bewitch people with; therefore, if the parents eat the tucan, this may have the effect that the newborn child will be bewitched, pine away, and die. For the same reason they do not eat the mango, another beautiful bird of the forest used for food. They also abstain from eating the wild turkey, as well as a special kind of duck emitting a disagreeable odour, because otherwise the babe will have diarrhoea and die. Of quadrupeds they do not eat the tapir or the lumucha (Coelogenys paca), animals that are also regarded with superstition by the Indians, although they are generally eaten. Of other things forbidden to them hen's eggs are especially mentioned. If they eat eggs, the feces of the child will become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, that is, the child will have diarrhoea and die. Similarly, the parents must not drink the brandy of the whites, for this strong drink would do harm to their delicate offspring. As to the native manioc-beer (asua), they can drink it, but it must not be too strong. After the woman has been delivered, warm asua is given her.

As to fish, the parents are allowed to eat the bocachico (challua) as well as certain

sardine-like fish (called umbúni, chúti, túgshi, and shigli in the Quichua language). Small birds of the forest of the kind the Jibaros are in the habit of shooting with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows are also regarded as harmless food. A worm or larva living in the top of certain palms, called túku, the parents are even recommended to eat. The larva [232] is very fat, and therefore the parents' eating it will have the effect of making the child fat."

1: Karsten--234 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The first period in the education of the child, ... is that between birth and the 'feast of the children', which is held when the little one is two or three years old. Until that feast has taken place both parents have to submit themselves to the most rigorous diet according to the rules mentioned in the last chapter. Dieting, it should be understood, forms part of the actual preparations for the feast. The rest of the preparations are similar to those for other feasts: as usual, new plantations have to be made, and domestic animals, swine and hens, have to be bred before the feast can be held, which of course takes a long time. The child itself has to diet; above all it is not allowed to eat pork and hen's flesh, nor can it eat ripe plantain or chew sugar cane as Indian children usually do."

1: Karsten- -265-266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 411, 262 (1928-29)

"The shield (tandára) is made of the enormously big air roots of the giant tree which is called kámaka by the Jibaros and llanchámа by the Indians of Canelos (Bombax ceiva), a kind of wood which has the advantage of being at once light and strong. It is always round in form and wrought of one single piece, although the shields are sometimes very large, 80 to 90 centímetres in diameter. Just as is the case at the making of other important objects, the Indian has to observe certain rules of abstinence while he is making the shield, work which of course requires a long time. During the days that he makes the rough work he partly fasts, especially abstaining from eating batatas or sweet potatoes (Convolvulus batatas), called inchi by the Jibaros. If he eats this fruit, the shield will mould, rot, and become useless. This superstition is due to the fact that the sweet potato has the same appearance as mouldy or rotten wood. During the same days the maker likewise abstains from cohabiting with his wives, for if he has intercourse with a woman the shield will get warped or burst, and consequently spoiled.

The CANELOS INDIANS, at the making of the shield, formerly observed the following rules. The rough work was carried out in four days. The Indian worked every day from early morning until noon. During the whole forenoon, until the work was finished for that day, he fasted and did not eat or drink anything. As soon as the work was finished at noon [266] he had chincha (manioc beer), and in the afternoon he could also eat other kinds of food. While working upon the shield he observed the rule not to speak

to anybody, but kept strict silence. Nor did he, during the four days and nights, cohabit with his wife. If he infringed these rules the shield would get lumpy or burst, or be attacked by mould.

As soon as the shield is made it is often painted on the outside with the black dye obtained from the genipa fruit, called sua by the Jibaros. The patterns represent spirits (wakáni, supai), giant snakes (pangi, amárun), butterflies (wambishku), and other animals. These patterns are supposed to inspire the enemy with fear and to give strength and courage to the warrior himself. Nowadays such ornamented shields are no longer made and seldom encountered in Indian houses. A unique shield of this kind which I obtained from the Jibaros is now in the ethnographic museum of Gothenburg.

The Jibaros use shields of two kinds. Some are very large and somewhat heavy and are used only for defence within the house. The shield rests against the ground or against a round seat of the kind the Jibaros use, and the warrior with his lance tries to defend himself against the enemy penetrating into the house. Other kinds of shields are smaller and lighter and are carried by the Indians on war expeditions.

The shield of the Jibaro Indians is not only a weapon of defence, but also a religious instrument, a fact that everybody who takes part in their victory-feasts is able to establish. The tandára is full of magic power, and when is [sic] is beaten with the lance in a particular way, this is in fact a sort of religious or magical ceremony which is

believed to inspire the spirits--first of all the spirit of the slain enemy--with fear. The ceremony referred to is called Yáktinyu."

1: Karsten--306-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
262 (1928-29)

"Again, if one asks what ideas underlie the choice of the slayer's food [JKM: at the victory feast after the warfare] --palm top, beans, mashed manioc, etc.--the Indians only give the explanation that he ought to eat such light kinds of food that remain in [307] his stomach and which he does not run the risk of throwing up, which evidently would be regarded as dangerous for him. Their idea is, no doubt, that a very indigestible or irritating food could become a means through which the invisible, supernatural enemy of the slayer--the spirit of the killed enemy--could get an opportunity to harm him, perhaps cause his death. That the guests mainly eat chicken at the feast is probably only due to the fact that Numbuimártinyu is an improvised feast, and that, therefore, such kinds of food is given them as is most easy to procure."

1: Karsten--311-312 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The object of the feast Suamártinyu is partly to give the slayer renewed protection against the spirit of the killed enemy, partly to favourably prepare the trophy for what is its proper aim, namely, to promote the material wealth of the slayer, especially for the period immediately following the feast Numbuimártinyu. In the first respect the feast is of significance for him in so far that he need no longer observe the same anxious caution and strict abstinence in his mode of life that was necessary before. Thus he may again dress completely, tie his hair in pigtails, wear face-painting and ornaments, use lances and other weapons, go hunting and fishing, take part in feasts, sleep with his wife, etc. In one word, he can in the main return to his former normal life, with the exception that he is obliged to continue dieting. Even in this respect he has, however, far more liberty than before. With regard to food he has to observe the following rules. The slayer must absolutely abstain from eating pork and fowl. He is allowed to eat all fruits cultivated by the Jibaros, the manioc, however, only boiled, but not roasted. He must [312] not eat the flesh of the tapir (pamá), of the great wild hog (unta pakki), of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called kashai by the Jibaros), or of any kind of monkey. Of birds he must not eat the tucan, the wild turkey, the paugi, or other larger birds commonly hunted by the Jibaros, but only such small forest birds as are shot with the blowgun and non-poisoned arrows. On the other hand, he is recommended to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the rodent guatusa or agouti (Dasyprocta agouti). Of fish he is

recommended to eat the large sheat-fish tungá, and the wámbi (Spanish, bocachupa), but is forbidden to eat the kánga (Spanish, bocachico), the commonest fish in the South American rivers. He may also eat small fish (chumakai). If he infringes these rules he runs the risk of falling ill and dying, and the object of the whole feast will be missed."

1: Karsten--312-313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 262 (1928-29)

"The dietetic prescriptions just mentioned depend on the following ideas. The slayer must, as a general rule, avoid eating the flesh of any animal through which the spirit of the slain enemy may get an opportunity to harm him. The most important mission of the tsantsa [JKM: head-trophy] after the feast Suamártinyu is to promote the increase of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the chicken (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu), and more particularly for the final great feast. For the very reason that the power of the tsantsa is in a mysterious way effective in the domestic animals mentioned, it is considered dangerous for the slayer to eat swine's flesh and fowls during this critical period, for that power may then prove destructive to him. The prohibition especially refers to swine's flesh. If the slayer eats of it, he may fall ill and die, and that is the work of the wakáni. This superstition is seemingly supported by the fact that flesh, and especially the fat of the swine, in tropical regions easily causes affections of the liver and other disturbances of the digestive processes. With the Indians such diseases often end fatally. The danger of a diet careless in this respect must of course be greater for a man who, for many months, has observed that strict abstinence with regard to food which has been described above.

The tapir is an animal which the Jibaros in general look upon with superstition and the flesh of which they therefore rarely eat. Formerly they had almost the same aversion from this animal as they still have from the deer, of which they believe that it is an incarnation of a demon (iguánchi), a belief still held of the tapir also by the

Jibaros of the Pastaza. The flesh of the wild hog is taboo to the slayer on account of the great similarity of that animal to the domestic swine, the flesh of which is strictly forbidden to him. The paca (kashai), although nor-[313]mally eaten by the Jibaros, is looked upon as a demoniacal animal, its flesh being therefore forbidden to persons who for one reason or another are obliged to diet.

That monkeys' flesh is forbidden to the slayer is due to the great likeness of these animals to man. The spirit of the dead enemy may hide in such an animal and cause the death of the slayer if he tries to shoot it in the forest or eat of its flesh.

Similarly the soul of the enemy may temporarily take up its abode in a tucan, a paugi, or some other large bird of the forest, and in this shape threaten the life of the slayer. Their flesh is therefore equally taboo to him.

The rule that the slayer can eat the manioc only boiled but not roasted is due to the fact that at the great feast the Jibaros prepare, from roasted manioc, a sort of manioc-wine (shiki), a magical drink which is ceremonially drunk on the last day of the feast. Since the consuming of this drink forms an important part of the conjurations at the feast, it is considered fraught with danger for the slayer to prematurely come into contact even with the roasted manioc from which it is made."

1: Karsten--313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 825, 727 (1928-29)

"....the rules in regard to the diet of the Jibaro warrior are founded on the idea that by eating the flesh of certain other animals he will acquire qualities characteristic of these animals, which make it easier for him to escape his invisible supernatural enemy as well as his living relatives. From this point of view we have to explain, for instance, the recommendation for the slayer to eat the flesh of the agouti. This small rodent is very shy and runs fast, being rather difficult to catch. By eating the animal the slayer will acquire the same quality, at the time very useful to him. Similarly the fish wámbi is known as very shy and quick, great skill being required for catching it. The large sheat-fish also cunningly hides in the depths of the great rivers and lagoons, thus easily escaping his pursuers. Even this fish, therefore, possesses qualities which are useful for the Jibaro warrior who is trying to evade his enemies."

1: Karsten--313-314 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 773, 727 (1928-29)

"The prohibition for the slayer to eat the fish kánga is explained from the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to these, as already mentioned, all animal beings, even the fishes, have once been men--that is, Jibaros. Even in primitive times they used to wage war on and kill each other, to make trophies of each other's heads and to celebrate victory feasts. The fish kánga, then, in a fight was killed by one of his enemies, who later on was changed into a bird, the umbrella bird, [313] called ungúmi by the Jibaros. The ungúmi also made a trophy of the head of the fish kánga. Therefore the mouth of the kánga has still great similarity to the reduced mouth of a human tsantsa, and this is the reason why the Jibaro warrior, during the time he has to fast, abstains from eating that fish."

1: Karsten--505-506 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 262 (1928-29)

"With more reason we can speak of Indian Science when we enter the domain of their knowledge concerning animals and plants. This is a department of nature where that wonderful power of observation best shows itself which everywhere is one of the chief mental characteristics of man in his natural state. Life has here been the master of the Indians; it is the struggle for existence that has compelled them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the habits and qualities of different animal beings and the properties of plants. The whole of nature has been carefully scrutinized by them for the purpose of finding out what it can offer man in the way of food. They have tried everything, and they can unfailingly tell you whether for instance a certain animal or bird can be eaten, and how it affects the health. Nor is there any animal being so insignificant that it has not a native name; any boy can tell you the name of that or that small insect crawling on the ground. Their ideas as to which animals are edible and which not are, [sic] however, in some cases peculiar; in this respect they have sometimes been led astray by their superstitions. Thus when deer's flesh is never eaten because the deer is regarded as an evil demon, it is difficult to find any real foundation for this aversion. In most cases, however, the superstitions of the Indians have an underlying stratum of reality. 'Superstitious' ideas are as a rule entertained of such animal beings as are in some way harmful. Thus when the flesh of the tapir is taboo as food in the same way

as [506] that of the deer, this bias is not wholly without foundation, considering that the eating of the flesh of the tapir may in some cases have harmful effects. Even the whites in Eastern Ecuador assert that uncautious eating of it may cause a sort of fever. The same hold true of the flesh of many other animals and of certain fish. That for instance the fat flesh of the domestic swine and of certain other animals may cause indigestion and other kinds of sickness, is a well-known fact which has by no means escaped the Indians. We can thus easily understand why swine's flesh is regularly taboo as food when the Indian man or woman is, or is believed to be, in some critical condition. Taking native customs as a whole into account, I should say that what we call 'superstition' has to a great extent been the teacher of the Indians and, being founded on actual experience, given them valuable guidance in their practical life, although on the other hand the exaggerations to which it has led are obvious. The same will appear to hold true of their medicines."

2: Stirling--103 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 226, 262

"In the higher mountain regions where the streams are small and torrential very few fish occur. In most of these streams the only food fish is the naiumbi, a curious looking fish whose body is surrounded by a hard shell and which attached itself on the under surface of rocks by means of a sucking appliance similar to that of the pilot fish. These ugly and bony creatures, while not very delectable in appearance, are sometimes the only available food supply in the gameless regions of the higher mountains. The Indians capture them by simply wading out into the stream and overturning rocks to which they are attached, removing them with their fingers. In the lower regions and along streams which are less turbulent fish life is very abundant and the Indians have devised many different ways of capturing them. Fishhooks are seldom used excepting where the Indians have been able to obtain them from the whites. The Jivaros apparently do not make or use fish nets at the present time.(26)"

"26. Up de Graff describes the use of nets among the Antipas, saying: 'Their nets are made of palm fiber, and in place of corks and leads they use balsa wood and stones. The net is fixed across a rivulet, and the party makes its way by a detour to a point upstream. There they throw stones into the water and frighten the fish into a hurried flight to where the trap awaits them. The meshes of the nets are so proportioned as to catch the fish by the gills as they rush downstream.' Up de Graff, p. 210."

2: Stirling--105 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 136, 262

"Bird life is remarkably abundant and varied. The principal food birds are the greater and lesser pawil and toucans of several species. The Indian does not scorn for food purposes the various members of the parrot family, or in fact almost any bird which he might be able to kill.

Various insects are also utilized for food purposes. A certain variety of giant red ant is a favorite delicacy, these as a rule being eaten in a parched form. In addition to this, large white grubs are secured in quantities from rotten wood and are considered to be a particularly choice morsel of food. Frogs, lizards, and snails are likewise frequently eaten.

It is seldom necessary for the Jivaro to go hungry. With his skill in woodcraft and his knowledge of the wild plant and animal life of the jungles in which he lives, he is able as a rule to find food at all times on comparatively short notice."

2: Stirling--107 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 262, 224

"Certain of the available animals are not utilized by the Jivaro for food purposes on account of magical taboos. Notable among these exceptions are the deer and tapir. Deer are considered to contain tsarutama of the feared spirit, Iguanchi. The Indians have no hesitancy in killing deer and furnishing them to white people to use as food, but no Jivaro will partake of deer meat himself. In the same way, in some regions, the flesh of the tapir is taboo."

2: Stirling--107 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 262, 462

"Although the Jivaros receive a considerable part of their subsistence from the products of the chase and from fishing operations, they might safely be termed a truly agricultural people. Maintenance of the gardens is almost solely the duty of the women. The only portion of the labor of preparing and maintaining a garden clearing which is done by the men consists in the felling of trees in making the original clearing. The planting, care, and harvesting of the crops is all women's work.

Sweet manioc, taken in the form of nijimanche, constitutes the most important single food item. The boiled fruit of the chonta palm is likewise used to form a drink prepared in the same manner as nijimanche. To a lesser degree, maize, sweetpotatoes, sugar cane, squash, and peanuts are raised. As a general rule, a good-sized garden clearing surrounds the jivaría itself, but frequently additional fields are maintained which are a mile or more distant. Bananas, plantains, and papayas are grown extensively, but require no care other than planting."

2: Stirling--120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 262

"It is interesting to note that when a wishinu has sent a disease spirit into a man he does not have the power to cure this individual, although a cure might be effected by another wishinu.

After the first month of training, during which the new wishinu has learned control of the spirits, he undergoes a strict diet for another month and thereafter a number of foods are taboo to him. He cannot eat deer, armadillo, peccary, wild pigs, tapir, cholo monkey, manatee, peanuts, chonta fruit, and many other animals, birds, fish and vegetables. The reason for this taboo is that all of these possess tsarutama. Should he eat any of these foods their tsarutama would enter him and neutralize or confuse the particular class of tsarutama that he might be attempting to isolate for his particular purpose."

3: Simson--388-389 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 827, 751, 262

"The Jívaros of the Pintuc, and most others, have the habit of vomiting nearly every morning, by the aid of a feather--a practice similar to that of the Piojés of the Putumayo--arguing that all food remaining in the stomach overnight is unwholesome and undigested, and should therefore be ejected. It has been asserted that their remarkable health and prowess is partly attributable to this habit; certain it is that it obviates some of the bad effects of the not unfrequent 'gorging' in which Indians after long fasts are so prone to indulge. However, the Piojés, who treat themselves in the same manner, are certainly not more healthy--and less brave--than most other similarly placed [389] tribes. If it is a fact that the Jívaros are generally healthier and more robust than the rest of their race near the Equator--more astute and fearless they certainly are--it would seem reasonable to attribute this to the simple fact that their habits of work and rest are more regular, and they are much more provident than other tribes in keeping themselves supplied with food of good quality."

4: Up de Graff--198-199 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
115, 574, 262

"Arrived at the island, with a dozen Jívaros to build a house, start a fire, and unship our kit, we were treated to a most efficient exhibition of camp-pitching. In an hour a fine palm shelter was constructed with a thick thatched roof and a fire was roaring outside with our few stores landed and stacked. We had supper of roast yuca, roast corn on the cob, roast plantains, with peanuts and wild honey for dessert. [199]

The last named dish must have been the ambrosia of the gods; it is delicious beyond description; the peanuts are not cooked, but dried in the sun just enough to remove the raw taste and the honey is pure white and of a fragrance finer than the finest perfume.

That meal was a feast, for we had passed through lean days, as will be remembered."

4: Up de Graff--199 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 262

"A word as to the bananas of that country is necessary. So superior are they in taste to the varieties which reach our markets that one who has never tasted the fruit fresh from the plant can have no conception of its quality. The largest, the plantain, is about 16 inches long, and correspondingly thick; it is always eaten cooked. The plantain has, of course, great nutritive value, and is, indeed, the staff of life in the American tropics. Not only does it form the sole support of millions of human beings for months at a time, but also of their cattle and domestic animals, even down to the chickens. The smaller varieties are exquisitely flavoured; when the skin is peeled off in the raw state they give off a strong, delicious scent as does a tangerine."

4: Up de Graff--215-216 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 262

"It is a self-evident fact that the fish and meat on which the Antipas live so largely is nearly all poisoned, for we have noted already that the blow-gun is the only weapon of the chase, and that they kill their fish more often than [216] not with barbasco. Curiously enough, as is often the case with poisons, not only is the flesh of the fish, which has not been hypodermically infected, good to eat, but even that of the animal which has."

4: Up de Graff--228-229 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 252, 262

"That afternoon we dropped some two dozen cotos, only three of which fell to my rifle. The condition of these three caused the Jivaros furiously to think, for they were shot to pieces, and were indeed an ugly mess. We packed them back to the bank, tied by their tails in bunches of four, and carried slung over the head. The game was dipped in the river to moisten their hair. A brushwood fire was built to singe them as they hung by their tails from a pole, which stretched the whole length of the blaze. As the muscles contracted with the heat, a gruesome spectacle presented itself, for their limbs moved, they clenched their hands, and their faces were distorted with an ugly grin which exposed their regular teeth. When singed all over, they were taken from the fire and scraped with machetes. There is only one word to describe the portions of meat which were hacked off--hunks. Regardless of joints or bones, they were chopped up by the savages, who had never known any better instrument than the stone-axe; the pieces were thrown into the boiling-pots, still half-covered with burnt hair which the hasty scraping had missed. For twenty minutes they cooked, emitting an unspeakable odour which was as welcome to the Antipas as that of breakfast bacon to the hungry white hunter.

I have omitted to mention what is always the tid-bit of such feasts. Before the singeing and cooking of the animals begin, they must of course be cleaned. (When meat is scarce, nothing is thrown away but the bones; even the guts are scraped and toasted.) The contents of the stomach are extracted and mixed like giamanchi, with water. Then without any further ado [229] they are drunk. At first the very idea is repulsive, but

4: Up de Graff--228-229 (1897) 1923 Alvaro-2
116, 252, 262

after all, the monkey lives on fresh wild fruits and his inside is a [sic] clean as ours. He has merely started the process of peptonisation and digestion for us, which saves us trouble. I was expecting, when first I tasted this delicacy, to find a trace of bitter gastric juices, but was pleasantly surprised; only the pure flavour of the fruit-pulp was there, and it made an excellent drink."

4: Up de Graff--229 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 262

"The Jívaros, as I have said, throw nothing away but the bones, and even these they break with their teeth to get at the marrow. Although I have found many of their dishes excellent eating, I must say that soup cooked without salt, more especially when it is strongly flavoured with burnt hair, is not palatable. Indeed, in order to allay our hunger Game and I selected a young coto from the bag, skinned it and roasted it on the embers. Prepared in this way, they are just as good eating as any other game I have tasted except their cousin the maquisapa, whose equal, in my estimation, cannot be found on any table."

4: Up de Graff--232 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 262

"One day, driven mad by the screaming of the macaws which had come to feed in the palms near camp, I suggested to the medicine man that we should go out and bag a few. The expedition was successful and we brought a few back. I noticed that the first thing the Jívaros did was to extract the contents of the crop, pure fruit-pulp, and eat it, giving it the first place among the delicacies which the bird had to offer. I cannot lay too much stress on the excellence of this dainty morsel. The palm-fruits on which they live are exceedingly hard, and contain a number of seeds or kernels embedded in the meat, making it more trouble than it is worth, despite the attractiveness of the meat itself, to eat the fruit. But all the spade-work is done by the parrot, whose sharp beak and dry tongue separate and reject the seeds, with no deleterious effect on the fruit itself. Once more we have an example of the possibility of taking advantage of the digestive efforts of a wild creature and finishing the feast."

4: Up de Graff--291 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 262

"Turtles were plentiful, and we found large quantities of eggs in all stages of incubation; those which contained fully formed live turtles proved even better eating than those not so far advanced."

5: Reyes and Teran--105 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 262, 757

"The Jivaro Indians are very fond of the flesh of the pig, which they eat roasted and also boiled. They also extract the lard, but they use it only as a remedy for dysentery. (1)"

"1. 'Album-guía de la Region Oriental Ecuatoriana,' por Alfonso Rumazo González."

10: Anthony--153-158 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 262

"The Jivaro will eat most of the animals of the forest, but there are one or two surprising exceptions. For some [158] unknown reason he will not touch the flesh of the deer although he has no scruples against killing it for a white man to eat.

A very peculiar custom we observed is the diet chosen by one who has recently killed an enemy. Such a man avoids meat, confining himself to a vegetable diet. The reason given us was that if he consumed meat, he would be easily surprised and killed by the friends of the man he had slain, whereas if he ate vegetables he would be hard to surprise."

12: Rivet--590-591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 262, 252

The diet of the Jíbaros consists of manioc, maize, bananas, and game, which they keep in certain leaves which preserve them from decay, and of fish which they are able to smoke. Only the wild hog is esteemed. The domestic hog is most often raised for commercial purposes; the majority of Indians do not [591] eat its flesh because they consider it a dirty animal.

18: Hermessen--445 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

"In this part of Oriente there were no cattle, horses, mules, or burros. The Jibaros kept pigs and fowls, but sustained themselves chiefly by the products of the chase."

20: Dyott--164 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 825, 262, 177

"The deer is regarded by the Jivaros as the incarnation of a particularly evil demon, and therefore its meat is not eaten or even touched; but in the case of Kuashu and other families who come in contact with traders, the superstitious dread in which the animal has been held in the past has given way to more rational ideas. No time was lost, therefore, in slinging the carcass on to a pole and carrying it back to the house in triumph."

20: Dyott--168 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 262, 843

"...When it came to eating the sinewy carcass of the monkey we had brought back with us from the hunt. Inza, Kuashu's youngest wife would not touch it. Most meats are usually taboo for women, but Inza was expecting a baby, and if she had eaten of the monkey, her offspring would have been hairy like the animal. The men devoured the meat greedily, believing that in so doing they would assimilate all the agility and nimbleness characteristic of this forest animal. One of the peculiarities of the poison which had been used to kill the monkey is that it is injurious only when it enters directly into the blood, for it can be eaten with impunity."

"While we were rummaging about the clearing, the women were busy cutting down a solitary bunch of bananas. They made a lot of work out of so simple a task, just as Kuashu did over chopping up a few logs. A banana tree produces but a single bunch of fruit. When that has been cut, no further bunches appear, and the stem can be cut away. It is soon replaced by several other shoots or suckers that have sprung up about its base. In this way, the plant spreads, and from a single shoot stuck in the ground at the outset a small forest of banana stems will eventually sprout. What with rotting tree-trunks lying on the ground and the constant lopping-off of banana stalks as the fruit reaches maturity, an Indian plantation does not present a very orderly appearance. To add to the confusion, many trees get blown over by the wind, especially if laden with a heavy bunch of fruit.

Bananas are never left on the tree to get ripe. They mature better if cut green and hung up in a house. The sight of ripe plantains is unusual. There are so many hungry mouths waiting to be fed that everything is consumed as soon as it is picked, and it never gets a chance even to turn yellow. My preference was always for the ripe fruit. In the green state, I found plantains stodgy and tasteless, although I believe if you eat them long enough, you will always end up by eating them green. Probably the slight sweetness of the mature fruit palls on one after a time, but I never reached that stage myself. The banana or plantain of the Indian must not be confused with the [184] sweet fruit varieties we are accustomed to see on sale in our own country. The latter, if

cooked, would be too sickly for words; but the plantain, even when ripe, is very tasteless, and the process of cooking seems to bring out the flavour much as it does that of a sweet potato."

24: Wright--238-240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 262

"Group No. 2 [KS: in comparative study of teeth] consisted of 80 males from pre-adolescent to middle adulthood, of which 34 were adults, and 46 pre-adolescent. This group lived in the mixed white and Indian settlement of Méndez, approximately three days journey from the region of Group No. 1. This latter group is of the same racial stock and family as those of Group No. 1, and originally lived in the same jungle environment, but are now under the protection of the missionaries and were living in and about the mission settlement. Their customs and food habits had been altered to meet the requirements of a quasi-civilized community. The usual diet of these individuals consisted of bananas as the only raw food, cooked meats, potatoes, rice and beans, bread, canned salmon, biscuits, coffee and carbonated beverages. Occasionally, cheap candy, cakes and sugar cane were available, the latter in ample quantities. Almost every individual suffered from [240] gastric disturbances. Because of local obstacles which could not be overcome, the making of plaster casts of their teeth and routine accurate dental examinations were virtually impossible, and cursory examinations for comparative study had to suffice. With the exception of three adult individuals, no one was free from dental caries. Approximately 25% had all their teeth affected with dental caries, and 35% from one to several teeth were missing. Of 34 adults, 16 had good occlusions, while 18 had fair occlusions, but with misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of the pre-adolescent

members of this group, 14 had good occlusions, and 32 were affected with malocclusions of varying degree; all of the latter had misplaced and rotated maxillary central incisors. Of a total of 80 individuals in Group 2, 50 or 82.5% were affected with maxillary central incisor misplacements. (Table 1.)"

TABLE 1--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DENTAL OCCLUSION OF GROUPS 1 AND 2.

	Group 1. 67 Males		Group 2. 80 Males	
Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Good Occlusion	18	3	16	14
Rotated Max. 1st incisors. Bal. occl. fair-good.	47	5	18	32
Rotated Max. 1st incisors gen. mal-occlusion		3		[Put above slip number 2, matching column rules.]

24: Wright--239
116, 164, 177, 262

(1938) 1942

Jivaro-2

4th mand. molars.	2			[Match columns with slip No. 1]
Rotated Max. 1st incisors.	Total 55 or 82%	of Group 1.	Total 50 or 82.5%	of Group 2.

TABLE 2--COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TOOTH CAVITIES OF GROUPS 1 AND 2 (1).

Class.	Adults 56	Pre-adolescent 11	Adults 34	Pre-adolescent 46
Free from caries	32	9	3	
1 cavity	15	1		
2 cavities	1			
3 "	4		31	46
4 "	1			
5 "	3	1	(comparative records) 25% of all had cavities in almost all teeth. 35% had missing teeth.	

"1. [See following sheet for footnote]"

24: Wright--239
116, 164, 177, 262

(1938) 1942

Jivaro-3

"1. [Footnote 1, p. 239] It was impossible to tabulate Group 2 in detail except to show results of a cursory examination for a comparative study."

24: Wright--240 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
116, 164, 177, 262

"In comparing the dental conditions of the two groups [KS: in comparative study of teeth] the factor of misplacements of the maxillary central incisors is a persistent variable which is constant for both groups. With 82% in Group 1, and 82.5% in Group 2, there is a variance of only .5% for affected teeth, a curious coincidence. There is another factor to be noted, namely that of the wide variance of dental caries between the two groups. The change in food habits is undoubtedly responsible for the increase in dental caries in Group 2, but this change in environment does not alter the inherited tendency to variation in occlusion common to both groups."

25: Vigna--41 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

Superstitions referring to food deprive them of excellent hunting. For example, they will not grow horns; nor the flesh of deer, for they believe that in ancient times, the Thuanchi incarnated in the deer; the flesh of tapir causes loss of strength, etc.

25: Vigna--42 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 252, 262

The principal foods of the Jíbaro are: yuca, banana, green ear of maize, sweet potato, and the flesh of hogs, monkeys, bears and birds. Frogs wrapped in leaves and roasted slowly in live coals are eaten with relish.

26: Brüning--64 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 224

The Indians obtain their main articles of food by hunting and fishing. With regard to food they do not seem to be very choosy. They hunt simply everything. Their main hunting weapon is the blowgun. But you can also see firearms, though of the worst kind and all of them single-barrelled. Gun powder, shot and matches with protection against humidity are highly desirable barter objects, and every traveller should bring them along.

26: Brüning--65 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 136

The natives chiefly eat the following animals: two types of monkeys, a) the howling monkey (named cotomono by the whites and yakúm in Aguaruna) and b) the spider monkey (called maquisapa by the whites and wáši by the Aguaruna Indians); various types of turkeys, kúyo, onç [e], of which I have seen five; a hocko hen, paujiles, pivi, másu; a trumpeter bird, (tsiva), and many other birds whose names I do not know. In general, they do eat all birds, even the tiniest humming-birds. I have seen it how the Indians skinned a bird, speared it with a pointed stick and, without drawing it, roasted it over the fire and ate it. There is only one bird which they do not eat; they call it cáça. It has the shape of a pheasant, congregates in larger flights and emits a sound which lies halfway between croaking and screeching. The meat has a somewhat bitter taste, as I was able to find out for myself, but it is not so bad that somebody who is half-starved should reject it. [AN: The scientific name is Opisthocomus hoazin.] Of the larger mammals the following are not eaten: cattle, tapir (pamáu), ronsoco (ungumióg) and doe (hápa). [AN: It would be better to say: stag, species of the genus mazama.] The rubber collectors informed me that the Aguaruna Indians identify the doe with the devil. Ronsoco is a large rodent (Hydrochoerus capybara). Could it be that these animals are not eaten simply because they could not be killed with the blowgun--the only aboriginal weapon?

26: Brüning--66 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 226, 262, 411

In addition to meat the Indians eat a great deal of fish. Fishing is done by a variety of methods. They obtain the largest catch when they stupefy fish. For this purpose they use two plants, each one separately. One is the herbaceous plant másu, the other the bark of a liana (tímu). Both are pulverized and thrown in quiet coves of the rivers and brooks. The narcotized fish soon come to the surface where they are speared with long pointed chonta sticks (šikít). These fishing spears have a circular cross-section and a diameter of about 2 cm. Their length is 3 - 3.5 m.

When the rivers are on the rise, the Indians are quick to make an estacada (a sort of grill) of bamboo and place it across the mouths of the brooks and inlets. When the waters are falling again, the fish remain behind these estacadas. The natives even use fish-hooks which are a desirable article of barter.

These are the main articles of food in the realm of fauna. According to the rubber collectors, the natives are said to eat a large beetle larva which occurs in decaying wood.

26: Brüning--66 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 252, 137

There is a great variety of wild-growing edible plants, and it would be of great help to the traveller in the primeval forests of the upper Marañón if he would know these plants, for he is frequently forced by circumstances to make use of the prevailing flora. With what keen appetite have we not often devoured some inconspicuous fruit which the Indians designated as edible! Hunger is always one of the most formidable enemies for travellers in this region of the globe. During my short stay with the Aguaruna Indians I learned to know as edible the tender shoots of two palm trees. The names of these palms were tuntuám and uyáy. In order to reach this food one has to cut the entire tree (which brought anguish to my soul, but hunger is all powerful). These shoots are eaten raw or cooked in water. If you cook the shoots, you may drink the water as soup. The taste was similar to that of white cabbage.

26: Brüning--66-67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 262, 137

I have eaten the following wild-growing fruits (or I have watched others eating them): the nut [67] of the ivory-palm before it was fully matured. The Indians calle it tšapi, the whites tagua. The fruit of a passion-flower, called antšímuntše: It tastes well, similar to our goose-berry. Furthermore, the fruit na(h)ahăip which has the size of a small orange and the yellow color of an orange; its skin, however, has greater thickness and firmness. Its stone is so big that there is little space left for the sweet watery meat. We found this fruit at the eastern foot of the mountain, a little above Nazaret on the Marañón. Along the Marañón tributaries we found a fruit which is called pacáy in the Quichua language and huava along the north coast of Peru. Along the Marañón, however, these fruits can be found not on large trees but on low shrubs. Moreover, the pod was at the most 10 cm. long, while along the coast it had a length up to 50 cm. Otherwise the two fruits seemed to me the same. The Indians call this fruit which grows in their territory wámbokiš. It consists of a dark-green, leatherlike pod in which there are the black beanlike seeds bedded in a white, cottonlike, sweet mass. The white mass is the edible part. The aforementioned are according to my information, the articles of food provided by the primeval forest. But there are certainly more.

28: Tessman--350 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

Dogs are used for hunting. They keep chickens to eat their meat and eggs. Pork (pigs: kutsi) is eaten by both sexes. In the atsuim region, along the upper Cenipa, a very secluded part of the Aguarunas is said to have very large pigs.

28: Tessman--390 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 222, 262

Palm-cabbage is eaten, and so are the fruits of Oenocarpus bataua (unguki), of Mauritia flexuosa (átsõ), and of Euterpe (sakõ). The larvae of palmer-worms (mũndiã) and a certain ant (uẽk) are eaten. The Indians eat honey, too.

28: Tessman--353 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

The one-year old buck is killed because it damages the manihot fields; but its meat is eaten only by a few old men. This is the reason for its unpopularity: since it has only two horns, this is taken as an indication that a sorcerer (tuntĩ) is hidden inside. Only rarely do they eat tapir, since they assume that it is related to the one-year old buck.

14 Harner K-6.5 (1956-1969)1973 SDP Jivaro SDP

279 and plantain around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
572 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
913 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.
[492] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she
fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband
starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He
drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working.
In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working.
Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on
fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer
again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour,
comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] mat and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-
law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is
ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all
afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[955] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law
staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the
next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing
an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

10.Horner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten stems of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*wadimu*, *ziwadam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampu*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampuñuk* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*ziyant*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuna*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielmea utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kisak*, *kuchal*, *ampakai*, *tsirintá*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakai, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [273]
kawai) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*wasai*, *mulin?*, *ipá*, *wamar*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
stay roaming in the garden, a low rail fence may be built enough to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially as food visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncultivated cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *wawa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *mirui*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[799] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
[439] parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

14 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

186 small households over a large area results in a very poor
203 communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

869 Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that
• 262 meat is not always abundant in the household, depending
855 on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

865 While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of
[867] and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may
861 be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jivaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of
[867] their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking,
[867] continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only 462
duty. 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only 868
the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her [323]
by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form [532]
and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with [826]
clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to [831]
touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blow- 224
gun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less 462
than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at 857
that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to 868
shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them [262]
himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro. 775

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[12] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*suar iwanci*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. 775 776 825 [262]

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When a Jívaro child wanders into the forest and is not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was 776 775

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground; and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment. 766 764

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way. [778]

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above. 764

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished. 765 774 [262]

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untā* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 768 774 [701] 766 774

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

178 184 438 278 411 [224]

1: Karsten--119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 619 (1928-29)

"The Indians in their natural state never use salt as a spice. The half-civilized Canelos Indians have learned to use it and are accustomed to make the long journey down to the Huallaga on the Amazon to fetch salt. To these Indians, however, who have much communication with the whites, the salt is at the same time an important article of trade, and the same may in part be said of the Jibaros proper, at any rate those living on the Upano and upper Morona.

These savage Indians, although they never put salt in their food for the sake of making it more palatable, still have developed the preparation of salt into a sort of industry. Salt to them has value exclusively as a remedy, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is especially used as an emetic. Besides this, they [JKM: Jibaros] carry on a sort of trade with salt, their customers being the mestizos of Macas, who obtain all their salt from their savage neighbours."

1: Karsten--120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 784, 752 (1928-29)

"A full-grown Jibaro man has a special reason for avoiding salt. Salt is regarded as an antidote against arrow-poison and the Jibaros therefore are of opinion that if a man eats salt, the arrow-poison he uses in hunting will become useless. Children, on the other hand, have a special liking for salt, and when they get it, they may be seen eating salt with pleasure just as children among civilized peoples eat sugar."

1: Karsten--120 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263 (1928-29)

"Although it would never occur to the Jibaros to put salt in the food, they, on the other hand, consider another kind of spice almost indispensable, namely, Indian pepper (Capsicum), called himya in the Jibaro language. Different varieties of Capsicum are cultivated by the Jibaros and they are all exceedingly strong. One variety is so strong that it is only used for the preparation of arrow-poison. If a white man frequently finds the food of the Indians--especially their soups--almost uneatable, this is chiefly due to the fact that it is so peppery that a European palate and throat can hardly stand it. When the Indians eat meat and fish, they generally have some boiled Indian pepper placed on a special plate or banana leaf and eat some of the spice according to taste. More frequently still they eat the pepper crude, taking a few seeds directly from the sheath.

The CANELOS INDIANS, although nowadays they understand the use of salt (cachi) as a spice, at the same time appreciate Indian pepper also. The pot containing boiled Indian pepper (utchu manga) plays as important a part at the meals of these Indians as salt, ordinary pepper, pickles, and other kinds of spice play at the dining-table of civilized peoples."

4: Up de Graff--205 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 251, 263

"The meat-racks of which we have spoken are built to some four feet in height and placed over the fires, keeping the fish and meat outside the radius of the flames, and allowing it to be cured in the smoke. The Antipas have no salt."

12: Rivet--591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 263, 261

For cooking, they do not ordinarily use salt, not by preference, but because of the rarity of this product in the upper Amazon. Geophagy, which is very widespread, is without doubt related to this lack of salt. The natives ordinarily eat small balls of saltpetrous earth, but they occasionally make use of pieces of pottery (1). This custom is common to a great many tribes of the eastern regions, living under the same conditions. The little Indians of the Napo carefully hide little balls of clay between their toes, to regale themselves unknown to the missionary.

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1. This detail is noted in the report of the expedition made in 1785 by Vallano and Cuesta into the Jibaro country of Zamora, of which I will speak later. The Corregidor, having broken a piece of pottery in the house of a Jíbaro, was surprised to see the Indians present divide up the pieces and crunch them with manifest pleasure. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 22).

26: Brüning--67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 252, 263, 317

I noticed that all dishes are prepared without salt. But when the cooked food is served, a piece of salt is always served with it. In the case of a liquid dish, the Indian places the salt between two fingers and stirs it into the dish, so that a little of the salt can dissolve. Otherwise they bring the salt to the mouth from time to time, or they lick on it. Salt is a very scarce commodity on Aguaruna territory. They obtain it from the upper Marañón where there are said to be some salty brooks. The salt remains as a dirty ash-colored sediment when they laboriously boil the water down in large pots. In Aguaruna language salt is called wig.

28: Tessman--352 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 263

Sugar cane is called pagáta in Aguaruna and paăto in Atschual language. The juice is extracted by chewing. They swallow the juice, or spit it out, or mix it with massato. But this mixing is done rather rarely. There is no alcoholic sugarcane beverage.

28: Tessman--353 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 263, 252

There are two kinds of salt. One is called wuõi by the Atschual Indians and wõi by the- by the Aguarunas; it is obtained from a salt lake on the Nieva. The other salt (kátši) is obtained from salt rocks which are found along the Apaga. Salt is not mixed into the food during eating; rather they make paste by mixing salt, Capsicum pepper (íma in Aguaruna, himiã in the Atschual language) and atšámpi and eat the paste while they eat their food.

1: Karsten--244 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
264 (1928-29)

"About 8 o'clock the first meal of the day is taken. As a rule it consists of boiled manioc and boiled or roasted plantain, meat, or fish. This food is prepared by the women in the 'kitchen' (ekinturu) and is taken by them to the men's department, each kind of food on a special, big banana leaf. The leaves are placed on the floor and the men sit down on small benches to eat. The men and women generally eat separately, the former in the big ante-room (tangámasha), the women and children in the women's department."

12: Rivet--600 -601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 515, 302, 264

The hygenic operation finished [KS: morning infusion of guayusa], everyone washes, for the Jíbaro is clean, contrary to his brother of the sierra. As soon as he returns from the neighboring river, he makes his toilette in the house itself; he has the custom of putting water in his mouth, from which he spits it into his hands in order to wash his face and wet his hair; then he combs it carefully, for he likes to have his hair well-arranged and shiny. Then, while the women are preparing breakfast, he sets to work, either at the weaving of a garment, or the manufacture of his ornaments or his arms. At the end of about an hour the repast is ready: there are abundant piningas of chicha, some manioc and boiled bananas, and a piece of wild pig or of fish. After having [601] refreshed himself sufficiently, the Jíbaro paints his body and his teeth, puts on his customary ornaments, takes his lance, his blowgun or his gun, his little net, unties his dogs and for 4 1/2 or 5 hours in the morning hunts or goes to visit his friends in the neighborhood, during which time the women take their wicker back-baskets and armed with a little machete or a knife cultivate the surrounding land.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the Indian has always returned; one never meets him at night, normally. As soon as he gets back, his wives come in turn to present him with a bowl of chicha, which they stir with their hands before offering, and while the master drinks, they turn their heads, either because of respect, or out of habit.

18: Hermessen--444 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 264

"Meals seemed to be going on at odd hours throughout the day. The only regular refection was the morning one, which was served at daybreak. The food, done up as an 'olla podrida,' or 'hot-pot,' and contained in a large earthenware caldron, was brought on by the women, who would then retire to eat with the children in their own part of the house. (24) Jíbaro table manners were of the kind made memorable by the feat of the ingenuous Little Jack Horner--but the Jíbaro pot might hold greater surprises than plums."

"24. Cf. Whiffen, op. cit., p. 135."

20: Dyott--168-169 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 264, 521

"The noon-day meal went off very well. There was an abundance of food and plenty of nija-manchi to drink. [169] From start to finish there was not a lull in the conversation. It went on incessantly, everyone chattering away at once. The story of how the deer had been killed was repeated at least ten times, and on each occasion Kuashu would get up to show by action just what took place. The assembly roared with laughter, the women being just as interested in the event as anyone else, and Chingasso was regarded with envy for having been a witness to such exciting scenes."

26: Brüning--67 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 264, 515

I have been unable to observe whether the Indians stick to a certain timetable when they take their meals. The few times we visited one of their tambos, we were always served cold food out of one of the numerous pots. They seem to be familiar with the technique of "cooking in advance." Liquid food, for instance, a sort of soup, was served in shallow bowls (pinínge), and solid food was served on the large leaf of a plant, always accompanied by a small piece of salt. In one instance I found in the soup the coarsely cut leaves of the yucca plant: they were boiled with the soup. Liquid stuff is drunk directly out of the bowl. Solid food is brought to the mouth with the hands.

In their tambos they always keep pots with water. I have seen these pots hanging from the ceiling on a thick rope or placed on a trifurcated post that was rammed into the dirt. After each meal the Indian takes a mouthful of this water, rinses his mouth with it and forcefully squirts it over his hands.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

1: Karsten--317 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 266 (1928-29)

"The victory-feast [JKM: Nambéra tsantsa] is also sometimes called tsantsa yuoma--that is, 'the eating of the tsantsa'--which expression has special reference to the series of conjurations through which the spirit of the killed enemy is trodden under foot, mortified, and enslaved. When the Jibaro is speaking of an enemy whom he particularly hates and wants to kill he says of him: 'Yuotahei', 'I will eat him.' This expression may be a survival from a time when the Jibaros were cannibals, and as a matter of fact at the head feast, as we shall see, a ceremony formerly took place which may be regarded as a trace of cannibalism."

13: Rivet--69 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 181, 266, 721

The savage thinks only of killing; but in spite of these habits, he is not cannibalistic. However, Barriero says that as soon as his enemy falls dead, the conqueror tears out his heart and eats his brain (1); but Villavicencio and Lubbock affirm that cannibalism does not exist among our Indians (2) and no traveller, to my knowledge, has confirmed the account of Barriero (3).

Osculati reports that, "The savages make a kind of bowl with the skull of their victim, in which they drink a great quantity of chicha, thinking to show their profound scorn for the dead in this manner" (4). This detail has not been noted by any other author and it is well to remember that the Italian traveller did not visit the Jíbaros, but was simply lucky in seeing some representatives (belonging undoubtedly to the tribe of Canelos) in the Ecuadorian city of Ambato. Because of this fact, his account may be suspected of inaccuracy.

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1. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 114.
2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 360. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Cf. Theodor Koch. Die Anthropophagie der sudamerikanischen Indianer (Archives internationales d'Ethnographie, Leyde. Vol. XII, 1899, pages 78-110).
4. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 30.

18: Hermeesen--448 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 153, 266

"Despite the low level of their development, the Jîbaros of the Zamora, like those of other parts of the province of Oriente, are by no means an unintelligent people, and in the conditions of their simple life they are valorous, faithful, and industrious. The Jîbaros are not, and never have been, cannibals. Their barbaric art of shrinking and conserving the heads of enemy chiefs slain in war has no connection with anthropophagy."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 their food in a living state in the ground and only need to dig it up, as desired, to supply food and to make the large quantities of manioc beer which constitute a basic part of their diet.

273 The manioc beer (*nihamanči*) is prepared by first peeling and washing the tubers in the stream near the garden. Then the water and manioc are brought to the house, where the tubers are cut up and placed in a pot to boil (see Plates 4, 5 and 10). When the manioc has become soft, the pot is removed from the fire and allowed to cool. The manioc is then mashed and stirred to a soft consistency with the aid of a special wooden paddle (see Plate 6). While the woman stirs the mash, she chews handfuls and spits them back into the pot, a process which may take half an hour or longer. The mastication of the mash is considered by the Jívaro to be essential to the proper and rapid fermentation of the brew, and their view seems to be supported by Western physicians who have informally voiced the opinion that the enzymes in the saliva, as well as the bacteria in the mouth, probably hasten the fermentation process.

After the mash has been prepared, it is transferred to a beer storage jar and left to ferment. Although the fermentation takes place rapidly, the beer is usually too much in demand to be allowed to sit very long. In being served, the beer is strained through a tree-gourd sieve to remove manioc fibers, and about one part of water is added to two parts of beer. The resultant liquid tastes somewhat like a pleasingly alcoholic buttermilk and is most refreshing. The Jívaro consider it to be far superior to plain water, which they drink only in emergencies such as when their beer canteens run dry while they are out hunting. Male informants, in addition, expressed the opinion that the beer is at its best if it has been chewed by a pretty girl rather than by an old woman. Beer is also made, in a slightly different fashion (see Plate 7), sea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been men- [235]
tioned previously. [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [824]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of minia- 531
ture drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, aver- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [273]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store
the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273]
[515]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.
[296]

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
411 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
439 chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[177] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

1: Karsten--121 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 273 (1928-29)

"In the life of the Indians of the Amazon territory certain drinks play almost as important a part as the food. The beer brewed from the manioc root is in fact the 'national drink' of these natives, without which they could not exist. It is brewed in the way known from many South American tribes: the roots are boiled, a part of them is carefully masticated and mixed with saliva, the liquid is spat out into a special pot and mixed with a quantity of mashed, but not masticated, manioc, whereupon the whole mass is carefully stirred with a stick and the pot covered with banana leaves while the contents ferment. On the following day the substance is generally sufficiently fermented to be used. As mentioned before, it is kept in a special big clay pot which has its place in the women's department.

The manioc-beer cannot be brewed except by the women, a custom which the Indians themselves explain by pointing out that the manioc has 'a woman's soul' (wakańi) and that therefore only a woman can properly influence it for the purpose of bringing it to fermentation. But when ready, the drink is particularly appreciated by the men, serving them as food as well as a drink. When the Indian goes out on a journey, on a hunting, fishing, or war expedition, he never fails to take with him a quantity of the fermented manioc substance enveloped in banana leaves. By diluting some of the substance with water he can, while on a journey, prepare the beer whenever he likes, and as long as he has his nihamańchi he is able to do without any other food for days.

Exactly the same may be said of the Canelos Indians, who call the fermented manioc-beer asua.

Both tribes also brew a kind of beer from the boiled fruits of the chontaruru palm. The Jibaros have a special chontaruru feast which is celebrated at the time when the fruit of the chontaruru palm grows ripe, in February and March.

Similarly both tribes know, besides the ordinary manioc-beer, a special manioc-wine, called sangucha shiki by the Jibaros and shutushca yacu by the Canelos Indians. How the manioc-wine is prepared will appear from the descriptions I shall give later on of the feasts of the Jibaro Indians. On these occasions, as we shall see, the manioc-beer is also brewed with special ceremonies."

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"Another preliminary [WPM: to the tobacco feast] is the ceremony called Nauma, i.e. the chewing of the manioc root for the purpose of brewing manioc-beer, a ceremony that takes place three days before the feast proper begins. Early in the morning all the women of the house, headed by the girl in whose honour the feast is to be held, march out to the manioc fields in the neighbourhood with their baskets (changina) to fetch the great quantity of manioc roots necessary for the purpose. When the women have arrived at the field, the young bride first receives some juice of tobacco from an old woman. The first manioc root is pulled up and placed in the basket by the girl, her hand being held by the older woman. Thereupon all the women proceed to fill their baskets with manioc roots and carry them home.

Here the ceremony takes place which is called by the Indians Nauma, i.e. the ceremonial chewing of the manioc, in which women from different houses in the neighbourhood are invited to take part. First the roots are peeled and boiled in big clay pots placed on different fires in the house. When the manioc is soft, the pots are removed from the fires and the roots mashed, as is done with potatoes. The pots are arranged in a circle on the floor, some empty ones being placed in the middle. The women now sit down on the floor, each in front of a clay pot of manioc, and the chewing of the fruit begins. Each woman fills her mouth with the mashed fruit and masticates it for a long while with great care, over and over again, more or less like a ruminating cow. She

does not stop until the masticated substance is in a liquid state; then she stoops down towards the empty pot in front of her and [194] spits the white liquid into it. When the pots are more or less half full of this fluid, unmasticated mashed manioc is added until the vessels are full, and the whole mass is stirred. The mouths of the clay vessels are carefully covered with banana leaves and they are then placed in a particular place in the women's department close to two of the pillars supporting the house. Here the fermentation will take place, that wonderful process which to the Indian mind is supernatural and sacred, and is ascribed to the soul animating the manioc plant. In order that the fermentation may proceed quickly and without disturbing influences, the women finally sit round the clay pots covered with palm leaves and sing a sort of prayer or incantation to the spirit of the manioc plant.

Not only ordinary manioc-beer is brewed for a feast, but also a special manioc-beer and a kind of manioc-wine, both prepared from roasted manioc. While the pots were boiling in the house, the men had been roasting manioc roots outside, the roots being placed over a big fire on a frame made of tree branches and called pingána. A number of the biggest roots have been selected for the purpose and of these again two particularly well developed have been chosen, to be laid on the roasting frame by the young girl with the assistance of the priestess. Thereupon other roots are added without ceremony. As

soon as the roots are sufficiently roasted, they are placed on big banana leaves and taken into the house. Here two baskets (changina) are ceremonially filled with the roasted manioc roots by the girl, whose hands are constantly held by the priestess. The first two manioc roots, however, are prepared in a special way before being laid in the baskets. The bride, whose hands are held by the priestess, cuts up the root with a knife and puts into it a little salt, which she bites off from a bigger piece and puts into the manioc with a little saliva, a little bark from the stem of the manioc plant, and a little mould which has formed upon some old roasted pieces of manioc enveloped in leaves and kept for the particular purpose of preparing manioc-wine. Some more of the roasted manioc roots are treated in the same way, the rest being placed in the baskets as they are. When the baskets are full, they are covered with certain big leaves and hung up at the same pillars in the house where the clay pots containing ordinary manioc-beer are. They are left there for three days, in order that they may 'ripen' and become impregnated with the power of the salt and the other things put into the manioc roots. I was able to establish for [195] myself that this way of preparing them was by no means merely an empty ceremony, or due to superstition. When some days later I tasted one of the roasted manioc roots I found it had a peculiar sweetish flavour, and the Indians assured me that the wine to be prepared from these roots would be particularly strong.

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

The preparation both of the manioc-beer and the wine is continued on the first day of the feast, three days later,. . ."

"I shall now describe shortly the ceremonies which take place on each of the four days devoted to the feast.

.... the young bride is, at the principal ceremonies performed at the feast, regularly assisted by an old experienced woman, who acts so to say as a priestess and in this capacity is called whuéa. Besides this there is an old man who has to assist at certain ceremonies and thus in a way acts as a priest. The young girl in whose honour the feast is held is called tsángrama. A sister of hers and another young female relative also take part in the principal ceremonies, and the tsángrama, her sister, and the third young woman are often mentioned in connection with one another.

The first day of a great feast is always called Utsándowai, i.e. 'The opening of the feast'. It begins early in the morning with the solemn entrance of the guests into the house. All guests invited to the feast have arrived on the day before, but they have passed the night in provisional shelters outside the house. Having arranged their dress and their ornaments and renewed their facial paintings, they enter the house headed by the old man who acts as priest at the feast. Once in the house, they arrange themselves in two rows from the door towards the centre and sit down on small seats (kutánga) placed there for the purpose. They are welcomed in the usual way with manioc-beer (nihamánchi), which is offered to them ceremonially by the women. In the middle of the room, close to the first central pillar, a number of big clay pots (muitsa) have been

placed; they contain food, pork and chicken. In front of these four women take their stand; the first of these is the principal person of the feast, the young bride, the second her sister, and the rest near female relations of hers. Each of them has a clay dish (pininga) filled with manioc-beer in her hands. The men now have to step forward to drink a little from the clay dish of each woman. The future husband of the young girl takes them there in their proper turns, beginning with the eldest guest and finishing with [196] the youngest; lastly he himself drinks. When this is done, the men start to eat. Some banana leaves are spread on the floor in front of the clay pots containing food, and upon these a number of clay dishes are placed. The dishes are filled with meat and boiled manioc and are thereafter distributed among the men, who also partake of the manioc-beer which is being constantly carried round by the women. While the eating and drinking is going on, some Indians beat the drums incessantly, as is customary at the Indian feasts.

The drinking-bout is continued the whole forenoon, the men retaining their seats. On the space between them various parties of women appear dancing. The dance--which is called Ihiámbrama--is started by the bride, her sister, and the priestess, whom three other women have joined. The women stand, three in each row, against each other moving alternately towards and from each other at a slow pace and making steps which

cannot exactly be described in words. Two Indians, who also move to and fro on the floor, accompany their dance by beating drums or playing flutes. The women, having danced for a while, are relieved by others, but the number of women appearing varies. Later on only four, three, or two appear at a time, and sometimes a woman is seen dancing solo, always accompanied by some men beating the drums. The dance and the drumming is thus continued for several hours.

In the afternoon the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine is continued in so far as the roasted roots hung up in the two baskets are chewed, i.e. a new Nauma ceremony takes place. Of the masticated fruit a part is separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing the special manioc-beer referred to above, whereas of the rest of the masticated fruit the manioc-wine is prepared by the essence of the masticated substance being distilled. Since the procedure thereby will be minutely described in connection with the great victory feast, I shall not dwell on this detail here, and the same may be said of the manioc-beer which is brewed by using a special ferment of chewed manioc substance prepared earlier. The special manioc-beer prepared from roasted manioc roots is drunk on the third and fourth day of the feast after the principal ceremonies, whereas the manioc-wine, sangucha shiki, is drunk at the end of the feast before the guests depart.

In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed

round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

"The following day, that is, three days before the feast proper begins, the manioc-beer to be served to the many guests, and also a manioc-wine which is to be drunk at the end of the feast, are prepared. The preparation of both these drinks, and especially of the manioc-wine, is of a ceremonial character. The main thing is to make them as strong as possible, this being essential for the success of the feast. The slayer himself, therefore, must personally assist in the work in order to transfer his own power to the beverages. The leading principle in the whole Tsantsa-feast, as already mentioned, is that the slayer, by virtue of the close relation established between him and the spirit of his victim, becomes invested with supernatural power and knowledge which he is trying to use for his own ends and to make effective in different departments of his economic life.

Early in the morning all the women, headed by the wife of the slayer and the priestess (oháha), go out to the manioc fields to fetch the manioc for preparing the drinks mentioned. Each of the women carries one of the baskets (changina) just made, and they are accompanied by the men armed with lances. The manioc which is to be brought home by the wife of the slayer, and of which the important manioc-wine is to be prepared, is gathered with especial care. When the woman pulls up the first stalk of manioc--which ought to be particularly large and well grown--the priestess is holding her wrist and likewise helps her to lay it down in the basket. Then she fills the basket with other manioc roots without the aid of the priestess. The women return to the

house with their baskets in about two hours, and at once start the preparations. The fruit is washed and the majority of it is peeled, parted, and boiled in various large clay pots. From this manioc, by masticating and mashing the fruit, fermented manioc substance is later prepared. [328]

The manioc-wine (shiki) is prepared in another way. For this purpose the manioc is first roasted, not boiled, a work performed by the priest (whuéa) at a big fire outside the house, with the assistance of some other Indians. As soon as a sufficient quantity of the fruit has been roasted it is taken into the house and laid on some large banana leaves. At the side of it three baskets (changina) are placed, which are to be filled with the roasted fruit. A heap of certain large forest leaves, called kachini by the Jibaros, and another heap of a smaller kind of leaf called wambá are also placed close by. On a special banana leaf there is a piece of salt and a piece of the stem of the manioc plant with the rind, wich [sic] has previously been roasted.

Now the roasted fruit has to be laid in the three baskets, and at this the slayer himself and his wife and daughter have to assist, the priest (whuéa) conducting the ceremonies. The latter, who has previously prepared some tobacco juice in his nattipya, gives some of this medicine, first to the slayer and then to his wife and daughter, the first mentioned, as usual, receiving it through the nose, the latter through the mouth. The priest subsequently grasps the slayer by the wrist and the latter leans down and

takes one of the large kachini leaves and lays it carefully down upon the bottom of one of the three baskets. Thereupon he, with the aid of the priest, takes one of the smaller wamba leaves and lays it in the same way in the basket upon the first leaf. Then the slayer, whose hand is still held by the priest, takes one of the roasted maniocs and opens it with his fingers. An older Indian holds out the leaf with the salt and the roasted manioc stem, the latter having previously been scraped with a knife, so that a small quantity of a brown powder has been obtained. The slayer with two fingers takes a little of this powder and puts it into the parted manioc fruit. Then he takes a piece of salt, bites off a little of it, and puts this small piece into the fruit. He then closes the latter with his hands and lays it carefully in the basket upon the leaves previously laid there. Exactly the same is repeated with another manioc. The slayer opens the fruit with his fingers, puts a little of the brown powder as well as a small piece of salt into it, and then lays the fruit in the basket at the side of the manioc first placed there. Thereupon he takes a large kachini leaf, as well as a wambá leaf, and lays these in the basket upon the fruit. While all these operations are being performed the wrist of the slayer is held by the priest. Now the same is repeated with the wife of the slayer, whose right hand is held by the old man. She takes a manioc, opens it, sprinkles some of the brown powder and a [329] little salt into it, again closes it, and then places it in the basket upon the leaves last laid down there. A second manioc is in like manner put into

the basket by her. Lastly, she covers the fruit with a kachini and a wambá leaf, just as was done by the slayer. Finally, the daughter of the slayer performs the same action, putting two maniocs into the basket and covering them with the leaves, the girl being in the same way assisted by the priest. In all, six manioc fruits have thus been ceremonially placed in the basket.

An older Indian now continues the work of filling the basket with roasted manioc until it is nearly full, but he does it without ceremony and is not assisted by the priest. Nor is the brown powder or the salt put into the fruit. However, the last maniocs with which the basket is filled must again be laid down by the slayer, his wife, and daughter, and with the same ceremonies as before. Each of them thus, with the assistance of the priest, again places two maniocs in the basket, sprinkling some of the brown powder and a little salt into them and covering them with the leaves. The basket having been filled, the slayer, assisted by the priest, carefully covers it with leaves and ties it over with lianas.

With exactly the same ceremonies the two other baskets are filled, the slayer, his wife, and daughter always laying down the first and the last maniocs and covering them with leaves.

At the other end of the house, in the women's quarters, a sort of shelter or broad shelf has been made of split bamboo, resting upon four poles about 1 1/2 or 2 metres in

height. Under this shelter the large clay pots in which the manioc substance is laid for fermenting are later placed upon the ground. Even the three baskets containing the roasted manioc are brought here. They are not laid on the ground, but are hung up to the roof by means of a special pole fixed in the ground. The slayer himself carries the baskets here from the place where they had been filled with the fruit, the priest holding his hands. The slayer takes the pole and fixes it in the ground close to one of the four poles upon which the shelter rests. Other men complete the work, fixing the pole more steadily in the ground and tying it to the other poles. The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, lifs [sic] up one of the three baskets and hangs it upon the pole. Thereafter, with the aid of the priest, he hangs the two other baskets upon the pole.

The baskets are left hanging here for three days until the beginning of the feast, manioc-wine being then prepared from them in a way to be described later. During these days the fruit will 'ripen' properly; [330] the powder and the salt put into the manioc will impregnate the fruit and exert some mysterious influence to the effect that the wine prepared from it will turn out exceedingly strong. To the kachini and wambá leaves, placed in the baskets, some mysterious influence is also ascribed.

While this work was being done by the slayer, his wife and daughter, and some of the men, the rest of the women, headed by the priestess, have been engaged in preparing the manioc-beer (nihamánchi). After the root has been boiled it has to be masticated,

a work which takes some two hours to perform. The masticating of the manioc for the feasts is a real ceremony and is called Nauma. Generally only the women take part in it, since the preparation of the beer is a work particularly incumbent on the women. Of the fruit, however, only a part, or at the most a half, is masticated. The rest of it is only mashed. The manioc masticated is thoroughly mixed with saliva and then spat into a number of large clay pots (muitsa). To each of these some of the mashed manioc is added and the whole substance is carefully stirred.

Generally the pots are now only covered with banana leaves and the substance allowed to ferment. For the great feasts, however, a special ferment, consisting of previously chewed and fermented manioc, is added in order that the beer may turn out stronger. A small clay vessel with this ferment is kept ready. The following operations are, in the main, carried out only by the women--first of all by the wife of the slayer, who is assisted by the priestess (oháha). However, even the slayer himself must assist at some actions, to transfer his power to the beverage. The wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the priestess, carries each of the pots containing the manioc substance to the shelter before mentioned, where the fermentation will take place. Six or eight large pots are thus placed under the shelter in holes previously made in the ground for the purpose. In order that the pots may stand more steadily they are supported underneath by pieces of the genipa fruit. These pieces are placed under the pots by the

slayer in a ceremonial way, his hands being meantime held by the priest. The wife of the slayer, assisted by the oháha, now puts a little of the manioc ferment just mentioned into each of the pots, but before the ferment is put in the slayer has each time to taste a little of it. The pots are then carefully covered with large leaves by the wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the oháha, and finally tied with lianas.

Some of the large clay pots are tied on the outside with strips of bast in such a way as to form ornamental figures or patterns like those formed [331] in basket weaving. The real significance of this arrangement is not quite clear. It is possible that its object is only to give strength to the pots so that they shall not burst at the fermentation of the manioc substance. But it is also possible that some mysterious power is ascribed to the strips as well as to the ornaments formed by them--a power which will promote the fermentation and contribute to making the beverage strong. This, at any rate, is the object of the genipa fruit placed under the pots. The genipa--from which the magical black body-paint is prepared--will communicate its power to the pots and the sacred substance contained in them, a power further increased by the fact that the slayer himself places the fruit there.

It is supposed to be of essential importance that the clay pots should be placed firmly in the ground, for then the fermentation also will take place steadily, and no disturbing influences will make themselves felt.

All these preparations have taken the main part of the day to accomplish, and are not finished until the afternoon. The fermentation, which in a way is the most important detail of the whole thing, however, still has to take place. In order to hurry or favourably influence the process of fermentation all the women sit down on the ground around the pots containing the manioc substance and, led by the priestess, sing a sort of chant or conjuration. With this ceremony, which lasts for about half an hour, the preparation of the manioc-beer ends.

The fact that only the women have to brew the manioc-beer--which is the rule among all Indians--is due to the same reason as makes the cultivation of the manioc fields a business solely incumbent on the female sex. According to the animistic ideas of the Jibaros, as we have seen, all plants are animated by human spirits (wahání), some of male sex, some of female. The manioc, like most other domestic plants, has a woman's soul. Hence--according to the principle 'like is best known by like'--the women have to cultivate this plant just as, in regard to the preparation of the manioc-beer, they are believed to have a special power of promoting that mysterious and, to the Indian mind, unintelligible process of nature which is called fermentation."

"Later in the forenoon the preparation of the manioc-wine, which was begun three days ago, is continued. The roasted manioc which was then hung up in the three baskets, filled and arranged with so much care, is now supposed to have properly ripened. The slayer, accompanied [339] by the priest and other men, goes to the shelter where the baskets had been hung up. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes down the baskets one after the other and starts to open them, proceeding with the utmost care and being always assisted by the old man. The slayer and the priest both taste the fruit in each basket to convince themselves of its having acquired the necessary virtue for the preparation of the wine. The women start to masticate the roasted fruit in the same way as the boiled manioc is masticated for brewing ordinary manioc-beer. A part of the fruit masticated is then separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing a special manioc substance from it by means of fermentation. Of this substance a kind of manioc-beer will be brewed, to be drunk after the most important ceremony of the feast, the washing of the tsantsa, two days later. Again, of the rest of the fruit masticated the proper manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), to be consumed on the last day of the feast, is prepared in the following way.

A clay pot is placed on the ground, and the slayer and his wife and daughter, as well as the priest, take their stand in front of it. On a banana leaf a number of wooden pins have been laid, made from the twigs of a special wild tree which the Jibaros call shuya and which produces a sweet black fruit similar to grapes. On another banana leaf have

been laid some leaves of another forest tree called apai. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes one of the shuya pins and slowly and carefully places it inside the pot--about in the middle of it--in a horizontal position. His wife and daughter, whose hands are likewise held by the priest, also put one pin each in the pot beside the first one. Another man completes the work, putting without ceremony some other similar pins into the pot until they have been laid along its whole breadth, with a distance of about half an inch between each. Now the slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes an apai leaf and cautiously places it across the shuya pins. The wife and the daughter do the same, each laying down one apai leaf in the pot at the side of the first one. Several more apai leaves are laid down, until the shuya pins are completely covered with them. Lastly, these leaves are perforated all over with a wooden pin, so that the whole thing becomes like a sieve.

The masticated manioc substance is now laid in the pot upon the leaves. The slayer and his wife and daughter again begin the work, each of them laying down, with the aid of the priest, a small quantity of the substance. The pot is wholly filled with it, and the mouth is covered first with some apai leaves and then with some large kachini leaves [340] (Alocasia macrorrhiza) the whole thing being lastly carefully tied over with lianas. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, now places the pot upon the shelter mentioned before, where it is left for two days and two nights. During this time the essence

in the masticated manioc substance will be distilled and drop into the lower empty part of the pot. This essence is the manioc-wine."

1: Karsten--499-501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533, 273 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the lyric poetry of the Indians I have yet to mention the incantations sung at one of the minor feasts, the chontaruru-feast. The fruit of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui in the Jibaro language, grows ripe in February and March and is particularly appreciated on account of the beer brewed from it. Besides this, the fruit offers the Indians a most nourishing food for about two months of the year.

The feast is arranged as soon as part of the fruit so impatiently awaited has ripened and beer can be brewed from it. The fruit is collected and carried home by the men, boiled in big clay pots in the same way as is the manioc, and then masticated and well mixed with saliva, whereupon the substance is allowed to ferment. The process of fermentation, which takes place at night, is 'hastened' by dancing, singing, and beating the big drum tundúi. Several big clay vessels (muitsa), the mouths of which are covered with banana leaves, are placed on the floor in the middle of the room. When darkness sets in, about six o'clock in the evening, all men and women arrange themselves in a ring round the clay vessels and start dancing and singing, in their incantations reviewing the whole 'history' of the chonta from the very moment the little sprout is planted in the earth by the men until the time which has now arrived when the tree is full-grown and its fruits have ripened. The dancing and chanting is continued until after midnight. Early in the following morning the drinking-feast begins. While the men drink and get intoxicated by the beer, they incessantly sing the following incantation in which they

address those quadrupeds and birds which in the animal kingdom most appreciate the chonta fruit, especially a parrot called tuishi, and another bird of the forest called kiruánchama, as well as the wild pig (pakki) which also eagerly eats the fruit that falls down from the chonta palms. They call these animals and birds poetically their 'brothers' and 'brothers-in-law', inviting them to take of the fruit which is now ripe and to prepare chontaruru-beer. Thus, the Indians fancy, the fruit will go on ripening and be abundant.

This incantation runs as follows:

Seiru kiruánchama,
amue ui nikápsata,
ui nikápsata!
Ui nereáwue, ui nereáwue, [500]
ui nereáwue!
Ui natinyu, ui natinyu.
Ityursanki nerecheindya,
nerecheindya, nerecheindya?

In translation:

'Parrot, my brother-in-law,
now come along and take of the chonta,

come and take of the chonta!
The chonta fruit is ripening, the chonta fruit is ripening!
Up to brew chonta-beer, up to brew chonta-beer!
Why does not the fruit quickly ripen,
Why does it not ripen?'

....

The men not only celebrate the chonta feast by chanting this incantation, but also by beating the big drum tundúi in the particular time that is customary at the Jibaro drinking-feasts and which has been referred to before (p. 111). By beating the drum in this way the Indians invite their ancestral spirits, who were great warriors and medicine-men and are now believed to live in the mountains and hills, to take part in the drinking-feast and to rejoice with their living descendants. These spirits, although in normal cases more feared than loved, now appear as the friends and allies of the Indians, being under the same [501] magical constraint as in the narcotic sleep produced by natéma or maikoa. From this point of view the great drinking-feasts of the Jibaros clearly assume a religious character."

3: Simson- 386 [5] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 273

"This chief sustenance of the Indian of these parts is made of the cassava root (yuca) boiled, and then partly chewed by the women, and partly mashed, after which it stands to ferment, on the third day becoming a little sharp in taste, which quality increases as the fermentation proceeds. Its consistency and appearance are much like mashed potatoes; and to prepare it for drinking a couple of ladlefuls (the hand is the ladle) are taken and worked and kneaded in a calabash of water, until well mixed: then all the coarser fibre, which floats on the surface, is removed with a fork (the digital one supplied by Nature), and the refreshing and sustaining beverage is in condition for drinking."

4: Up de Graff--252 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
273

"It is a curious fact, and one which throws a good deal of light on the much-discussed alcohol question, that any ignorant savage in the world will appreciate to the full his first drink of rum. It would appear that there is something in the natural constitution of man that answers to the call of alcohol."

The common drink is chicha, a fermented beverage, usually made with manioc, but also with bananas, the fruits of the chontaruru, etc. It is indispensable to the Jíbaro, who can withstand the privation of going without food for entire days, but does not know how to get along without his favorite beverage. In the course of his long war or hunting expeditions, if necessity demands, he gets along without anything but masato, that is to say fermented manioc paste carefully wrapped in a banana leaf, a small quantity of which mixed into water permits him to make an impromptu, pleasant, and strengthening beverage. Normally it is prepared by the women: it is called cooked or raw, depending on whether or not it has been cooked after fermentation. The first variety is stronger and has a better taste. The manufacture is as follows: the women take boiled pieces of manioc, crush them with their hands, then pound them on a batea with the aid of a piece of wood, and finally carefully chew the paste which, well mixed with saliva, is spit into a big clay pot containing cold water and a little fermented manioc. The mixture is stirred up with the hand and left to itself: in a few days it is ready. All the chichas, with various fruits from which they are made, are prepared in the same manner; they say that of chontaruru has a special taste. Daily the Jíbaro drinks enormous quantities of this beverage; [592] it is with that he gets himself intoxicated in the course of feasts and celebrations. Needless to say, after alcohol appeared in the eastern forests, it

made terrible ravages. The savage, like the civilized Indian, has an invincible leaning toward intemperance (1). Need I add that the Whites have no scruples against encouraging them in this vice by putting at their disposal at exorbitant prices the ignoble cane brandy.

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1. However, Father Prieto wrote in 1815: "The Jíbaros are not drunkards and look upon the drunk man with scorn, a trait unusual among all the American Indians". Prieto, "Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 65.

13: Rivet--247 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
273

The Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing.

18: Hermessen--443-444 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 273, 574

"From the former [KS: the yucca] the intoxicating liquor chicha was made. The method of its elaboration is not nice. The peeled or scraped tuber, after being boiled, is masticated by the women and set aside to ferment. For drinking, some of the unsavory mess is put into a shallow [444] receptacle full of water and worked and stirred with the fingers until the whole is well assimilated. The coarser fiber, as it comes to the surface is picked out, and the 'cup,' generally a calabash about a foot in diameter, is then ready to be passed round. To avoid giving offence, I had to take, or feign to take, a sip upon many occasions.

Great quantities of chicha are imbibed at Jíbaro feasts, a unique feature of which is that the host entertains vicariously, some other member of the house being appointed to represent him, while he wanders in Elysian fields under the influence of a narcotic made from a vine called ayahuasca (Inca, 'dead man's vine'; Banisteria caapi, Spruce). (23)"

"23. Op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 423-425."

20: Dyott--169 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 273

"Lunch over, the women gathered in a circle in the centre of the floor. A big earthen pot of steamed yuca was produced, and alongside of it was arranged the now almost empty nija-manchi jar. Inza mashed up the yuca roots with a stick, helped herself to a mouthful of the pulp, masticated it thoroughly and then spat it out into the other receptacle. Her companions did likewise and we left them engaged in this strange occupation of preparing their national drink. As soon as the big jar was full of the chewed-up mess, it was stood on one side and allowed to ferment. Fermentation is started by the action of human saliva, and the Indians have a notion that this mysterious phenomenon can only be produced by women, hence this rather unsatisfactory business falls to their lot."

20: Dyott--180 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 183, 273

".... Let us consider the Jivaro's attitude towards drunkenness. In London, a man might feel ashamed of himself if he drank to excess. In New York, such a condition might engender feelings of envy rather than scorn. But amongst the forest Indians, nothing but virtue is ascribed to those who get drunk. Their theory is that if it makes a man happy to get drunk, then let him drink often because the spirits want their children to be happy and any means to that end is justifiable."

25: Vigna--42 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 273, 276, 484

The principal drink, --which is also often eaten--and liquor, is the chicha of yuca, called "nijamanchi." The women who are in charge of its preparation, masticate the cooked yuca and spit it into special bowls where the mass ferments within a few hours. Its taste is similar to that of curdled milk. During the morning they take an infusion of "guayusa" - leaf of a tree that contains much caffein and is a savory sedative. On journeys, the only food they carry is the chicha of concentrated yuca, which they take with water; they do not take any other food en route.

26: Brüning--54-55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 273

From Nazaret the canoe brings you in one hour up the river to the village S. Antonio, situated, like Nazaret, on the left bank of the river. When we arrived, a number of women were busy collecting maní in baskets and carrying them into the house. (This maní had been spread out in the sun for drying purposes.) Between the women children were playing. The Curaca Antonio lost no time in presenting himself. He was dressed in a khaki suit, trimmed with golden galloons and metal buttons. He seemed to be quite proud of his suit, though this hangover from civilization was rather dirty and shabby. He had received it as a present from the rubber collector in Nazaret. Instantly he invited us to enter one of the houses, where he placed himself on one of the low seats motioning to us that we should do so likewise. He called on the women to serve us Masato. One after the other of these women came with their drinking cups, and one had to accept each one of them, though it requires the stomach of an Indian to carry out these rites of politeness. We reciprocated by giving him needles, sewing yarn, and small round mirrors. The house was very tidy and clean. I counted eight beds. In the course of time male Indians arrived, all eager to drink Masato. We also visited the other house which was still open on the sides (Illustration number 2).

Soon many Indians appeared, decorated with the ornaments of war, most of them armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and all of them drunk, which did not prevent them from drinking more Masato. I was accompanied by employees of the rubber collector, and

they told me that these drunken Indians had come from an assembly where they had made a brew from the narcotic liana [55] called Ayahuasca (a Quichua word) by the whites and Náktém by the Indians. They had made the brew in order to get enlightened as to the feasibility of a certain raiding expedition. It may very well have been the decision with regard to the revolt against the whites which happened in 1904. In spite of their drunkenness all of these Indians behaved properly, they even appeared very amiable.

26: Brüning--55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273, 579

We have been informed of occasional brawls between drunken Indians. In the foreground of Illustration 2 one can see one of these noble warriors standing next to a member of our expedition and holding a drinking cup to his mouth. The small woman is submissively waiting until her master has emptied the cup so that she can fill it again.

As a beverage the Indians prepare a brew from the yucca. This beverage is not only a stimulant but also of nutritional value, as you may judge from the way it is being prepared. Here is the manner of preparation: first the yucca is skinned and washed [68] Then it is cut crosswise into pieces 8 or 10 cm. in length, so that they can be easily placed in a pot. After the pot has been filled to the brim with such pieces, water is added so that the entire yucca is covered. The pot is then covered with a large leaf which is tied around the top. The pot is kept over a fire until the yucca is done. Then the water is poured off. They wait until the yucca gets cold. The women who are seated around the pot, take a part of the yucca and chew it, spitting the chewed mass back into the pot. With the help of a sort of kitchen ladle the whole mass is mashed so that the chewed mass is distributed among the non-chewed yucca. This entire mass is called nijamántši. It is now ready for use. In order to prepare the beverage, the woman takes a handful of this mash and puts it in a sort of strainer--a totuma bowl with tiny holes. Water is added to the bowl, and the mash is stirred by hand. The water with the starch granules runs through the holes into the drinking-bowl underneath. The fibers remain in the tutuma and are later thrown away.

This yucca mash is always prepared in great quantities. The storing vessels are sealed with leaves, and the content soon undergoes fermentation, thereby assuming a sour smell and taste. The beverage obtained from this mash is very refreshing, tastes and looks like butter milk. In this state it is slightly intoxicating, but you would have to

drink a lot in order to get really drunk. I have never succeeded in this, because I was always full before the drink could show its efficacy. The Indians are able to drink incredible quantities and, as a consequence, become slightly tipsy. They can do without almost anything else, but they must have their nijamántši.

26: Brüning--68 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273

When we travelled downstream on the Marañón, we left the main portion of our food supplies (masato and bananas) under a protecting roof which one of the former travellers had built on the high bank of the Marañón approximately opposite the mouth of the Santiago River. We were going to the Puerto Meléndez and hoped to be back in a few days. We wanted to bring our canoes through the Pongo de Manseriche carrying as little load as possible. After our arrival in the Puerto Meléndez, however, the Marañón River began to rise considerably, so that we were forced to stay for a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez. Finally, we were able to make the return voyage. When we arrived at our storage site, we found there only a huge field of slime and mud. The River had risen about 6 meters. The protecting roof was collapsed, and everything was covered with mud. Though there was little hope to find something of our food provisions, the Indians did not hesitate to search through the mud and under the roof for the masato pots, and they were lucky enough to find them, but, judging from the smell, the masato was in a state of definite decay, which did not prevent the Indians from devouring it without water.

28: Tessman--352 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 273

Massato (nixamántsi) is obtained from manihot with the chewed sweet potato acting as fermenting agent. They drink it only infrequently. They may also add the juice of sugar-cane. Aside from manihot massato they have, according to Karsten (Beiträge, etc., p. 36) a manihot wine (sanucha shiki), which is made of toasted manihot.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon readiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself, each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[721] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off, eyes and mouth are sewed up, hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks. smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[269] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
● 273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutanü*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 their food in a living state in the ground and only need to dig it up, as desired, to supply food and to make the large quantities of manioc beer which constitute a basic part of their diet.

• 273 The manioc beer (*nihamanči*) is prepared by first peeling and washing the tubers in the stream near the garden. Then the water and manioc are brought to the house, where the tubers are cut up and placed in a pot to boil (see Plates 4, 5 and 10). When the manioc has become soft, the pot is removed from the fire and allowed to cool. The manioc is then mashed and stirred to a soft consistency with the aid of a special wooden paddle (see Plate 6). While the woman stirs the mash, she chews handfuls and spits them back into the pot, a process which may take half an hour or longer. The mastication of the mash is considered by the Jívaro to be essential to the proper and rapid fermentation of the brew, and their view seems to be supported by Western physicians who have informally voiced the opinion that the enzymes in the saliva, as well as the bacteria in the mouth, probably hasten the fermentation process.

After the mash has been prepared, it is transferred to a beer storage jar and left to ferment. Although the fermentation takes place rapidly, the beer is usually too much in demand to be allowed to sit very long. In being served, the beer is strained through a tree-gourd sieve to remove manioc fibers, and about one part of water is added to two parts of beer. The resultant liquid tastes somewhat like a pleasingly [271] alcoholic buttermilk and is most refreshing. The Jívaro consider it to be far superior to plain water, which they drink only in emergencies such as when their beer canteens run dry while they are out hunting. Male informants, in addition, expressed the opinion that the beer is at its best if it has been chewed by a pretty girl rather than by an old woman. Beer is also made, in a slightly different fashion (see Plate 7), sea-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons, of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons, and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exclusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

579 serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

273 462 512 [252] [283]

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is roughlyhour dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224]

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 p.m., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

[252]

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and hands with water from the gourd "bowls." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat. 273 462 512 594

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a cupid torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar: 273 462 512 313 [241]

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
512 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
913 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.
[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer concisually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[955] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[8] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*nukintu*, *čarayčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirulá* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyayu*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tampuntá*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kiyak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirintá*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakai, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [273]
kumai) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*umsi*, *ručinč*, *ipu*, *wanar*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [295]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *tuanta* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [295]
[231]

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [413] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [415] traded from the frontier Jívaro. [399]

Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- 412 ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [844] umbilicus of a new-born infant, and sometimes a hardwood [244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*uwali*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously. [235] [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction 415
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay [462]
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apilawa* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [326]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation 531
jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, over- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [278]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [291]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [278] [515]

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415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
• 293 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[278] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[494] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food, a wickerwork type for carrying fish, and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[224] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[294] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
499 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[199] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

More of the Winchester carbines, although originally percussion weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[458] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
499 hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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585 [590] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 579 272 261 550 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host, and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

226 575 [962] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

575 226 933 [92]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

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5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Rio Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

/p. 90-B/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusimi, 1956–57).

/r. 90-8/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SDP Jivaro SDP

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When you are living well, then, with all your *ai* and *yafi*, if someone comes and kills your *ai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

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Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

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When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a sip and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men then start fighting with their *yafi*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

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Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34 Harner G-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SDP Zivaro SDP

527 Parties, centering around massive beer drinking and bonfire
[279] [319] [351] ment, or social dances, are the main form of regular group interaction with neighbors. More typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unsprinkled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently,
[279] and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respec-
[285] table beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the beer may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[209] [352] Planned parties occur when chenna palm fruit is harvested and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived malaria.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
574 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
585 women put on small shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The women hops up and down, her shell belt sinking the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[319] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
583 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

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527 533 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The [535] *tsenemt* is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an 533 ironic humor. The following are two examples of these 539 *tsenemt* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man:

> Why are you so near to me?
> For they will come after us.
> This other one
> Who came very close
> Caused me to boil.
> It would be better if you
> Got further away.
> And what is your name?
> I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.
>
> I asked her,
> "Where are you going?"
> She answered me, saying,
> "I go deep into the eastern forest."
> That is what she told me.
> By the way,
> Another truth is that a snake can talk!

533 While such *tsenemt* songs have a courtship function 532 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in- 529 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities 527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre- 537 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly • 273 a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untā*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition [593]
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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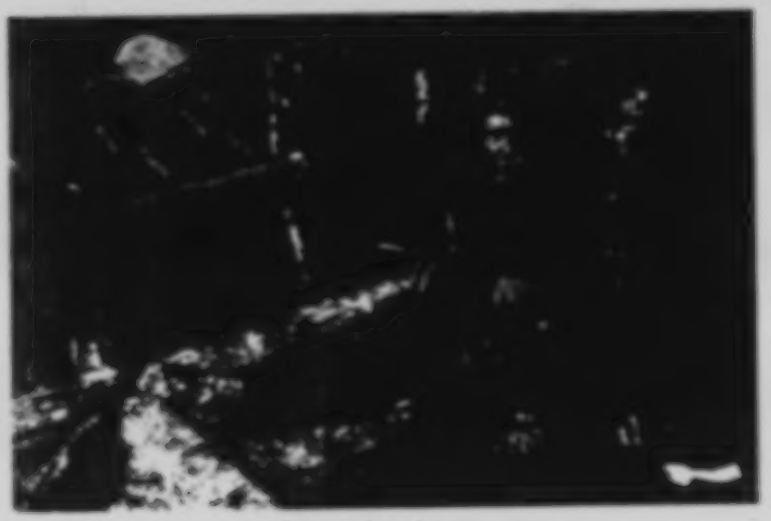
16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Rio Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Rio Macumu and the upper Rio Cangaimi, 1956–57).



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as accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jivaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

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[721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jivaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsami'i*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

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[535]
[836]
[837]

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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*musiak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *musiak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *musiak*, while it is resident in the

1: Karsten--123-124 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
276 (1928-29)

".... the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsańgu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. natemá, Qu. aya huaśca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huańtuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians."

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

I: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116,-224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani."

1: Karsten--197-200 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276 (1928-29)

"The second day of the feast is assigned for the ceremony which is called 'the drinking of the chiki medicine' (chiki umártinyu). Chiki is the root of a plant with the same name, specially cultivated by the Jibaros, to which magical properties are ascribed. Early in the morning three clay dishes (pininga) are placed in a row on the floor, one for the bride, another for her sister, and a third for another female relative of the bride. At the most important ceremonies taking place on this and the following days of the feast these three women appear together, and they are assisted by the priestess (whuéa). A cooking pot is half-filled with water, placed on the fire by the bride whose hands, as usual, are held by the priestess. Into this pot the following things are placed, in the same ceremonial way, by the women: 1) a small piece of manioc; 2) a small piece of camote or sweet potato; 3) a piece of the chiki root; and 4) two tobacco leaves. The water in the pot is not allowed to boil, but is only warmed. When it is luke-warm the tobacco leaves are taken out and the liquid is poured into the three piningas by the bride whose hands are held by the priestess. The latter thereupon passes one of the piningas to the bride, who drinks up its whole contents and immediately runs outside to throw it up; the chiki medicine, it should be understood, has the effect of a vomitory which is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman and favourably prepare her for the dreams. Thereupon the priestess in the same way allows the second and the third woman to empty the contents of their piningas, and they likewise

at once go outside to throw it up. The women are now considered to be properly prepared for the taking of the tobacco medicine itself, which is called savinya. During this and the following day, or until the feast is ended, both the bride and the other two women have to fast more strictly than before, their only food being a little boiled and mashed manioc. When they eat they take care not to touch the food with their fingers, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

After the drinking of chiki is finished, the guests are entertained with manioc-beer. A great number of piningas are placed in two parallel rows and filled with manioc-beer prepared from the roasted manioc roots and offered to the guests by the women. With this drinking-bout the morning's ceremonies are finished.[198]

Early in the evening the priestess prepares the tobacco medicine called savinya. From a bundle of tobacco which has been kept in a special place in the house she takes some leaves, chews them carefully, mixing the chewed mass well with saliva, and lastly spits it out into a small clay pot (natt pya), specially made for the purpose. When she has obtained a sufficient quantity of this strong medicine, which is thick like syrup, she covers the clay pot with a cover made of clay, which at the same time serves as a cup from which the women have to take the medicine reached them by the priestess. The small clay pot, with its cover, is first placed in a basket (changina) which is hung up at one of the pillars of the house until the tobacco medicine is needed.

Late in the evening the bride and the two other women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outside in the neighbourhood of the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pass the night, each woman in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there and gives them the savinya medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong medicine, taken on an empty stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams to which the Jibaros ascribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', NungÜi herself and the other spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They will see the swine and the hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by flourishing plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will be produced more easily when they sleep alone in the plantations. Early in the morning the old woman goes to the shelters to look after the women and again gives them tobacco juice, whereupon all return to the house.

Now the ceremonies of the third day begin, which essentially consist in the women receiving savinya in repeated doses and songs being sung to the Earth-mother. The bride sits down on a seat opposite the priestess, the two other women taking seats beside the former. The hair of the bride is tied up by her fiancé by means of a band, and her head and shoulders are wet with water 'because earlier, in the plantation, she had been vomiting'. The priestess now gives her juice of tobacco and similarly portions of it to the two other women. Thereupon the songs to the Earth-mother NungÜi

begin, which are led by the priestess, sometimes assisted by another old woman. These songs are continued, with small intervals, for several hours, being led by the priestess who first recites them without singing, so that the younger women may learn them, whereupon all women sing them. Between [199] the songs the three women repeatedly receive juice of tobacco from the hand of the old woman. Sometimes she even rubs their fingers with the juice and blows upon them; then the songs are again continued.

The songs sung are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaëma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees

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"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaëma, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,
send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungüi, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
multiply my crop of manioc,

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See infra, p. 351)."

multiply my crop of camote,
multiply my crop of earth-nuts!' etc. [200]

These are the main themes of the incantations, somewhat varied in different songs, but always essentially the same. Similarly the melodies to which they are sung are the same as those mentioned before. The incantations are chiefly interrupted for the sake of giving the women repeated savinya doses. The women are not allowed to take anything but this medicine during the whole day; thus, it is believed, they will be favourably prepared for the dreams in the following night. In the evening the priestess, as usual, takes the three women to the shelters in the fields outside the house, whither they are accompanied by other men and women. The priestess, before she leaves them, again gives them tobacco juice. The women now sleep in the shelter till about 3 o'clock in the morning, when the priestess again takes them to the house. At this hour the important ceremony occurs which is called 'the slaughter of the swine' (cuchi matinyu), and which forms part of all great feasts. The ceremonial slaughter of the swine will be described in detail in connection with the great victory feast.

Until the slaughter of the swine takes place the night has been spent in dancing the dances Wuimchi and Ihiámbrama, just as in the night before."

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungüi and her 'husband', as above (p.135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamárma,

our manioc plantation is still young,
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young.
nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,
Yeita másanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyúka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!"

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!' (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on

her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of pininga, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at

the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other

women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking

of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

1: Karsten--204 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
276 (1928-29)

"After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other women."

1: Karsten--206-207 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276, 774 (1928-29)

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilies [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

1: Karsten--236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 841, 276 (1928-29)

"When the first signs of puberty appear, an important epoch in the life of the Jibaro girl begins. As among all Indians, menstruation is looked upon by the Jibaros as a mysterious process, and when it appears for the first time in a girl various precautions are considered necessary. I have mentioned before that the Indians ascribe menstruation to the moon (nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her'), which is also believed to have a mysterious influence upon conception. The first menstruation is called numbuén (from numba, 'blood') and generally appears when the girl is about 8 to 10 years old. When the mother realises what is the matter with the girl she at once takes her down to the river, where she washes her with a big leaf called yambáki. She has now to submit to certain taboos for four days. She is not allowed to pass the nights in the house, but sleeps in a small shelter specially made for her in the plantation in the neighbourhood, whither she is accompanied in the evening by the other women. While in the shelter, she can eat or drink nothing except tobacco water, which is given her in repeated doses by an old woman. The girl, however, is not obliged to stay there during the day. As soon as the sun rises she can leave the shelter and return to the house where she spends the day, but she is obliged to diet strictly. At the same time a small drinking-feast is arranged. Several piningas with manioc-beer are placed in a row; among these there is a small one containing only the 'cream' of the beer and a piece of manioc. This pininga is for the tsángrama, as the girl is called. She is allowed to eat nothing during the four

days except this small quantity of manioc, and she is considered so taboo that she can touch no objects in the house with her hands. In the evening, as usual, she has to go to the shelter where she again receives tobacco water from the hands of the old woman, and so on. The tobacco medicine is supposed to fill her with power and to protect her against evil spirits who are attacking her, but it is also calculated to produce dreams for her, since the Numbuén, feast has reference at the same time to the girl's future obligations as a housewife."

1: Karsten--238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
276 (1928-29)

"Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects."

1: Karsten--239-240 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
276 (1928-29)

"The principal ceremonies [JKM: of the Kusúpani] are performed on the second and third days, and they mainly consist in giving the novice tobacco in different forms and in repeated doses; the old man who acts as a priest (whuéa) makes him take tobacco juice, and he must inhale tobacco smoke. The priest has made a number of big cigars and attached them to a string at regular intervals from one another, the string hanging from one of the central poles of the house. Every time that he wishes to give the novice tobacco he takes one of the cigars from the string, puts it into a long tube of bamboo, and lights it, using the tube as a mouth-piece. He first draws the smoke into his own mouth and then blows it directly into the mouth of the novice, who has to swallow the smoke and is nearly suffocated. This is repeated several times until the whole cigar is consumed. Immediately after this the priest gives the novice tobacco in liquid form. For this purpose he chews the leaves carefully, spits them out, together with much saliva, into a maize leaf, blows some more tobacco smoke on it, and stirs the whole mass carefully with his finger, whereupon he gives it to the novice to drink. This ceremony is repeated six to eight times on each of the two days of the feast proper, and the strong tobacco medicine cannot of course fail to produce very powerful effects on the youth who receives them on an empty stomach. In the narcotic sleep which [240] will follows, [sic] and in the visions provoked by the drinking of maikoa, with which the feast will end, the novice will see both the arútama and other spirits, who give him advice and

information concerning his future.

Among some Jibaro tribes the old man, when blowing smoke, does not use any bamboo tube; he places the burning end of the cigar in his own mouth and the opposite end in the mouth of the novice, blowing vigorously, and the novice has to swallow the smoke."

1: Karsten--241-242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 276 (1928-29)

"Among the Achuares of the Pastaza the initiation into manhood consists only in drinking maikoa. When the boys attain the age of puberty, which means that they are received among the men and warriors, are allowed to marry, and so on, the following drinking-ceremony takes place. The oldest men of the family or tribe arrange themselves in two parallel rows facing each other. Each man holds a pininga containing a small quantity of maikoa. The novice must now go from the one to the other in due order and take a sip from each pininga, starting with the oldest member of the family. Generally it is easy for him to do this with the first ones, but frequently it is impossible for him to drink from the clay vessels of the last men in the rows. Their contents are then given him in the form of a clyster, the maikoa quantity being injected into his rectum by means of a tube (nángu) consisting of the hollow stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus). It is considered absolutely necessary, it should be understood, that the novice should receive something from the clay vessel of each man.

When the young man has finished drinking the oldest man says to him: 'Do you know now why you have drunk maikoa? 'Yes', the youth answers, 'it is in order that I may become a real man and a brave warrior and that I may be able to marry.'

When the effects of the narcotic manifest themselves in the Jibaro youth and he begins to behave in a foolish way or threatens to become violent, the old man seizes him by the arm, restrains him, and says to him: 'Don't you remember that you have taken

maikoa, what do you intend to do, where are you going?' Then the youth tries to control himself and sits down.

After the lapse of some weeks or months the novice must again drink maikoa in the same way as before, some time later for the third time, and after the lapse of the same period for the fourth time. It is not until then that his noviciate ends and he is allowed to marry.

I have related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaros, and I have [242] now to add a few words as to the significance of the Kusúpani feast, especially as far as the tobacco rites are concerned. The significance of these rites is essentially the same as that of the tobacco ceremonies performed at the feast Noa tsangu. The spirit of tobacco is conjured and its wonderful power is transferred to the boy, who will be filled with it not only for the moment but for many years to come, nay, for his whole life. This power will automatically show itself in all the work and occupations incumbent on him as a male member of society. He will be a brave and successful warrior and be able to kill many enemies; he will be skilled in managing the lance and the blowgun and bring down much game in hunting; he will be dexterous in spearing the big fish and in catching small fish with varvasco poison. But this is not all. The spirits who appear to him in narcotic sleep are believed to teach him such matters also as normally concern directly

only the women, above all as regards the breeding of domestic animals and the cultivation of the fields. This also explains the fact that the newly-initiated Jibaro youth is for some time the adviser of the women in the work and occupations which properly belong entirely to the female domain. Just as the feast Noa tsangu and--as we shall presently see-- the great victory-feast, so the Kusúpani among other things is believed to have the effect of 'increasing the swine and the hens' (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu) and of favourably influencing the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

1: Karsten--243-245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 512, 276 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros begin their day very early, about 3 o [sic] 4 o'clock in the morning, when the crowing cocks announce that a new day is dawning. The house-father is the first who gets up and wakens the other people in the house, especially the women. He arranges the logs forming the fireplace, and blows upon the embers so as to revive the fire. The first thing he does is to prepare his tobacco water. For this purpose he places a small clay pot (yukúnda), half-filled with water, on the fire and puts some tobacco leaves into it. After the water has boiled for a short while, it is allowed to cool somewhat and he then pours a little of its contents into the palm and draws it in through his nose, allowing it to flow out through the mouth. This is repeated three or four times. The tobacco medicine, taken in the early morning, is supposed to have a wonderful power of clearing the head and preserving from disease and witchcraft. Then follows a similar procedure with the guayusa solution. The leaves of this important tree, which grows wild everywhere in the Ecuadorian forests, are likewise boiled in water, and the decoction is appreciated as a tonic and as a purifying medicine. The Indian washes out his mouth with it and sometimes drinks a small quantity, throwing it up afterwards. While the tobacco or the guayusa is boiling, the house-father is generally seen doing some work. He may sit down at the distaff to spin for a short while, or at the loom to weave, or cut arrows, etc. [244]

Meanwhile he considers it is time for his house people to get up too. He shouts in a loud voice: tsaráwi, tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, nandákta, (i. e. 'it is dawning it is

dawning, get up, get up!!). These words are particularly addressed to the wives sleeping in the women's department, but at first they seem to pay no heed to them. After a while therefore the husband again repeats his tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, and later a third time. Gradually the women awake, get up, and start to work, their first task being to bring the house father his usual nihamánchi (manioc-beer). Meanwhile the younger men in the house, the unmarried sons and the sons-in-law, have assembled at the fire-place and all drink the manioc-beer brought by the women. It is now about 6 o'clock in the morning.

At certain times, and especially if the family is threatened by enemies, the house-father, while he is cooking his tobacco water and guayusa, not only awakens his house-people but also delivers a sort of speech to them in which he reminds his sons and sons-in-law of the outrages committed by this and that enemy against the family in former times, and exhorts them to prepare for revenge. The essence of this speech, which is repeated for days and weeks in much the same form will be related in the part dealing with the wars of the Indians.

About 8 o'clock the first meal of the day is taken. As a rule it consists of boiled manioc and boiled or roasted plantain, meat, or fish. The food is prepared by the women in the 'kitchen' (ekínturu) and is taken by them to the men's department, each kind of food on a special, big banana leaf. The leaves are placed on the floor and the

men sit down on small benches to eat. The men and women generally eat separately, the former in the big ante-room (tangámasha), the women and children in the women's department.

After the 'breakfast' the day's work begins. If the weather is fine, the men take their forest knives, lances, and blowguns and go out, some to hunt, others to work in the forest or in the fields; the majority of the women leave for the plantations carrying their baskets and their small babies on their backs. In the middle of the day therefore a Jibaro house is generally almost empty, some old man or woman and some of the bigger children being the only occupants. If a man has several wives, however, one of them as a rule stays at home to look after the house.--All stay away until about 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when they return one after the other, the men usually carrying with them some animal or birds which they have brought down with their blowguns, or fish [245] caught in the river, the women carrying heavy baskets full of manioc, sweet potatoes, and other fruits. It is not until at 4 or 5 o'clock that the second meal of the day is eaten. While out of doors the Jibaro has generally only drunk the manioc-beer he took with him in the form of fermented manioc substance wrapped in banana leaves.

If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc. Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a

rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterized as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros.

The Jibaros generally pass the evening conversing, drinking manioc-beer, and doing some unimportant work in the house by the light of the fires. After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night. Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

1: Karsten--260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 787, 276, 726 (1928-29)

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

1: Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
787, 276 (1928-29)

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arutama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself."

1: Karsten--280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 302, 276 (1928-29)

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

1; Karsten--343-346 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 276 (1928-29)

"At about 8 o'clock the principal ceremony of the second day, the drinking of the sacred drink natéma takes place. When the drink is prepared for the feast the slayer himself has to assist in order to transfer to it the supernatural power with which he is believed to be invested.

For the preparation of the natéma some pieces of the stem of the vine are cut off, crushed with clubs, and parted into thinner fibres, which are boiled in water for a couple of hours. The fibres are then taken out and the drink is ready. The natéma drink, which has the effect of producing in the drinker peculiar visions and hallucinations which are ascribed by the Indians to certain spirits, is generally mixed with some tobacco water, by which its narcotic effects are increased. At the tsantsa feast the second day is regularly devoted to the drinking of the natéma, and it is prepared and drunk with certain ceremonies which have now to be described.

Some pieces of the stem of the natéma plant are laid on a banana leaf on the ground. Upon another banana leaf a large and a small wooden club are laid, and with these the natéma stems are to be crushed. There is besides a pot in which the drink will be cooked. The priest as usual gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the wrist and makes him seize a club with his right hand and a natéma stem with his left and crush the stem, laying it upon the other club. The slayer divides the stem into three or four fibres and puts them down into the pot, the priest holding

his hand. Another Indian without ceremony crushes some other pieces of the natéma stem and arranges them in a ring within the pot. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, now pours some water into the pot from a water bottle and places the pot on the fire, some other men attending to the pot while it boils. [344]

At another fire close by tobacco is simultaneously being boiled, to be mixed with the natéma. A small clay pot is placed by the fire, and some leaves of tobacco are laid on a banana leaf at the side of it. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes a tobacco leaf and carefully puts it, first on the edge of the pot and then into it. The wife of the slayer repeats the process with another leaf, laying it first on the edge of the pot and then inside it. Lastly, a third tobacco leaf is in the same way put into the pot by the daughter of the slayer. Thereupon the slayer, assisted by the priest, pours some water into the pot and places it on the fire.

On the spot where the natéma is cooked there is also placed a piece of the stem of the manioc plant and two narrow strips of the bark of a tree which the Jibaros call samiki. The slayer takes one of the strips, winds it round his index finger, and ties it into a ring of the same size as the finger. By means of one end of the strip which after the tying of the ring has been left free, he then attaches the ring to the piece of the manioc stem. Thereupon he in the same way makes another ring of the other strip, of the size of his index finger, and attaches it to the manioc stem at the side of the first ring. With

the aid of the priest he ultimately places the manioc stem, with the two rings attached to it, upon the tobacco pot boiling on the fire in such a way that it rests upon the edges of the pot.

The object of this ceremony is to establish a mysterious connection between the slayer, who, as we have seen, is supposed to be filled with supernatural power, the tobacco water to be mixed in the natéma drink, and the manioc plant which the persons drinking of the narcotic will see in the dream. The two rings formed of the rind of the samiki tree will in this connection serve as mediums for the transference of the power. The Jibaros ascribe magical virtues to the samiki tree itself, and a little of its bark is generally mixed with the natéma with a view to increasing the efficacy of the drink. The bast strips of the tree having been formed into rings of the same size as the slayer's finger, are believed to catch his power, and thus to transfer it to the manioc and the boiling tobacco pot. The persons partaking of the sacred drink are afterwards, in the narcotic sleep, supposed to see, among other things, the manioc fields of the slayer in a flourishing state and bearing a rich crop of fruit.

At the tsantsa feast the natéma is only boiled for about one hour, whereupon the pot is taken off the fire. Similarly the smaller pot in which tobacco has been cooked is taken away, the manioc stick with [345] the bast rings having first been removed. The latter is fixed in the wall close to the door, where it is left until it is dry and half

consumed, being then thrown away.

The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, seizes the small tobacco pot and pours its contents into the natéma pot. The drink is now ready to be consumed.

In the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast both men and women, even half-grown children, take part, all 'who want to dream' being allowed to drink of the narcotic. Even the slayer, as well as his wife and daughter, drink natéma. The drinking has throughout a ceremonial character. A number of beautifully ornamented clay dishes are placed on the ground in two rows. The priest and two or three other old men fill them with natéma and give them to the persons who are going to drink. Before they give the dish to a man or woman they each time sing a long conjuration over it, summoning the natéma spirits. The person who receives the dish quickly empties its contents, which amount to nearly half a litre. Immediately thereafter he or she goes out and throws up the quantity drunk (for the natéma at first has the effect of an emetic). Then the person again enters the house, again empties a pininga of natéma, which is given him by an old man with the same ceremony as before, and immediately again throws it up. The same process is repeated at third time. Each person who drinks natéma at the Tsantsa-feast thus has to empty three dishes of the sacred drink.

The persons who drink natéma have not previously eaten or drunk anything, and afterwards also they have to fast strictly until they have slept and dreamed. The majority of those who have drunk the narcotic leave the house and go out to sleep in some shelters

of palm leaves made in the forest at a short distance from the house. Most of these are men, but at least one of them ought to be a woman, a female relative of the slayer. The slayer and his wife and daughter, who also have drunk natéma, do not leave the house, but have their dreams inside. The dreamers remain in the forest sleeping until the afternoon. Then they take a bath in the river and return to the house, where they tell the older Indians what kind of dreams and visions they have had. Now they are also allowed to break their fast. Their food consists only of a dish of boiled and mashed manioc and boiled ripe bananas. The dreamer has to receive the dish containing this food from the hand of the same old man who in the morning had given him or her the natéma.

The object of the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast is to [346] ascertain whether everything will turn out favourably for the slayer in the future, whether he will have a long life, attain material prosperity and be lucky in his undertakings. The slayer, as well as his nearest relatives who have drunk natéma, will see in the dream his house surrounded by large and flourishing plantations of manioc and bananas; they will see his domestic animals, his swine and his hens, numerous and and [sic] fat, etc. But at the same time the persons who have drunk the sacred drink will be benefited themselves, being purified from impure and disease-bringing matter, and gaining

strength and ability for their respective work and occupations.

The drinking of the natéma in the morning is as usual followed by a general drinking-bout--in which, however, those persons who have drunk natéma do not take part--as well as by a general banquet, at which the flesh of the swine and chickens cooked during the night is eaten. With this banquet the official part of the morning's program is finished, and hosts and guests may pass the rest of the day until darkness as they like.

At about 6 o'clock in the evening the preparations for the night's dance commence, the host (i. e., the slayer) again going round in the house and inviting the guests to take part in it. All having properly dressed themselves, arranged their ornaments, and painted their faces, the Hantsẽmáta begins and is continued through the whole night exactly in the same way as on the previous night. Even the wrestling of the boys takes place for a while. The dance is continued until about half past 5 in the morning, being as usual finished off by a general bath in the river."

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"In previous chapters certain sacred narcotic drinks of the Jibaros have frequently been mentioned. Thus we have seen what an important part tobacco water plays for instance at the 'feast of the women', when it is supposed to communicate to the married women a wonderful power and ability for their various domestic occupations. The two narcotics known under the names of natéma and maikoa have also frequently been mentioned in connection with Indian divination. I have now to describe these sacred drinks more fully and to explain the religious ideas underlying their use.

The most interesting of these narcotics is no doubt the one which is called natéma by the Jibaros and aya huasca by the Quichua-speaking Indians. This is a poisonous vine, --containing an alcaloid, like the maicoa--the scientific name of which, according to the English botanist R. Spruce, is Banisteria caapi (1), of the family Malpighiaceae. The same traveller states that the plant also grows on the Rio Içanna, on the Uaupés and its affluents in north-west Brazil, as well as on the cataracts of the Orinoco,

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"1. In Eastern Ecuador there seem to occur different species of the Banisteria. At any rate the Canelos Indians told me that they use three kinds of aya huasca which they distinguish as the puma aya huasca, the ahuiringri aya huasca, and the tunchi aya huasca. The last-mentioned is particularly used by the medicine-men (tunchi = the magical arrow)."

being used everywhere by the natives in the same way, for magical and divination purposes (2). In Ecuador the liana is best known under its Quichua name aya huasca ('the vine of the souls') (3); it is thus [433] called for instance by the Indians of the Napo, Curaray, Bobonaza, and Pastaza. The Jibaros call both the vine itself and the narcotic prepared from it natéma. The Secoyas on the Rio Aguarico and the savage Avishiris between Napo and Curaray also know the use of the plant. Similarly, the primitive Colorados and Cayapas in western Ecuador cultivate the aya huasca, using it as a magical medicine and for divination.

How the natéma drink is ceremonially prepared at the great feasts of the Jibaros has

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"2. R. Spruce, Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes. London, 1908, II. 414 sqq., 423.

3. On the Napo I was assured that the natives call the vine in question haya huasca ('the bitter vine'), which answers to the fact that the drink prepared from it is exceedingly bitter in taste. On the other hand, at Canelos the form aya huasca seems to be the most common, and this name ('the vine of the souls') well accords with the ideas the Indians have about its power of summoning the souls or spirits of the dead."

been described before. Since the drink is exclusively used for religious or magical purposes its preparation is, of course, always more or less ceremonial. Still there are some differences in the details, depending on the different occasions for which the narcotic is used. The natéma, it should be noticed, occurs in two main forms, according as it is used by ordinary people for certain feasts, or by medicine-men and sorcerers when exercising their art.

The Jibaros, like the Canelos Indians, always prepare the natéma drink by boiling the vine. Some pieces of the lower thicker part of it are cut off, carefully washed, and crushed with clubs, so that they can easily be parted into thinner fibres. These are boiled in a pot with water, in ordinary cases only for one or two hours. Then the fibres are taken out and the drink is ready. It is of a brownish-green colour and has a very bitter taste. Usually some tobacco water is added and, in some cases, pieces of the rind of certain magical trees are put into the boiling pot in order to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

At the great feasts the natéma is taken in repeated doses and in comparatively large quantities. The effects appear comparatively slowly and are not very violent. The first effect of the drink is that of an emetic: a few minutes after a person has emptied the pininga offered by the leader of the ceremonies, he or she goes out and throws up the quantity consumed. In general, emetics play an important part in the medical

practices of the Jibaros and are supposed to have very beneficial effects. After a while, and having taken the medicine in repeated doses, the patient begins to tremble and feels giddy; the pulse gets slow and week, [sic] the pupils of the eyes dilate. Lastly he falls asleep. Both before and during the sleep the Indian has strange perceptions and real hallucinations: he sees wonderful landscapes, different kinds of animals as well as people, all of which are guises in which the spirits, with whom he wants to enter into communication, appear to him.

With reference to the different occasions on which the Jibaros drink natéma, I have already mentioned the ceremonial natéma-drinking [434] at the 'feast of the dogs' and the great victory feast. At these feasts, however, comparatively little natéma is drunk. The Jibaros have also special natéma-feasts which last for several days--among the tribes of the Pastaza up to eight days. All inhabitants of the house, even small children, take part in them. The boiling begins early in the morning and lasts till about noon. As usual, pieces of the rind of the tree chingiáta and samiki are added to the natéma-fibres. The drink is at first boiled in several smaller pots on different fires in the house. Later, when the liquid has boiled down, the different quantities are poured into one big earthen pot. Like the consuming of the sacred drink, its actual preparation is ceremonial. While the boiling goes on, and later during the drinking,

the great signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, is beaten in the slow regular time which is customary at the natéma-feasts. The Jibaros assert that in beating their drum they are imitating the demon (iguánchi), who in their belief has his abode in the hills and is himself beating his own tundúi. The drumming is supposed to please the demon, who will come to the place and fill, with his spirit, both the drink and the drinking Indians.

The drinking itself takes place with about the same ceremonies as at the victory-feast. The person who has to drink empties a pininga which is offered him or her by one of the older Indians; he immediately throws up the quantity drunk, drinks again, and again throws it up. In this way considerable quantities are consumed during the natéma-days. The participants in the feast are bound to fast strictly, and are allowed to eat only after they have slept and had their dreams, their food then consisting of boiled and mashed manioc or boiled ripe bananas. This is repeated every day as long as the feast lasts.

The natéma-fibres which remain after the boiling is finished are always carefully guarded in a special place in the house and kept for a long time. The Jibaros allege that they do this only 'to know how much natéma they have drunk during the year'. Evidently even these remains of the wonderful vine are too sacred to be thrown away at once.

If one asks the Indians why they drink natéma in this excessive way, their answer is usually: 'It is in order that the people may not die away'. By this kind of divination they try to find out what dangers are threatening the family, whether enemies are planning an attack against them, whether evil sorcerers are operating against them, whether they will be successful in their own undertakings, and so forth. The magical drink, which as we have seen has the effect of an emetic, [435] purifies the stomach from harmful substances and the magic arrows of wizards. For this reason the Indians always pay great attention to what they throw up after they have taken this medicine. At the same time both men and women are, by drinking natéma, made strong and clever for their different occupations and duties, the men for hunting, fishing, war, etc., the latter for agriculture, for the education of the children, for the care of the domestic animals, and for other domestic work incumbent on them.

Apart from these general drinking-bouts, the grown-up members of the Jibaro community, not only the men but also the women, frequently drink natéma on several particular occasions. This drinking-ceremony usually takes place in the house. An earthen pot (pininga) containing the sacred drink is placed on the earth; the Indian who has to drink takes stand in front of the pininga, and thereupon begins to move to and fro in a sort of dance, muttering an incantation without words. Suddenly he seizes the

pininga and empties it in one draught. The next moment he throws up the whole quantity drunk. Meanwhile, the cup has again been filled with natéma. The Indian again approaches the cup, dances and mutters an incantation just as he did the first time, and empties the pininga at a draught. The effects of the drink are now beginning to show themselves. The Indian takes a stick in order to lean upon it when he gets intoxicated. He staggers to and fro on the earthen floor, mutters some unintelligible words to summon the spirits, he leans against the stick and again throws up the natéma drunk. The same thing is repeated for the third, fourth, fifth time and so on, until at last the man is wholly overcome by the narcotic and goes off into a deep sleep, filled with the usual visions and hallucinations.

The Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking natéma in all matters which are of particular importance to him. Since an elderly man, and especially a warrior, nearly always believes himself to be threatened by enemies, he tries above all, by this kind of divination, to find out whether he has any enemies, who they are, and whether in making an attack against them he will be victorious, gain rich spoil, etc. Similarly he consults the natéma-spirits in order to know whether a journey he intends to make will turn out well, whether his wives are faithful to him, whether he will be lucky with a new woman whom he intends to marry, whether strangers will arrive on a visit, and so forth.

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

As we have seen, among the Jibaros even women are allowed to drink natéma. Thus, at the victory-feast, drinking the natéma on the [436] second day of the feast seems to be even obligatory on the nearest female relatives of the victor. It is also considered very important that the younger married women should take part in the general natéma-festivals, since in this way they will acquire the strength, skill, and insight necessary for their domestic occupations. During their dreams they get instruction by the spirits in these very matters. On these occasions, among other spirits, the mythical ancestress of the Jibaro culture, the Earth-mother Nungüi, appears to the woman, giving her advice and instruction with regard to the agriculture and consoling her in times of crop-failure and famine. In other matters which interest women she also receives the advice of the natéma-spirits. Thus, for instance, a widow who is looking for a new husband is in the habit of drinking natéma in order to be able to make a good choice.

The following instance, which tells us how a woman received the sacred stone nantára, gives us an idea of the revelations which the Jibaro women believe they have when intoxicated by natéma. Once, she told me, while she was still a girl, she was given natéma to drink. When she was well intoxicated, her grandmother came, seized her both hands, blew upon them and upon her arms, sprinkling juice of tobacco from her own mouth, and said to the girl: 'You will not die soon, you will have a long life and have much to eat. The stone which you wear in the hand will effect this'. In the same

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

moment there came, as it were, a flash of lightning from the heaven and the girl heard the voice of the spirit which said to her: 'I am your ancestral mother (apachiru), I will give you this stone in order that you shall have a long life'. Thereupon the vision passed, and when the hands of the girl were opened in the light of day, a wonderful red stone, nantára, was found in them. The stone called nantára is consequently by the Jibaro women looked upon as a fetish which not only gives a house-mother a long life and success in all domestic tasks but especially promotes the growth of the crops. It is therefore used by the women in agriculture in the way we have seen before (p. 128)."

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"When medicine-men drink natéma in order to cure patients and to find out the cause of the illness, the drink is prepared in a somewhat different way. In this case the vines are boiled a whole day on a slow fire and the fluid is allowed to evaporate gradually so that ultimately only a very small but extremely concentrated quantity is left. Some fibres of the splitted stem as well as some leaves of another kind of vine which the Jibaros call iáhi (probably Haemadictyon amazonicum) are put into [437] the pot with the natéma-fibres and boiled. The leaves are handled with a short ceremony. The medicine-man, or the Indian who prepares the drink, first takes four iáhi-leaves and places them between the fingers of his left hand, arranges them in such a way that they form a cross, and puts them into the pot between the natéma-and the iáhi-fibres with the right side down. Thereupon he takes four other iáhi-leaves, arranges them between the fingers of the right hand and puts them in the same way into the pot upon the other leaves. Thus in all eight iáhi-leaves have been added to the natéma- and iáhi-fibres and boiled with them. The iáhi vine, which is specially cultivated by the Jibaros, is also a narcotic and is supposed to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

While the fluid is gradually boiling down, the natéma-and iáhi-fibres are taken out and carefully guarded. The remaining small quantity, a very strong decoction of a brownish-yellow colour and extremely bitter taste, is the natéma-medicine ready prepared.

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

During the treatment of the patient the medicine-man takes natéma in small but repeated doses in the way described before. As we have seen in addition to natéma, tobacco water is also taken, the effect of both medicines being that the curer becomes gradually intoxicated or even attains a state of ecstasy, during which he enters into communication with the demons who have caused the sickness."

1: Karsten--437-438 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"The medicine-men of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians not only drink natéma (aya huasca) when they are curing sick persons, but also when they wish to bewitch their own enemies. On these occasions they are in the habit of painting the face, and especially the regions round the eyes, with the red colour obtained from the seeds of the bush Bixa orellana. On the head they wear a feather ornament composed of the red and yellow feathers of the tucan (called tawása, tawasámba). They try to imitate the demons (iguánchi, supai) in their whole appearance, believing that thus they will be able to summon the spirits. The red face-painting is also supposed to protect them against the evil eye and the counter-witchcraft of enemy sorcerers. At the same time they play the peculiar string instrument called tsayandúru and turúmba and the soft tunes of which are believed to please the demons. When the Indian has taken the sacred drink he sits down to play this instrument, by which the coming of the natéma-spirit is hastened. The Indians explained to me the meaning of these arrangements in the following words. 'The demons are adorned in the same way with facial paintings and feather crowns, and when they see us wearing the same ornaments as [438] they use themselves and hear the tunes of the instrument, they are pleased and put in appearance as our friends.' At Canelos the sorcerers also play this instrument when they take huántuc, the second great narcotic of the Indians."

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"Equal in importance to the natéma (aya huasca) and still stronger in its effects is the narcotic which is called maikoa (maikoma) by the Jibaros and huántuc by the Canelos Indians. It is prepared from a shrub, the scientific name of which is Datura arborea of the family Solanaceae. Its poisonous properties may be compared with those of beladonna or opium, and even seem to surpass them. Insensibility, hallucinations, and even temporary madness seem to be the regular effects produced by this narcotic drug. The species Datura in Ecuador grows both in the tropical virgin forests and in the sub-tropical mountain regions, but there are at least two sub-species of it, D. arborea and D. stramonium. The beautiful bell-shaped flowers of the former sub-species are larger and nearly white in colour; of the latter smaller and of yellow-red colour. Both of them are equally poisonous. The half-civilised Indians of the Sierra, when they want to harm their enemies, practise nefarious magic by means of the flowers of the D. stramonium. It is the other sub-species which is used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The beautiful shrub is everywhere specially cultivated, and is usually found among other garden plants outside the houses.

In order to prepare the maikoa-drink, the Jibaro Indian scratches off some of the light green rind of the stem, and sqeezes [sic] out the juice with the hand into a gourd until he gets the desired quantity, about a small drinking-glass full.(about 200 gr.). This is the dose which is taken at one time by one person and seems to be sufficient to

produce the effects desired.

Thus, maíkoa is not prepared by cooking like natéma, but simply consists of the juice contained in the rind. It is of a light green colour and not bitter to the taste like natéma, but rather insipid. Its effects, as already mentioned, are much stronger and show sooner than those of the other narcotic. Young people, when they take maíkoa for the first time, often become mad and strike out with weapons, sticks, and whatever they happen to get hold of, and may then become dangerous to those around. Therefore, when a Jibaro youth drinks maíkoa, some older [439] men are always present who watch his movements and sometimes even tie him down. The drugged man begins to talk confusedly and incoherently about all sorts of visions which he imagines he has, about spirits whom he fancies he meets, and at last falls into a deep, lethargic sleep, 'just as if he were dead' (hakáma).

Maíkoa is drunk by the Jibaros on much the same occasions as the natéma, and the revelations which they imagine they receive are much the same; yet to a still higher degree than the latter narcotic, maíkoa is the particular drink of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro Indian why he drinks maíkoa, his answer is usually: 'It is in order to see whether I shall kill my enemies' (shuāra mātinyu). The Jibaro warrior therefore never starts on a war expedition without previously consulting the spirits by drinking maíkoa. The same spirit tells him whether he is himself threatened by his enemies, whether he

will have a long life, and so forth. Similarly in other important matters, although they have no particular reference to war, the Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking maíkoa.

The drinking ceremony takes place in the house, but the Indian prepares for it by taking tobacco water in repeated doses, and for this purpose he retires to the forest. In a remote place far from the habitations of men--sometimes the Indian has to walk one or two days to reach it--a shelter of palm leaves is constructed; it is the 'dreaming-hut', called ayámdai. It is much larger and made with greater care than the ordinary Indian shelter, and outside it there is an open place where the ground is carefully cleared and made level. On this open place the spirits appear dancing in all sorts of terrible shapes, and first of all come those powerful demons whom the Jibaros call arútama, 'the Old Ones', who give the sleeping Indian information and advice in the matters which interest him.

The 'dreaming-hut' is generally made in the neighbourhood of a waterfall where the water comes down from the high cliffs in the forest, forming a small pool below. In this pool the Indian takes a bath before and after the sleep.

The Jibaros are in the habit of retiring to the forest on these occasions because the arútama are supposed to appear to them more easily there. Generally the Indian who wants to dream remains away for three or four days. He may go alone, or he may go

in company with other men. While on the way he has to fast strictly, but instead of food he takes tobacco water in repeated doses, through the nose. As soon as he reaches [440]the shelter, he first takes a bath, standing in the pool and allowing the streaming water to fall on his naked shoulders. The bath will prepare him favourably for the sleep and the revelations of the spirits. These spirits, it should be understood, are demons of the forest, but they are also present in the water of the cascades. After the bath the Indian goes to the hut, where in the evening he again prepares tobacco water, boiling the leaves in a small earthen pot which he has brought with him for the purpose. Having taken some of the medicine he falls in a deep sleep. In the following morning he again takes a bath in the pool. During the whole day he stays in the shelter, fasting strictly, a roasted plantain being his only food. On the other hand, he goes on taking tobacco water. Living in this way he spends a couple of days in the forest. On the fourth day, having taken his last bath in the waterfall, he returns home where he tells his dreams to the other Indians. It is only then that he takes maíkoa, of which one dose alone, after his nervous sensibility has been enhanced by the tobacco-drinking and the fasting, will infallibly produce in him the usual strange physical and psychical effects.

The drinking of tobacco water in the forest on these occasions seems to play an almost more important part than the maíkoa-drinking which takes place at home. As a

matter of fact, the Jibaros generally enhance, by means of tobacco, the natural efficacy of the other narcotic drinks. Thus, tobacco water is also usually taken in preparation for natéma-drinking.

Since among the Jibaros the education of the boys chiefly aims at making them good warriors, maíkoa-drinking also occurs as a puberty ceremony. When, among the Jibaro tribes of the Upano and Santiago, boys reach the age of puberty, the feast called Kusúpani is held and the principal feature of it is tobacco-taking. On the fifth and last day the boy has to drink maíkoa. The details of this feast have been described before. Among the Pastaza tribes boys are initiated into manhood by maíkoa-drinking without previous tobacco ceremonies.

Maíkoa is moreover taken on the following occasions, as has appeared from my previous statements.

After the great victory feast has been brought to an end, the victor generally retires to the forest where he stays for some days taking maíkoa.

The making of the great signal drum, tundúi, is also celebrated by maíkoa-drinking in the way we have already seen.

The Jibaro man generally takes maíkoa after he has punished his [441] wife for infidelity. Again, boys who behave badly and are disobedient to their parents must drink maíkoa as a punishment, in the way related before.

Although maíkoa is particularly the drink of the warriors, it may also be consumed by women, just as is the case with natéma. This, however, seems to be a comparatively rare occurrence. On these occasions the ancestral spirits, the arútama, are supposed to appear to them, and especially the Earth-mother Nungüi. When appearing to women these spirits do not of course give them instruction and information about affairs of war, but about domestic work and occupations which concern the women, in the same way as when they drink natéma.

The above description refers particularly to the practices of the Jibaros, which are of special interest. The CANELOS INDIANS, who were once as warlike as their relatives and neighbours the Jibaros, formerly practised the drinking of huántuc on much the same occasions as these. Nowadays they no longer make war against their enemies. Still even to-day huántuc-drinking plays quite an important role in the practical religion of the Canelos Indians, but mainly in connection with their magic and witchcraft. Huántuc, like aya huasca, is therefore chiefly taken by medicine-men and sorcerers, partly when they are curing disease, partly when they are trying to harm their enemies by nefarious magic. On these occasions the sorcerer is adorned in the way described before, wearing red facial painting and a feather crown on the head. Before he empties the mucahua (clay dish) containing the sacred drink, he sings a long conjuration over it, invoking certain demons, and particularly the paccha supai, the

demon of the cascades, inviting him to come to the place and to fill the drink and the sorcerer himself with his power. This incantation is called taquíshca. Afterwards, while waiting for the divine or demoniacal inspiration, he also plays the instrument turúmba in order to 'hurry on' the spirits."

1: Karsten--441-442 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the third narcotic, tobacco, it has frequently been mentioned in connection with the two other magical drinks, the natéma (aya huasca) and the maíkoa (huántuc). The importance which the Jibaros ascribe to tobacco is enormous; from this plant they prepare their most powerful and most indispensable medicine. Some Jibaros of our own days may also use tobacco as a means of enjoyment, but it is certain that they have learnt this from the whites. It is remarkable that the Indians only use the tobacco they have received from the whites in this way, [442] but never their own. The tobacco which the Jibaros themselves cultivate is used by them only for strictly ceremonial purposes. On the other hand, the Indians would never use the tobacco bought from the whites for their religious ceremonies; they distrust it in the same way as they distrust other articles received from their hereditary enemies. The Indian tobacco, badly cultivated as it is, is not particularly strong; but since it is consumed in great quantities, its effects are still powerful enough."

l: Karsten--442-444 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros usually take tobacco in a liquid form, but in some cases they smoke it, making big cigars of the leaves. In the former case the leaves are either boiled in water, or chewed in the mouth and carefully mixed with saliva. When used at the great feasts the medicine is always prepared with saliva, which is supposed to enhance its supernatural effects. This medicine is prepared by an old man who conducts the ceremonies, and he has also to dispense it to the persons in whose honour the feast is held. The men on these occasions always receive the tobacco juice through the nose, the women again through the mouth.

After two or three doses the effects of the medicine are generally noticeable. The Indian turns pale and the whole body begins to tremble. After repeated doses giddiness and fainting-fits frequently occur, especially in women. At last the person in question becomes quite drugged and falls into a long sleep filled with peculiar dreams.

Tobacco is taken on the following occasions: first, as a universal remedy against disease and evils of any kind; secondly, as a prophylactic means of enhancing the magical power of the body, particularly to resist the evil spirits; and lastly, as a real narcotic to produce dreams. In all three cases the plant has a purely magical or religious significance.

When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect

he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body. In all cases of general indisposition, of headache, catarrh, and other slight illnesses, the Jibaro Indian makes use of this wonderful remedy to remove the evil. Besides, tobacco is regarded as an excellent prophylactic against witchcraft. To protect themselves against evil influences the Jibaros not only take tobacco [443] juice as a medicine, but are also in the habit of painting their body with it. Thus at the victory-feast I noticed that some of the men painted all sorts of 'geometrical' figures on the face and breast with tobacco juice, a decoration which, of course, was hardly visible upon the brown skin of the Indians, but was evidently supposed to possess prophylactic power.

From my previous statements it appears that tobacco is ceremonially used on many different occasions. It is the particular medicine of sorcerers and medicine-men. It is indispensable at the great feasts, the feast of the women, called Noa tsangu (literally: 'the tobacco feast of the women'); the feast of the men, called Kusupani (literally: 'the tobacco-smoking feast'); and at the Einsupani, the great victory-feast of the Jibaros. On these occasions tobacco is in the first place used as a prophylactic against evil spirits and as a means of enhancing the natural power of resistance of the body;

but in the second place it also serves the purpose of producing artificial sleep. On the other hand, there are cases when the medicine is exclusively taken as a narcotic in the latter sense. Just as the Indian take natéma and maikoa 'in order to have dreams', so they drink tobacco water for the same purpose.

The procedure has already been described in connection with the custom of drinking maikoa, for which, as we found, the Indian generally prepares by drinking tobacco water. As usual, the Indians on these occasions retire to the forest where, sleeping in the 'dreaming-hut' (ayámdai) they can more easily enter into communication with the spirits. Among the Pastaza-tribes the men remain in the forest for any period up to eight days. These are mostly younger people and as a rule several of them go out together. While on the way they fast strictly, taking, instead of food, tobacco water in repeated doses. For this purpose they rub the leaves between their hands and chew them, whereupon they spit out the stuff on a maize-leaf, mix in some more saliva and a little water, stirring it with their finger, and immediately take the medicine. This tobacco-diet is continued until they reach the dreaming-hut. This place, as already stated, is situated in the neighbourhood of a natural waterfall, where the Indians may take a bath before and after the sleep. Even here, while they receive the cold water upon their naked shoulders, they are still taking tobacco, mixing the chewed mass of tobacco with the water of the cascade and swallowing it. Thereafter they go to the hut

where they pass the night. The following morning they tell their [444] dreams and visions to one another and discuss their possible significance. During the whole day, as usual, they only eat one roasted green plantain. This way of living is continued for every day of the time passed in the hut. When eight days have elapsed they return to their homes, very thin and weak on account of the strict fasting, but yet content if they have had favourable dreams.

The aim of this tobacco-drinking is the same as that of drinking natéma and maikoa. By submitting to this hard trial the Jibaro youths in the first place try to make themselves brave and successful warriors. They want to 'see their enemies' and to know whether they will be able to kill them, whether they themselves will have a long life, and so forth. Information about these matters is given them by those mysterious spirits which are called arútama and which always appear to the narcotized Indian, whether the medicine causing the supernatural state is tobacco, natéma, or maikoa."

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"We now know the three powerful narcotics of the Jibaro Indians and the ways in which they are used. We have further to examine more closely the religious ideas which are connected with these narcotic drinks. The first question we have to answer is, what ideas the Indians have about dreams in general.

The 'belief in dreams', i.e. the belief that the experiences man has during his dreams are as real as the experiences he has when awake, has frequently been said to be a characteristic feature of the mentality of primitive peoples in general. This mode of expression, however, is not quite adequate in regard to the beliefs of the Indians with whom we are dealing; too little is expressed by it. The Jibaros as a matter of fact are of opinion that only in dreams is true reality revealed to man. Normal, conscious life is a delusion in which we can have no confidence; it is full of deception, falsehood, and lies. Only the dream unveils to us the real essence of things, 'the thing in itself'. In the dream all men whom we meet, even our foes, invariably tell us the truth, and all know more than when awake, for here it is the souls (wakáni, aya) that meet, freed from the bonds of the corporeal existence. Even the dead, who in ordinary cases only seldom show themselves to the living, appear to the Indian in dreams, warning and instructing him by virtue of the supernatural knowledge they possess. The same is true of the other spirits and demons, the iguánchi and supai, otherwise so greatly feared by the Indians: being under magical restraint they do the sleeping Indian

no harm, but on the [445] contrary act as his friends and advisers. Whoever therefore wants to know the real truth concerning the present time and especially concerning the future must sleep and have dreams, and since the sleep which nature by itself gives to man is not sufficient, it is necessary to produce it by artificial means.

Even the normal dreams are always believed by the Indians to have some prognostic significance. If, for instance, the Jibaro Indian dreams that he sees his enemies, fights with them and succeeds in killing them, he believes that in making war against them he will be victorious. If he dreams that he brings down many wild hogs, monkeys, and birds of the forest with his lance or his poisoned arrows, he is convinced that on the following day he will be lucky in hunting. If in the dream he meets strange Indians or white men, he is sure that such guests will soon arrive at his house. Similarly, if he dreams that in the forest or on the river some disaster happens to him, he interprets this as a bad omen and on the following day does not leave the house. An Indian on the Rio Upano once told me that during the preceeding night he had dreamt about a venomous snake which stung him in the forest. He had intended to go out hunting that day, but on account of the disagreeable dream he put it off and did not leave the house for three days. If he had gone out in the forest the following day, he said, he would certainly have been stung by a venomous snake.

However, those dreams are prophetic in the proper sense of the word which have been

produced by drinking natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, for in such dreams the very spirits are, by conjuration, compelled to appear, who are able to give information about future events. These spirits are essentially the ancestors (apáchiru) of the sleeping Indian, who give their descendants advice and instruction. But on the other hand these spirits are also the souls (wakáni) of the narcotic plants themselves, with whom the Indian enters into intimate communion by consuming the drinks. It may, moreover, be added that the spirits which animate the natéma, the maikoa, and the tobacco are the souls of men; hence these drinks can only be prepared by the men, just as the corresponding plants can only be planted by the men.

The visions and other experiences which the Indians believe they have in the state of intoxication produced by natéma (aya huasca) and maikoa (huántuc) are in some

details differently described by the Jibaros [446] and the Canelos Indians (1). The CANELOS INDIAN, narcotized by aya huasca, in the first place sees wonderful landscapes, forests, hills, snow-clad volcanoes, lakes, rivers, or, more strictly speaking, the spirits (supai) which inhabit all these localities; secondly, the dead (aya) in the shape of skeletons; further, living people--Indians and white men, men and women--; finally, all sorts of animals, tucans and other magical birds, jaguars, pumas, bears, venomous snakes, and especially the giant serpent (amárun). All of these are demoniacal animals,

"1. As to the effects which the drinks prepared from the Banisteria caapi and Datura arborea produce upon a white man, I can only say that, living as I have mostly done, alone among the Indians I have not taken the risk of consuming them in larger quantities for the purpose of stating their mental and physiological effects. Still I have tasted both of them, finding the first exceedingly bitter, like quinine, and the second somewhat insipid and nauseous. White settlers at Canelos and Macas who have tried the aya huasca (natéma) have told me that in the state of intoxication they have in part had the same experiences as the Indians, seeing wonderful landscapes, hills, and rivers, beautiful birds, etc. Those particular 'spirits', on the other hand, whom the Indians profess to see, do not of course present themselves to a person who does not share their religious ideas and superstitions."

I: Karsten--44
116, 787, 276

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giving him adv tions of the spirits in a state of intoxication is by the JIBAROS
To receive ch simply means 'to see'. The things which they 'see' are
called wuimek eams produced by natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, only with a
about the sam shall presently indicate. Thus, to the Jibaro Indian also in
small differen landscapes, hills, rivers, and forests appear, since the spirits
the first place ese localities (wakáni, iguánchi) are compelled to draw near.
and demons in although generally malignant, are those demons who inhabit the
Particularly P indya iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers. These
hills and cord ularly appear to the the [sic] medicine-men when curing disease.
demons there dian for instance drinks a narcotic at some of the great feasts,
Again, when a pecial reference to his domestic and economic life: he sees his
[447] his visio s and fat, he sees his house surrounded by flourishing manioc
swine and hen

and plantain fields, and so forth. Further, the Indian sees all sorts of game, wild turkeys, tucans, parrots, wild pigs, agoutis, etc. When the sleeping Indian has such visions, it may happen that he suddenly starts up in excitement, points with his fingers at the birds and animals he fancies he sees, and exclaims: wuimekta, wuimekta, úmi surústa, úmi wakérahei, seása wakerahei, kúndinyaka túkusa yuohei, kuchi yuohei, atáshi yuohei, pákki yuohei, káyuka yuohei, etc. that is: 'Behold, behold! Give me a blowgun, I want a blowgun, I want arrow-poison, I am shooting game to eat it, I am eating pig's flesh, I am eating hen's flesh, I am eating the flesh of the hog, the flesh of the hare', etc. At such moments he must be held down on his bed by his comrades, but the fact that he has experiences of this kind is interpreted as a favourable omen by them: 'He has good visions, he has certainly seen the spirits'.

On the other hand, some Jibaro Indians at least say that when intoxicated by natéma or tobacco they see no human beings, who only appear to them after they have drunk maikoa. Among other spirits then appearing to them there are men, both Indians (Jibaros) and white men 'dressed in black clothes'. All these human apparitions are the ancestors (apachiru) of the sleeping Indian (for according to the tradition of the Jibaros even the whites have once been Jibaros), who give their descendants advice and instruction. The Jibaros call them maikoa eintseri, 'the maikoa-people'.

With the maikoa-people come other spirits. Among these there are not only the nature spirits and animal demons mentioned above; even inanimate objects, like articles of clothing, implements, weapons, needles, etc. appear to the sleeper as animate and assume the shape of young Indians.

The most important, however, of all spirits are the mysterious demons which have already been introduced under the name of arútama, and who make their appearance partly in the shape of wild animals, partly as striking phenomena of nature, partly in other shapes. At any rate these demons always appear when, from the Indian point of view, the dream is favourable or 'good'.

When these spirits, and especially the maikoa einteeri and the arútama, appear to the young Jibaro, who has taken the narcotic drink for the first time, they say to him: 'You have drunk our blood, you are a [448] good man, you will live long and kill your enemies in battle. Your domestic animals, the swine and the hens, will multiply, your fields will flourish and give abundant fruit. Your changina (basket of plaited vines) will always be full, you will not become poor but lead a plentiful life'. In private affairs the spirits give him true information and directions. If, for instance, he intends to make war against a strange tribe, the spirits let him know before hand whether he will be successful or not. 'This or that enemy', they say, 'you will vanquish and bring his head to your home'; or: 'If you make war against that and that enemy you will have no success, but you will be killed yourself'. Similarly, if he wants to kill a sorcerer of

his own tribe who has bewitched one of his relatives with magic art the spirits tell him whether he will succeed in doing so or not.

The word arútama means 'the Old Ones'. These spirits, it should be understood, are the first ancestors of the Jibaros, and they were great warriors. Among the spirits there are, in the first place, two human apparitions. The first is called ikyáhinamchi. He is a Jibaro Indian, 'a red form enveloped in flames', and therefore not clearly visible. His voice, on the other hand, is distinctly heard. He calls out to the sleeping Indian, through his closed hand, certain words in the peculiar, staccato tone which is customary among the Jibaros when, in performing the Enéma, they ceremonially salute one another: wi--wikáhei--shuara --nikápeatahei--andúcta, that is: 'I go off (to the war), I will take (the heads of my enemies), listen!' The other human form is called mayéi, and he is also a Jibaro Indian. His name is derived from his custom of repeatedly calling out to the sleeper in a loud voice: mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, i. e. 'kill, kill!' To see or to hear the ikyáhinamchi or the mayéi in narcotic sleep is regarded as a good omen, for such a warrior will certainly be able to kill enemies.

Most of the arútama however, are animal demons. Among these there are in the first place the greatest and most dangerous beasts of prey which the Indian knows, first of all different species of the feline family: soacha, the great black jaguar, yambinga,

shia-shia, yantsa, different kinds of the great spotted jaguar, the lion or puma, hap-ayawára, different kinds of tiger cat, called amicha, yantána, undúchama.

A powerful arútama is moreover the giant snake, Boa constrictor, and especially the water boa, called pangi or cuichi by the Jíbaros. Besides the pangi, his "brother" tsungi, another and probably purely mythical water monster, is revered as an arútama. Other water demons [449] of the same class are the great caiman or crocodile, kan-yátsa, and the great otter, wangánimi, which is called by the Quichua-speaking Indians yacu puma, 'the water tiger'.

The bird demons are particularly numerous among the arútama. Among these are first of all the largest birds of prey, the great eagle or harpy, unta pincha, the condor, yápu, and the owl, ambúsha; further, the demoniacal tucan, tsuhánga, and another smaller bird of the tucan family called pininchi. The great macaws, the red one, takúmbi, and the yellow one, yambúma, are also arútama; further, the common green parrot kávashu, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola), called súmga by the Jíbaros, the pelican, kaua, and two other birds of the forest which I have not been able to identify and of which the first is called sicha in the Jíbaro language, the other chacu.

The sleeping Indian only dimly perceives the monsters which appear to him in the dream as arútama, but he hears their voices when, each in its own way, they speak to him. He hears the roar of the jaguar, the mighty soughing of the wing-strokes of the

great eagle, the terrible hissing of the giant snake, and so forth. The smaller animals and birds also appear in narcotic dreams in a somewhat different shape than in normal life: their dimensions are much larger, but the visionary only perceives them in part --of the birds, for instance, he only sees the head and the neck, but not the wings-- and all of them have the faculty of speech since, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors are incarnated in them.

Other arútama have the form of striking phenomena of nature. Among these there is the powerful hurricane (nássi) which frequently suddenly arises in tropical South America, passes through a limited area and causes great destruction in the virgin forest. Such hurricanes are always ascribed by the Indians to certain powerful demons (iguánchi), and the fact that these demons figure among the arútama makes it clear that they partake of the nature of ancestral souls. Other phenomena of nature which are explained in the same way, by the action of certain powerful spirits, are the lightning, chareimbi, the meteors and comets, payára, and the rainbow, tundyáka. These likewise appear to the Jibaro Indian in narcotic sleep and figure among the arútama.

Although in natural life these demons, or at least some of them, are regarded as being very malignant, they generally do the sleeping Indian no harm since they are under magical restraint or influence; on the contrary, as a rule they appear as his friends and advisers. Still [450] it may sometimes happen--as I was told by a Jibaro--that

an arútama wholly overpowers the dreamer and kills him on the spot. This idea seems to indicate that in exceptional cases the Indians may die from a too strong narcotic intoxication.

A practical consequence of the 'good' dreams is that if in real life the Jibaro warrior happens to meet for instance a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, or an eagle, he does not fear him and does not take to flight, but on the contrary is able to defy such a creature. He brandishes his lance, making threatening movements against him in the way customary among the Jibaros when they challenge their enemies, and calling out to him: 'You I know very well, for I have seen you in the dream. Come along. I do not fear you, I will kill you with my lance!' This is at the same time a proof to his comrades that he has really had 'good' dreams and has seen the arútama, and that he is a brave warrior. But if, on the contrary, a Jibaro, when meeting a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, an eagle, shows fear and takes to flight, this to his fellow-tribesmen is a proof that he has had bad dreams and would not make a good warrior, and that he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies.

In the same way, the Jibaro who has seen the arútama will not fear lightning, a rainbow, a falling meteor or a hurricane. On the contrary, even these enemies he boldly challenges with his lance and with words. In the dream he has, once for all, become acquainted with these phenomena, normally so terrible to the Indians; he knows

their true nature and has been hardened against them.

Among the arútama there are some other striking appearances. One is called uhúmuka: it is a human head cut off, which is seen wandering along the ground. The spirit says to the sleeping Indian: 'You will become a brave warrior, you will go far away on the war-path and kill your enemies'. Similarly, if the Jibaro wants to kill a sorcerer of his own tribe, the uhúmuka-demon tells him whether he will be successful or not. Another arútama appears as a human arm cut off which is seen to float in the air. If only the forearm with the hand is visible, the appearance is called wehánga; if the dreamer only sees the upper arm, it is called kunduána. If in the dream the Indian tries to seize this arm, it vanishes into the air. The wehánga or kunduána says to the dreamer: 'Take this arm; I am your ancestor, the arm of your forefathers (apáchiru). Do not fear, with this arm you will be strong and kill your enemies'. A third appearance of the same kind is the makuána: [451] this is a leg cut off. This arutama, too, speaks to the dreamer in the same way as the other spirits and gives him good foreshadowings.

All these are what we have called 'good' dreams. We may ask, on the other hand, of what kind are the bad dreams. If the young Indian, during a narcotic sleep has no dreams at all, this is regarded as a bad omen. 'He is not a real man', is in that case the judgement of the oldest men of the tribe, 'he will become no warrior, and he will

not be able to kill any enemies'. If the Indian does not only sleep the whole night, but continues sleeping all the following day till sunset, this is also looked upon as a very serious omen. 'He will certanly [sic] not live long, he will soon sink into the earth like the sun'. If the arútama do not appear at all, if the young Jibaro has other kinds of visions or quite insignificant dreams, this is regarded as equally fatal. 'That youth will not live long, he will not kill any enemies, but he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies'. Such are the judgements which are most frequently passed on the 'bad' dreams by the old dream-interpreters.

Besides this, it is only natural that even the arútama and the maikoa eintseri sometimes give fore-shadowings which are unfavourable. If, for instance, the Jibaro warrior will soon fall a victim to the attacks of his enemies, the spirits may frankly tell him so beforehand. 'You will not live long, you will soon be killed by your enemies'. If he will perish through the magic arrow of a sorcerer or through some accident, the spirits may in the same way foretell it. It is characteristic of the demons who appear under the influence of the narcotic drinks that they always speak the absolute truth, just as they seem to possess actual knowledge.

It may also happen that the young Jibaro indeed sees the arútama, but in the very dream gets frightened at the sight of them and flees from them, so that he cannot be instructed by them or hardened against them. This, of course, is also a 'bad' dream.

I have so far mainly spoken of the ideas of the Jibaro Indians proper. As to the visions of the CANELOS INDIANS when drinking huántuc, I have still to add that on these occasions they do not pretend to see any animal demons or nature spirits. What then appears to them is only a white man dressed in black clothes. This being is called pasúca by the Canelos Indians, and he is the real huántuc-demon (huántuc supai). He takes the sleeping Indian through the air to a distant place, where he gives him the warnings and instructions desired."

3: Simson--
116, 796, 276

(No date) 1880 Jivaro

"Among laquiza Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festiv eld when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and of smoking.* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member the n oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to b ed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the n nemies they have slain, and so forth. The hope is then expressed that the rep e of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, a e manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address del e pipe is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few l the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disportin ves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event."

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*"This str nteresting custom was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Pozzi, who s a missionary amongst these Indians for some years."

10: Anthony--147-148 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 776, 787, 276

"The Jivaros do not believe in a benign deity, but in a power which is spoken of by the Spaniards as el diablo, the devil. This being is not necessarily malicious in his attributes, but rather is considered to be a 'Super-Jivaro,' one powerful in all matters, omnipotent for good or evil but not loving evil for its own sake. When an important project is under consideration--a foray for wives or a long hunting trip into the territory of a hostile neighbor--the Jivaro deems it of the utmost importance that the 'devil' be consulted. For this purpose he retires to some secluded spot, let us say a small hill off in the jungle, and there drinks a quantity of a certain vegetable extract. This extract, made from the bark of a root, is a dark fluid [148] resembling coffee. It produces a narcotic effect upon the human system and the Jivaro passes into a stupor of several hours' duration, during which he experiences various weird hallucinations. One of these hallucinations is that the devil comes to him and gives advice regarding the proposed plan. If favorable views upon the matter are entertained by the devil, the project will be attempted. Consultation with the devil may be had by any man, for it is not the special province of any priestly class. I have spoken with white men who have sampled this narcotic drink and from the reports of its effects I judge the active principle of it must be some powerful alkaloid."

Besides chicha, the Jíbaro frequently use three vegetable infusions: those of guayusa and natema and the decoction of tobacco.

Guayusa is a plant of the Aquifoliaceae family and of the genus Ilex (1). In steeping the leaves give a tonic and stomachic beverage which replaces coffee and tea. But the Jíbaro also takes it every morning on an empty stomach upon getting up, and produces by a simple contraction of the diaphragm or even by putting his fingers in his throat, a veritable washing out of the stomach. Even the youngest children are accustomed to this strange habit and their mothers make them vomit by tickling their throats with a feather. It is therefore wrong to say, as certain explorers have claimed, that the infusion of guayusa has vomitive properties. It has no more than mate. The purpose of this daily operation is to get rid of the material remaining in the stomach on awakening, the Jíbaro being convinced that it is injurious to the organism.

Natema (Banisteria caapi) is a vine which, on boiling in water for 24 hours, yields an infusion which when introduced into the stomach, deprives one of all feeling for three days, and provokes during this lethargy a profusion of dreams. The phase of insensibility is preceded by a period of excitation. We shall see later under what circumstances the savages have recourse to natema. The young man and children employ for the same

1. Obras de Fray Vicente Solano, Barcelona, 1892, vol. I, page 429.

purpose the infusion of maicoma (2) (kind of Datura?) which is less active.

The tobacco decoction is frequently used as a [593] remedy or in certain manifestations of religious nature of which I will speak later.

The Indian also has a passion for smoking as often as he can, but this is another vice that he acquired from the whites. In fact, he uses only the tobacco that they sell him, making his cigarettes with the aid of dry maize or banana leaves. He never makes use of a pipe.

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2. Doubtless, the same narcotic that the Salesians call maiguá. I Jíbaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza. Equatore. Tipografia Salesiana. Turin, 1906, note 2 on page 4.

12: Rivet--601-602 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 753, 276

A superstitious practice observed at Macas, and perhaps generally, shows the importance the savage attaches to remaining always in a perfect state of training. Believing that when he has sold his blowgun to a white man he has lost the strength of his lungs, he submits to the follow operation in order to regain it: he takes a bamboo tube 20 to 25 cm. long and 2 1/2 cm. in diameter, stuffs it with tobacco, and lights it. A friend places the lighted end in his mouth and blows hard into the tube. The smoke which comes out in abundance from the other end is swallowed by the patient who, with his mouth wide open, is seated opposite the apparatus (fig. 21). [602] Soon the sufferer falls narcotized, with abundant vomiting and in a real state of prostration, but a few hours later, he feels well and thinks he has recovered the power of his breath.

The tobacco feast, so called because of the great quantity of the tobacco concoction which is consumed, is to ensure the fertility of the fields, the fattening and fecundity of the hogs. It is more solemn than the preceding ceremony, is attended by more guests, and requires a greater quantity of food and drink. It usually lasts three days, but the guests may stay as long as the food and drink hold out. Under the pretext of helping in the preparations of the feast, certain less scrupulous friends even come to stay with the one who is paying the expenses ten days before the celebration.

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)" (1).

Simson, according to Father Pozzi, reports that in Gualaquiza a ceremony takes place when a child of three or four years of age is initiated into the art of smoking. All the family being gathered together, the oldest member present makes a long discourse in

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 52-53.

which he praises the courage of his ancestors and some members of the tribe, enumerates the number of enemies killed and expresses the hope that the representative of the new generation will imitate these noble examples. Finally, he puts a pipe into the hands of the young novice and after he has drawn on it a few times, all the assistants smoke gravely around him and begin to drink in order to celebrate the great event (2). This account is incomplete opposition to my findings, according to which the Jíbaros are not aware of the use of the pipe, and even Simson himself reports that an Indian from Canelos wished to try his pipe and was made as uncomfortable as a high-school boy at his first attempts.

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2. Simson, op. cit., pages 388 and 393.

18: Hermessen--444-445 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 137, 276

"Although wild cacao trees (Theobroma cacao) were abundant on the Zamora, the Jíbaros did not appear to have any practical knowledge of the alimentary value of the fruit, for there were many trees to be seen along the river with pods rotted on them. Rubber trees (probably Sapium verum, Hemsl.) were also common enough, and the latex, obtained in the [445] usual way by making incisions in the trunk, was utilized in various native articles."

25. Vigna--42 [2]
116, 273, 276, 484

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The principal drink, --which is also often eaten--and liquor, is the chicha of yuca, called "nijamanchi." The women who are in charge of its preparation, masticate the cooked yuca and spit it into special bowls where the mass ferments within a few hours. Its taste is similar to that of curdled milk. During the morning they take an infusion of "guayusa" - leaf of a tree that contains much caffein and is a savory sedative. On journeys, the only food they carry is the chicha of concentrated yuca, which they take with water; they do not take any other food en route.

28: Tessman--352 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 177

Tobacco (sángo) is taken in the form of juice: they let the leaves soak in water, and then drink the water or sip it through the nose. According to Karsten they have special earthenware glasses for this purpose.

In his Beiträge etc., pp. 56 ff. Karsten deals at great length with the tobacco and the ideas and customs connected with it. The original magic significance of tobacco is still apparent. As a pure stimulant tobacco is a new acquisition of the Chiwaros, which is proved by the fact that for this purpose the Indians use imported tobacco only. The men take the tobacco juice through the mouth or through the nose, the women through the mouth only. The Indians also smoke large cigars, which are placed in a bamboo holder. At a certain festival, when the boys reach the stage of manhood, smoke is blown into the mouths of the novices. This is, according to Karsten, the significance of the tobacco for the Chiwarôs: 1) it is a panacea for all diseases, and 2) it is a means to increase the magic power; thirdly, it is an actual narcoticum which produces dreams.

There does not seem to be any coca, and Karsten does not talk about it either.

28: Tessman--352-353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 787, 757

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tessman--353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 757, 463

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

28: Tessman--357-358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 276, 784

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, kaapí (natéma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (tsintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcercer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 *SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding soul, witchcraft, or kinship.

There kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *nainak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *wáki wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[2]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient spirit" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[3] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killings, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[4] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

[726] [774] [352] [276] [205] [551]

[726] [774]

182 [554]

[774]

[354]

[356] [354]

[774] [775]

[161]

[illegible] drinking large quantities of an infusion of [illegible], beating a log-signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be avenger's call and, "taking pity" on his soul for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.*

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.* In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam-soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a caged torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls that temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his new arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting on breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

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ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ë*; palatized when following *ë* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ë* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization. 121

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 774 [194]

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [076]

[7] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. [787]

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. [778]

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *awsag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [726]

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 726

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. 774 [191] [192]

[12] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *mairka*. 774

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [775]

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 774 775 774

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens. 775 [241]

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

[For additional information on the use of drugs for hallucinatory revelation, see 34: Harner, category 787.]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

224
276

To assure success in hunting, young men (both married and unmarried) may join together in a small group under the supervision of an older master of ceremony (*wea*) to inhale tobacco smoke for a three-day period during which they alternate the smoke-inhalation sessions with hunting in the forest with blowguns. During the ritual sessions, called *kusupan*, the men take turns blowing tobacco smoke through guadua bamboo tubes into each other's lungs. It is believed that a man must entirely swallow the smoke he receives in order to be certain that he will not fail as a hunter.

225

A variety of fish and shellfish is present in streams and rivers, but swift currents and the small size of many water-courses seem to limit the degree of emphasis on their exploitation in many localities. Fishing roughly contributes perhaps only a little over 5 per cent of the total diet, significantly less than hunting. Corvina, suckers, and sheat-fish are taken from main streams and rivers, while crayfish and fresh-water crabs are gathered in the shallows. [146]

Fishing techniques range from simply seizing fish by hand to complex river-poisoning operations. The fish that are caught bare-handed belong mostly to a species (*nayumpi*) capable of fastening itself to the underside of river boulders by means of a suction pad appendage. Hook-and-line fishing is done from a riverbank. Any handy stick is used for a pole, while an iron trade hook is baited with a piece of manioc, ripe plantain, or an earthworm.

A few men possess rectangular throw nets for catching medium-sized fish. A pair of fishermen, or a man and his wife, enter the shallows about ten feet apart. One tosses an end of the net to his companion with a circular motion. As the net is drawn to shore, balsa wood floats support its top edge, while stone sinkers keep it vertical in the water. Good-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A fam-
ily without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much
of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs
against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end
of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually
results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to
defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking in-
dicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for
dog, *niąwá*, is the same term used to designate the feared
and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden,
and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[789] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives ob-
serves a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch
to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is
nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in
adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its
owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic
Datura to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
[439] parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been men- [235]
tioned previously. [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [824]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars
are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of minia- 531
ture drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation
jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually
simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated
irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one
apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which
sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the
north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, aver- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [273]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store
the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to
boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting
shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving
bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison.
One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to
brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273]
[515]

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crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 844
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 846
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tsentsemä* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucin- [774]
ogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival.
If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

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ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 • 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

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• 276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the
house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day
the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsen-*
tsemá and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the
adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and
dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile,
the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The
same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is
considered to compare in importance with the experience.
The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in
Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since
its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects
of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and in-
telligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the
child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer
in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep
the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the
house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of
refuse.

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-
[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 276
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsaŋu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ičí*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels.
Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found [761]
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
701 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucin-
756 ogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakanī* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakanī*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

774 *Arutam wakanī* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
776 specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakanī* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakanī* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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276 likely, though, is that before the five days are up, one of the
787 members of the party will have recourse to drinking hallucinogenic *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) juice. Usually this is a person who has failed to see an *arutam* on a previous vision quest or who feels an urgent need to see one without delay.

276 *Maikua*, of which the Jívaro distinguish and use six different types, is recognized by them to be the most powerful and also the most dangerous hallucinogen with which they are familiar. In their pharmacopoeia, the hallucinogenic plants with which they are acquainted are ranked thusly in terms of their strength: (1) all six forms of *maikua;* (2) *natemā*, mixed with *yabi* (see pp. 153–54), and *parápara;* (3) *tsentsemā*, *pirípiri*, and *ripuru*. The last four remain to be botanically identified with certainty.

The psychotropic potency of *Datura* and certain other plants of the Solanaceae is well known to Western pharmacology, their hallucinogenic properties being due primarily to their high content of hyoscyamine, atropine, and scopolamine.[2] Preparations from these plants tend to produce, in large dosages, a state of excitation, delirium, and hallucinations, followed by a state of narcosis.[3]

The Jívaro obtain their hallucinatory experiences with *Datura* by ingesting the raw juice of the green bark of the stems. The effects begin to be felt within about three to four minutes of ingestion, probably because of the fast action of
276 the atropine. The *arutam* seeker ingesting the *Datura* juice is
787 never supposed to do it without the presence of an adult who is not taking the drug. It is the responsibility of the latter to provide psychological support or, in Jívaro terms, to "encourage" him, and also to hold him down, if necessary, during the first phase of the intoxication, when the drug taker tends to become delirious and is in danger of running off into the forest in his highly agitated state and, as a result,

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possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied. 276 787

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[4] 276 787 776

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have 787 774 778 [776]

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22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemá* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

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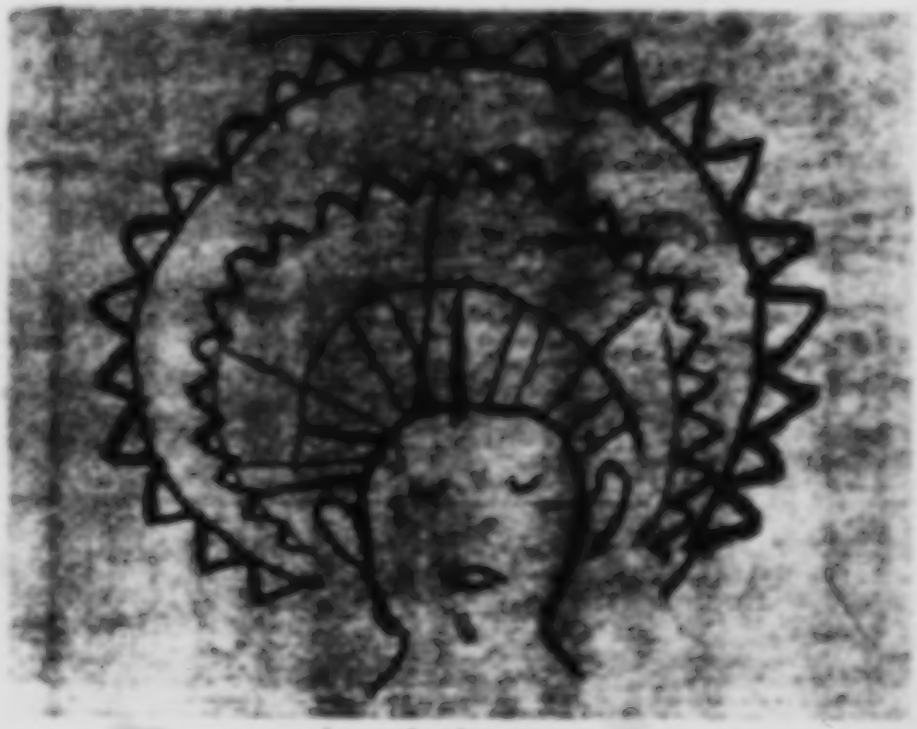
23. Snake *tsumsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natema*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutunangoza, 1964).

24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natema* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutunangoza, 1964).



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definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical
weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[6] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrhea. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*wuiliu*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
987 Jívaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
987 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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776 756 778 823 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

757 Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 776 756 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 778 776 276 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 756 778 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*

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to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaučī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peŋer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunčī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

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778 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemä*.
• 276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
754 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
628 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal
721 assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemä* and secretly ap-
276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, sees the
776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
• 276 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole
787 vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has
not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears
to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsen-*
tsak, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing
it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone
manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda,
which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to
drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed
snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his
victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create
jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
tsentsak power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
276 volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of
[787] *natemä*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at
the point where its two main branches join. If his strength
and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment
the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is in-
visible to an observer who is not under the influence of the
hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable
of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible,
he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply
of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for
this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemä*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *pirípiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemä*, tobacco water, and *pirípiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

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755 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have
778 sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which
755 he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their
778 supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the
• 276 influence of *natemä*, and he sees them as a variety of
787 zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his
776 shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemä*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemä* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

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natemä, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakanï* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemä*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

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755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
• 276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
776 regularly, he must drink *natemä* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemä*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
[276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
754 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *paŋü* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemä*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

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766 against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned
774 house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is
[778] erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each
774 about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each
823 night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He
[276] then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

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626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
[276] become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
[824] uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
[756] have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
[755] Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanī*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

1: Karsten--103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
278, 462, 791 (1928-29)

"To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know, only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

1: Karsten--143-145 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 171 (1928-29)

"The arrow-poisons in vogue among the Indians of Western Amazonas seem to belong to the class known under the general name of 'curare', [144] of which one of the most important ingredients is the alcaloid poison found in various Strychnos species. The Macusi Indians of Guiana are the best known of the South American arrow-poison makers, and it is possible that this invention--one of the most ingenious of those of savage peoples--was originally passed on to the Indians of the Amazon territory. However this may be, it must be stated at once that even in Eastern Ecuador and Peru the 'curare' poisons differ considerably; nay, there are even arrow-poisons of which we do not know with certainty whether they can be called 'curare' at all, for instance the one used by the savage Avishiries living in the region of the river Curaray and its affluent Villano. According to the statements of the rubber collectors who have been in contact with this little known tribe, their arrow-poison is exceedingly effective, and their blow-guns, which I have seen myself, are of a type differing greatly from those used by other Indian tribes in the Ecuadorian Oriente. In general, the arrow-poisons used by the Indians of these regions are very imperfectly known, so that the information I was able to gain about those in vogue among the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros of the Pastaza, although incomplete from a pharmacological point of view, may be of considerable interest.

Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison, only a few of

them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza. [145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes.

Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots'(1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesús en el Marañon Español, p. 87."

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"Naturally, to be able to study the Indian arrow-poison properly, one needs to be, not only an ethnologist, but also a botanist and pharmacologist, and since I am not an expert in the latter respect, my study of the Indian arrow-poisons must be imperfect. Only in exceptional cases have I been able to identify scientifically the plants which the Indians use for the purpose. As a rule I can only give their names in the language of the Indians and a short general description--e. g. whether a vine, a shrub, a big tree, and so on--as well as the necessary data for preparing them in order to obtain an effective arrow-poison. Yet even so I believe I have done future students of the Indian arrow-poisons a good service, since a botanical expert, guided by my data, will, helped by the Indians, easily obtain the necessary material for his investigations. Considering the very imperfect knowledge chemists and physiologists at present possess of the vegetable ingredients of which, for instance, the so-called curare poison is composed, I can only hope that some properly trained botanical expert may some time have an opportunity to study them on the spot. It would also be very important to obtain and bring home, not only, as hitherto, samples of the prepared poison, but all those different vegetables from which the different tribes prepare it, and to have them separately examined. Only in this way can it be established, for instance, which ingredients have really practical effects, and which are, perhaps, only used for superstitious reasons.

[146] I shall first give an account of the mode of preparing the arrow-poison among

the CANELOS INDIANS.

These Indians prepare their poison from 25 to 30 different ingredients, all of which are obtained from the plant world. Of these at any rate the most important I noted down. My Indian informant, although himself an old poison-maker, declared that there is scarcely an Indian who can from memory enumerate all the plants required in preparing the arrow-poison. As they roam about in the forest in search of the necessary material they recollect, little by little, in conversation with one another, the different vines, roots, herbs, and other plants which will produce the desired result.

The Canelos Indians, just as other Quichua-speaking Indians of the Ecuadorian Oriente, call the poison pucúna hámbi. Pucúna is the name of the blowgun with which the poisoned arrows are blown; hambi is the general name for a magic medicine to which supernatural powers (due to the presence of a spirit or demon) are ascribed. The name hámbi is applied both to real drugs and remedies obtained from the plant world and to poisons like the arrow-poison.

The Indians of the Napo and some Canelos Indians call their arrow-poison ticúna, because formerly they obtained it from the Ticuna Indians on the Amazon.

Huásca is the Quichua name for a 'vine' or 'liana'; rúya signifies any 'big tree' with a straight stem, whereas cáspi is a more general name for a 'tree' or 'shrub'. Múyu is the 'fruit' of a tree or the 'seed' of a plant; cára signifies the 'bark of a tree'.

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 278 (1928-29)

The following plants and trees, with their Quichua names, are those used by the Canelos Indians in preparing the arrow-poison.

1. Varváscu. This name includes two or three different plants which are also used in fishing, the fish being stupefied with the poisonous juice squeezed from the root. The plant used for the arrow-poison is probably Cracca toxicaria, a small, leguminous bush containing an alcaloid called rotidona. In order to get the juice, the root is crushed with a club and boiled for a while in a special pot; when the poison is extracted, the roots are taken out, leaving the liquid.

2. Hámbi lállu is a bush, growing wild; its poisonous properties are obtained as follows: - - a piece of the stem is cut off, the bark removed and thrown away, the wood substance crushed and boiled for some hours. [147]

3. Pála huásca is a big flat liana, about 12 to 15 cm. in breadth, which creeps up the giant trees of the virgin forest. Because of its flatness it is called 'the shovel-liana' (pala = 'shovel'). A piece of the stem is cut off, crushed with stones and boiled for some two hours in a special pot.

4. Cáñu huásca, a liana of about the same size as the pála huásca. Along the middle of this liana there runs a deep channel from which it takes its name (cáñu = 'channel'). Cáñu huásca is prepared in the same way as the pála huásca.

5. Payángshi is a big yellow liana creeping under the earth. A small sprout pro-

truding from the earth indicates its presence. It is prepared in the same way as the lianas already mentioned, a piece of the stem being cut off, crushed and boiled.

6. Ilúchi is a small shrub. There are two species of it, differing in size, the larger being called hátun ilúchi (1) about 1 1/2 m. long, the smaller one, uchílla ilúchí, about 1/2 to 1 m. long. The root of both these shrubs is used; the bark is useless, and is therefore scraped off and thrown away; the yellow substance under it is taken out and boiled for a while.

7. Tunishpa huásca (tunishpa ='mixed') is a shrub which is so called from its resemblance to the shrub ilúchi. When it is used for arrow-poison the bark is scraped from the stem and boiled.

8. Ápa huásca (ápa= 'old', 'ancient') is a big liana prepared in the same way as the pala and the cañu huásca.

9. Cüilin huásca (cüilin= a bird of the tucan family) is a small liana, about 3 to 4 cm. in diameter and is prepared in the same way as ápa huasca and the other lianas.

10. Hámbi huásca is a long thick liana creeping up the biggest trees of the virgin forest. At the top it is thicker than at the lower end, and the thick parts of the stem

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"1. hatun ='big', uchilla ='small'."

are especially used. A number of small pieces are cut off by two Indians, so many that they are quite a burden. These pieces are prepared in the usual way, i. e. crushed with clubs and boiled for a while in a small pot. The woody pieces are then taken out leaving the liquid.

11. Lispúngu múyu. Lispúngu is the name of a tall, thick tree of the forest with fruit about the size of that of the gourd tree. The fruit is cut up, the small seeds taken out, ground, and boiled separately in a special pot. Then the liquid is strained through a piece of linen and the essence carefully pressed out. [148]

12. Hámbi múyu. Of this plant there are three species, of which two are used for the arrow-poison. The one is a tree called hátun hámbi múyu the other is a shrub called uchílla hámbi múyu: of both the red and comparatively small fruit is used. In preparing the hátun hámbi múyu, the fruit is cut open, its seeds taken out and ground. A considerable quantity, say a small wooden basin full, of these ground seeds is boiled in a special pot, then it is strained and the essence, which is white, pressed out just as in the case of the lispúngu múyu.

In using the uchílla hámbi múyu the small red fruit is cut open and the seeds taken out and ground.

13. Tarapútu cara is a vine the leaves of which are similar to those of the tarapoto palm. There are several varieties of this vine and all of them are used in preparing

the arrow-poison. The black bark is scraped off the vine with a knife until the desired quantity has been obtained; this is then boiled.

14. Cicuánga caspi, 'the tucan tree' (cicuánga = 'tucan') is a beautiful high tree. A certain quantity of the bark is scraped off and boiled.

15. Hámbi cára cáspi. A small shrub. The rind is scraped off and prepared exactly in the same way as the Cicuánga cáspi.

16. Yána hámbi cáspi. A small shrub. The root of it is used, being crushed with a club and boiled, just as was done with the rind of the hámbi cára cáspi and other shrubs.

17. Chilíca cáspi. A big tree. The bark is scraped off and prepared in the same way as the previous ones.

18. Chíhun cáspi. A shrub. The root is cut into small pieces and boiled for about half a day in a special pot until its poisonous juice is set free, in the form of a concentrate.

19. Ahuiríngri caspi. The ginger shrub (Zingiber officinale ?). The root is cleaned and boiled for about two hours.

20. Hámbi pahuága. A big tree. The thick bark is detached from the stem, crushed with stones and boiled.

21. Mándi. There are two species of this plant. The one is small with edible fruit

and leaves, and cultivated by the Canelos Indians for its nutritive value. The other one is bigger and poisonous and only used in the preparation of the arrow-poison. The rind of the stem is taken, carefully cleaned, and then boiled.

22. Pála pánga rúya. A small shrub of which the root is used. Up to ten roots are taken, the small fibres separated and boiled in a special [149] pot on a slow fire for a long time--nearly two days; a concentrated poisonous liquid results.

23. Huaránga quihua. A small plant of which the root is boiled.

24. Hámbi útchu, Indian pepper (Capsicum). The Indians cultivate different species of Capsicum. The one called hámbi útchu is small, yellow in colour, and so strong that it cannot be used as spice. It is exclusively used in preparing the arrow-poison. The whole fruit is boiled for a while and then mashed.

25. Matíri útchu, another kind of Capsicum. This is bigger than the hámbi útchu, red in colour, and also used as spice. When it is used for the preparation of the arrow-poison the seeds are taken out, mashed, and boiled in a little water.

Of these liquids and mashes nearly all, after being boiled separately, are placed together in a large pot for further boiling.

The exceptions are:--

No 10. Hámbi huásca--the liquid obtained is evaporated over a little fire until only a small concentrate is left, and this is dropped into the large pot, a little at a time.

1: Karsten--145-149 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 278 (1928-29)

No. 12. 2nd species--uchílla hámbi múyu--of which the ground seeds are placed in the large pot without being boiled first.

After thus learning the different plants which yield the ingredients necessary for the arrow-poison, we must examine somewhat more closely how the poison is prepared and what ideas the Indians associate with it."

1: Karsten--149-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 754 (1928-29)

"The poison cook is not an ordinary medicine-man, he is nevertheless a kind of sorcerer, since the making of the poison, as we shall presently see, is a sort of magical or religious ceremony. It is clear that the poison can only be prepared by a man who possesses the necessary knowledge and experience. Among the Canelos Indians the poison cooks are generally two men, both elderly, who know how to influence the particular demons active in the poisonous plants. The cooking cannot take place in the house, but only in the forest, where the sorcerers can enter into direct communication with the spirits of the plants. Similarly, the pots in which the poisonous ingredients are boiled must be specially made for the purpose by the cooks themselves. Pots which have been previously used [150] for other purposes, for instance for cooking food, will not do. Ordinary cooking pots would also be useless because of the salt which the Canelos Indians put into their food, for salt, which is regarded as an antidote against the arrow-poison, must not come into contact with it. The poison cooks prepare themselves for their work by fasting one day previously, being allowed to eat only roasted green plantains without salt. Nor can they have intercourse with their wives.

The cooking takes place in a shelter of palm leaves made in the interior of the forest about half a day's march from home. At a short distance from this shelter, nearer to the home, there is another shelter. The latter may be visited by other men and even boys who help in the work by carrying pots and fuel, and especially by bringing

the enormous quantity of material of all sorts of lianas, roots, fruits, and rinds from which the poison is prepared. Into the second shelter where the cooking takes place, only the two poison cooks may enter. Women again are strictly forbidden to come near either of the shelters and must keep away from the work as much as possible.

Four large new clay vessels, like those used for brewing manioc-beer, are necessary for the boiling. These are brought to the second shelter by the poison cooks, who also carry thither the different plants required, and these are already partly prepared.

The cooking requires a period of eight days in all. The first two days are for the preparation of the material, since, as we have seen, the numerous plants, roots, and lianas have first to be cleaned, peeled off, mashed, and so forth. This rough work is mostly done in the first shelter and, as already mentioned, even boys may assist at it.

The cooking can only take place at night, and the fuel used must consist solely of the hard wood of the chonta palm; only thus, it is believed, will the poison be effective. Towards the night of the second day the fires are kindled, the boiling begins and continues the whole night until dawn. Nothing further is done during that day, but on the following night the cooking is continued. After the poison has thus boiled for two successive nights, there is an interval of two days and two nights during which it is untouched. Then the cooking begins again and continues for two successive nights, when the cooking is finished and the poison is ready.

During the whole of the boiling only a small fire is kept burning; the process must be slow and gradual. When different poisons are boiled together in the big pot, the boiling is done over a slow fire until part of [151] the liquid evaporates and it becomes as thick as syrup or honey. The colour of the arrow-poison when boiled is dark brown.

All this time the cooks remain in the forest. They have to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only two roasted green plantains a day without salt; they are also allowed to drink manioc-beer. This food, however, must be consumed in the first shelter whither it is brought by a man; in the shelter where the cooking is done they may not eat or drink anything. If they do not fast strictly, and particularly if they eat salt or sweet things, the poison will be useless. During the work the cooks chant conjurations and incantation formulae by which the demons (supai) of the poisonous plants are summoned and favourably influenced. Besides this, they may speak only when absolutely necessary and then they must talk in a subdued voice.

Those days when the cooks are not engaged in boiling the poison, they are busy carving the arrows for which the poison is to be used.

They are strictly forbidden to have intercourse with women, and the latter, as pointed out before, are not allowed even to come near the place where the important ceremony is being performed. If a woman does come near, the poison will be completely spoiled, and if the woman has a sucking babe at home, the babe will die. The

poison cooks retire to the forest partly in order to be safe from the curiosity of the women.

The Indians believe that each of the plants used in preparing the arrow-poison is inhabited by a spirit or demon (súpai) to whom its poisonous properties are due. It is this demon that kills the victim when the poisoned arrow pierces his body. This is why the arrow-poison is also called súpai hámbi, 'the devil's medicine'. The spirit inhabiting the plants is influenced, as it were 'developed', compelled to concentrate its power, by the way the poison is prepared, and by the conjurations and incantations pronounced, just as, for instance, the spirit of the manioc plant is concentrated in the fermented manioc-beer. The poison cooks are thoroughly convinced of this fact, and the precautions they observe as well as the secrecy in which they veil their operations are due to this very belief. The spirit which is conjured and coerced is very angry and tries to harm its subduers. The poisonous gases which rise from the boiling pot are an expression of the anger of the tormented demon. The cooks therefore try to avoid, as far as possible, inhaling the harmful vapours which, they assert, make them ill. When they come home from the forest they are in fact pale and weak and behave as if they were more or less sick because they have had intercourse with the demons [152] of the poisons. It is probable, however, that their weak state is due more to the strict fasting than to the effects of the poisonous vapours.

1: Karsten--149-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 278, 754 (1928-29)

As soon as the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested upon a frog, which is shot with a poisoned arrow. If the frog soon dies, this is a proof that the poison is strong, since frogs are tenacious of life.

Salt and sugar are antidotes against the poison or are, at any rate, regarded as antidotes. If an Indian has accidentally been wounded by a poisoned arrow, a small quantity of salt is dissolved in water and given him to drink. The Indians assert that in this case the harmful effects of the poison will fail to appear.

The same holds true of sugar. Real hunters among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians abstain entirely from chewing sugar cane and eating sweet things, because they believe that they will lose the power of catching animals and birds of the forest with poisoned arrows.

Only edible animals can be brought down with poisoned arrows. If some 'demoniacal' or otherwise useless animal, bird, or reptile--for instance a vulture of a snake--is shot with it, the poison will completely lose its efficacy and it will be impossible to bring down any game with it.

The poison works only when it enters the blood where it brings about an instant coagulation and a paralysis of the muscles, and the Indians realize that--just as happens with the venom of snakes--it spreads rapidly round the whole body through the circulation of the blood. If the poison does not penetrate into the blood it does not

cause death, at any rate not so quickly; it is even possible to swallow an insignificant quantity of it without risk, if only the person doing it has no wound in his mouth or in the intestines. When the Canelos Indian buys poison and wants to try whether it is active and strong, he takes a little of it on his tongue, to form an opinion as to its quality from its taste. (1)"

"1. The sample of the arrow-poison of the Canelos Indians which I brought to the Gothenburg museum has recently been physiologically examined by Professor C. G. Santesson in Stockholm. See his 'Pfeilgiftstudien. Eine Kurareprobe aus Ecuador' in Skandinavisches Archiv für Physiologie, 1934. Band LXVIII. --The great number of different plants used by the Canelos Indians in the preparation of the arrow-poison, of which at any rate the majority are poisonous, clearly stamps as erroneous the opinion held by many toxicologists, that the alcaloid existing in the Strychnos species is the only really effective ingredient in the arrow-poison. See my articles 'Notes on South American Arrow-poison' in Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Comment. Human. litt. VI. 4. 1933, and 'Addenda to my Notes on South America Arrow-poison' Ibid. Comment. Hum. Litt. VI. 7. 1934, the latter article being a reply to Santesson's article 'Bemerkung über südamerikanisches Pfeilgift', Ibid. VI. 5."

1: Karsten--153-155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros on the middle Pastaza and those living on the upper Morona also gave me some information about their arrow-poison.

The lianas and shrubs used by them are the following, which I give under their Jibaro names.

1. Yarrier, one of the biggest lianas of the virgin forest (probably identical with the tarapútu cara of the Canelos Indians). A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off with a knife and boiled in a pot with other poisonous ingredients.

2. Yaririáhua; 3. Tsaueimera; 4. Papúra; 5. Nupáma; 6. Machápi; are all thick lianas of about the same size as the Yarrier just mentioned. They are all prepared in the same way, a quantity of the bark being scraped off and boiled with the poisonous ingredients obtained from the other plants.

7. Páingis is a smaller liana about 2 to 3 cm. in diameter. It is prepared in the same way as the other lianas.

8. Ëimera is a small wild shrub. The Jibaros use the root of it, scraping off some of the rind which covers it, and then preparing it in the same way as the rinds obtained from other plants.

9. Yeistseása (seása = 'poison') is another small shrub with poisonous properties. A quantity of the rind is detached from the stem and beaten with stones. The juice is thus pressed out and then boiled.

10. Tachira is likewise a shrub. The rind is scraped from the stem and boiled with the rest of the poisons.

These are the ten plants used by the Jibaros of the Pastaza in preparing the arrow-poison. I have no doubt that some of them are identical with the lianas and shrubs used for the same purpose by the Canelos Indians, and one or more of them are probably Strychnos species. Still it is remarkable how differently composed the 'curare' poisons of these two neighbouring tribes are. The Canelos Indians mix a good many more vegetable ingredients in their arrow-poison than do the Achuares and on the whole seem to prepare it with greater care. However this may be, the poison of the Achuares also had the reputation of being strong and active, and the Canelos Indians not only bought blowguns from their savage neighbours but also appreciated their poison. It is evident that many of the plants used for the purpose by the Canelos Indians do not grow at all in the country of the Achuares, and vice versa. Even within a comparatively limited area, like Eastern Ecuador, the plant world varies to a certain extent, so it is natural that the arrow-poisons also vary. [154]

The method of preparation employed by the Achuares differs to a certain extent from that customary among the Canelos Indians; the latter always prepare the poison in the forest, but the cooking only takes one day. As the liquid gradually evaporates, the solid parts are removed, and the residue is boiled further on a slow fire until only a

small but concentrated and thick quantity is left. For the rest, many of the details are the same as we have just learned with reference to the Canelos Indians. The pot used for the cooking must be quite new and not previously used for any other purpose. The fuel used for the fire must be chonta wood. The cook prepares himself for the work by fasting for one day; he eats only a few plantains boiled in water and mashed, and takes tobacco water in repeated doses. He has also to observe sexual abstinence. The actual day that he stays in the forest cooking the poison he eats nothing at all. No woman is allowed to come near the shelter where the poison is cooked. If a woman comes there, she exposes herself to supernatural dangers and the poison will be entirely spoiled. The same would happen if the cook ate salt or sweet things, or if such things came into contact with the pot in which the poison is boiled.

The Jibaros have the same ideas as the Canelos Indians regarding the nature of the poisonous plants and the prepared poison: in each plant there is a spirit or soul (wakáni) which effects its growth and which, at the cooking of the poisons, is influenced and developed. The demon, being coerced and constrained by the conjurations of the medicine-man, is very angry and tries to revenge himself on his tormentor. This anger finds expression in the poisonous vapours rising from the pot. The fasting to which the cook submits, as well as certain other precautionary measures, aim at protecting him from the evil demon. Thus for instance, before he starts cooking, he

divides his hair into the three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros and are believed to enhance a man's power of resisting evil spirits. For the same reason he paints himself red in the face with roucou, and stops his nostrils with cotton so as to avoid inhaling the noxious vapours. When the cook returns home in the evening he is still haunted by the demon, who sucks him on the shoulders the breast, and the back, and torments him at night with unpleasant dreams and hallucinations. Even on the following day, therefore, he is obliged to diet and to observe other rules of abstinence. He takes tobacco water repeatedly and eats only plantains boiled in water and mashed, just as on the previous two days. When he eats, he does not touch the plantains with his fingers, but avails [155] himself of a small wooden stick so as not to defile the food and expose himself to danger. He also avoids sleeping with his wife and passes the first night in the men's department, tangámasha.

When the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested on a tucan. A small boy is sent out into the forest and imitates the scream of a tucan wounded to death by an arrow. In this way, the Indians believe, the poison will be effective and strong enough to kill tucans and other birds of the forest."

1: Karsten--155-156 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278 (1928-29)

"If the arrow-poison is kept for a long time and is exposed to humidity--which is always more or less the case in a tropical climate--it easily loses its original efficacy and may even become entirely useless. The Indians, however, know how to improve such poison by reboiling it and mixing with it certain new ingredients. Even those Jibaro Indians--for instance the tribes of the Upano--who do not prepare their arrow-poison themselves but buy it from other tribes, know how to make an old and useless poison efficacious again. Among the Jibaros of the Upano the following two ingredients are used for the purpose:--

1. Seása kunápi. Kunápi (in Quichua tzigta), a shrub of which there are various species. Some of them are only slightly poisonous and are used by the Indians as ordinary medicines. A certain quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, the decoction being taken as a remedy for catarrh, head-ache, and other ailments. The species which the Jibaros call seása kunápi is more poisonous than the others and is exclusively used for improving the arrow-poison. The rind of the shrub is boiled and the poisonous liquid extracted, just as is customary in regard to other plants used in the preparation of the poison. [156]

2. Ambi (in Quichua pucúna útchu), Indian pepper (Capsicum) of the particularly strong and poisonous variety which the Canelos Indians also use as an ingredient for the arrow-poison.

1: Karsten--155-156 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 278 (1928-29)

The old, dry arrow-poison is powdered or crushed into small pieces and boiled with the new ingredients in a small pot for a whole day, so that they form a chemical compound, which is then allowed to congeal and thicken. The poison cook has to fast and observe the same precautionary rules as when new arrow-poison is made. After the poison is ready it must stand for some days in order to get thicker and 'ripen', and during these days the cook has to continue observing certain precautionary rules. He does not leave the house, but remains in his bed (peáka) in the men's quarter warming his legs over the fire, just as the Jibaros are wont to do when they are in a state of ceremonial uncleanness. His food consists, as usual, of boiled and mashed green plantains, and when he eats he uses a small stick instead of his fingers. If he does not strictly fast and if he is not cautious in other respects, the new ingredients will not mix properly with the old ones and the poison will fail to improve."

1: Karsten--158-159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 231, 278 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians told me that domestic fowls and swine are immune to their arrow-poison. This statement has been confirmed by a physiological examination of the poison, although the immunity is [159] only relative. (1) The same is probably true of the arrow-poison of the Achuares."

"1. See Santesson, Pfeilgiftstudien, p. 213."

1: Karsten--159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 278, 784, 411 (1928-29)

"All Indians seem to observe the rule never to use poisoned arrows against snakes, vultures, and other similar animals, which are considered unfit for food and concerning which they have certain superstitious ideas. The arrow-poison in that case would lose its efficacy entirely. Similarly the idea seems common to all Indians, that the blowgun and poisoned arrows cannot be used in war. The arrow-poison with which a human enemy has been killed, it is believed, can no longer be used to kill an edible animal; in this respect the arrow-poison resembles lances and rifles. If an enemy has once been killed with such a weapon, it can no longer be used in hunting. A wild hog, for instance, if killed with such a lance or rifle, would have the same taste as human flesh and would not be eaten by anybody. The Jibaros therefore exchange the lances they have used in war as soon as possible. The Indians told me that in former times they used their blowguns and poisoned arrows in war, but the same rule was valid in regard to them as to the lances and guns, namely, that afterwards they could only be again used in war, never for killing game, since the same weapon cannot be used for both purposes."

1: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

"In studying the Indian blowgun in detail and the ideas connected with the arrow-poison, one is necessarily led to the question of how the Indians of tropical South America originally came to invent such a thing as the poisoned arrow and to use it in the way they do. An answer pre-[160]sents itself to any one able to enter into their theory of witch-craft and magic in general. In this respect there are three phenomena especially which greatly influence the imagination of the Indians: the first is the bite of the venomous snake, the second the mysterious magical arrow which the wizard lets off against his victim, causing his death, the third the poison he himself uses to bring down animals and birds. That to the Indian mind there is an intimate connection between these three phenomena becomes clear to everybody who is acquainted with the magical ideas or 'superstitions' of the Indians. Moreover, there can be no doubt as to which of the three was the primary link in the association series: it is the bite of the venomous snake. In all parts of tropical South America the venomous reptiles occupy the same important place in the native's world of demons; few others of the surrounding natural phenomena have stirred the imagination of the Indians in the same way as these. The venomous snake attacks its victim noiselessly, the wound inflicted by it is quite insignificant and yet causes death. In the whole action there is something mysterious or, to the mind of the Indian, supernatural. As a matter of fact, all Indian tribes in different parts of South America seem to have the same idea about poisonous snakes: with the venom of

the reptile an evil demon enters the body of the person bitten and causes his death. This demon is called súpai by the Quichua-speaking Indians, wakáni or iguánchi by the Jibaros. But they go still further in their theory: the súpai or wakáni in question is in reality nothing else than the soul of an evil wizard, perhaps still living, who temporarily takes the shape of the reptile in order to kill or harm an enemy. The bite of the snake was only the magical arrow of the sorcerer, the súpai or wakáni which killed the patient was really his demoniacal soul, identical with the poison permeating--according to the Indians--his whole organism. I found this belief among all the Indian tribes I studied, and I have no doubt that it is common to all tribes of tropical South America. These primitive ideas will be further elucidated in the part dealing with the religion of the Indians. In this connection I only wish to point out that there is also an interesting parallelism between the operation of the sorcerer and that of the Indian hunter who, with his 'natural' poisoned arrow, brings down the creatures of the wood. The Jibaros, for instance, call the poisoned arrow tsinsáka, and they give the same name to the mysterious invisible magical arrow used by the wizards, although there is also another name for it: tunchi. The magical arrow (tsinsáka) of the sorcerer, it is true, may assume different forms, but mostly it is sup-[161] posed to be like a small arrow. The wizard shoots his arrow from his mouth by blowing and a movement with his finger, just as the Indian, shooting with his blowgun, lets off his poisoned arrow by blowing it out.

In short, the venomous snake inflicting a deadly bite on his victim is nothing but an evil wizard operating through that snake, and vice versa, the Indian wizard, in his mysterious manipulations with the invisible magical arrow, is imitating a snake. On the other hand, the Indian hunter, who noiselessly lets off his poisoned arrow against an animal and kills it without inflicting any visible wound on it, is also a kind of wizard, since the poison with which he operates is believed to possess supernatural demoniacal effects.

The Indians, like primitive folk in general, are keen observers. It seems highly probable that precisely the mysterious way in which the venomous snakes operate, when by an insignificant bite they bring death to their victim, has suggested to their mind the idea that they may imitate them and invent a weapon which will act in the same way as the snake's poison. The thorough knowledge they possessed of the poisonous properties of certain plants helped them in their endeavours to construct that weapon, and it is evident that the arrow-poison is meant as an imitation of the venom of the snake. It is significant that according to the statement of the English traveller Waterton --the first, I believe, who studied the ourali poison of the Guiana Indians--the Macusis in preparing their arrow-poison not only used vegetable ingredients like the Strychnos toxifera, but also certain animal ingredients, namely, the fangs of the counacouchi and

labarri snakes, two of the most venomous snakes of tropical South America, which were pounded and mixed into the poison. When the Macusi Indian killed one of these snakes, he always extracted the fangs for use in the preparation of the arrow-poison. (1) This of course was pure superstition, but the association of ideas is interesting and shows what part superstitious ideas in general, and especially those prevailing in regard to venomous snakes, has played in the invention of the Indian arrow-poison."

"1. Cf. Waterton, Wanderings in South America, London, 1828, pp. 55 sqq."

1: Karsten--177-178 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 226, 278 (1928-29)

"The last and most interesting method used by the Indians in fishing is by poisoning the water in the river. The poison most commonly used for this purpose is the one known under its Spanish name barbasco, a name also used by the Quichua-speaking Indians in Eastern Ecuador. [178] Under this name, however, various poisonous plants are comprehended. The plant most commonly used is probably Cracca toxicaria, which is cultivated both by the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The same plant, as we have seen, is used at the preparation of the arrow-poison. The root of the bush is the part used. Several roots are first crushed with a club in a hole made for the purpose in the ground, to free the poisonous juice they contain. Then they are put into one or several baskets woven of forest vines, of the kind used by all Indians.

There is also a wild varvasco plant which has the form of a vine. For the purpose of extracting the poison the vine itself is crushed and the juice is pressed out, just as is done with the roots of the cultivated barbasco plant. The scientific name of this vine is unknown.

The savage Jibaros, however, have two fish poisons more, of which the one is called massu (probably Paulinia or Sejania species, of the family Sapindaceae). The leaves and the stem of this plant are the parts used; they are crushed with clubs in a hole in the ground, the mass is soaked in some water and the poisonous liquid used in the same way as the ordinary varvasco poison. The other fish poison is by the Jibaros called

payashi (Paulinia pinnata?), of which the root is used in the same way as the root of the varvasco."

1: Karsten--233 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
278 (1928-29)

"Poisonous drugs are not used for the purpose by the Jibaros, but this, on the other hand, seems to be the case among the CANELOS INDIANS. They prepare a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called petun cara, and give this decoction to drink to a woman who wishes to rid herself of the consequences of sexual relations outside marriage."

"The pharmacological knowledge of the Indians is wonderful. I have had an opportunity to point out this with particular reference to their arrow-poison, but it is equally conspicuous in regard to their medical art in which plants play a dominant part. A whole book could be written about the Indian plant medicines, but unfortunately of this subject the same must be said as I have stated of the plants from which the arrow-poison is prepared: the material necessary for treating this subject can properly be collected only by a botanist. European medical science owes several useful plants to the Indians of South America, but those hitherto known only form a fractional part of those actually existing. I therefore wish to emphasize once more the importance of this particular subject being studied by experts in pharmacology and botany. Expeditions sent out for this purpose to the upper Amazonas regions are almost sure to achieve results of great value.

Of the numerous plant medicines of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians several have already been mentioned by me in previous chapters. I beg only to draw attention for instance to the various medicines which, in the latter tribe, both the father and mother of a newborn child have to take, partly to purify themselves, partly to fortify and strengthen the babe. To avoid repeating statements made before, I shall only mention a few other medicines which are commonly used and which throw some light upon the medical art of the Indians. I remark that these medicines, most of which are obtained

from the plant world, are a commune bonum to all Indians tribes on the upper Amazon river. The names of [507]the plants are given partly in the Jibaro language, partly in Quichua. For some plants or medicines the Canelos Indians use Spanish names.

Several plant medicines are used as remedies against fevers. One of these is the aya huasca (natéma), which we already know as an important narcotic producing visions and hallucinations. Beside this, the Canelos Indians assert that the medicine is an efficacious remedy for malarial fever, especially when mixed with a little tobacco water, and this assertion is confirmed by the white settlers in Eastern Ecuador who frequently use it in such cases.

Another remedy for fever is prepared from a Verbena species, called yapáu by the Jibaros. The leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction taken as a medicine. Exactly in the same way the Indians use another plant, a Cyathula species of the family Amaranthaceae.(1) Sometimes decoctions of both plants are mixed, by which the efficacy of the medicine is enhanced. It is also said to be a remedy against tape-worm. The Cyathula species is by the Canelos Indians called iskantsēli, by the

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"1. I am obliged to Dr. H. Lindberg in Helsingfors for the botanical determination of the Verbena and the Cyanthula species."

Jibaros kántsea. The latter Indians, when using the kántsea-leaves, are also in the habit of mixing the decoction with the white of one or two eggs beaten up as well as with some mountain salt (catchi).

Quinine bark, cascarilla, which is to be obtained in the forests of Eastern Ecuador, is used by the Canelos Indians as another remedy for malaria. An extract is made of some pieces of bark, which is mixed with brandy. Both the Indians and the settlers assert that taken together with brandy the cascarilla extract is much more efficacious.

The cinnamon bark and the cinnamon flower (ishpingu) is at Canelos used as a remedy for diarrhoea and pains in the stomach. A decoction is made of some pieces of the bark or some flowers and the medicine is drunk.

The shrub called tzigta in Quichua has been mentioned as a plant which yields one of the poisonous ingredients by which an old and useless arrow-poison is made efficacious again (p. 155). Of this plant, which I have not been able to identify botanically, there seems however to exist various species of which some are only slightly poisonous and used as ordinary medicines. A quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, and the decoction is taken by the Canelos Indians as a remedy, especially for catarrh and head-ache. It is in fact one of the medicines most commonly used by them.

Another medical plant of the same Indians is the one called pata-[508] cunyúyu. The

leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction, mixed with some salt, is taken as a vomitory.

The small plant called yerba Luisa is used both by the white settlers and the Canelos Indians as a remedy for chills. A decoction is made of the leaves for the purpose and taken by the patient as hot as possible. The medicine is also good for pains in the stomach, especially mixed with some soda.

Ambára is the name of a small plant which is used by the Jibaros for the cure of dysentery. The roots are boiled for the purpose for a long while and the decoction taken as a medicine which has purging effects. It also acts as a vomitory.

Jaundice is cured by the Jibaros by a medicine prepared from the bark of the cedar (Cedrela herrerae). One part of the bark in two parts of water is boiled for one hour. A quantity of this decoction, about one drinking glass, is taken every morning on an empty stomach and will in a few days cure the patient.

Emetics in general play an important role in the medical art of the Indians, as appeared from descriptions of ceremonies performed at feasts, etc. Thus the aya huasca, the guayusa solution, and the medicine prepared from the root chiki at the feasts of the women, all have the effect of vomitories by which the organism is purified from harmful substances. An important emetic of the Jibaros is their own native salt (whui), which is never used as a spice but appreciated all the more as a medicine. These

Indians make a distinction between the salt which they prepare themselves by boiling, and the salt which they obtain in the way of barter from the Canelos Indians and which is called by its Quichua name catchi. This salt too is used exclusively for certain medical purposes, but not as an emetic.

Just as the Indians appreciate emetics, they appreciate medicines with purging effects. Such a medicine is for instance the ambára, mentioned above, by which the Indians cure dysentery. Other strong medicines of this kind are used as a cure for tape-worms.

The stomach and intestinal canal of small children is purified by means of a decoction of ferns, which is taken as an ordinary medicine. In other cases the Indians prepare a clyster for the same purpose. A clyster which came under my notice among the Jibaros consisted of a decoction of four different plants all of which are cultivated by the Indians: the first was the plant kántsea, mentioned before; the second the leaves of a plant called mapash; the third a kind of grass called chiri-[509]chiri; and the fourth a small plant called púyu. This strong medicine was injected into the rectum of the child by means of an enema-syringe consisting of a hen's bladder attached to a piece of the stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus) which is hollow. Syringes of this kind are commonly used by the Indians. Dysentery and diarrhoea in children are generally cured in this way.

Grown-up people are in some cases cured by another kind of clyster consisting simply

of a solution of Indian pepper (Capsicum). By such a clyster the Indians for instance try to cure patients from the consequences of snake's bite (p.420). The Indians of the Pastaza have recourse to this remedy especially against the scurvy (escorbuto) which at times makes it [sic] appearance in that unhealthy region, assuming an epidemical character. The Indians of Canelos do not use a clyster in the proper sense of the word, but mix certain strong ingredients, gun powder, Indian pepper, mashed pieces of the ginger root, and the root of a third strong plant called botoncillo in Spanish. A piece of cotton-wool is soaked in these strong medicines and introduced into the anus of the patient for a short while; he could not stand it for long. According to the idea of the Indians, this disease is due to the anus of the patient being attacked by certain worms which will rise higher and higher along the intestinal canal and rapidly cause the patient to rot away. If the remedy is applied at once, the worms will be killed by the strong medicines and the patient may be saved. I heard of several cases on the Pastaza when Indians and white settlers had been cured in this way from ths [sic] terrible malady, which generally leads to death in two or three days. --That a clyster consisting of a solution of Indian pepper really has disinfecting and purifying effects, is beyond doubt.

There are also, of course, plant medicines which are believed to have the effect of healing wounds. Of this kind is for instance the resin or balsam called copaiba and obtained from the Copaifera tree. The wound is washed clean and the balsam is

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-7
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

dropped on it. The copaiba is also used as a remedy for the gonorrhea."

2: Stirling --84 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 278

"Poison is necessary to make the darts effective, except when shooting small birds. At the present time many of the Jivaros buy their poison from white traders or from neighboring tribes. This poison is mostly made at Llamas and Taratotos on the Huallaga River in Peru. The Jivaros occasionally make poison of their own which is probably the type used when they first secured the blowgun. The Jivaro names of the ingredients as used on the Yaupe are as follows: Machápi, described as being a vine; Aimár, a root; Tságuami, the bark of a tree; Cacátza, a vine; Puíngish, the leaves of a bush; Ambi, a small pepper. (20) These are mashed together by pounding them with a stone in equal proportions. This mash is then mixed with water and boiled for about half an hour. Then the liquid is filtered through a piece of cloth, usually a piece of worn-out itipi. The filtrate is allowed to stand until it forms a black, pitch-like substance. This is again heated in a small pot and put into bamboo tubes or tiny earthenware pots (pl. 36, c).

Before putting it on the darts it is heated in order to thin it. It is smeared on the points of the darts with a spatulate piece of wood. Then to dry them so that the poison will adhere better the darts are planted in the earth around the fire, points up; after which they are placed in the quiver and are ready for use."

"20. Karsten gives a list of 30 ingredients used inmaking poison on the Upano."

2: Stirling--84-85 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 278

"When Up de Graff was dealing with the Indians of the Santiago he learned how to manufacture dart poison from the Indians below the Pongo, and made it himself in quantities in order to trade it to the Antipas Jivaros. He describes the process as follows:

> The vine from which it is made grows in great profusion throughout the upper Amazon zone, and the process is simple in the extreme. It is cut into sections a foot in length, and the thin hard outer crust of bark is carefully removed by scraping. The main bark, white when first exposed to the air, turns brown in just the same way as an apple. This inner bark is scraped into fine shavings by means of shells and flints, and these are placed in a colander which rests upon a pot in which water is boiling. The water is poured over the contents of the colander repeatedly, until the constant action of it has drawn out the alkaloid, when the lifeless shavings are thrown away and the residue is boiled down until it resembles plain chocolate in consistency, color, and smell. While still warm it is poured into a bamboo receptacle and when cool it becomes semisolidified.(21)

[85]Up de Graff mentions that when the Jivaros manufactured their own poison the process was involved in considerable superstition and ritual. Only the wishinu might make it. He must also make the small pots in which it is kept. In addition to the use of the vine

"21. Up de Graff. p. 213."

as described by Up de Graff, numerous other ingredients are employed, such as spiders, ants, and vegetable extracts supposed to contain tsarutama. Up de Graff gave it as his opinion that the addition of these other materials served only to dilute the poison, as the Indians found his poison to be more effective than their own. It is probable that the 'Machapi' vine mentioned by the informants on the Yaupe as the first item in making poison, is the same vine as that used by Up de Graff, and it is probably the only active ingredient in the mixture."

2: Stirling--85 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 278

"When poison in storage dries up and becomes hard it is unfit for use. However, there is a process for renewing it. This is done by putting lemon juice in the poison pot and heating it over the ifre, meanwhile stirring with a stick until it becomes plastic again. About 24 hours are required to complete this process. Poison may only be renewed once in this fashion, as to do so more frequently causes it to lose its effectiveness.

According to the Indians, the length of time required for the poison to take effect varies with respect to the location of the wound, the species and size of the animal, freshness of the poison, and similar factors. Large birds usually resist the poison from 10 to 15 minutes. The writer has seen large monkeys, wounded with several darts, live for almost half an hour."

2: Stirling--104
116, 226, 278, 461

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The aboriginal methods of fishing appear to be poisoning, trapping, and spearing. Fish traps as a rule are constructed during high water in overflow areas where streams are about to subside, or along small swollen streams up which fish have ascended from the main rivers. For poisoning fish a dam is generally constructed along a small stream during low water. Barbasco shrub is gathered in sufficient quantities, macerated by means of pounding it between large stones, and then thrown into the water, being careful to distribute it evenly at a point 30 or 40 yards above the fish dam. The juice of the plant spreading through the water stupefies the fish, which rise to the surface in a more or less helpless condition, where they are gathered up by the Indians. On these fish-poisoning occasions generally a large part of the community participate; men, women, and children taking part and make of it an enjoyable social affair."

4: Up de Graff--209-210 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 226, 278

"Anxious to see how the Antipas supplied themselves with fish, I once went with them (men and women) for a day's sport to a small stream a couple of miles from the settlement. While making our way along the trail, the women cut down barbasco wood (the Inca name for a vine whose sap is a deadly poison) and packed it along with them. Arrived at the water's edge, we looked for a suitable pool, exercising great care not to scare the fish away. The party divided into two sections, and each formed a barrier at one end of the pool. The men proceeded to pound the barbasco between heavy stones and throw it into the pool, where it floated about without having any apparent effect on the water. Within a minute or two the fish began floating to the surface, upside down, and swam about aimlessly in a dazed condition, easy prey for the savages who waited about (swimming and diving themselves when necessary) collecting them. We caught in half an hour at least a hundred pound weight.

This is the only method of catching fish they know, [210] except netting. Their nets are made of palm-fibre, and in place of corks and leads they use balsa wood (Spanish) and stones. The net is fixed across a rivulet, and the party makes its way by a detour to a point up-stream. There they throw stones into the water and frighten the fish into a hurried flight to where the trap awaits them. The meshes of the nets are so proportioned as to catch the fish by the gills as they rush down-stream."

4: Up de Graff--213-214 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 278

"The big monkeys are the hardest game to bring down with shot-gun or rifle. I have shot them to pieces with a Winchester, until their entrails actually fell to the ground, before they have fallen. Even when dead, very frequently they remain suspended by the tail, and the tree has to be climbed before they can be recovered. But the poisoned dart from a blow-gun, as long as the skin is broken at any point, kills them within two minutes. Experiments which I have carried out on domestic animals have proved, moreover, that the poison (of which I brought home a small quantity) acts painlessly, the effect being much the same as an overdose of morphine. This fact leads me to believe that a drug could be manufactured from the same vegetable which would be invaluable in medicine. A trial was once made in the Guianas by an English naturalist with the same drug (under the local Indian name of huareli) on a bullock, which died in twenty minutes as a result of three arrow wounds. The vine from which it is made grows in great profusion throughout the Upper Amazon zone, and the process is simple in the extreme. It is cut into sections a foot in length, and the thin hard outer crust of bark is carefully removed by [214] scraping. The main bark, white when first exposed to the air, turns brown in just the same way as an apple. This inner bark is scraped into fine shavings by means of shells and flints, and these are placed in a colander which rests upon a pot in which water is boiling. The water is poured over the contents of the colander repeatedly, until the constant action on it has drawn out the alkaloid, when the lifeless shavings are thrown away and the residue is boiled down until it resembles, both in

consistency, colour, and smell,plain chocolate. While still warm, it is poured into the bamboo receptacle previously described and when cool, it becomes semi-solidified.

Of course there is a great deal of superstition among the Jívaros in connection with the manufacture of this poison. The medicine man alone can make the pots which are used to boil it, and he is furthermore the only person who is privileged to make the poison itself. He collects the stings from various species of noxious insects. Spiders' teeth are also greatly favoured; both these ingredients are introduced into the pot with due ceremony and unlimited confidence in their deadliness. If water can be obtained from the spot where a rainbow touches the earth, then indeed the brew will be immeasurably potent! But be that as it may, the poison which we bartered to the Antipas had not been tempered with any strange charm, as we who made it know, and yet it is declared by them to be the best they had ever used.

There is really a certain amount of risk and danger connected with its manufacture, insomuch as the fumes given off by the boiling liquid are pungent and noxious. I believe that they would prove fatal if inhaled in sufficient quantities; which supposition lends credence to the stories of the Indians that many a medicine man has been found dead over the pot."

4: Up de Graff--215 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 278, 721

"Despite its proved deadliness, this poison is never used by the head-hunters in warfare. (I say 'deadliness' with some justification, for it compares very favorably with, say, the poisonous snakes of India, whose bites take more hours to bring on death than the jambi does minutes.) Why, I cannot explain, unless it be that a man can snatch an arrow from a wound so quickly that the poison would never have time to be absorbed by his system, as it clings to the arrow-head in a gelatinous form. While speaking of this poison and its effect on men, I recall an incident that happened on the Yasuní when Jack Rouse and I were existing through those ghastly eighteen months. An open wound that had become fly-blown and full of worms (there was nothing in the nature of a fresh cut about it) had to be cured somehow, and every remedy we could think of had failed. The case was one of desperate urgency, and Jack declared that 'he would rather be poisoned than eaten alive by worms.' So it was decided that I should fill the wound with this same jambi, and I applied about a thimbleful, or enough to kill an ox. Neither Jack nor the worms took the slightest notice. Now it may be that his life was saved by the fact that there was no fresh blood flowing, or again that the poison, for some strange reason, has no effect on men, which latter supposition would account for its never being used in battle. I may add that the worms were summarily ejected in the space of half a minute by the application of a wad of cotton soaked in nicotine procured by condensing cigarette smoke on the finger-nails. (The juice of the same cigarettes when boiled has no value whatever)."

4: Up de Graff--216 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 762, 278

"It is this same barbasco juice [KS: poison used for fishing] which the Jívaro women drink to commit suicide."

5: Reyes and Teran--98 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
278

"The natema, climbing vine of the passifloraceous family, is a powerful narcotic. An infusion from its stem frequently is used by the Jivaro to treat sickness or to obtain prophetic dreams."

The poison looks like an almost liquid black paste. It is not made by the Jîbaros, who acquire it by exchange from the Ticunas, Yaguas or Orejones Indians of the Amazon (1). Depending on its origin, the poison is called ticuna, yagua or orejón. The first costs too much, so generally the last two are used. The savage prepares it specially in order to increase its potency. To this end, he searches for a nest of very venomous ants which he calls isula and places nearby his little pot of poison, being careful to connect its edge and the ground with little sticks. The ants go up along the latter and the Indian makes them fall into the pot with a long rod from a distance. When the collection is sufficient, he adds a little water to the poison, closes the vessel and over [597] a slow fire, cooks and reduces the mixture until the insects are in some measure dissolved.

These poisons do not generally have an action as rapid as certain people say, and in any case their effects vary greatly according to the kind of animal. The dog and the gallinazo (Cathartes sp.) [JP: turkey buzzard] are immune to it; the toucan and the hen resist more than a quarter of an hour; the pava (Penelope cristata), the pheasant and other birds survive ten minutes. Other animals succumb more rapidly. The roe buck in spite of his size is very sensitive to it; one Ecuadorian explorer told me of having

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1. See the subject of Amazonian poisons: Olivier Ordinaire. Du Pacifique à l'Atlantique par les Andes péruviennes et l'Amazone. Paris, 1892, page 267.

12: Rivet--596-597 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 278

seen a buck wounded in the nose to fall dead two hundred meters farther. The effect on man is almost nil. The wounded Jíbaros heal themselves by sucking a piece of sugar cane.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

411
223
224
[278]

Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 8) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the toucan, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

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[438]
[278]

The blowguns and curare dart poison are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jívaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

[224]

Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

225 sized fish are also caught in deeper waters with a special thin, long palm wood thrusting spear.

225 278 Fish poisoning is undertaken perhaps every few weeks to secure a large catch. Men, women, and children from several neighboring houses usually participate. They select a section of river where it is bisected by an island or sandbar, to which the men and boys construct a low dam of river boulders from one bank. This stone dam is constructed to form a lagoon where the poison can sufficiently take effect in the slowed current. Other men meanwhile build split bamboo grating-like fish traps at several low points on the dam and prepare the fish poison.

[824] Three types of plant piscicides are used: *timu* (in Spanish, *barbasco*), *masu*, and *payal*. *Timu* is considered the best of these, but is used in combination with *masu* for maximum success. Large quantities are required, and the fishermen often prepare six to eight bushel-sized baskets. They pound the plants to a pulp between river boulders and dump them into the water upstream. If all goes well, within twenty to thirty minutes stunned fish begin rising to the surface and float toward the dam. The men who constructed the traps seize the fish as they are washed onto the bamboo gratings. Everyone else, regardless of age or sex, wades into the lagoon and grabs for fish. Each person owns whatever he catches, although he often may give some of his catch to a less fortunate participant. Fish poisoning is sometimes pursued at night because the fish tend to be nearer the surface and therefore more susceptible to the poison. Both poisoning and netting are most effectively conducted during dry periods, when the rivers and streams are low and the current slow.

622 [146] Gathering activities contribute quantitatively relatively little to the diet, approximately 5 per cent annually, but do provide a variety of delicacies to supplement it. Various species

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously. 415 [235] [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north. 323 415 [462] [824] 415 531 [439]

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. 415 [273] [276] [278]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [271] [273] [515]

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723

that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition [593]
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[5] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

778 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
774 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility of punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
• 278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

586 If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
837 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*wabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *wabe* (male cross-cousin
[605] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists.
[586] Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

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178
from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178
ners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to [278]
develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essen-
tial result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317]
of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and
machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming
from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412]
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237]
tier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278]
the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh-
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs. 178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jívaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier. 178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance. 178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has 178 184 438 278 411 [224]

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178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
• 278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.

[727] In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-G/

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178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend 461 in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent 517 on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the 439 adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western [592] and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading part- [512] nerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his [412] time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

[286] The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become [291] shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon [281] after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple com- [224] monly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this 591 change are not clear except that some informants said that in- [851] laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the [578] old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary [583] matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's [411] father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 turn of the century, constituted a major technological change 411 in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of [721] steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, [439] however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jivaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *ceta* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 436

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, bearing the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Guaiaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [714]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *ziahé* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *huasai* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [458] [439] [415] [288] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jivaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

1: Karsten--105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 283, 462 (1928-29)

"Spinning and weaving have been mentioned as occupations incumbent solely on the men. The yarn is spun from a sort of cotton wool cultivated by the Jibaros and called uruchi, and since the cotton tree and consequently the cotton wool obtained from it is 'a man', it follows from this peculiar view that the men have both to spin and to weave. This was the explanation I received from the Indians when I asked them the reasons for the division of labour observed by them in this respect."

2: Stirling--91 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

"The cotton when ready for spinning is packed in a case of leaves shaped like a tamale, open at the lower end. From this the Jivaro spins his cotton thread on a spindle of chonta palm to which is attached a circular bone spindle whorl (pls. 30, a; 31). As a man sits loafing or resting on the edge of his bed he usually keeps his spindle busy so as to keep on hand enough thread for weaving purposes. Looms are of the suspension type erected in a take-down rectangular frame. Shuttles are made of chonta wood (pl. 32). The men weave the women's clothes as well as their own and also make the woven headbands and belts which they use."

4: Up de Graff--207-208 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 283

"The spinning and weaving machinery of these people is simple yet very efficient; the cloth produced being woven with a fine thread comparable to our sewing cotton, is firm and soft, in fact very similar to our better grade cloths for men's suits, as far as the layman can tell.

For spinning they use a stick (generally hard-wood, for it needs to be heavy) about eighteen inches long by half an inch thick, slit at the end to a depth of less than an inch, the same end being also cut to a point; at the feet of the spinner lies a basketful of raw cotton. And that is all. The process is to all appearances as simple as the apparatus. Plunging the pointed end of the spinning stick into the cotton, twisting it rapidly at the same time between the fingers of the right hand, the thread is drawn away to a full arm's length, the twisting motion never ceasing; this movement produces the cotton [208] thread. The arm is then drawn in again, the stick still revolving rapidly in the fingers, but this time in the opposite direction; in this way, the thread which has been spun on the outward swing is wound on the blunt end of the stick on the return swing, giving the stick added weight, and leaving the spinner free to repeat the process and add to the ball of finished thread which has been started. Backwards and forwards flies the stick with incredible ease and rapidity, until the ball becomes so heavy that it has to be removed and stored. The women are so adept and strong that they spin even while packing heavy loads on the trail."

26: Brüning--65-66 (1902)1928 Jívaro
116, 415, 283

The most common hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun. But frequently we saw cheap single-barrelled hunting rifles. The Indians carry their ammunition, etc. in a [66] hunting-bag (wampatš), which is fashioned like a net out of strings which the Indians themselves had twisted. They twist these strings out of palm fiber between the palm of the hand and the naked thigh. The fiber is called tšambira by the whites and kumáy by the Indians. The hunting-bag is somewhat narrower on top. They wear it over the right shoulder under the left arm on a band which is plaited out of the same strings.

28: Tessman--353 [8] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

The men make the strings out of the fiber of Astrocaryum (chambira). Out of these strings the men knit bags with various techniques, but always with a bent bone-needle (see Plate 60, Fig. 1), the thicker end of which is perforated and threaded with the end of the string. An unfinished bag is shown upper right on Plate 68, a specimen for their knitting is shown on Plate 59, Fig 13. Furbags are shown at the lower right on Plate 68.

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574 serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [914]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
• 283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipī*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*taračī*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[796] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings
• [283] during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[535] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764]

The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
554
765

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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1: Karsten--106-107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
M6, 285 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros use baskets of two kinds, both being plaited of a vine which the Indian call kâpi. Baskets of the kind called changina are simpler. These baskets are used solely by the women when they carry home manioc, sweet potatoes, and certain other fruits from the fields. Although the men have to make them, it is not considered proper that they should use them, since such fruits as are regarded as 'women' cannot be carried home by the men. On the other hand, the vine kâpi itself is a 'man', and therefore the basket made of it can only be made by a man. The other basket, which is called tukupi, is made of the same material but with greater care. It is the kind of basket which is kept hanging from the ceiling and in which the men keep such articles of clothing, ornaments, etc. which are easily attacked and destroyed [107] by insects. For this reason it is lined inside with banana leaves, so that there are no holes through which insects can penetrate, and it is provided with a cover of the same material as the basket itself."

4: Up de Graff--220-221 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
285

"Grouped at the door under the shade [221] of a pántam (banana plant--Jívaro) are half a dozen women making baskets. They manipulate the split rattans with ease and dexterity, weaving intricate patterns, and producing baskets of great strength. They are made in pairs, one set slightly smaller than the other; the larger is then lined with a specially tough palm-leaf and the smaller is placed inside it. The two are then sewn together round the top, and a cover, composed of another pair of baskets is hinged to the first. The result is a durable, rainproof receptacle, which is used for packing anything and everything, or for storing household goods; those which are destined for packing only are made three feet high and two feet broad. I learned the art of making them myself on the Yasuní, and the knowledge stood me in good stead."

26: Brüning--70 [6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 462, 482, 285

Women as well as men (if the latter stoop to carry a load at all) carry their loads in baskets rather low on the back by means of a belt which is placed on the head.

There are two types of baskets. One kind, chiefly used by women, is an oval basket, about 40 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 30 cm. deep. The other basket is almost exclusively used by the men and serves as a storage place for their belongings. It is about 25 cm. wide and just as deep. It has a double wall and a leaf insulation between, so that it is waterproof. Moreover, it has a cover. These baskets are carried in the hand by means of a short handle. Both basket types are made of split bamboo.

28: Tessman--354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 285, 462

Plaited mats (tšintšak-piaki) are made for the beds of the adolescents. The men plait the baskets, which, as a rule, are made in hexagonal meshes. They have carrying baskets (like the two shown upper left on Plate 68) and storage baskets which are more finely made and lined with leaves. Such a basket with cover is shown lower left on Plate 68. There are also smaller baskets of this kind. For the cruder baskets they use material coming from the Carludovica palmata (tšankin), for the finer baskets the material comes from the Carludovica trigona (kapi). A funnel-shaped basket done in a different technique is shown lower left on Plate 68. In this one they keep fish and carry them home.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
439 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

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415
273
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[312]
[482]

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

273
415
291
516
462
857
177
123
285

1: Karsten--97-98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
512, 286 (1928-29)

"When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names."

1: Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 286, 531 (1928-29)

". . . . a few words may be said about the patterns woven in the stuff. The loin-cloths of the men (itipi) and the women's taraćhi in fact always show certain ornamental patterns which are rather stereotyped, being always in the main the same. They form different systems of colours which are distinguished from one another by their names.

The colour or colours which occupy a central place in a bigger system are underlined by me. These systems are the following:

The arrangement of colours which in the section of the loin-cloth represented in Plate XXI, 1. is found on the extreme left, in the middle, and on the extreme right, and is marked with the letter a, consists of the colours black + reddish brown + black-white-black-white + reddish brown + black and is by the Jibaros called puítsah.

The arrangement of colours which consists of white (or light red) + brown + black + brown + white (or light red) is called yambítsa hī ('the pigeon's eye'). (1) As appears from the picture, these arrangements are the most common in the loin-cloth, and they are here marked with the letter b.

"1. The eye of the pigeon is black, and is surrounded by feathers in brown and white colour."

The arrangement of colours which is marked with the letter c and consists of alternate black and reddish brown stripes is called yauakina. [106] Some of the yauakina arrangements, as we find, are broader and consist of seven black or brown stripes. These are called unta yauakina ('the big yauakina'), whereas the narrower yauakina arrangements, consisting of five black or brown stripes, are called uchichi yauakina ('the little yauakina'). They are in the picture marked with c, 1 and c, 2 respectively.

The white, undyed yarn is by the Jibaros called pufsuh. Sometimes it is slightly coloured with roucou so that it is rather light red or yellow than white, as in the picture.

These colour arrangements are found on all original itipi. Like the 'pigeon's eye', so the rest of the designs are no doubt taken directly from nature. Thus the design called puítsah evidently denotes a snake's skin, but I have not received positive information on this point. The Jibaro Indians themselves apparently ascribe great importance to them. When the family father is at leisure in the afternoon, and while he is sitting after the day's work is finished, waiting for the meal to be brought by the women, he may sometimes be seen singing at a low voice and in a special tune passing with his fingers along the different designs woven in his itipi and repeating their names,

especially the name of the 'pigeon's eye' (yambítsa hi), just as if the designs were to him a kind of verse. That the itipi designs have a magical or mysterious significance may be taken as certain, considering that most other ornamental designs of the Jibaros have such a significance: they are believed to keep off evil spirits, to give the body strength, and so forth. I shall have an opportunity to point out this again in the part dealing with religion."

4: Up de Graff--207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"The men are before everything else warriors--the protectors of their womenfolk from the raids of neighbours; after that, they are the hunters; and lastly, they are the weavers. Why this last task should be by common consent allotted to them instead of to the women, remains to me a mystery. The latter do the spinning and every other kind of manual labour in the life of the tribe, and yet it is the men who not only weave their own loin-clothes, but also the material for the women's garments."

4: Up de Graff--208-209 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 286

"To weave this thread into cloth (this being the only raw material for the purpose known to the tribe) a primitive loom is set up in the ground, composed of two pairs of sticks some two feet in length upon which the woof is wound in an unbroken length in such a way that each thread that is added to the 'wall' thus formed crosses the last in the opposite direction; then, when the height of the 'wall' is the width of the piece to be woven, the sticks are drawn from the ground and the whole thing is laid flat. The two centre sticks are now withdrawn and replaced by specially prepared weaving-staffs, polished with sand so as to slip up and down the roof without catching.

To operate the loom, one of the original outside sticks is made fast to some heavy outside object, the other tied to the weaver's waist. He then commences to pass the shuttle (a broad flat stick, on which the warp is wound)to and fro, manipulating the threads of the wool by means of the weaving-staffs, on just the same principle as modern machinery, so that the result is a firmly woven piece of cloth. He commences at the end nearest to him, gradually winding the finished cloth, and working toward the far end. To prevent disaster in the event of [209] the weaving-staffs slipping out of position, every alternate thread has been fastened securely by a loop to a small square stick which is left attached to the work until it is completed."

10: Anthony--159 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"As evidence of their handiwork, I saw very creditable cotton cloth, which had been made by them from their own cotton. Strangely enough, the men, when questioned, said that they personally had woven this, the household weaving of fabrics being peculiarly a feminine province everywhere else in Ecuador."

25: Vigna--42 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 286

The Dress and Finery of the Jíbaro. The dress of the Jíbaro consists of a loincloth of cotton, woven by the man on primitive frames. He spins the threads which make up the weave on rainy days with very simple distaffs and spindles. Once the threads are prepared, the Jíbaro colors them with earths and special coloring materials procured in abundance from the plants of the forest. The color of the cloth that he weaves is not showy; the colors of the ground, coffee-color and black, are not easily distinguishable.

26: Brüning--58 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 286, 462

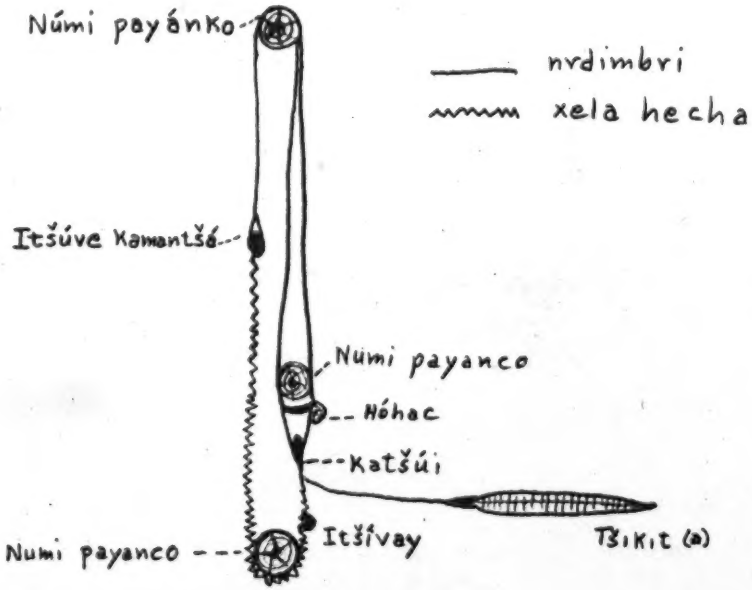
The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning--58 [7] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286, 248

For their own home production of clothing the Indians cultivate a small amount of cotton (uhúts), which they themselves spin and weave.

26: Brüning--59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286, 404

Figure 6. Cross-section of a Loom.



26: Brüning--59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286

For spinning purposes the Indians use the ordinary simple spindle tš(i) kít(a), which is still common everywhere in Peru, with this difference, however, that the spindle of the Aguarunas is relatively rather big. The specimen in my collection has a length of 67 cm. It is made of chonta wood. The whorl (sémp(i)) consists of a thin disc of turtle-shell (?) and has a diameter of 47 mm. With the help of this simple tool they are able to make a very fine and even yarn (ikóngamo).

Their weaving apparatus is likewise hardly different from the one which is in general use in Peru. It is a distinguishing feature, however, that the Aguaruna Indians combine the two ends of the warp with a thin stick (itšúve kamantšá), that is to say, that they form an endless warp, while in the case of the coastal looms each end of the warp is fastened by itself to one of the pieces of wood.

Their type of loom is best illustrated by my drawing in Fig. 6. The upper piece of wood (númi payánko) is tied to some post of the building. The lower wood is, when in use, tied to the lower part of the weaver's back by means of a belt (yúngua). The whole thing is thus kept straight by the weaver's body.

In my diagram hóhac signifies a thin stick to which are fastened, by means of small loops, one half of the warp threads so that the latter may be exchanged. Katšúi (cachui) is a piece of wood that is, in cross-sectional view, wedge-shaped and serves to fasten the woof. Itšívay is the broad-holder [Breithalter in German ?]. The shuttle is called tšikit(a) (chiquita).

28:Tessman--353-354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 286, 462

Only men do the spinning. The spindle of the Aguarunas is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 15. According to Rivet (L'Anthropologie XVIII, p. 366) they use a long spindle. The whorl [354] consists of stone-nut (?) and it is set up from below. Only men do the weaving, and they even weave the cloth for the women. The loom touches the ground and is in a vertical position.

/331 cont./

291 extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

294 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
248 are made by the Jívaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
386 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
236 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which,
302 seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
531 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
413 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
[386] sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
302 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
[824] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[386] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small
[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *ents* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood dart into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

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Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

• [286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
of a spider
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

286 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 will are unknown. Cotton kilts (*tsipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tawali*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 496 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 461 517 439 [592] changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his [412] [286] [291] [281] [224] time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 591 [851] [598] [589] [411] birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 411 [721] turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, [499] however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

1: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
287, 854 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with the kaḿaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles."

l: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
287 (1928-29)

"Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are aware that formerly shirts and loin-cloths of bark were customary among them, and more strictly speaking, clothes of the bark obtained from the big tree which the Jibaros call kamaka and the Indians of Canelos llanchama. This tree is, I believe, identical with the silk-cotton tree (Bombax ceiva). Large pieces of the bark were carefully stripped off the huge stem, soaked in water, and beaten with clubs so as to make the hard bark softer and more appropriate as clothing. When this prepared bark stuff had dried, certain black and red ornaments were painted on it with genipa or roucou. Some fifty years ago such bark clothes were commonly used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians know and prepare the bark stuff even to-day, but only use it to lie on and as a cover at night."

26: Brüning--58 [6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 287

Formerly they are said to have worn bast clothing. A white person in Huavico told me that bast is still worn along the upper course of the Senepe River. I was able to acquire for my collection a piece of bark cloth (kamúš). It is 92 cm. long and 100 cm. wide. The two corners at the sides that measure 100 cm. are tied into a knot, from which I conclude that this was a woman's dress. An old Curaca in Huavico made a replica of such a piece upon my request. The bark comes from a tree which is likewise called kamúš.

28: Tessman--344-347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

28: Tessman--350 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 412, 287

The fire-fan (awáxin) is made of the feathers of the curassow bird; the quills are connected with two sticks (of the type shown on Plate 76, Fig. 13). Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 589) reproduces a fire-fan which is extremely beautiful: a handle is plaited to the simple fan. There are no plaited fire-fans.

The broom (matéi) is made of the ribs of the pinnate leaves of Astrocaryum (aff.) vulgare (chambira L.). But there are also brooms made of the leafy stems of a grass with broad blades.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tavaĉi*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 439 287

come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 901 237 439

Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

178 105

In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1915.

1: Karsten--88-89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 291 (1928-29)

"Living on the eastern slopes of the Andes where the climate is not, as a rule, particularly hot, the Jibaros dress themselves better than many tribes further down the Amazon valley. The principal article of clothing of the men is a loin-cloth (itipi), reaching down a little below the knees and kept together round the waist by means of a cincture of human hair or of snake's skin (akáchu). This piece of clothing is woven by the men themselves from cotton cultivated by the Jibaros, and it is dyed in certain colours, as we shall see later on. The upper part of the body, that is, the shoulders and the chest, is frequently kept bare, especially when the weather is hot, but is at other times covered with a small square piece of cloth of the same manufacture as the loin-cloth and dyed brown with roucou. In the middle of it is a hole through which the head is passed, so that the cloth covers both the chest and the back. This article of clothing which is called awangéama, corresponds to the poncho of the mountain Indians. The women keep the hair shorter and their dress is more complete, in that their principal article of clothing, the tarachi, covers not only the waist and the thighs, but also the breasts and the right shoulder, the left shoulder and both arms being left bare. It is held [89] together at the waist by a girdle of cotton wool called ikichi. The tarachi is woven of the same stuff as the itipi, being composed of two itipi sewn together. Both articles of clothing are woven exclusively by the men."

I: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 291 (1928-29)

"Clothes of cotton stuff seem however to be of comparatively modern origin. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are aware that formerly shirts and loin-cloths of bark were customary among them, and more strictly speaking, clothes of the bark obtained from the big tree which the Jibaros call kaṁaka and the Indians of Canelos llanchama. This tree is, I believe, identical with the silk-cotton tree (Bombax ceiva). Large pieces of the bark were carefully stripped off the huge stem, soaked in water, and beaten with clubs so as to make the hard bark softer and more appropriate as clothing. When this prepared bark stuff had dried, certain black and red ornaments were painted on it with genipa or roucou. Some fifty years ago such bark clothes were commonly used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians know and prepare the bark stuff even to-day, but only use it to lie on and as a cover at night. The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with the kaṁaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles. -- The Canelos Indians, like other half-civilized Indians of Eastern Ecuador, nowadays only wear trousers and shirts made of linen which they have obtained from the whites."

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

2: Stirling--100 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 291

"The costume of the men consists of a rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth which is brown in color with light vertical stripes, called an itipi. This is wrapped around the waist where it is tucked in and allowed to hang just below the knees. The men are uncovered from the waist up. When traveling the men wear a bag of monkey skin with the fur attached in which they carry their ornaments and other small articles (pl. 13).

The costume of the women, called tarachi, consists of a much larger rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth not as heavy nor as finely made as those of the men (pl. 3). It is wrapped around the body in such fashion that the two upper corners meet over the right shoulder where they are pinned together with a chonta-wood pin. A cord is worn around the waist and the lower part of the skirt is drawn through it in such fashion as to make a loose blouse about the waist. In this infants and very young children are carried by their mothers, either on the back or at the breast (pls. 23, c; 17, a, b). The skirt of the women also hangs just below the knees and the left shoulder is bare. When a family does not have sufficient cloth garments, or a woman has no man to weave for her, the tarachi is sometimes made from bark cloth (pl. 19). Boys also occasionally wear clothing of this material."

4: Up de Graff--195-196 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 291

"As for clothing, the men wear the loin cloth when out hunting or fighting or on any special festival, but seldom when in their own homes or in wet weather. The women, in addition to the loin cloth, wear a blouse in the form of a square piece of cloth with a hole cut in the centre for the head; this garment is tied round the waist with a fibre cord. The material for the clothes of both sexes is a fine cotton 'homespun,' woven by the men, composed of thread of [196] various shades dyed with fast colours produced from the leaves and barks of the vast storehouse of the woods."

12: Rivet--361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291, 826

To conclude the physical description of the Jíbaro, I should mention the curious habit observed among the natives of Macas and perhaps general to all the tribes, of raising up the penis, by attaching it to a cotton thread which is fastened around the waist, for the purpose, they say, of keeping it out of the way in walking. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez points out this same fact among the old Indians of the province of Quijos. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 56. This strange custom exists still among certain savage tribes of the Napo basin.

12: Rivet--361-362 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291

The clothing of the Jíbaros is extremely simple (fig. 4): the man wears a rectangular piece of cotton, the itipi, which he has woven and dyed of [362] coffee color with darker vertical stripes. 1m 40 wide and 84 cent., long, it is wound around the waist, one of the ends always being on the anterior median line, and it descends about half way down the calf. In order to dye the cotton the Indians soak it for some time in a tepid maceration of leaves from a plant called yamacali. The itipi is held at the waist by a cord or any sort of band. Around his head, the Jíbaro often wears a band of the same material, 7 cent. wide and 50 cent. long, called (i)tzimata, terminated at each end by a fringe of 58 cent., which is rolled tightly around the back plait (fig. 7-1).

12: Rivet -363 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 291, 302

The clothing of the women is not very different. It is composed of one approximately square piece of cotton, $1^{m}60$ on the side, analogous to the itipi and called tarachi. The middle of one of the sides passes under the left arm and the two extremities are fastened on the right shoulder with the aid of a big pin called tupo (a Quichua word). The ends of this square overlap along the right side of the body, thanks to a band wound around the waist. The garment descends half way down the calf. The two arms and the left shoulder are bare, while the right shoulder and the breasts are covered. Nursing infants are carried either at the breast or on the back, under the tarachi. The coiffure does not differ from that of the men, except that sometimes, instead of forming a back plait, the women let their hair fall on their shoulders.

18: Hermessen--440 [4] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 291

"The clothing of the men consisted of a piece of a coarse cotton fabric, of a uniform striped pattern dyed a dull reddish-brown, about three feet wide, worn like a kilt and tied about the waist with a girdle of fiber. The dress of the women was the same, but with the addition of another piece of similar material thrown over one shoulder and there fastened in such a manner as to hide the breasts."

25: Vigna--42 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 286

The Dress and Finery of the Jíbaro. The dress of the Jíbaro consists of a loincloth of cotton, woven by the man on primitive frames. He spins the threads which make up the weave on rainy days with very simple distaffs and spindles. Once the threads are prepared, the Jíbaro colors them with earths and special coloring materials procured in abundance from the plants of the forest. The color of the cloth that he weaves is not showy; the colors of the ground, coffee-color and black, are not easily distinguishable.

25: Vigna--43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291

The Jíbaro woman is very decently covered with a cloth of the same kind as the itipi, of the same width and two varas long. The cloth passes over the left shoulder where the two extremities fasten with a great bodkin or "chonta" thorn. It covers the breast. The right shoulder and both arms remain uncovered. The cloth falls to the ankle, and is fastened with cinctures of cotton from which ten or more jingles of shells or hollow seeds often hang; on walking, the women produce a typical, happy sound. These Cinctures are indispensable for the pregnant woman, for thanks to them, the creature is formed in the maternal womb with a happy character and is a lover of harmony. The name of the dress of the Jíbaro woman is "Tarachi." It is not unusual to see Jíbaros who use loincloths made of the bark of "tamajuana", which they gather in abundance, beat, and dry. This cloth is closely woven and flexible.

25: Vigna--46-47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 183

Personal modesty is generally great in both men and women. The boy, until puberty, goes about nude in and out of the house; the girl, from a tender age always wears the "tarachi." The man is reserved in his actions, and of very few words; the [47] woman has great modesty in her deportment, but almost none in her manner of speaking.

26: Brüning--56 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515, 291

When bathing, the Indians dispose of their loin cloth (itipe). With a short piece of string they tie up the prepuce in front of the glans. In isolated cases I noticed that the Indians tied the penis string to a stronger waist string, an operation which pulled the penis upward. The waist string is also used to fasten the loin cloth. According to information received from the whites, the tying-up of the prepuce is motivated by the fact that a small fish (carnero) may be found at certain points of the Marañón River and its tributaries; this carnero is said to enter the urinary tract, thereby causing painful inflammations. If there was a sudden downpouring of rain during our canoe voyages, the Indians used to store the itipe in a waterproof basket and afterward tie up the prepuce.

26: Brüning--58 [3] (1902) 1928 *Jívaro
116, 291

Men have only one piece of clothing: the itipe, a square piece of cotton, held by a waist string and usually reaching down to the ankles. It is light and has chocolate-brown stripes. One specimen in my collection has a width (around the hips) of 140 cm. and a length (from the hips to the ankles) of 70 cm. Two pieces, each one 70 x 70 cm. are sewn together. Here and there a man would wear a shirt, trousers and a cap. Boys up to the age of eight go stark naked.

26: Brüning--58 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 291

The women's dress is called tarátše. It is somewhat larger than that of the men and of a solid chocolate-brown color. A square piece of cotton is sewn together with a few stitches at the two corners on one side. Occasionally it is only pinned together (sometimes with a thorn), or it is simply tied into a knot. Then it is pulled over the head and over the left arm, so that the knot will rest on the right shoulder, while the left shoulder remains bare. The open right side is overlapping and held together around the waist by means of a belt. I believe to have observed that the part which is stitched together always rested on the right shoulder. (My only clear photograph of women, Illustration 3, seems to belie this statement, but I discovered that I exposed the negative through the plate.) The tarátše reaches down to half of the calves or to the ankles. Fashion does not seem to prescribe anything definite. Old women and young girls wear their dresses shorter than young married women. Girls are clad from their infancy on.

28: Tessman--343 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

Men wear a loincloth, itípa (itipi according to Ribet). It is a cotton weave with a very pleasant pattern (simple longitudinal stripes of purple color with a black border against a dirty bright-yellow background). It is sewn together of two pieces, like the sleeveless shirt of the Tschamas. The loincloth has a height of 75 cm. and a width of 136 cm. The width results from the widths of the two single pieces, each one about 68 cm. wide. There are several belts to go with it, some ordinary, others better. In most cases an ordinary belt consists of a strip of fur or simply a string made of Astrocaryum (chambira) fibers.

28: Tessman--343-344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301, 291

The ornamental belts are often quite painstakingly made. Some of them are made out of twisted fur strips or out of a woven band (width: 4 cm.) to which are attached pearl strings with triangular pieces of shell from the Achatina snail. There is also a belt made of human hair which projects either only in one direction or in two directions. And there are [344] many other kinds of belts... such as wide ones made of fruit shells, seeds and pieces of vanilla.

28: Tessman--344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 177, 291

One may also see a poncho, that is to say, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the middle in order to pull it over the head. This piece of clothing is to be found (according to Karsten in his Blood Revenge, p. 25) among the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, where it is called awangeama. It is certain that this poncho has been imported from the Ketschua Indians."

28: Tessman--344 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

According to one informant, the Aguarunas pull the penis up with a string under the loin cloth.

Boys up to the age of 10 or 12 go naked.

The women are dressed with a long cloth (tarátše), which fully covers the loins and breasts. (See Plate 65, below.) In most cases it is dyed dark. Even little girls wear a small piece of cloth which later is to be replaced by the tarátše.

/331 cont./

357 almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
[825] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
342 which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
[355] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in
which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in
the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night,
are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual
bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and
open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells,
[355] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each
person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of
which is hung his private property, in the case of women cos-
metic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
358 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is
maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily
and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a
way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and
tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean.
When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women
came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the
houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and
cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in
all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well
seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has
languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for
years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury
in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than
among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes
in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
● 291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two
and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is
usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human
hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

/331 cont./

29/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucum) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

173 The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
648 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
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[191] In the old days, all the Jívaro [*uwcari huwi*] lived near the Río Pastaza. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangosa, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *huwi*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jívaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *huwi* returned downstream and told their people:

[402] [411] [291]

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] [412] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[291] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner K-4, 5 (1956-1969):1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the machete are characteristically simple but well made, although a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen on the handles of stools and mortar boards, and on the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

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321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing objects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt ruffles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns traded from the frontier Jivaro.

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Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely employed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

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[944]
[244]

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a fragment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*uwali*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

[294]
[415]
[291]
[294]

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

[252]
[273]
[235]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

> For me it is very easy
> To spin yarn.
> For I am a man-spider.
> I am a man-spider.
> Therefore I am adept.
>
> My hand is like the hand
> Of a spider.
> Because of this
> I make the spindle hum.

286 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 mill are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tawai*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

• 291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
179 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tarachi*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

3. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-C/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

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[482]

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Rio Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

/p. 90-D/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cunsimi, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-R/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

8. Harner returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blow-gun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Río Cumaina, 1956–57).

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/2. 90-F/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

142 9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro
• 291 (region between the upper Rio Macuma and the upper Rio
302 Cangaimi, 1956–57).
281 /p. 90-G/
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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12. Man wearing an *etsemar* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Rio Cangaini, 1956–57).

13. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-A/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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14. Man with *etsemar* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *etsemar* in place.

/p. 138-B/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cumaimi, 1956-57).

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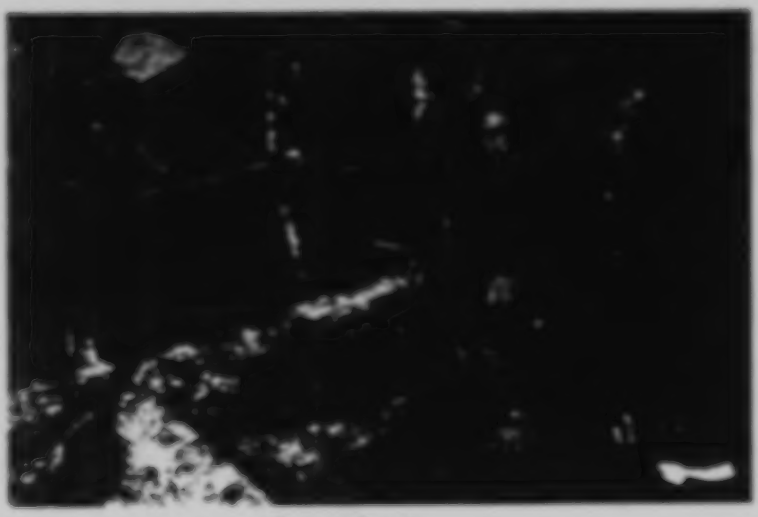
17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).



34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natema* (Río Tutunangusa, 1964).

/p. 138-9/

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16 Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 459 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 901 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jivaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jivaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jivaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jivaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.

I: Karetn--89-90 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 292 (1928-29)

"Whereas the Jibaroe wear no head-gear in the proper sense of the word, they are in the habit of covering the crown of the head with certain head-ornaments, made partly of the plumes or feathers of certain birds of the forest, partly of monkey skin. Brilliant plumes are loved by all Indians of the Amazon territory, but there are a few tribes that have developed such art in making head-ornaments of this kind as the Jibaroe andthe Canelos Indians. Plumes or feathers of the tucan, of different kinds of parrot, especially the big macaw, of the wild turkey (Crax pauji), and of certain small birds of the forest are preferred for this [90] purpose, but the art and taste with which the different colours are combined and the whole ornament made can scarcely be described in detail. This head-ornament is called tawasa by the Jibaroe and tawasaimba by the Indians of Canelos. (Pl. XIV). The best and largest of these ornaments, which are especially used at feasts, are greatly valued by the Indians themselves, and this we can easily understand, considering that for the making of one single ornament of this kind the Indian has to shoot several dozens of the very shy tucan or macaw with blowgun and poisoned arrows. --Old warriors and medicine-men generally prefer a head-ornament made of the skin of the black or red monkey.

Slightly different from the tawasa is the head-ornament called tendárma: it consists of a number of plumes or feathers in showy colours attached to a cotton band. This decorative band is wound round a crown plaited of a liana called hápi, the same

liana from which the Jibaros make their most common baskets. The plaited crown itself, apart from the feather-band, is called tindimba.

Of other ornaments of the head, the cylindrical bamboo sticks which the men wear as ear-ornaments are particularly conspicuous. They are often of considerable length, 15 to 25 cm., and about 1 cm. in diameter, passing horizontally through the lobe of the ear and protruding in front. The ends of the sticks are ornamented with certain incised figures of the kind customary in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and frequently, besides this, red and yellow tucan feathers are stuck into them. These ear-tubes are called arusa; they are not merely decorations but have a magical significance. The women wear ear-sticks of the same kind, only much smaller. In addition to these, the women have a smaller stick inserted in the lower lip, which is perforated for the purpose. This stick is called tukunu; it is 6 to 10 cm. in length and about 1/2 cm. in diameter and, like the arusa of the men, this female ornament has the protruding end decorated with incised figures. --Whereas the women wear no tawase for the head, they have, on festival occasions, the crown of the head decorated with a simple circular cotton band, without feathers, which are hardly ever worn by the female sex. This cotton band is called tiringsa."

2: Stirling--100-102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 562

"Three principal types of feather crown are worn by Jivaro men. One called 'taguaza' consists of a disk-like brim formed by lashing together with cotton thread several concentric hoops of rattan. The outer circumference is decorated with bright-colored feathers, usually the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan, and with green beetle wings (pl. 32). Another showy crown consists of a woven hoop of vegetable fiber which fits the head and to which are thickly attacked the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan (pls. 4, a; 5, a). The third type of crown consists of a band of monkey skin [102] with the black fur attached, about 2 inches high, worn as a hoop about the head. Women do not wear feather crowns of this nature."

2: Stirling--102-103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 778

"Jivaro men also wear a girdle made from human hair called 'indashi acacho.' Tufts of human hair taken from the head of a courageous Jivaro who has died are attached by means of a resinous gum to a woven cotton tape. These girdles are supposed to possess magical power which transmits to the wearer some of the qualities of the orig-[103]inal owner of the hair. The manufacture of them involves definite taboos and practices on this account. While at work on the girdle the maker accounts the most noteworthy feats accomplished by the original owner of the hair and upon completing his task he holds a small feast, during which he dances while wearing the girdle and sings songs calculated to give him additional strength and courage."

12: Rivet--363-365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

The festive clothing of the Jíbaro is as complicated as the daily costume is simple. I have been able to procure for myself the complete ceremonial ornaments of a chief called Yumala, the names and exact descriptions of which follow.

The crows are three in number.

Tauas or taguaza (fig. 7-11) a flat circlet, somewhat like [365] the brim of a hat without a crown. The circlet is formed by a series of concentric circles made of vegetable fibers joined together by cotton threads. A band of feathers adorns the circumference, the upper side is covered with the plumage of birds (callistes [JP: humming-birds] of various kinds), and from the lower side hang small ornaments made of feathers, of various seeds and of the eletra of coleoptera (Euchroma gigantea, Linnaeus).

Tendema (fig. 8-6). Crown of cylindrical form, 6 cent. high, formed of a fabric of hard and resistant fibres covered on the outside with breasts and stomachs of Rhamphastides [JP: toucans] in red, white and yellow feathers. Diameter: 19 cent.

There is also a third kind of crown made of a fine, furry monkey-skin.

12: Rivet--365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

Scoanga (fig. 7-9). A small band of cotton, 1 1/2 cent. wide and 46 cent. long, having at its extremities a cluster of brilliant feathers and four very long tassels of hair; it is twisted around the back plait in such a manner that the feathers form a kind of pompon at the base of the plait.

Tayucunchi (tayo: kind of bird, cunchi: bone) (fig. 7-10). A magnificent ornament 1^m 15 long and 18 cent. wide, composed essentially of a fabric made from the femurs of a bird called tayo (Nyctidromus?) juxtaposed in transverse rows. On the specimen that I possess I have counted 240 femurs aligned in 7 bands placed one above the other; 140 [JP: sic] birds have therefore been employed in the making. The bones are strung on cotton threads. Each row is separated from the neighboring one by a narrower row of small brownish seeds. On this unusual woof of ivory whiteness callistes [translation: humming-birds] in iridescent colors are placed, while from the lower extremity hang eleven superb toucan feathers and some eletra of Euchroma. This elegant ornament is worn on the back, suspended from the head by a little band of cotton which encircles it and which is itself covered laterally with skins of Rhamphastides and bears in front, at the place corresponding to the forehead, a beautiful bird crest with bluish black reflections.

12: Rivet--368 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292

Unduchi (fig. 7-20). Band of coffee-colored cotton like the itipi, measuring 60 cent. long, which is worn about the waist and which has a series of pendants 20 cent. long, of Coix lacryma seeds, terminated by big fragments of gastropod shells, cut in curvilinear triangles, which on striking together give a crystalline sound of little bells.

Acachula (fig. 7-8). Girdle formed of small plaits of human hair, juxtaposed and joined only in the middle and at their extremities by a cotton thread. One of the two specimens that I possess contains 75 and each one of them measures 1^{m} 50 long.

Maco (fig. 7-17). Ornament made of seeds of a forest tree that has not been determined, similar in form to a peach stone, and suspended from a common cord. When they are moved, they make a dry sound like castanets. They are worn either around the loins or at the knee for the dance.

Such are their many objects of ornamentation in which elegance equals originality. For the most part, they are common to both sexes, but used more by men than women. In Jíbaro country, the woman, considered as a slave without wishes or desires, knows nothing of elegance; the brave and strong male has preserved all his primitive privileges, and his omnipotence is more exaggerated by the isolation in which the various divisions of each tribe live.

26: Brüning--62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

The festive ornaments of the Indians are the following: the long hair is tied in the back with a band, to the ends of which are attacked colorful feathers and entire bird skins or bundles of feathers with long human hair. One type of band is woven, 13 mm. wide and, taken doubled, 44 cm. long. At both ends of the doubled band there are 28 strings. On each one of these strings there are on top three black fruit seeds, then a thin bird bone (85 mm. long), again two seeds, another bone, and two more fruit seeds. At each one of the ends of the strings there is a bird skin, most of them from the tukan, only one from a wood-pecker-type of bird. At one end there are the wings of various beetles, such as are also used for ear decoration. The bird skins are tied to the strings with the beaks. The skull has been removed, and the legs are likewise missing. The skins are stuffed with vegetarian wool.

The second type is a plaited string (width: 3 mm.), 218 cm. long. With the help of resin a bundle of human hair and two bundles of yellow and red tukan feathers are tied to each end of this string.

26: Brüning--62 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

Another type of headdress has wide woven bands with long loose strings. These are worn wound round the head.

a) has a width of 62 mm. and a length of 49 cm. The ends of the warp, projecting on either side, are twisted into strings that have a length of 50 cm. each. Two of these strings are used to tie the band together so that it can be placed around the head. The other strings are allowed to hang loosely over the back. To one of these strings a small bundle of yellow and blue feathers is attached. The part of the band which runs over the forehead is decorated with a polished shell and with a bundle of yellow and red tukan feathers.

b) is a band that has a width of 53 mm. and a length of 43 cm. The strings at both ends are twisted and have a length of 49 cm.

c) is 62 mm. wide and 44 cm. long. The strings have a length of 45 cm.

Three colors occur in all three of these bands: white and two shades of brown.

26: Brüning--62 [3]
116, 292

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

Another head decoration consists of a ring (hoop or circlet) which is made out of spirally split bamboo or a liana (the whites call it támši). Two such rings are placed one on top of the other, and they are connected with braided strings. Between the two circlets are alternately placed red and yellow tukan feathers. This head decoration is called tawáš (cf. Illustration 4, the fourth warrior from the left). The tawáš has a diameter of 17 cm.

Another head-circlet consists of plaited támši (width: 6 cm.) which is covered with the fur of a monkey's tail. This fur is brown and black in the middle. At one of the edges there hangs a bird skin. This head decoration is called atsehókta (cf. Illustration 4, second warrior from the left.)

Moreover, I have seen another circlet formed of ball shaped flowers (similar to our clover blossoms, yet smaller). See Illustration 4, third warrior from the left.

26: Brüning--70 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292, 562

Married women are distinguished by a narrow band which they wear over the muscle of the upper arm. I failed to indicate in my notes whether it is the right or the left arm. Since this band (patáko) is placed over the arm of very young persons and since it may not be removed, as time goes on the flesh grows over it and sometimes covers it. A widow in Huavico took off her band in my presence and dedicated it to me: it is 12 mm. wide and 21 cm. long.

28: Tessman--344-347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipī*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*taračī*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *taraĉi*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
• 292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untä*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[3] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [714] [292]

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 293 (1928-29)

"Certain personal belongings of the Indians may be said to form part of their dress, since they are always carried by the men and regarded as indispensable. No Jibaro Indian leaves his home without his little square bag made of the fibres of the chambira palm, and called wambaćhi, and his larger bag made of the skin of the black monkey or the red howling monkey, a sort of bag called uyuńa. In his wambaćhi the Jibaro Indian carries his comb, tobacco, and certain medicines, magical stones and other objects used for witchcraft, which are indispensable to medicine-men. In his uyuńa again he carries larger objects, certain ornaments, gourds containing hunting charms or red paint, etc., but formerly the most important were the two sticks used for producing fire. These sticks were called uyuńa, and from them the whole bag is called by this name. A large net bag is called shigra (Pl. XIV, 1. 2. 4)."

1: Karsten--334-335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 293 (1928-29)

"Those guests who have come from far arrive at the house of the feast on the eve of the day fixed for the same. They do not, however, enter the house, but pass the night in provisional shelters made outside. It is not until the following morning at 5 o'clock that the doors are opened and the guests can enter. Gradually the guests who live near arrive. Before entering the house all arrange their dress, which the Jibaro Indian always does when he is about to make a visit to another house. In a sort of net-bag (shigra), carried on the back, the men have brought with them their best clothing and ornaments, first of all a new loin-cloth (itipi). In another smaller bag they carry a comb, a small mirror, a small round gourd containing a red dye for painting the body, called mushpa or aratinyu, as well as certain other small things. At a rivulet the Indian makes his toilet; he unties his thick hair, washes it, combs it, and ties it up again in the three usual pigtails. The band with which the big pigtail at the neck is wound round is adorned with tucan feathers and human hair. On his head he places some feather ornament, a crown made of red and yellow tucan feathers, called tawása, or another ornament of yellow macaw feathers, which is tied round the head, and is called tendéarma. Older warriors are often seen wearing a sort of cap of monkey's skin or an ornament made of squirrels' tails (kunámbi). The face, and especially the region around the eyes, is painted red in different ways, some Indians simply coating the face with the paint, others applying geometrical patterns to it. A new loin-cloth (itipi) is

always put on before entering the house, a girdle of human hair (akáchu) being used to fix it with. Some additional ornaments are put on later for the dance at night.

The women always pay less attention to their dress and wear fewer ornaments than the men. The principal garment of the women is called tarácĥi, and a new one is as a rule made for a feast. Since weaving is an [335] industry exclusively incumbent on the men, they always make the clothes of their wives. On the crown of the head the women on festive occasions generally wear a red-painted cotton band, called tiringsa. In the ear-lobes they wear similar sticks (arusa) as do the men, but much smaller, and besides, in the lower lip the small pin of wood called tukúnu. Both the arusa and the tukúnu are mostly ornamented with incised figures.

For the dances the women also paint their faces, although not as much as the men. Around their necks the women wear a necklace of beads called shaúka, and the upper arms are tied round with cotton strings called patáki. For the dances they always put on a broad girdle or rattle of snail shells (kúngu); but these rattles are not ornaments but a means of conjuration."

12: Rivet--362-363 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 293

The savage encircles his wrist with a bracelet formed by a coil of green snakeskin, the symbol of good luck, the cundo (fig. 7-19). He always has slung over his shoulder a small, almost rectangular bag called shigra (a Quichua word), made of cabuya (Agave americanum) fiber or palma chambira (Astrocaryum tucuma) fiber, in which he keeps his accessories [363] for hunting and for his toilet, his mirror, his paints, his comb, etc... The shigra is made of string. The one pictured (fig. 8-7) measures 20 cent. long and 23 cent. wide; it is of deep straw color upon which are 7 transverse brown-red stripes. The spear is the inseparable companion of the Indian.

13: Rivet--249-250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 293, 301

The girdles made with the human hair from the tsantsas seem to play a role very similar to the tsantsas themselves. They serve as ornaments only in feasts and on war expeditions. A Jíbaro man will never consent to lend this object, which is the visible proof of the number of his exploits, and upon his death, his relatives encircle [250] his body with it. (1) In case the deceased does not have a tsantsa to leave to his sons, the girdle is preserved by them as a souvenir of his valor (2).

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1. Colini. Osservazion etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 30; Collezione etnografica degli indigeni dell' alto Amazzoni, op. cit., page 35.--Simson, op. cit., page 387. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 37.

2. Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell' Equatore, op. cit., page 102.

15: Orchard--214-219 (No date) 1925 Jivaro-1
116, 293

"Perhaps the most striking specimens recently received by the Museum consist of the paraphernalia used in one of the tribal ceremonies of the Jivaro Indians, who inhabit the forest region of the rivers Pastaza, Morona, and Upano-Santiago and their tributaries, from the interior of Ecuador into Peru. The warlike character of the Jivaro has retarded the exploration of much of their country, hence a great deal is still to be learned concerning the tribal customs, and especially the ceremonies. For this reason little is yet known in regard to the dance regalia shown in the accompanying illustrations (figs. 92-94) or of the rites in which such are used. The objects consist of a breast ornament, a short apron or kilt, arm-bands, leg-bands, necklaces, head and hair ornaments, a spear, blowgun and darts, and a small bow. The breast ornament, which hangs from the neck almost to the knees, is made of beaten palm-bark having a soft cloth-like tex- [215] ture, and is so ornamented with brilliant feathers outlined and bordered with 'Job's tears' and with bean and other highly-colored seeds, interspersed with short tubular beads made of birdbone, as to form a grotesque human head, probably that of a warrior. The exposed parts of the bark cloth are painted with designs in bright red to represent the facial decoration of the personage, and the whole is further ornamented with a fringe of strung seeds having a parrot-feather attached to the end of each string. [217]

The kilt, or apron, is made in the same manner and of like materials, with the addition of a painted and incised gourd shell arranged as the central piece of the ornamenta-

tion. Like the breast ornament, the arm-bands are made of beaten bark adorned with seeds. The leg-bands consist of braided cord, attached to which are large seed shells which served also the purpose of rattles. One necklace is made of closely braided strands of human hair, another is of toucan-beaks.

The head-dress is a crown of upright black feathers banded with white breast plumage edged with crimson, supported on a frame of basketry. Another ornament consists of a woven cotton band, worn as a fillet beneath the crown of feathers. Attached to this fillet at the rear and falling below the waist is an ornament composed of a number of long tubular beads made of bird-bones arranged in rows, with a line of black seeds between each row. The lower extremity is decorated with bronze-green wing-sheaths of a species of tropical beetle, and with seeds and feathers.

A photograph of a Jivaro wearing the regalia not being available, the various articles are displayed on a model for the purpose of affording a slight impression of their appearance; but the gorgeous array of colors must of course be left to [218] the imagination. The crimson of some of the feathers and seeds predominates, but other feathers are yellow, green, and blue, with all the intermediate shades, imposed on the soft tan background of beaten bark, or suspended therefrom. Worn by an Indian against his warm-brown skin, the effect of this savage array must be striking indeed.

These objects, with others illustrating the Jivaro culture, will be dis- [219] played among the collections of the Museum pertaining to the tribes of northwestern South America.

/331 cont./

291/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

294 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
248 are made by the Jívaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
386 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
236 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which,
302 seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
531 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
413 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
[386 sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
302 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
[824] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[386] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small
[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [244] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taracĩ*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

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177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

[296] Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
411 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
439 chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[177] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
224 from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
411 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

1: Karsten--83 Jivaro
116, 301

Fig. 3.

A Jivaro Indian from the Santiago, wearing a bag of monkey's skin (uyúna) and with the breast and shoulders covered by the kind of ornament called mupish.

1: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301 (1928-29)

". . . . both men and women among the Jibaros wear a multitude of ornaments to which they ascribe equally great importance. These ornaments are not merely decorations in the strict sense of the word; they so to speak form a part of the Indian's whole personality, and most of them have a purely magical significance. I shall therefore return to these ornaments in the chapters dealing with the religion of the Indians."

1: Karsten--89
116, 301

Jivaro

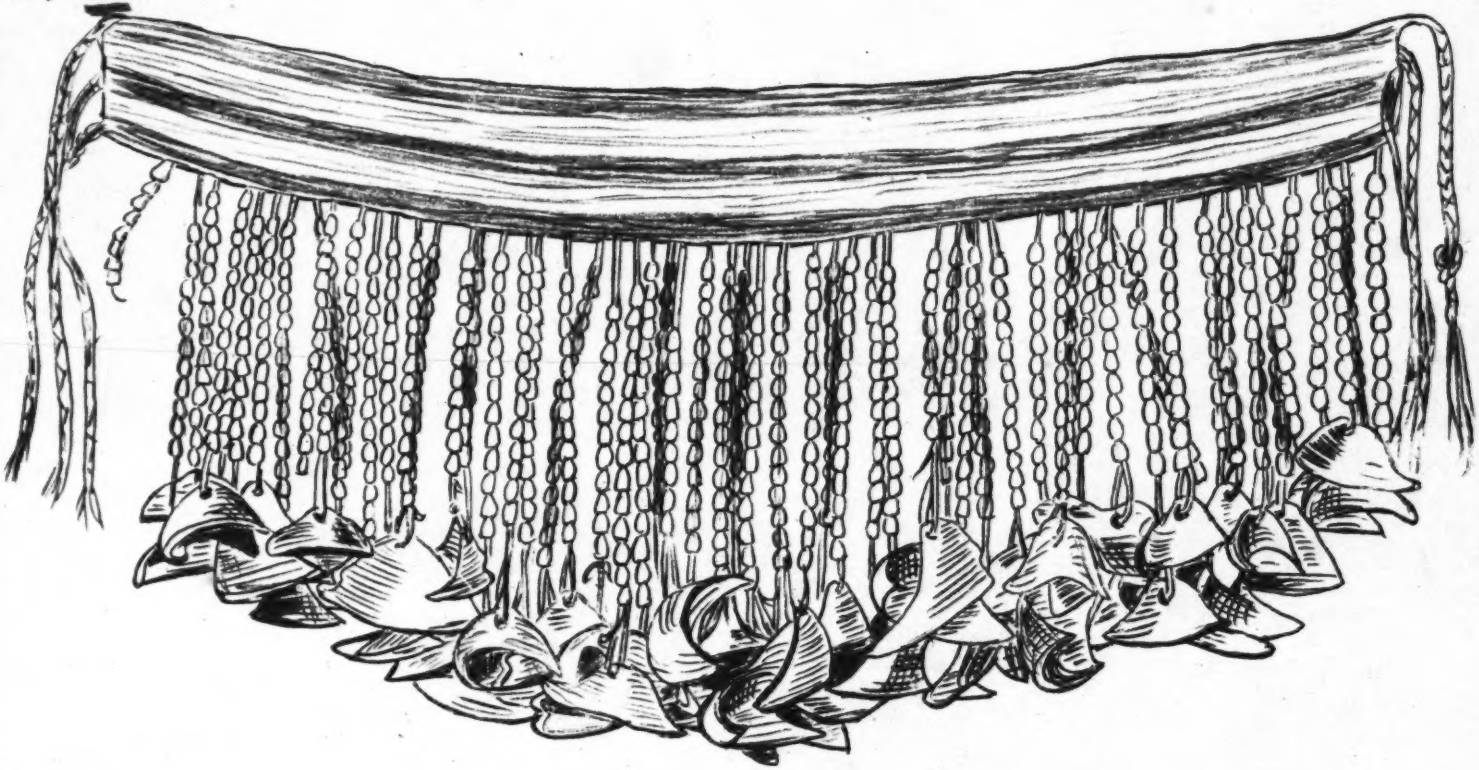

Fig. 3. The rattle cincture of the women, kúngu.

1: Karsten--90 Jivaro
116, 301

Fig. 1.
The picture of a Jivaro Indian, showing the great head ornament of tucan feathers (tawásа), the necklace of jaguar's teeth (nai), and the facial painting.

"In addition to the ear-tubes, both men and women on festival occasions wear a kind of ear-pendant consisting of brilliant beetle wings, small red and yellow tucan feathers, and human hair. These pendants are called waúo, after the beetle, and are attached to the perforated ear-lobes by means of small wooden pins. [91]

A great variety of necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and other ornaments for the neck, the breast and the back, the arms and the legs, are used both by men and women, especially by the former. The female ornaments are always simpler and less conspicuous, due chiefly to the fact that feathers and plumes are not used by women. The necklaces are so varied that it is impossible to describe them all; they can be studied more closely in the ethnographic museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, where my collections from the Jibaros are kept. Generally speaking there are two chief categories of necklace: they consist either of animals' teeth or claws, or of different seeds, or of fruit shells. Collars or necklaces made of animals' teeth have a common name naí, i.e. 'tooth'. There are two kinds of animal the teeth of which are strung into necklaces and worn as ornaments: monkeys and the jaguar. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are usually very large, hundreds of teeth of different monkeys being used for the purpose. Collars consisting of jaguars' teeth are especially worn by old warriors and they are believed to impart to the wearer something of the strength and ferocity of this wild beast. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are also generally

worn only by men, since it is considered proper that a man should decorate himself only with the teeth of such animals as he has killed himself. For the same reason ornaments consisting of plumes of birds are limited to the men. It is not unusual that whole stuffed birds are worn as ornaments at the feasts, the most common of these being the great tucan, regarded with superstition both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The large-beaked tucans, dried and prepared much in the same way as a human tsantsa and the head of the sloth, and worn at the waist at the great dances and festivals of the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of trophy to which was originally ascribed a similar magical power as the Jibaros still ascribe to the tsantsa. (See Pl. XIV, 1, 2, and Pl. XV, 1).

Necklaces prepared of seeds or dry fruit shells are very varied and they are worn by both sexes. Some of them have the character of rattles and are therefore used at dances and religious ceremonies. A common kind of necklace consists of a great number of grey seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacrima, of the family Gramineae) strung together, and another equally common is made of a kind of forest bean, red with black spots (Ormosia, belonging to the family Leguminosae). These necklaces are called ētsi. At feasts the men frequently have the back, shoulders, and breast covered with a large ornament consisting of the pepper-like seeds of a tree, strung together in many rows and very [92] fragrant. These ornaments are called payashnya,

and owing to their fragrance and other properties are regarded as a magical protection for the body against disease and witchcraft. A decoction of the same seeds is taken by the Indians as a remedy against fever. Other and smaller bundles composed of the same peppercorns, of vanilla sheaths, certain dry fruit shells, and other things, are not regarded as ornaments or decorations at all, but are simply amulets the object of which is to protect the wearer against disease. These 'medical' ornaments are called mamuía; they are worn only by women who fix them at their breasts.

An ornament of much the same kind, and likewise worn at the great feasts, is called mupish by the Jibaro Indans. It is a sort of necklace composed of a great number of small round black 'buttons' with a hole drilled in the middle and strung closely together. The 'buttons' are made from the twigs of a certain tree of the same name as the necklace, which are cut into small pieces, each about one millimetre thick. Besides this, one or more big snail shells are generally attached to the ornament. Since the twigs have to be cut very evenly and carefully and one single ornament may contain many hundreds of 'buttons', it is much work for the Indian to make a mupish."

1: Karsten--92
116, 301

Jivaro

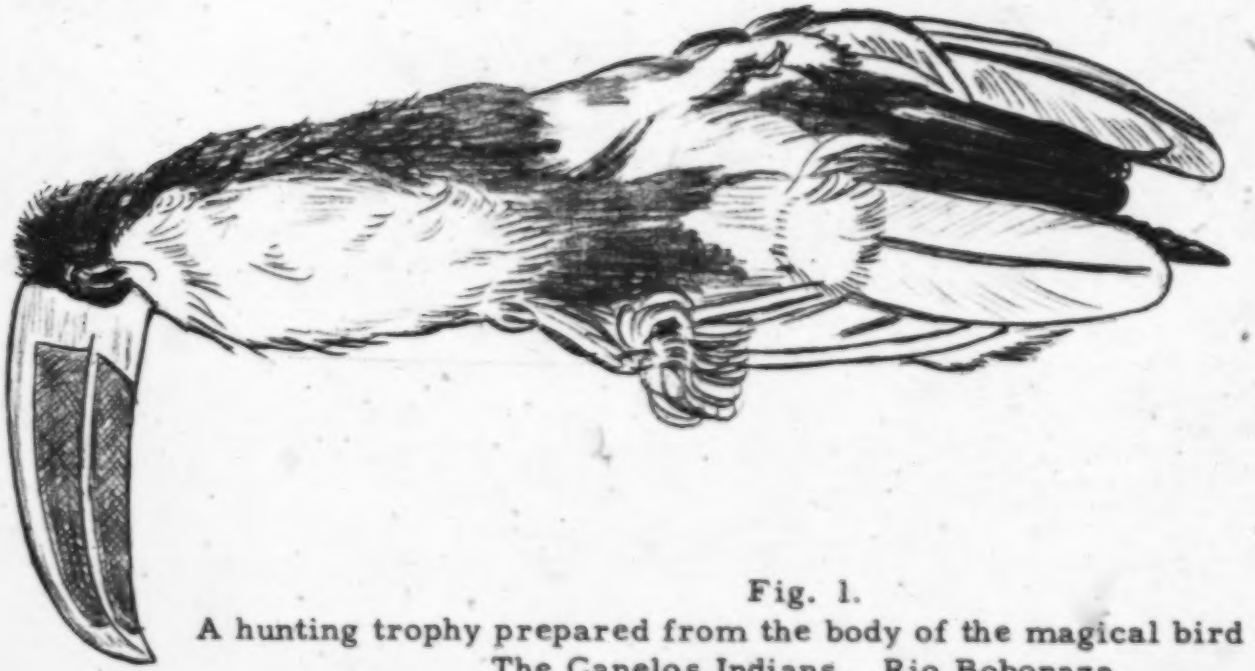

Fig. 1.
A hunting trophy prepared from the body of the magical bird tsucánga.
The Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza.

1: Karsten--92-93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 301 (1928-29)

"The most costly ornament of the Jibaros, likewise only worn at the great feasts, is called tayukuńchi. It is a broad back ornament composed solely of the leg-bones of the tayu or oil-bird (Steatornis), attached to the head by means of a broad band over the forehead and hanging down to the loins. The lower border of it is adorned with brilliant beetle wings, human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed showy coloured birds of the forest. The beetle wings produce a dull sound when the Indians hop up and down during their dances, so the ornament serves as a sort of rattle. Since the oil-bird, as we have seen, is rare and hundreds of birds are needed for the making of one single tayukuńchi, we can understand that the Indians value this ornament very highly, apart from the magical power which they ascribe to it (Pl. XIII, 1).

Another ornament for the head and the back consists of several long pigtails of brilliant beetle wings, sewn together, and with human hair at the ends. These pigtails are attached to a circular cotton band which at the great feasts is fitted to the crown of the head. The Jibaros call this ornament by the same name as the beetle used for the purpose: wauo (Pl. XIII).

In many of their necklaces and other ornaments the Indians insert small white, red, and blue beads obtained from the whites. They are [93] quite common even among the savage Jibaros, who especially use them for the kind of collar called sháuka. These collars attract special attention by the very tasteful way in which beads of different

colours are combined so as to form certain triangular ornaments typical of the Jibaros (Pl. XXI, 2).

Armlets and bracelets consisting of simple cotton bands tied tightly round the arms and the wrists and called pataka are frequently seen on the Jibaro women. They are hardly looked upon as ornaments, but are worn simply because they are supposed to make the arms stronger for carrying burdens. The men again wear round the wrists bracelets made of the skin of the great iguana lizard and called sunday. These ornaments too are believed to give much strength to the arms.

The personal adornment of the Indians also includes the painting of the body and the face to which extremely great importance is attached. Since however facial paintings have almost exclusively a magical significance I shall deal with them in the part of my work which is devoted to religion and art."

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the personal ornaments of the CANELOS INDIANS I may add that they are in some respects less characteristic, owing to the fact that they have in part adopted European dress. Thus they nowadays use neither ear and lip-tubes nor ear-pendants. Their necklaces are chiefly made of dry fruit shells and snail's shells as well as of monkey's teeth. But the Canelos Indians are particularly famous for their feather ornaments (tawaśamba), which are more varied than those of the Jibaros and are among the most magnificent found in any South American tribe."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 531 (1928-29)

". . . . I shall only include here a few words about a small object which is partly regarded as an ornament and partly serves a practical purpose, namely, the comb, timaśhi. The Jibaro comb is a real piece of art that cannot be described in detail. It is made of a special kind of cane growing on the river bank, called pata, which is carved into a number of tiny sticks. These are connected with one another by means of other parallel transverse sticks which are fastened to the prongs by means of cotton thread, the intermediate space between the latter being embroidered in various triangular and other patterns of the same kind as the Indians put on their face and clay vessels.

The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

"Exactly the same may be said of many other ornaments of the Indians, for instance of the big ear-tubes, arúsa, the armlets of iguana skin, súnday, and of other adornments worn on the breast, round the neck, the arms, or the legs. Thus a Jibaro warrior is of opinion that the ear-tubes make him strong and valiant and therefore wears them as big as possible. For their great feasts the Indians especially adorn them-[427]selves in different ways since at the dances and other ceremonies thereby performed they enter into relation with the spirits. Thus both the feather ornaments, tawasa, the magnificent ornament for the back called tayukúnchi, and the large collars of fragrant seeds called payáshnya, used both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of magical charms and are believed to give their wearers power of resistance against the spirits. To illustrate this fact I may mention that at one of the most important ceremonies of the victory feast, the 'washing of the tsantsa', the priestess, when she has to officiate, wears both a feather crown on her head and the necklace called múpish, which are put on her by the priest before the ceremony begins. Normally the women never wear feather crowns, nor the necklace múpish. The small bunches of dry fruit shells, animals' teeth and claws, fragrant seeds and herbs which are worn at the breast by the Jibaro women and called mamúta, have exclusively a medical and magical significance: they are believed to protect the wearer against catarrhs and other illnesses. Such charms are also frequently hung round the neck or

1: Karsten--426-427 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 751, 301 (1928-29)

at the breast of small children for the same purpose. Collars of jaguar's teeth, worn especially by warriors and medicine-men, are--like the ear-tubes, the pigtails, etc. --supposed to impart strength and courage to the wearer."

2:Stirling--53 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 714, 726, 301

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the natima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."

2: Stirling--94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 534

"The snail-shell belts (pl. 10) and leg ornaments worn by the women at dances might be classed as musical instruments, as the jingling sound they produce marks the cadence of the dance."

2: Stirling--99[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301

"The men wear in their hair rather elaborately made combs, called temashi, carved from narrow slivers of palm wood lashed together at the base with an ornate cotton weave. These combs hold the hair in place when wrapped about the crown of the head (pls. 5, d; 7, b).

The men and women both pierce the lobes of the ears through which bamboo tubes are thrust (pl. 5). These ear tubes, or jarusa, are usually decorated with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers and white down. Sometimes feather tufts are tied directly to the lobe of the ear.

Girls when still very young have the lower lip pierced and through the opening formed at this time the women wear a small cane lip plug (pl. 9, a)."

2: Stirling--102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"Numerous types of collars, necklaces, and body ornaments, consisting of seeds, shells, teeth, bird bones, and at present beads and buttons, are worn. One conspicuous ornament worn somewhat after the fashion of a Sam Brown belt consists of numerous strings of small black seeds held together at intervals by transverse cotton strings worn in such fashion that it crosses both shoulders and encircles the waist. It requires almost a year of work to manufacture one of these ornaments which the Jivaros call 'nupish.' It is worn at the big fiestas and occasionally when a Jivaro wants to make an impression on a visit (pl. 6, a). Necklaces consisting of many strands of this same seed are also worn, as are similar necklaces of glass beads (pls. 4, b, c; 5, a, c). Collars woven of chambira fiber or made of bark completely covered with shells or buttons are a favorite ornament of the men (pl. 5, b). Another elaborate ornament worn by the men is the 'tayocunchi.' This is an elaborate back ornament made from hundreds of femurs of the tayo bird, which is found only in certain caves in the Jivaro country. The possession of such an ornament marks the owner as a brave man, as it requires courage to enter the caves which are the dwelling places of jaguars (or jaguar spirits) in order to obtain the birds. These ornaments are further embellished by the addition of bright-colored feathers and beetle wings. The most elaborate type of ear ornament consists of long hangings of iridescent green beetle wings which depend over the shoulders and terminate in tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. These are called 'kuishi' (pl. 15, a)."

2: Stirling--102 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 415, 484

"When the Jivaro is traveling he carries his feather ornaments neatly rolled and packed in tubes of bamboo. These tubes, together with other ornaments, hair combs, ear tubes, achiote paint and other accessories, are carried in a rectangular bag with a flap which is either woven of chambira fiber and suspended by a strap over one shoulder or else is made of monkey skin with the fur attached and suspended in the same manner (pl. 13)."

2: Stirling--102 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"While the women do not wear as elaborate ornaments as the men, they are fond of bead or seed necklaces or collars. A characteristic ornament of the women is the dance girdle, made by attaching to a cotton tape numerous triangular segments cut from the shells of the giant land snail which jingle like sleigh bells as the wearer walks or dances. This girdle is called 'unda acacho' (pl. 10)."

4: Up de Graff--193-194 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 301, 555

"They are singularly free from the love of personal adornment which is a characteristic of nearly all savage and semi-savage people. Indeed there is only one orna[194]-ment which they wear, a small tuft of toucan or stork feathers fastened to the lobe of the ear. Furthermore these are worn but infrequently, that is to say for battle or on the occasion of great festivals; finally, the wearing of these feathers is a sure sign of the owner's prowess in the hunt, for to kill either bird with their only means of bringing down game, the blow-gun, is proof of great skill and strength; the toucan always lives among the topmost branches of tall trees and the stork is equally shy; we could never approach within 500 yards of the latter."

9: Bennett--660 [3] (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 301

"Aside from the offensive weapons, the collection [KS: donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum] contains some ornaments. There are two sets of ear plugs in the shape of six-inch cylinders of bamboo, decorated by incision at one end. These are pushed through a slit in the lobe of the ears and project forward along the cheeks. Another type of ear ornament is represented by the beetle wing ear pendants. There is also a paint gourd with a two-pronged applicator with which the Jivaro Indian man improves his beauty with parallel stripes of red ochre."

12: Rivet--363 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

As an ornament, in ordinary times, he only wears tubes of bamboo or jarusa, which are stuck into the lobes of the ears. I possess one of them which measures as much as 25 cent. in length and 16 millim. in diameter and at their extremities, they have some coarse black designs (fig. 5) made with a bad knife. Sometimes the Jíbaros make these designs by burning the wood.

It is into the ends of these bamboos that the men generally stick their needles.

12: Rivet--363-365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

The festive clothing of the Jíbaro is as complicated as the daily costume is simple. I have been able to procure for myself the complete ceremonial ornaments of a chief called Yumala, the names and exact descriptions of which follow.

The crows are three in number.

Tauas or taguaza (fig. 7-11) a flat circlet, somewhat like [365] the brim of a hat without a crown. The circlet is formed by a series of concentric circles made of vegetable fibers joined together by cotton threads. A band of feathers adorns the circumference, the upper side is covered with the plumage of birds (callistes [JP: humming-birds] of various kinds), and from the lower side hang small ornaments made of feathers, of various seeds and of the eletra of coleoptera (Euchroma gigantea, Linnaeus).

Tendema (fig. 8-6). Crown of cylindrical form, 6 cent. high, formed of a fabric of hard and resistant fibres covered on the outside with breasts and stomachs of Rhamphastides [JP: toucans] in red, white and yellow feathers. Diameter: 19 cent.

There is also a third kind of crown made of a fine, furry monkey-skin.

12: Rivet--365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

Scoanga (fig. 7-9). A small band of cotton, 1 1/2 cent. wide and 46 cent. long, having at its extremities a cluster of brilliant feathers and four very long tassels of hair; it is twisted around the back plait in such a manner that the feathers form a kind of pompon at the base of the plait.

Tayucunchi (tayo: kind of bird, cunchi: bone) (fig. 7-10). A magnificent ornament 1m 15 long and 18 cent. wide, composed essentially of a fabric made from the femurs of a bird called tayo (Nyctidromus?) juxtaposed in transverse rows. On the specimen that I possess I have counted 240 femurs aligned in 7 bands placed one above the other; 140 [JP: sic] birds have therefore been employed in the making. The bones are strung on cotton threads. Each row is separated from the neighboring one by a narrower row of small brownish seeds. On this unusual woof of ivory whiteness callistes [translation: humming-birds] in iridescent colors are placed, while from the lower extremity hang eleven superb toucan feathers and some eletra of Euchroma. This elegant ornament is worn on the back, suspended from the head by a little band of cotton which encircles it and which is itself covered laterally with skins of Rhamphastides and bears in front, at the place corresponding to the forehead, a beautiful bird crest with bluish black reflections.

12: Rivet--365-367 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

The EAR PENDANTS are of various types, but all are worn suspended from the tubes of bamboo which pass through the lobes. These tubes have a small orifice in their anterior third, into which they put a slender piece of wood to which is affixed in T shape the thread which sustains the ornament. Once inserted, this piece [367] of wood is placed transversely against the orifice and it cannot come out again.

Kuishi (fig. 7-5-6). Ear pendants made from electra of Euchroma gigantea and Mallaspis antennatus, pierced at their bases and attached at different levels on a cotton thread. It measures about 36 cent. long and terminates on the bottom with a little pompon of brilliant plumes and sometimes with a tassel of human hair.

Another kind of ear pendant is ornamented with the taguaza. This is a stem 28 cent. long, around which, with the aid of a type of pitch, feathers are placed with adroit imbrication, black, red, yellow, etc., in succession (fig. 7-12-13). Like the kuishi, this ornament is terminated by a little tuft of hair. It is carefully kept in a tube of bamboo (fig. 7-14-15).

The NECKLACES are extremely varied.

Sué (fig. 7-2-3). Neck orament formed of mammal teeth, particularly of monkeys, the roots of which have been perforated in order to permit the passage of the thread.

Tumbumbe (fig. 7-7). Big string of beads 2 meters long, formed of white seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacryma, Gramineae) alternating with the latter alone (fig. 8-2). This necklace has the form of a figure 8, the same as almost all the necklaces of the Jíbaros. Fig. 9 explains the reason for this and shows the manner in which the Indians place these ornaments on the breast and the back.

Mulupishi (fig. 8-5). Similar to the preceding but even more complicated, since, instead of being composed of a single row of seeds, it is formed of a very great number of strings in juxtaposition, joined at the same place by many transverse cotton threads. On one of my specimens I have counted 114 strings, each of shich [368] measures 1^{m} 25 long, and the little blackish seeds which make them up are hardly as big as grains of millet. This ornament is worn like the tumbumbe and once in place, covers the front of the breast and the shoulders somewhat in the manner of a vest.

There are still other kinds of necklaces: one is formed of rattling Menispermaceae seeds attached like little bells to a cord (fig. 8-3), another has pieces of mother-of-pearl shells cut as the figure indicates (fig. 7-4), a third is made up of the seeds of Crysophyllum caimito (Sapotaceae), of Menispermaceae, and of Ormosia (?), and small pendants made of black seeds analagous to those of the mulupishi and terminated by

12: Rivet--367-368 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 301

Unionidae shells (fig. 8-4). A last necklace presents successive rows of monkey teeth, regularly separated by seeds of Phasioleae (Leguminosae) and Ormosia (?), little cocoanuts (Cocoineae), and some pieces of fern rachides (fig. 8-1).

13: Rivet--249-250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 293, 301

The girdles made with the human hair from the tsantsas seem to play a role very similar to the tsantsas themselves. They serve as ornaments only in feasts and on war expeditions. A Jíbaro man will never consent to lend this object, which is the visible proof of the number of his exploits, and upon his death, his relatives encircle [250] his body with it. (1) In case the deceased does not have a tsantsa to leave to his sons, the girdle is preserved by them as a souvenir of his valor (2).

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1. Colini. Osservazion etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 30; Collezione etnografica degli indigeni dell' alto Amazzoni, op. cit., page 35.--Simson, op. cit., page 387. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 37.

2. Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell' Equatore, op. cit., page 102.

18: Hermessen--440 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 301

"The men wore their hair, which was long, black, and straight, in a fantastic mode, with two locks, twisted like pigtails and bound with cotton or fiber, depending from the forehead just in front of the ears; while about the tops of their heads were stuck tufts of bright-colored birds' feathers and small wooden combs. In another matter of decoration they follow a custom common to several tribes of the Upper Amazon basin: (14) the lobes of their ears were pierced, and in them were inserted sticks of bamboo, about half an inch thick and about eight inches long, the anterior ends of which, in some cases, had feathers fixed in them. Their faces were hideously smeared all over with anatto, a brick-red pigment obtained from the seeds of the plant Bixa orellana. (15) They had no beards, but only a few hairs on the upper lip. As I afterward learned, depilation is generally practiced by the Jîbaros. (16)"

"14. Cf. A. Hamilton Rice, op. cit., p. 409; Thomas Whiffen: The North-west Amazons, London, 1915, p. 85; and W. E. Hardenburg: The Putumayo, The Devil's Paradise, London, 1912.

15. H. A. Alford Nicholls: Tropical Agriculture, London, 1906, p. 244. This plant is figured in Plate 42 of Captain Whiffen's book quoted above.

16. Whiffen, op. cit., pp. 273, 282."

25: Vigna--4) (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 301

The Jibaro wears necklaces of variously colored seeds or glass beads. The lobes of the ears are pierced and small reeds are inserted; from these hang ornaments made of birds' feathers or wings of Coleoptera. They hang small tassels made with feathers from the Tzucanga (Toucan) or from the mountain cock, from the braid at the nape or lock of hair bound with a band of bright colors. In their ceremonies they wear a precious ornament called "Tayu-ucunchi" which is made entirely of hundreds of femurs of Tayu birds; or they bind the thorax with an ornament made of thousands of seeds.

26: Brüning--58-59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

The only special ornament which I noticed the women were wearing was an additional belt. [59] The belt in my collection has a length of 154 cm. and a width of 3.5 cm. It has a dirty light brown color with black lines, and it was woven by the Indians themselves. The ends of the warp protrude 4 cm., and they are braided into thin plaits. At each end, at the lower edge, there are specially prepared pieces of shell which, when clanging together, produce the sound of our glass prisms. At the extreme ends there are small bundles of tukan feathers and, as a specialty, a small tassel of red sewing yarn, and between the shell pieces the points of the tukan beaks as well as the shells of some fruit. With the exception of the feathers all objects are strung on long thin glass pearl-threads.

26: Brüning--59-60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301, 237, 777

The Indians, while wearing very simple clothes, have a great variety of ornaments, especially the men. In contrast to [60] the cultural life of other countries, it is the Indian male that devotes more time to the adornment of his exterior than the Indian woman. The woman does not have the time for it: she is the working part. I believe that I may divide the ornaments into two categories: the ornaments used in everyday life, and ornaments used in connection with festive occasions only.

Into the first category we may place the bracelets made of the skin of the iguana lizard. The natives cut the skin crosswise so that they obtain rings that are closed and about two centimeters wide. When wetted the skin may be stretched and easily slipped over the hand. Upon drying the bracelet shrinks and cannot slip off the arm. Men and women wear several of these bracelets around the wrist. Even the rubber collectors who live among the Indians wear these bracelets. These bracelets are said to prevent the wearer from becoming tired while working.

26: Brüning--60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

The necklace (poékta), is worn by men and women alike, (also belongs in this category) Nowadays such a necklace almost generally consists of a band which is approximately 3-4 cm. wide. This band is in straight cross-strips studded with small white porcelain buttons of European make. It embraces the neck tightly, in the manner in which the sayuelo is worn by the catholic priests of the region. Animal teeth, seed kernels, small nuts and polished shell pieces are worn dangling from the front of the lower edge. These shell pieces are of some value to the Indians, and they are said to occur at the mouth of the Pongo de Uta. On my return trip I looked for these shells, but I was unable to get hold of them. This does not imply that they do not occur there. My stay was too short, and there was no time for closer investigation. Moreover, it is quite possible that they occur only in certain seasons of the year.

26: Brüning --60-61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

In Illustration number 6 you will find four necklaces of my collection. Number 1 has sixteen strings with small, black, flat, and crosswise perforated seeds. Thirteen of these strings are, except for the ends, unconnected, while the three lowermost strings are interconnected by means of pendants. These pendants consist chiefly of seven groups of 4 - 5 connected hard, nutbrown fruit-shells (of the nut-type). Five of these groups hang on short strings which carry small red glass-pearls. [61] In one group three strings have small blue glass-pearls, while two have small white glass-pearls. The strings of the seventh group have only small white glass-pearls. Between these groups of fruit shells there are three ground pieces of shell, likewise on a string carrying glass-pearls. The string is drawn through a hole in the shell so that the latter can freely pendulate. The ends of this string are attached to the three lowermost strings.

26: Brüning--61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Necklace number two. It consists of eight strings on which black seeds are strung. The seeds seem to be the same as in no. 1, but they are a little larger and better formed. These eight strings are connected by cross-strings, spaced about two centimeters from each other. At each cross-connection hangs a pendant. Six of these pendants are a sort of nut, just like in no. 1., and arranged in groups of two or three. The small strings to which they are attached are strung with the same seeds as the main strings. The four other pendants--three of which containing four little strings each, while one has only three strings--consist of larger black seeds, the lowermost being somewhat larger than the upper ones.

26: Brüning--61 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Necklace number three. Four strings with larger black seeds. The strings are loose except for the middle where they are connected by the pendants. These pendants consist of polished shell pieces, two of them, each one different. The larger shell is completely flat. Another pendant is a large blue faceted glass-pearl which hangs on two strings on which small red glass-pearls are strung. The fourth pendant is a small bundle of tree bark. The bark had been folded and stitched together with thread at the sides. This bundle may contain a talisman.

Necklace number four. A double string holding 34 groups of pendants, each one consisting of paired nutbrown fruit-shells. The two main strings as well as the short strings of the pendants are strung with light pink glass pearls.

All of these necklaces do not surround the entire neck. They are tied together in the back with a simple thin thread.

26: Brüning--61 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Women wear in addition many pearl necklaces which hang down in front of the breasts in larger or smaller windings. Glass pearls are a much-desired article of the barter trade. I have seen mostly blue and white ones. Necklaces of this type must be registered in the second category, since they are extraordinary pieces of ornamentation and not worn everyday. The women regularly wear a bundle of various seeds and nutshells. But this bundle does not count as an ornament since it is not worn openly. I was given the following names for the various seeds: matot, pangána, dope, tšangínake, tšitšimjits, sāunak, and sikūt. Unfortunately, I did not have these objects when I would have had a chance to have them identified. Later, when I received such a bundle for my collection, I had left the Indians and could not ask them anymore. I know, however, that sikūt means vanilla. Judging by the smell I should say that espingo must have been part of the bundle, at least in my specimen. Tied to the bundle was also a comb (timúš). The entire bundle is fastened to a long thin string which at the other end is fastened to the shoulder connection of the dress. The bundle is worn under the dress on the bare body between the breasts.

26: Brüning--61-62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

An ear decoration for both sexes may be regarded as another everyday ornament. It consists of small bundle of yellow and orange-red feathers of the tukan. On top of this small feather bundle is a small cross-piece which is put through the string-loop in the ear-lobe. The loop is a permanent fixture of the perforated lobe.

On the left bank of the Marañón River, in Numpatcai, I have seen two old men with pieces of bamboo (kahíst) [62] in the earlobes. These were pieces of thin bamboo (diameter abt. 1 cm.), 5 cm. in length, which they had stuck through the lobes. The whites there told me that this was a feature that distinguished the Antipa Indians from the Aguaruna, but which formerly had been worn by all members of the tribe.

The Aguaruna Indians permanently sport a small loop in the perforated lobe. This loop is designed for various pieces of ornaments. [63] Usually, it is nothing but a small bundle of tukan feathers, that are glued together with some resin. But for festive gala occasions the Indians wear long strands of beetle wings, the wings coming from two types of beetles. This ear decoration is called akite. In the following I shall describe some of these decorations.

Fig. a. This ear decoration is fastened by means of a small perforated bone. Its upper part consists of two strings strung with tiny glass-pearls. To this are appended two strands of greenish-iridescent beetle wings--the beetle being a sort of carabid ? -. Each strand is finished off with a bundle of red and yellow tukan feathers. On top, where the strands begin, two bundles of these feathers and one tuft of hair are seen dangling. The whole has a length of 30 cm, but is of relatively light weight. This ear decoration has a special name (after the beetle wings): akite-tóika.

Fig. b is almost identical with the preceding one, but the tuft of hair and the glass pearls are missing. The fastener is not of bone, but consists of two bamboo splinters glued together with resin. Entire length: 27 cm.

Fig. c has no fastener and no feather bundle. On top it has instead a piece of tukan skin with its feathers. The strings have an elongation with which the decoration is fastened to the ears. Entire length 35 cm.

Fig. d. Each strand is decorated with the wings of certain beetles. One beetle type is called tóika (the same whose wings are used in a - c), the other is called wáwa, which seems to be a buprestid and occurs rather rarely as a decorative element. This ear decoration has on top small blue glass pearls and a bone splinter as a fastener. The entire length is 13 cm. It has a special name: akite wáwa.

The warrior on the right on Illustration number 4 wears long ear decorations such as have just been described.

Cheap European earrings, such as we had brought along for barter purposes, did not please the Indians at all.

One of their main decorations is called dópiš. It consists of a great number of strings, arranged side by side and strung with seeds. They are worn in pairs and thrown over the shoulders so that they cross on the chest and on the back, reaching down to the hips. Three warriors on Illustration number 4 are wearing this kind of decoration.

One specimen consists of 112 double rows, arranged side by side. The whole seems to be one single string, which, later on, was arranged side by side. The part which touches the shoulder is kept together by means of three crosswise-plaited strings. In the middle there are short strings, strung with small colored glass-pearls and with various seed-kernels at the end. If laid side by side, these 112 strings extend to a width of 37 cm. The length, counted from the shoulders to the hips, is 65 cm. The little black seeds (diameter approximately 3 mm.) are called dúšip (e). Over these wide chains, other, smaller ones, are worn, as you can see on Illustration 4. One such specimen consists of 6 double rows of a white and hard berry (yusána[gi]), each one having a diameter of about 8 mm. These six rows are also connected by three cross-strings where they touch the shoulder. Another specimen consists of double rows which are alternately strung with four of these white berries and one red bean-like fruit. The length of the string from the shoulder to the hip is likewise 65 cm.

A sort of belt which the Aguaruna Indians wear around the hips, consists of braided human [64] hair. The rubber collectors told me that this is the hair of their defeated enemies. But when I asked the Indians directly, they denied this and said that it was

their own hair. I think however, that the rubber collectors were right in this instance. The two warriors to the right are wearing such belts.

28: Tessman--343-344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301, 291

The ornamental belts are often quite painstakingly made. Some of them are made out of twisted fur strips or out of a woven band (width: 4 cm.) to which are attached pearl strings with triangular pieces of shell from the Achatina snail. There is also a belt made of human hair which projects either only in one direction or in two directions. And there are [344] many other kinds of belts... such as wide ones made of fruit shells, seeds and pieces of vanilla.

28; Tessman--344-347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

28: Tessman--347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

Chest ornaments are just as numerous as the head ornaments. The chest ornament is usually composed of many strands, which as a rule are stitched together at one point only, so that it can be easily pulled apart into its four components. This ornament is worn in such a fashion that the strands cross on the back, while the point where they are stitched together is placed in front. (See Plate 65, upper right.) But they also wear it the other way round. The following are the materials used for these chest decorations: fruit shells or seeds (often of Coix lacryma and of Erythrina), huairuro L., the latter frequently alternating with the shiny pieces of a yellow reed and with small feathers and very often decorated with the whole skins of the most colorful birds. They also use strands (in one instance 46 of them) of braided hair.

28: Tessman--347 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

The Chiwaros wear plenty of necklaces. There are necklaces of pearl interspersed with teeth, talons, feathers, seeds and mother-of-pearl pieces. They have other necklaces which consist of woven bands to which are attached by means of pearl strings half fruit-shells from which a feather emerges.

A special type of ornament are the pendants which are fastened to the breastcloth. In most cases it is a cross formed by pearl strings. At each one of the four corners there are seed-shells dangling on smaller strings of pearls. These seed-shells often rattle; often they have a fragrant aroma.

All of these ornaments are worn chiefly by the men. Only the necklaces are often worn by the women, and so are the pendants on their chestcloth.

28: Tessman--347-348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

Men wear woven rings as bracelets and anklets. Married women wear a woven ring on each upper arm. The anklets are generally woven very simply and without pattern. They are left in their natural whitish color. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., p. 18) they are called patáki. They have very beautiful bracelets [348] with woven patterns and small pendants on strings of pearls or seeds. For instance, the above mentioned triangular pieces of snail shell. The natives also wear rings made of teju skin. These rings are called iwana (i. e., teju). The iwana are worn by both sexes. They have no metal rings.

The earlobes of both sexes are perforated. In the hole they wear a rather long piece of wood (Chiwaro-Makas) or a roll of grass-blades, in many cases decorated with etched patterns. In one case an Indian kept his sewing needles in the roll. Aside from sticks they wear little sticks [AN: German meaning not clear at all.] to which is attached a tuft of yellow and red turako feathers. For festive occasions they wear an ear decoration made of the wing-cases of the buprestid or of the even more beautiful ones of the Rutilide Chrysophora chrysochlora Latr. These ear ornaments are always tied to the roll in the earlobe. They consist of two or three strands of wing-cases and are decorated at the end with a tuft of yellow and red toucan feathers or of white downs. There is no nose perforation. Some women have a perforated lower lip, and through this hole is placed a very thin and short blade of grass.

/331 cont./

291/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /33C/

299 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
291 are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
316 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight, the
256 value of a piece is great, since it takes a women a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very

302
531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it

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413 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder

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[237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-

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[386] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and

[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small

[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his

● 301/ wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

/XX cont./

901 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[81] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[231] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Ifugao moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[930] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[109] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Ifugao content himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the monotheistic-Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[641] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Ifugao. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must
always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must
practice the use of weapons, live for-
battle and the hunt.

/334 cont./

right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular movement of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform himself, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged, for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication sleptoff, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Matter

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six, but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
• 301 wear the *etsemar*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a
884 human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
[721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

34:Karner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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12. Man wearing an *ennemar* (women cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

13. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-A/

34/Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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14. Man with *tsumat* and *sur* sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *tsumat* in place.

/p. 138-3/

14 Marner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

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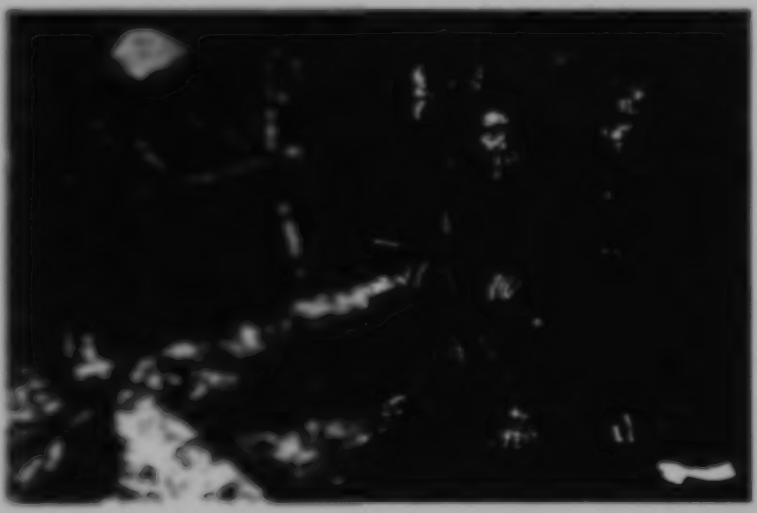
17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).



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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 chere. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the [836] offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and re- • [301] [435] fuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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of the *tsewapi* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

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In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

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Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

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[837]

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsaŋram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own [301] woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has [824] no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear [776] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws [782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
[796] the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[283] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the drinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[595] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 439 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.

1: Karsten--88 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 302 (1928-29)

"In their outward appearance the JIBARO men attract special attention by their long hair. It is tended with great care and not seldom reaches down to the waist, being generally--that is to say, when the Indian is not, for one reason or another, compelled to observe ceremonial abstinence--divided into three pig-tails, one big one hanging down from the back, called itsímgama, and two smaller ones at each temple called akahiki. Very frequently a comb of Indian manufacture is stuck in the hair on the back of their heads, being regarded at the same time as an ornament and as a magical amulet."

1: Karsten--164 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302 (1928-29)

"Whether the hunting expedition is undertaken for a feast or not, the Canelos Indian never omits to paint his face red with roucou before starting. The red paint is supposed to attract animals and birds, and thus to give good luck in hunting. For this reason even the dogs used for hunting are painted before leaving, the fell being profusely coated with crude roucou. The Canelos Indian says that if he does not paint himself with roucou before going to hunt, he will be unable to kill any game."

1: Karsten--167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302 (1928-29)

"...although the Jibaro Indian never fails to paint his face and his body with roucou before starting on a journey through the forest or a voyage on the river, believing that the body-painting will give him strength, he does not do it especially with the idea that it will attract the game."

1: Karsten--214-215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 832, 302, 824 (1928-29)

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

1: Karsten--215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 832, 302, 825 (1928-29)

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1938 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten-- 280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 302, 276, (1928-29)

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

1: Karsten--296 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302, 826 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas [JKM: head trophies] with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power."

1: Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302, 413 (1928-29)

"At the painting of the slayer's body with genipa the Jiharos formerly used a special instrument consisting of a cylindrical object, made of a special kind of very hard clay, into which certain circular ornaments were incised. The instrument was dipped into the genipa-solution and rolled along the cheeks, arms, legs, and body, of the slayer, the ornaments incised in the instrument being thereby stamped upon his body. This instrument, which is called payánga, is still known, but it is no longer made of clay but of a kind of wood."

1: Karsten--421 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302 (1928-29)

"The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

1: Karsten--427-429 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 751, 302 (1928-29)

"Besides the dress and all those fixed or detachable ornaments to which the Indians pay so much attention, there is another ornamental arrangement which likewise is chiefly of a magical or religious character, namely the facial and body-painting. It is only in exceptional cases that body-painting has--from our point of view--a practical aim. Thus my Indian baggage bearers frequently used, before starting for a journey, to paint the nether part of their back with genipa so as to give the skin more resistance. The juice obtained from the genipa tree (Genipa americana) is very astringent and causes the skin to contract as if it were curried. For the same reason the Indians also are in the habit of painting their face with genipa before canoeing, since it affords some protection against the rays of the sun. But in all other cases both the black painting with genipa and the red painting with roucou has a purely magical significance.

There are four kinds of red painting, but the chief ingredient is always the roucou (Bixa orellana). Very frequently the Indian paints himself only with pure roucou (ipyáku), i. e., with the seeds directly taken from the shrub and mashed. Another kind of red paint is the muspa mentioned before (p. 214) in connection with the magical plant simaika which forms [428] its chief ingredient. A third red paint is called karawira and prepared in the following way. The leaves of a certain plant called tai are dried, pulverized, and mixed with the seeds of the roucou. The mass is passed through a sieve consisting of a piece of linen, the juice or essence of it is collected in a small

clay pot, and the pot placed on a fire where the liquid is allowed slowly to dry up. The powder left in the pot is further dried in the sun and then put into a small gourd, which the Indians generally keep in the bag called uyúna.--The fourth and last red paint is the one called áratinyu and consists of mashed roucou seeds mixed with the oil obtained from the oil-bird tayu (Steatornis).

The Indians seem to use these four kinds of red paint indiscriminately, although in certain cases pure roucou (ipyáku) is preferred.

The fundamental idea underlying the custom of painting the face and the body is the same as that of the majority of other ornaments, namely, that it gives the body strength and affords an efficacious protection against disease and witchcraft and evil influences in general. Thus among the Canelos Indians facial painting, whilst having nearly always a magical or mysterious significance, is applied for various particular purposes. It is believed to protect the Indian against disease, for instance against the 'evil wind', huaira ungüi, that is, the illnesses which according to the idea of the Indians is carried about by certain winds. It is regarded as a powerful charm against witchcraft in general and especially against the evil eye, just as on the other hand it may act as a love charm which makes the Indian capable of seducing women. Further, as we have seen, the Canelos Indians regard the red painting as a hunting charm; it attracts the game and gives good luck in hunting. Hence, before the men start for a hunting

expedition, their wives always paint them red in the face with roucou; otherwise, it is believed, they would not be able to kill any game. Even the hunting dogs are profusely coated on the back with crude roucou before starting. The savage Jibaros, although they do not regard facial painting particularly as a hunting charm, still in the main have the same ideas about its wonderful power of strengthening the body. When the Indian is in a state of taboo and is consequently forbidden to wear the ordinary dress and ornaments, to tie up his hair, etc., he is also forbidden to paint his face, and looks pale and sick. For religious dances and feasts, on the other hand, the Indians never omit to paint their face with care, enhancing thereby the natural magical power of their body. The medicine-men and sorcerers especially, when exercising their art, are always, for the same reason, painted black or [429] red in the face. Sometimes the cheeks and other parts of the face are simply coated red or blackened, but more frequently special ornaments are applied. The latter will be dealt with in the chapter on Indian art.

I may add in this connection that the Jibaros are also in the habit of blackening their teeth by using the leaves of two plants. The one is calle piu and grows wild, the other, which is a cultivated vine, is called nashúmbi. I have not received positive information as to the ideas underlying this custom.

We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a

magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguanchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

1; Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789, 302 (1928-29)

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1. and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig, 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

2: Stirling--96 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302, 574

"The writer had numerous experiences of this sort and, as a typical example, a visit to the jivaría of the curaka, Caneros, on the upper Yaupe River is here related. Our party, with 60 Jivaros from the Upano, after breaking a trail across the intervening mountain range, arrived within a quarter of a mile of the clearing surrounding the jivaría of Caneros. Early in the day a messenger had been sent in advance to announce our coming. Upon reaching this point, all of our Indians gathered in a group before entering the clearing. Here they engaged in a great deal of conversation, bathed themselves in a small stream, carefully combed their hair and painted faces. They took out from their bags all of the personal adornments which they had carried with them; feather headdresses, ear tubes, necklaces, etc. When ready, the entire party proceeded in close formation to file quietly through the clearing and into the jivaría.

Caneros, who had been expecting us, was seated on his official stool in the middle of the house facing the door by which we entered. He was rather a young man, tall, well muscled, and fine looking. He sat very straight and did not move or say a word as our men filed in and seated themselves in rows along the walls on each side of the door. By his side sat a man stained entirely black with sua and wearing a monkey fur headdress. This visitation was more than an ordinary event, as with our 60 carriers were four curakas from the Upano: Utita, Tuki, Tsamagashi, and Ambusha."

"While our men were getting themselves quietly seated there was great activity in the women's end of the house, where the wives of Caneros' household were preparing the nijimanche. Lining the walls in the middle of the house were seated Caneros' men, all with their faces and bodies elaborately painted with achiote and sua. The women of the house too were dressed in their best, with woven colored hair fillets decorated with red and yellow toucan feathers.[97] Most of them had their arms painted with achiote or sua in various geometric patterns. We noticed that the women affected a different style of face painting than that of the men. The females used light, narrow, parallel lines with dots, usually smeared on without much care.

Finally, Caneros' head wife approached him, apparently to tell him that all was ready, whereupon Caneros gave a short command to the women and they carried five huge earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and placed them in a row about 12 feet in front of the door. This having been done, Caneros spoke again and each of our four curakas sent a man to drink, whereupon with earthenware bowls and calabashes our men came up to the jars and began to drink in an orderly and quiet way, never crowding around the jars, until all had drunk heartily and the jars were empty. Our visiting curakas were among the last to drink. The women then refilled two of the jars and the drinking continued. During all of this time no word was spoken. Five minutes or more of silence followed and then Caneros arose and, beginning at the left, asked each of our men individually if he were satisfied, the visitor answering 'Ayu!' (Good!). When he had finished the round, he re-

turned to his seat.

As though this were a signal, the men began to talk, and a babble of conversation started which lasted until after midnight. Caneros' men moved around talking to our party, but all of our men retained their seats along the wall near the entrance. Later in the evening the women served them with food, consisting of boiled and roasted manioc."

2: Stirling--99[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302

"Young men spend a great deal of time and care on their hair, which is frequently washed, combed, and trimmed. The hair is cut low on the forehead, forming a straight line above the eyes (pl. 4, b, c). It is allowed to grow somewhat longer over the temples where it hangs down on the cheek about on a level with the tip of the nose and the ear lobe. The rest of the hair is allowed to grow long, sometimes hanging to the waist. Women generally allow the hair to hang free, although sometimes a woven fillet is worn about the head (pl. 17, c). The men, however, have various methods of doing up their hair. The usual method is to gather it together at the base of the skull where it is wrapped with a narrow woven cotton band called 'eztma' about 2 feet in length, which is decorated at either end with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. Sometimes the hair thus gathered is allowed to hang down the back (pl. 5, a, c), but generally it is wrapped around the head (pl. 5, b, d). The hair hanging over the cheeks is frequently wrapped and allowed to hang in the form of two small pigtails (pls. 4, a; 7, d)."

2: Stirling--99-100 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302

"When traveling or when engaged in ceremonies, both men and women paint the face and occasionally the arms and shoulders with the oily red pigment from the seed of Bixa orellana, called achiote [100] (fig. 5). The juice of Genipa americana, called sua by the Jivaros, is also used as a black stain in decorating the face and body. When achiote is fresh it is rather bright red in color but when somewhat old it turns to a reddish brown. Sua is colorless when put on but in about an hour it becomes dark blue in color and after about 8 hours turns almost black. Men frequently smear the face red all over with fresh achiote and on top of that paint the designs in brown achiote. Sua stays on the skin for about 6 days. After 4 days it again turns blue and then begins gradually to wear off. As a rule the face designs on men are painted in heavy, coarse lines while those on the faces of women are drawn in fine, narrow lines."

4: Up de Graff--195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 302, 141, 482

"Passing on to the women of the tribe, there are a few outstanding characteristics to be noted. Their hair is not allowed to grow much below the shoulders, in direct opposition to our own more modern practice. They stand about 5 feet 3 inches on an average, are well-built and strong, move with the grace of a jaguar (I select this animal as being a native of the same woods), and are as much at home in the water as on the land. They do all the packing when the family is on the move, being capable of lifting 100 lbs. to their shoulders and moving through the forest with perfect ease."

12: Rivet--360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302, 386

The Jíbaros like to paint the uncovered parts of their body (face, breast, arms and legs), perhaps in red with the seeds of the manduru (Bixa orellana), or in bluish black with the fruit of a tree called zula or piú-piú (Genipa oblongifolia) (1). Most often, the face paintings assume the form of transverse rays frequently augmented with indentations, and they are red and black indifferently. Those on the breast and stomach are generally black and are made up of squares or simple designs; but sometimes on the breast one find a transverse line from which are detached some ornaments, the arrangement of which, difficult to visualize, is obtained in the following manner: the design is deeply engraved upon a wooden cylinder, about 6 centimeters long and 1 centimeter to 1-1/2 thick. The crevices are filled in with color given consistency by the addition of bird fat. Thus prepared, the cylinder is rolled on the body, pressing it down very hard with the hand, and it imprints the ornaments on the body. The designs made with the zula juice become black little by little on contact with the air, without doubt by slow oxidation; they last 8 to 10 days and even resist energetic cleanings. The designs made with munduru, on the contrary, are effaced quickly and have to be constantly renewed (2). The savage attaches a great importance to this style. He also paints his teeth with zula.

1. By crushing the pulp of this fruit in warm water, one obtains a thick liquid, which, it appears, dyes white hair perfectly black. Cordero, op. cit. page 32.

2. Reiss, op. cit., page 332.

12: Rivet--360-361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302

The hair is worn long. According to Reiss, this custom was for the purpose of permitting the victor to grasp the head of his victim easily in order to separate it from its trunk; in that case, this hair-dress should be characteristic of the free man, and the women, children and the few prisoners spared should have the head shaved (1). This seems rational [361] among a tribe of warriors, but in Canelos, Macas, Gualaquiza, and Zamora, the women and children wear their hair long. The custom observed by Reiss therefore should not be made the basis for a generalization. The coiffure, always very well cared-for, is made up of three very, very tight plaits: one posterior plait or huango (a Quichua word), and two side plaits the thickness of a finger, which, beginning at the temples, descend the length of the cheeks, framing the face and falling on the breast. The hair on the forehead is cut straight a finger's breadth above the eyebrows. Sometimes one part of hair is twisted around the head in the form of a crown.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

12: Rivet -363 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 291, 302

The clothing of the women is not very different. It is composed of one approximately square piece of cotton, $1^{m}60$ on the side, analogous to the itipi and called tarachi. The middle of one of the sides passes under the left arm and the two extremities are fastened on the right shoulder with the aid of a big pin called tupo (a Quichua word). The ends of this square overlap along the right side of the body, thanks to a band wound around the waist. The garment descends half way down the calf. The two arms and the left shoulder are bare, while the right shoulder and the breasts are covered. Nursing infants are carried either at the breast or on the back, under the tarachi. The coiffure does not differ from that of the men, except that sometimes, instead of forming a back plait, the women let their hair fall on their shoulders.

12: Rivet--600 -601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 515, 302, 264

The hygenic operation finished [KS: morning infusion of guayusa], everyone washes, for the Jíbaro is clean, contrary to his brother of the sierra. As soon as he returns from the neighboring river, he makes his toilette in the house itself; he has the custom of putting water in his mouth, from which he spits it into his hands in order to wash his face and wet his hair; then he combs it carefully, for he likes to have his hair well-arranged and shiny. Then, while the women are preparing breakfast, he sets to work, either at the weaving of a garment, or the manufacture of his ornaments or his arms. At the end of about an hour the repast is ready: there are abundant piningas of chicha, some manioc and boiled bananas, and a piece of wild pig or of fish. After having [601] refreshed himself sufficiently, the Jíbaro paints his body and his teeth, puts on his customary ornaments, takes his lance, his blowgun or his gun, his little net, unties his dogs and for 4 1/2 or 5 hours in the morning hunts or goes to visit his friends in the neighborhood, during which time the women take their wicker back-baskets and armed with a little machete or a knife cultivate the surrounding land.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the Indian has always returned; one never meets him at night, normally. As soon as he gets back, his wives come in turn to present him with a bowl of chicha, which they stir with their hands before offering, and while the master drinks, they turn their heads, either because of respect, or out of habit.

18: Hermessen--440-442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 302

"Their faces [KS: the women's] were not painted as the men's, but some of them had an ornament consisting of a bit of stick, of the size of a match, projecting horizontally from a hole made in the underlip. (17) The women were very [442] small in stature and physically not prepossessing. Their hair was dirty, dishevelled, and neglected, and, but for a circlet of tape, unadorned. They wore rude necklaces, armlets, and bracelets of berries, nuts seeds and shells, and the skulls and beaks of small birds, strung on fiber thread."

"17. A. Hamilton Rice: The River Uaupés, Geogr. Journ., Vol 35, 1910, pp. 682-700; reference on p. 695; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 86."

24: Wright--237 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
302, 824

"A persistent custom among most of the individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] is the chewing of the 'nashumbi' berry, identified botanically as Manettia coccinia, which produces a brownish lacquer-like coating over the teeth. It is not known if this inhibits tooth decay or not."

25: Vigna--42-43 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 302

The man paints his face with bright colors derived from the achiote or the "sula" (seed of a tree with coloring properties of a brilliant black). They pound the green "sula", and using it with water, paint their hair which is straight and thick. One never sees Jíbaros [43] with hair that is not an intense and brilliant black. This dressing of the hair, which is a general routine for all the family on the day established, is repeated one or two times a year.

25: Vigna--43 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 302, 152

The Jîbaro woman does not paint her face, except on rare occasions and in a grotesque form. This is not done in an artistic manner as in the case of the man for whom the color, besides having an esthetic value, is a means of warding off witchcraft. The Jîbaro woman ordinarily does not care for her person, but goes about disheveled and slovenly. She pierces her lower lip and introduces into it a small reed. In general, the Jîbaro woman is very sullen and more savage than the man. Her laugh is very loud and uncontrolled (sonora y desmañada).

26: Brüning--56-57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302

Men and women wear their hair long and let it come down over the shoulders. In front they cut it off straight at the height of the eyes so that it would not interfere with the vision. The women seem to be satisfied with that, while the men bestow great attention to their hair. Aside from the fact that they [57] wash it frequently, they also dye it from time to time. Every moment they comb their hair. To have it handy at all times, they even leave the comb in the hair, which is frequently the case with the female inhabitants (regardless of race or social status) of the coastal areas. As a rule the hairdo of the men is distinguished from that of the women, aside from the greater care taken, by the fact that they have two strands of hair, one on each side, hanging over their faces. These strands are formed by winding sewing thread around part of the hair. These frontal strands are of varying length, but always shorter than the hair that falls down the shoulders. These strands are called akáhít in the Aguaruna language. (Cp. Illustrations 4 & 5)

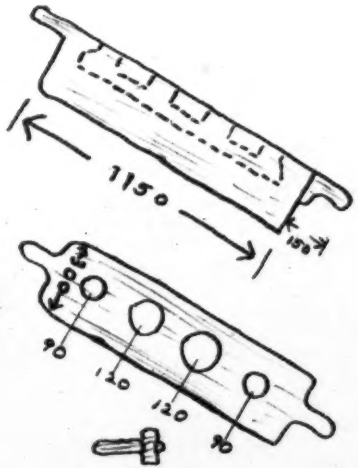

Figure 4. Rollers Used for Body-Painting.

26: Brüning--57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302

Both sexes dye their teeth black. For this they use two methods. Most frequently they rub their teeth with a small berry whic is the fruit of the yanamúk plant, a low, herbaceous, densely growing plant. Or they use the leaf of a plant which they call piú. First they chew these leaves, then they rub their teeth with it. Either procedure keeps the teeth black for more than one week.

Both sexes paint their faces, necks, arms, and chests. I have also seen paintings on the stomachs of men. Here again, the women use far less time and care in this respect. The most frequent mode of painting that can be found in men and women alike is the blackening of the hands, the neck, the shoulders, and the upper portion of the chest and back. If I understood it correctly, then this coloring is said to serve a practical purpose: to repel gnats and mosquitos. The coloring is done with the juice of a fruit which the Aguaruna language calls Súa (the whites call it huíto - Genipa oblongifolia is the botanical term). I had an opportunity to watch one of our crewmen preparing the juice: the fruit has the size and shape of a goose egg. The fruit is first skinned, then it is well chewed, piece by piece. The chewed mass was then spit upon a small quantity of wool taken from the balsa tree (Ochroma piscatoria ?). The wool is placed on a broad fresh leaf. After the entire fruit is chewed, the mass is wrapped into the leaf and roasted for a while over glowing charcoal. The parts of the body are rubbed with the wool which is permeated by the juice. The paint is said to last for about 14 days. The súa juice is also used to make parallel lines of varying thickness around the arms and legs. To accomplish this, the Indians make use of small wooden rollers that have notches all around. The extent of the wood corresponds to the thickness of the lines, while the notches correspond to the space in between. These small rollers (Fig. 4) are wetted with the súa and then rolled over the body. In Aguaruna these rollers are called

súa-pain-tómate, which evidently means: wood for the application of súa or something of a similar nature. In the face, but chiefly on the chest and even on the upper part of the stomach, various lines and, occasionally, figures are drawn with the help of a piece of wood. (Cf. Illustration number 5, the Indian to the left.) One ornament which I have observed frequently is shown in Drawing number 5. From time to time the hair is also dyed with the help of súa.

Figure 5. Painting Pattern (on page 58)

26: Brüning--58 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302, 415

Every day the face is painted with achiote (ipáko) which is made up into an ointment with the help of some fat. The patterns consist chiefly of round dots (diameter ca. 25 - 30 mm.) and wide, symmetrically arranged lines. Preferably they paint two spots in the cheek-bone region. But before the pattern is applied in bold strokes, the face is rubbed with dry achiote. The achiote ointment is stored in small bamboo containers.

28: Tessman--348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302, 415

On festive occasions and during war expeditions the men paint their faces with lines and dots, which gives them a truly devilish appearance. The red paint is preserved in small bamboo containers: the bamboo section is sealed off at the bottom, and a piece of fur is used as a stopper on top. They also paint with genipap. According to Reiß and Karsten the Chewaros use for bodypainting a wooden stamp (formerly a clay stamp) in which the pattern is engraved. They dip the stamp into the dye and roll it over the body.

28: Tessman--348 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302

The teeth are stained black.

28: Tessman--348-349 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302

The men wear their hair long. In the back it is braided into a pigtail, and there is a little pigtail at each temple. These little pigtails are called akaxik. The large pigtail is wound with a woven ribbon (called tsiimat or uakóhama). This ribbon has a length of from 33 to 85 cm., and it is patterned like the loincloth of the men. At both ends there are attached either toucan feathers and human hair or bird-skins hanging on pieces of bone that are decorated with seed-ornaments; the ribbon may also have other ornaments. The ribbon spirals around the pigtail in such a fashion that the ornaments come to lie on the back. The pigtail is often brought over the forehead. The women let their hair grow long without [349] braiding it. Soap is made out of a plant (?). Combs are made of small sticks, which are kept in place at the bottom by plaited work that is done in a pretty pattern. (See Plate 59, Fig. 3).

/331 cont./

291 extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

294 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
248 are made by the Jívaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
386 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
236 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which,
302 seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
531 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
413 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
[386] sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
302 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
[824] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[386] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small
[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

/333 cont./

000 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[727] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm
[462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

582 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention.
583 That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

628 Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair
[579] style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense
[302] of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is
[202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
● 302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 231
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [252]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [302]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; 177
and the *kayens mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of
their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [352]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

3. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-c/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

8. Hunter returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blowgun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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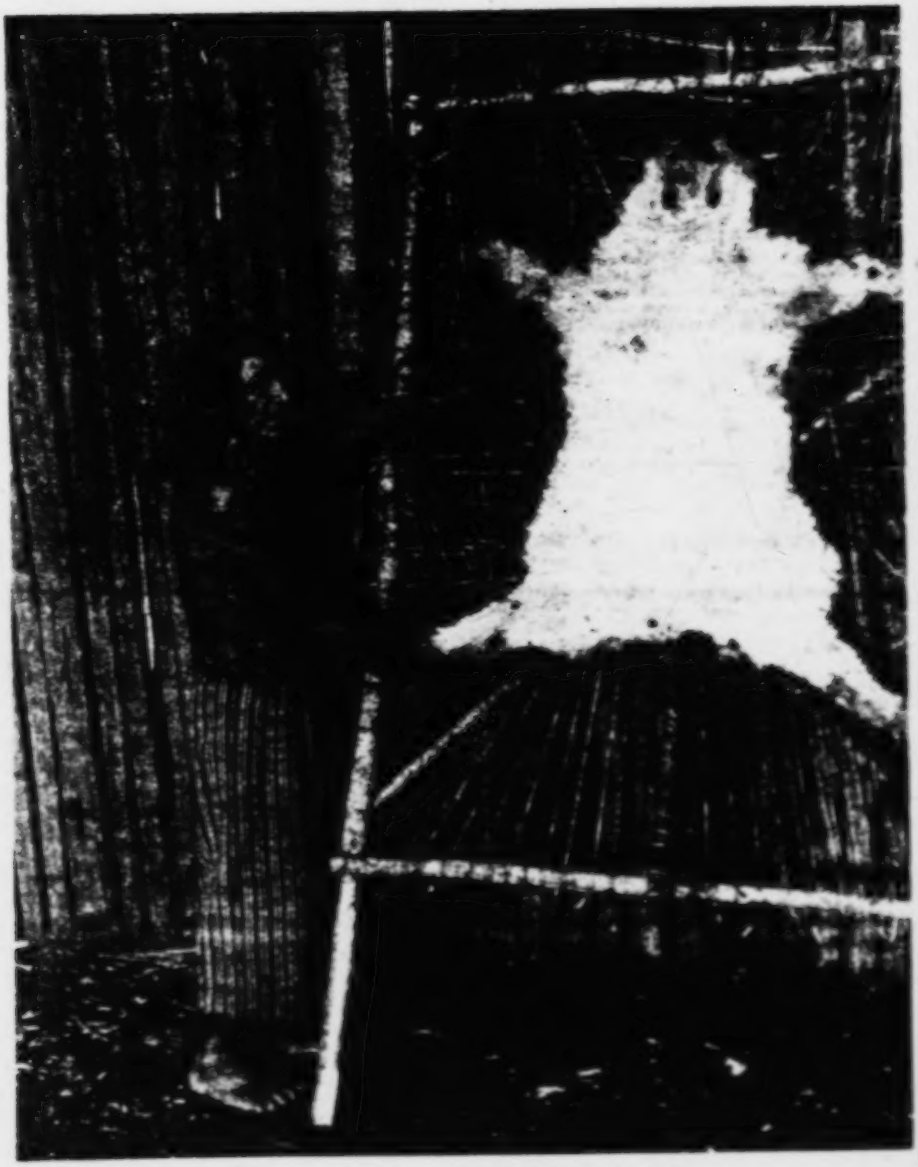
34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



142 9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro
291 (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río
302 Cangaimi, 1956–57).
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/p. 90-G/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 837
by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 831
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs 832
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [534]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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12. Man wearing an *etsemat* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

11. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 136-A/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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14. Man with *etsemat* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *etsemat* in place.

/p. 138-B/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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19. Man wearing hair unbound, as is often customary when at home in the absence of visitors (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

20. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-A/

I: Karsten--227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 304, 852 (1928-29)

"On the same occasion [JKM: when the child is named] the old man or woman pierces the ear-lobes of the child with a thorn and a small stick is inserted into the hole so as to prevent the wound from closing. Later the holes are more and more extended for the insertion of the ear-tubes when the boy or girl is received among the full-grown persons. Female children have also the nether lip perforated, but this operation is not done until the girl is 6 to 8 years old."

1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
304 (1928-29)

"When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236]cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

2: Stirling--100 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 304

"Tattooing is also indulged in to a limited extent. The writer saw a number of examples of facial tattooing on the Yaupe River (fig. 5.)"

4: Up de Graff--193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 142, 304, 481

"The personal appearance of the Antipas is briefly as follows: The men are shorter than we are, averaging avout 5 feet 6 inches, are muscularly built, and many are covered with the scars of spear wounds, the marks of warfare; they are swifter of foot than we, compare well with monkeys in agility (they are wonderful tree climbers) and are all apparently well-nourished and well-conditioned. From childhood up they have their front teeth filed to a sharp point and coated with a jet-black shining vegetable pigment which produces the same effect as nitrate of silver. The hair on the top of their heads is the only hair on their bodies, but that is magnificent. It falls on an average to their waists, sometimes even as far as their knees, is jet-black, straight and glossy. They wear it flying loose like a thoroughbred's mane before it is cropped, only occasionally winding it round their necks as, for example when they are weaving or cooking; and coiling it on the tops of their heads, as a Turk would his turban when travelling or hunting in the forest. They seldom adorn it with feathers or other ornaments. Their skins are more chocolate than red-brown. Technically speaking, they cannot be described as 'red-skins' under any circumstances; occasionally we met with signs of their having mingled with the colonials of Borja whose women their ancestors carried off into captivity. Their eyes are invariably black when uninfluenced by this intermarriage with the white race. We met a few with a trace of whiskers. Their toes are splayed like those of all bare-foot savages, and they make considerable use of them as secondary hands."

4: Up de Graff--194-195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 304, 153

"They are given to tattooing themselves, but only to a limited extent. They mark their limbs with simple little designs--a cross, or a circle, or a wavy line; they never indulge in the showy designs of races such as the Japanese who have brought this form of ornamentation to a high art. The process is simple. With a thorn they prick the required pattern on their skins, drawing blood; they then hold a lighted piece of crude rubber under the prepared area until it becomes well sooted from the black smoke given off by the rubber; finally, they rub the soot into the wounds, and blue marks similar to powder burns are left in the skin. Where they learned this art, I do not know; it would, as a matter of fact, appear to be indigenous. The contrary being the case, they would be more likely to make it a universal practice and to show signs of an exterior influence. When called upon by the medicine-man (the Antipas, as far as I could discover, only had one) to tattoo him with some distinctive design, the first thing which occurred to me was the [195] Psi Upsilon badge of the fraternity to which I belong. If any of my fraternity-brothers ever make their way to those parts, they will probably be greeted by a large and flourishing new Chapter (let us call it the 'Pongo Chapter'), for the idea appealed to the tribe so strongly that, within a few months, the design had been copied with considerable skill by quite an appreciable number of warriors. I assured their chief that should he meet any 'member of my own tribe' and show him the sign which he carried on his arm he would be received with open arms and greeted as a brother. Incidentally, we happened to leave a packet of the well-known 'L. L. F.' brand of cigarette papers

4: Up de Graff--194-195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 304, 153

lying about; shortly after, we found an excellent replica of the three letters tattooed on a savage; while we were there, we noticed quite a few who had joined the Lamda Lamda Phi's." [sic]

12: Rivet--359-360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 304

The mutilations are as follows: the men and women [360] have the lobes of their ears pierced in a manner so as to be able to insert bamboo tubes. In addition to this, the women have a perforation in the middle of the lower lip, where they insert a little piece of wood similar to a tooth pick and sometimes a little pompon of brilliant feathers. This perforation also serves to take care of their needles (1).

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1. W. Reiss. "Ein Besuch bei den Jívaros Indianern" (Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, vol. VII, 1880, page 332.)

26: Brüning --58 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 304

Aside from these two modes of ornamentation I did see actual tattooing, but only in the cases of a few men. It consisted of rows of black dots (diameter ca. 1 - 1.5 mm.) on the chin, the cheeks, the tip and the bridge of the nose. In a few instances I noticed this tattooing only on one of these points, in other cases on various places.

28: Tessman--348 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 304

There are no head presses for head deformation.

28: Tessman--348 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 304

Aguaruna men and women make use of tattooing (síikab). Only facial tattooing, especially on the cheeks, is practised. Cf. Plate 64, Figs. 1, 5, and 6. Formerly the tattooing was done with the help of a bone of the spider-monkey.

28: Tessman--359 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 304

Circumcision is not practised.

/331 cont./

extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jívaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tacet) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a • 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 593 539

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4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cunuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mush for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

/p. 90-B/

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and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high. 342 [712]

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the doorways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside. 342 712

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to 362 342 356 [313] [224]

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and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat. 273 462 512 574

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a copal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar: 273 462 512 313 [241]

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
512 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
• 313 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
[482] with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[1] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

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tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available.

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačir* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; and the *kayem mačir* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačir* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use

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• 313
412
241
[177]

The introduction of macheres and steel axes has made woodworking and tree felling more efficient and rapid. The formerly tedious work of felling trees for garden clearings with the aboriginal stone axes has been described by Up de Graff for the Jivaroan "Antipas" (a neighborhood of the Aguarunas or Huambisa) among whom he resided in the late nineteenth century:

> If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to a pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.
>
> The first step in making a *chacra* [Spanish: garden] is to remove the undergrowth, the soft stems are cut with hardwood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works *for days and* weeks [emphasis supplied], until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable network of creepers among the upper branches . . .
>
> After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these

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fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[8]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[9] Specifically, elderly informants continue that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

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from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

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178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
578 warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
648 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
183 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learning to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
• 315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,830 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighbourhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

scribed as "cities," in 1551: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Pastaza (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora, and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[18] 775 648

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldana reported in 1582: [36]

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[19]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[20] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all due to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas, and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebration of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presupposes several points:
>
> (1) That the Indian natives of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish, because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop something more than a parish of Indians. [37]
>
> (2) That the Jívaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without battle or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes.

2: Stirling--94-95 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 317, 323

"Just as the men when in the house spin or weave when they have nothing else to do, so the women are likely to keep themselves busy in making pottery. Considerable care is taken in the locating of outcrops of suitable potters' clay. Selected lumps of rough clay wrapped in bark are placed in baskets and carried to the jivaría. The work of preparing and refining the clay is done within the house. A chunk of clay is placed on a flat slab of wood and pounded with a heavy stone. Impurities, such as small stones and other foreign substances, are picked out by hand. This refined clay is then mixed with a small amount of ash and moistened, after which it is stacked in piles on another wooden slab. One pile is a stiff olive green clay which is used to furnish the main body of the pot; the other pile consists of a rather sloppy yellow clay which is used for thinning. The latter is added to the heavy clay until the proper texture is obtained.

The mixture of the two clays is kneaded together by the potter in the proper proportions and placed in a third pile which is used for building up the pot. Squatting or sitting on the floor, the woman picks up a handful of this clay and, between the palms of the hands or on top of the thigh, she rolls it into a rope 2 or 3 feet in length (pl. 24, a, b). The pot is then built up on a flat slab of wood by a coiling process. As the sides of the vessel rise, each rope of clay is carried around the rim with the right hand, the left hand pinching it flat so as to make it adhere to the coil below (pl. 24, c). When thus pinched into place, the potter from time to time dips a gourd shell into water and with it smooths

down the coil, both on the inside and outside surfaces (pl. 24, d).

After the bowl has been completed it is set inside the house to dry in the shade. At this stage the bowl is sometimes decorated with simple geometric incised designs in the form of wavy or zigzag bands. As a rule, a considerable number of vessels are made and [95] dried at the same time so that a dozen or so pots may be fired simultaneously. There is a variety of shapes, but the vessels may be classified into three types according to use---deep cooking vessels, large storage jars for nijimanche, and small bowls for drinking or eating purposes.

After the drying has been completed preparations are made for firing. Two good-sized logs are laid parallel on the ground about a foot apart. Smaller cross-logs are then put in position, leaving spaces between, of a proper size to admit the vessels which are to be fired, the crosspieces supporting the sides of each vessel when in position. Then smaller pieces of dry wood, preferably rotten wood and dry bark, are piled around and over the bowls (fig. 4). The entire mass is thickly covered with palm leaves and the pile ignited. The evenness of the firing depends largely upon the care with which the fuel has been arranged and the slowness with which it burns.

The firing being completed and the vessels cooled and wiped off, they are ready for painting. The storage vessels and drinking bowls to be used for nijimanche are usually painted a solid red color on the outside by means of achiote mixed with caraña or gum copal. The drinking bowls are painted red on the outside and the inside surface is painted

with designs which are geometric in character or which represent mythologic episodes in the career of Mika, who is the patron of pottery vessels. The Aguaruna cover the interior of their vessels with a white slip on which the designs are painted in red and black, the black color being obtained from charcoal. Caraña is used as a varnish to finish the inside of the bowls.

The clay which is used for pottery making is called mieway. Small drinking vessels are called pininga and when decorated are known as pininga agajmo. The large storage jars, which sometimes have a capacity of 10 gallons, are called mika. Various names are applied to distinguish the many smaller varieties of pottery vessels according to their shape and special use. (For typical forms see pl. 35.)"

26: Brüning--67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 252, 263, 317

I noticed that all dishes are prepared without salt. But when the cooked food is served, a piece of salt is always served with it. In the case of a liquid dish, the Indian places the salt between two fingers and stirs it into the dish, so that a little of the salt can dissolve. Otherwise they bring the salt to the mouth from time to time, or they lick on it. Salt is a very scarce commodity on Aguaruna territory. They obtain it from the upper Marañón where there are said to be some salty brooks. The salt remains as a dirty ash-colored sediment when they laboriously boil the water down in large pots. In Aguaruna language salt is called wig.

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177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the Jívaro.
439

[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[18]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[19]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1670. In that year,
499 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[20] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
[231] ten on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[436] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline
[469] occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *amiči*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigú*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[4] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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18. The saline spring from which almost all of the salt used by the interior Jívaro is obtained. Those living within a day or two of the spring boil the water in pots and trade the resultant salt to more distant neighborhoods (near the upper Río Mangosiza in the eastern Cordillera de Cutucú, 1956–57).

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

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412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary
tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that
they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs.
Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then
used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing
322 other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the
552 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although
a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be
seen on the handles of stools and mortar boards, and on the
tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

• 321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob-
[534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter
material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt ru-
[415] fles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey
[415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns
[399] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em-
[244] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the
[244] umbilicus of a new-born infant, and sometimes a hardwood
weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there
is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the
processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a
[294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of
[415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of mon-
key bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the
[291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag-
[294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*tsuali*) over
one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing
[252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash
[273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see
[245] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the 278
chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on 411
a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by 824
a dart. [757]

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased 178
supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced 412
through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained 178
from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing 413
and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their [284]
large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning 178
of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from 321
trading partners in the west, who secure them from the 439
whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased 178
considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and 439
gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage [281]
manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of [283]
knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, [284]
learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth 178
and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and 291
women as a result of the development of the trading part- 439
nership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the [301]
acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition [286]
of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be- [287]

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 322, 412 (1928-29)

"Similarly, woodwork of every kind is a man's occupation. Various objects of Indian ergology reveal great technical skill, which is all the more admirable as the implements that the Indians have at their disposal are very primitive. Formerly, when the Indians did not yet know such iron instruments as the axe and the knife which are nowadays common among all tribes, their resources for making various wooden objects were of course still more limited. Their principal implements at that time were sharp snail's shells, axes or clubs of stone of the kind which are still found in some Indian huts or occasionally encountered in the earth in old Indian settlements, and a kind of knife of split bamboo, called shingyana.

"The making of a blowgun is said to require about two months and the work can only be done gradually. The chonta wood must be perfectly dry before the channel can be bored, otherwise there is always a danger of the wooden pieces warping, in which case the channel may become crooked and the whole weapon quite useless. Great care is considered particularly necessary when the channel is bored in the 'gun', which takes eight to ten days. It is especially prescribed that during these days the maker of the blowgun must not cohabit with his wife, lest the channel of the blowgun become crooked.

The dart (tsinaŭka) is 25 to 27 cm. long and is carved of the hard and even wood of certain palms. The Jibaros told me five different palms from the wood of which the darts can be carved. The best of these is the inăyu palm. The wood of these palms, and especially of this last, is believed to possess certain 'poison' properties and therefore to be the proper material for poisoned arrows. The inăyu palm (Maximiliana regia) however is rare in the country of the Jibaros proper. On the other hand, it is quite common in the region of Canelos whence the Achuares on the Pastaza, for instance, obtain it by exchange."

34:Harner E.-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 291
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [552]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [502]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass, 199
and the *kayem mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its supe-
rior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Col-
lins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. Dur-
ing the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads
have also been introduced in significant numbers by means
of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of
their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [552]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the
types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the
western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

34 Harder E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the
322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although
532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen on the handles of stools and mortar boards, and on the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob-
[594] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey
[415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns
[415] traded from the frontier Jivaro.
[599]

Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em-
412 ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the
[344] umbilicus of a new-born infant, and sometimes a hardwood
[244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a
[294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of
[415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the
[291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag-
[294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*tsuali*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing
[252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash
[273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see
[235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

1: Karsten--99-102 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 323 (1928-29)

"The ceramic art among the Jibarós, and especially among the Canelos Indians, is brought to a remarkable degree of perfection. The superiority of the Canelos Indians shows itself above all in their way of painting the clay vessels, or more properly speaking, in the ornamental designs with which they decorate them. It may be added at once that on this particular point the pottery to a certain extent varies with different Jibaro tribes. Whereas the tribes of the Upano and the Morona, and similarly the Aguarunas, seldom apply ornamental designs to their clay pots and dishes, the Achuares of the Pastaza ornament theirs in a peculiar way, as we shall presently see, and even in shape their pottery is partly original, probably owing to the relative isolation in which the Achuares have lived.

For the making of their pottery the JIBAROS and Canelos Indians use a special kind of clay which is found only at certain places on the [100] river. At least some tribes, e.g. the Achuares, try to make it more durable and more suitable for its purpose by mixing with it the ashes of burnd bark obtained from certain trees, but in general the clay vessels of these Indians are very fragile. However, certain magical or animistic ideas seem to be associated with the very material used for the making of them. When I asked the Jibaros why only women make pottery, I received the answer, 'The clay is

obtained from the earth and the earth is a woman; hence the women have to make clay vessels.' It is interesting to note on this point that 'clay' in the Jibaro language is nui and 'earth' nunga, from which word also the name of the Earth-mother Nungüi is derived. 'Woman' again, is nua. There can be little doubt that all these words are derived from the same root, a fact that the Jibaro women themselves seem to be aware of. When further we consider that, as we shall presently see, the ornamental designs painted on some clay vessels, have obviously a magical significance, we realize that a whole primitive 'philosophy' is connected with the making of these important utensils.

The technique for making clay vessels is the same as among other primitive South American tribes. No potter's wheel is used. A base of clay is prepared and the vessel is formed by the addition of thin rolls --obtained by the clay being rolled between the hands -- to that base, the intermediate spaces being filled with smaller rolls of clay and smoothed out with the fingers. When complete, the vessel is dried in the sun, whereupon it is painted and lastly fired for a while by placing it on the ground and piling the fuel round it. In this way the Jibaros make for instance the great urns or jars with bulging sides, narrow neck, and wide mouth, in which they keep the manioc substance from which the manioc-beer is prepared. Next to these in importance are the shallow dishes, called pininga; from which the Indians drink the beer and which are used as plates. Normally such a dish contains about one litre, but for the feasts special smaller

dishes are made to be used by those persons who have to fast. The women make with special care those quite small clay pots in which the tobacco juice necessary for the great feasts is kept, and which is only handled by the 'priest' or 'priestess', or by the medicine-men. These pots are called nattípya.

The cooking utensils are mainly of two kinds: the ordinary black cooking pots (ichingana) already mentioned, and the smaller pots called yukuńda in which the Jibaro men prepare tobacco water by boiling the leaves. Since the taking of tobacco juice is always ceremonial, these [[101] pots are also made with special care, at any rate for the feasts, and they are of somewhat different forms, some being short, others tall, as appears from the photographs (Pl. XVIII, 1. and 2).

The Jibaros paint the outside of their muitsa [JKM: large pots in which is kept the manioc-beer] and pininga [JKM: shallow dishes from which beer is drunk] red with roucou (Bixa orellana), inside again they coat them with a special, beautiful, reddish-yellow varnish which they call yukaípi. This varnish is prepared in the following way. From the top of a certain forest tree they obtain, by parting it into small fibres and squeezing out the juice, a clear, glutinous white matter which is boiled in a small clay pot together with the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and some water. Thus the liquid becomes red or reddish-yellow in colour and makes the varnish called yukaípi. When

congealed, it forms a fine glazing upon the surface of the clay dish. In this way the Jibaros not only embellish clay vessels, but also certain wooden objects, especially the shafts of a special kind of lance with points of a jaguar's or bear's leg-bones.

Again, the small black cooking-pots called yukuńda are painted inside with a black polish or varnish called sekaťa. It is a black wax produced by certain wild bees which make their nests in holes in the earth. When warmed up at the fire this wax melts and forms a lustrous varnish. It is the same kind of black polish which the Jibaros apply to their blowguns, to be described later on.

On the other hand, the Jibaros very seldom embellish their clay vessels with ornamental designs or patterns. The only exception I have noticed to this rule, for instance among the Upano and the Santiago tribes, are certain very vague triangular ornaments applied in dark brown colour inside the yukuńda after they have been painted black with sekaťa. It is otherwise with the Achuares on the Pastaza, whose ceramics differ in many respects from those I have found among other Jibaro tribes. Thus the small round clay dishes or cups standing on a foot which are seen on Pl. XVIII, 5. and 6., are not to be met with among any other Jibaro tribe and are, I believe, unique in South America. The Achuares told me that they were formerly used by them as food-plates; now they were no longer used, but had still been preserved as the Indians keep many old things which have gone out of fashion. Upon these plates the Jibaro women

placed different kinds of food when serving their men: on one some boiled manioc was placed, on another some fish, on a third some boiled Indian pepper, etc. As appears from the picture, the eating-cups were painted both inside and outside. Upon a brown bottom, produced by painting the vessel with roucou, [102] certain patterns were applied in white. The use of a white clay-- a clay which, as far as I know, only exists in the country of these Indians -- is a peculiarity in the ornamental art of the Achuares; at any rate I have not seen it anywhere else in Eastern Ecuador or Peru.

In the same way the Indians paint the shallow dishes represented on Pl. XIX, 1. and 2. As is seen, however, these are only ornamented inside, the designs being painted with white clay. The patterns are those customary among the Jibaros, although the technique for painting them is partly different. The designs appearing in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and Canelos Indians are in fact always the same: they either represent human spirits, certain dangerous snakes, certain birds, especially the macaw, or certain insects, as for instance butterflies, millepedes, and scorpions. As to the snakes, such species are mostly represented which for one reason or another particularly inspire the Indians with fear. The snake that plays the most important part in the ornamental art of the Indians--being represented especially on clay vessels and in facial paintings, etc. --is the great water boa or anaconda (Eunectus murinus). Thus the broad snake-like figures appearing in the shallow dish in Plate XIX, 2, represent

the anaconda (pangi), whereas the designs on the other dish (Pl. XIX, 1), and the snake-like figure encircling the outer border of the painted clay cup in Pl. XVIII, 6, represent the very venomous snake ekis (Lachesis, called yamuńga in the Jibaro language). On the foot of the same cup among other things a human spirit and a millepede are represented."

1: Karsten--102-103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 323, 531 (1928-29)

"Like the Achuares, the CANELOS INDIANS nearly always apply ornamental designs to their clay vessels, but their ornamental art is easily distinguished from that of the Achuares and even the clay they use is different. The big jars in which they keep the masticated manioc substance (asua) are generally without ornaments and only have the outside painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as appears from the beautiful, ornamented jar represented on Pl. XX, 1. Among the ornamental designs figures of snakes predominate, the great anaconda (amarun) being the reptile most often represented. Even human spirits with the arms stretched out, birds, tortoises, and certain poisonous insects are represented much in the same way as among the Achuares. Generally the Indians are themselves able to tell which particular reptile, bird, etc. a certain figure represents. Thus the women at once informed me that the brown rings [103] which encircle the big jar on Pl. XX, 1. represent the spots of the great boa, amarun, a monster which has struck the imagination of the primitive Indians more than any other member of the animal world. The smaller dishes from which the manioc-beer is drunk are nearly always ornamented with figures in black or brown colour. White designs are unknown, and the white clay used for the purpose by the Achuares does not exist at all at Canelos. Generally the outside is ornamented; more rarely the dishes have ornamental patterns inside and when they have,

they are always simpler. In the smaller dishes also the snake patterns predominate, poisonous snakes like the Lachesis (called pitalaía by the Canelos Indians) being most often represented. These dishes are called mucahua by the Indians. (See Pl. XIX, 3. 4. 5).

Of particular interest is the small but elaborately ornamented clay dish represented in Pl. XX, 3. and 4. Diminutive cups or dishes of this kind are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians only at the great feasts, a special sacred drink being drunk by means of these small cups. How the manioc-wine is prepared and how it is consumed at the end of the most important feasts will appear from descriptions given later. I only add in this connection that the magical ideas which are associated with the Indian clay vessels in general, appear among other things from the extraordinary care with which the small clay cups used for the drinking of manioc-wine are made and ornamented. The same may be said of the small clay pot in which the Jibaros keep the tobacco juice which is ceremonially given to the principal persons at the great feasts. The vessels used on these occasions must be specially made and painted for each feast, and they must be made by the old woman, the 'priestess', who administers the sacred drinks at the feasts. Not only these, but also the most important of other clay vessels used at the religious feasts have to be specially made.

To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know,

only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

2: Stirling--94-95 (1930-1931) 1930 Jivaro -1
116, 317, 323

"Just as the men when in the house spin or weave when they have nothing else to do, so the women are likely to keep themselves busy in making pottery. Considerable care is taken in the locating of outcrops of suitable potters' clay. Selected lumps of rough clay wrapped in bark are placed in baskets and carried to the jivaría. The work of preparing and refining the clay is done within the house. A chunk of clay is placed on a flat slab of wood and pounded with a heavy stone. Impurities, such as small stones and other foreign substances, are picked out by hand. This refined clay is then mixed with a small amount of ash and moistened, after which it is stacked in piles on another wooden slab. One pile is a stiff olive green clay which is used to furnish the main body of the pot; the other pile consists of a rather sloppy yellow clay which is used for thinning. The latter is added to the heavy clay until the proper texture is obtained.

The mixture of the two clays is kneaded together by the potter in the proper proportions and placed in a third pile which is used for building up the pot. Squatting or sitting on the floor, the woman picks up a handful of this clay and, between the palms of the hands or on top of the thigh, she rolls it into a rope 2 or 3 feet in length (pl. 24, a, b). The pot is then built up on a flat slab of wood by a coiling process. As the sides of the vessel rise, each rope of clay is carried around the rim with the right hand, the left hand pinching it flat so as to make it adhere to the coil below (pl. 24, c). When thus pinched into place, the potter from time to time dips a gourd shell into water and with it smooths

down the coil, both on the inside and outside surfaces (pl. 24, d).

After the bowl has been completed it is set inside the house to dry in the shade. At this stage the bowl is sometimes decorated with simple geometric incised designs in the form of wavy or zigzag bands. As a rule, a considerable number of vessels are made and [95] dried at the same time so that a dozen or so pots may be fired simultaneously. There is a variety of shapes, but the vessels may be classified into three types according to use---deep cooking vessels, large storage jars for nijimanche, and small bowls for drinking or eating purposes.

After the drying has been completed preparations are made for firing. Two good-sized logs are laid parallel on the ground about a foot apart. Smaller cross-logs are then put in position, leaving spaces between, of a proper size to admit the vessels which are to be fired, the crosspieces supporting the sides of each vessel when in position. Then smaller pieces of dry wood, preferably rotten wood and dry bark, are piled around and over the bowls (fig. 4). The entire mass is thickly covered with palm leaves and the pile ignited. The evenness of the firing depends largely upon the care with which the fuel has been arranged and the slowness with which it burns.

The firing being completed and the vessels cooled and wiped off, they are ready for painting. The storage vessels and drinking bowls to be used for nijimanche are usually painted a solid red color on the outside by means of achiote mixed with caraña or gum copal. The drinking bowls are painted red on the outside and the inside surface is painted

with designs which are geometric in character or which represent mythologic episodes in the career of Mika, who is the patron of pottery vessels. The Aguaruna cover the interior of their vessels with a white slip on which the designs are painted in red and black, the black color being obtained from charcoal. Caraña is used as a varnish to finish the inside of the bowls.

The clay which is used for pottery making is called mieway. Small drinking vessels are called pininga and when decorated are known as pininga agajmo. The large storage jars, which sometimes have a capacity of 10 gallons, are called mika. Various names are applied to distinguish the many smaller varieties of pottery vessels according to their shape and special use. (For typical forms see pl. 35.)"

4: Up de Graff--206 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 252, 323

"Ranged round the walls are the 'fireplaces'--mere piles of embers without even a hole in the ground--with the grids placed over them. Each wife has her own, on which she does what cooking she is ordered to do. Piled neatly round the fireplaces are the earthenware pots of various sizes and shapes, all with cone-shaped bottoms, the largest the giamanchi containers, which are about four feet in height, with narrow necks and a maximum diameter of three feet. These gigantic vessels are fashioned without the aid of anything resembling a potter's wheel; ropes of clay are rolled in the hands, and the sides of the pot are gradually built up from the ground, the joints being filled in and rubbed smooth until the whole is as perfect in shape, as far as the eye can see, as a modern piece. After being sun-dried they are baked hard in the fire. They are never painted with any design, a practice common among primitive potters."

13: Rivet--252 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 323

The arts are little developed among the Jíbaros. However, their pottery has pleasing shapes and sometimes pretty designs, and the ornaments, which they like to wear, are as remarkable for their elegance as for their strangeness.

28: Tessman--354 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 323, 415

They produce cooking pots (itsinek) with a wide opening (Plate 59, Fig. 8) and pots with a narrower opening for the cooking of massato. The latter ones are called muetsa. Moreover, they have earthenware bowls (pininga) for intoxicating beverages. These pininga usually have the same coloring inside and outside. Their best and most original earthenware product is a bowl-like plate. They are red on the outside, covered with a paste of bixa (ipaku) and the juice of Apocynacee Couma guianensis, lechecaspi L. (naúm). Inside they are decorated with simple patterns (concentric circles, curves, and lines), and they are glazed yellow or green. No other tribe in Eastern Peru makes anything comparable to these plates (see color Plate VII, top). The resin which they use for this is called nétaka. They also have bowls with a double bottom with rattling fruit-shells inside.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 231
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
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Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
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and the *kayens mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of
their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
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time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
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As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been men- [235]
tioned previously. [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [824]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars
are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of minia- 531
ture drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation
jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually
simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated
irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one
apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which
sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the
north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, aver- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [273]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store
the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to
boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting
shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving
bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison.
One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to
brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273]
[515]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty. 462 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay. 868 [323] [532] [826] [831]

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts. 224 462 857 868 [262]

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

"The Zamora, like all the other rivers coming from the Cordillera Oriental, is auriferous, (32) and the Jíbaros have some idea of gold washing. A few grams of the metal which I got from one of them had been amalgamated, but how I could not discover. Mercury for the purpose may have been obtained from Loja or Gualaquiza, (33) or it may have been found in the alluvial deposits of the region, as it sometimes occurs, in a disseminated state, in such formations. (34)"

"32. Wolf, op. cit., pp. 310 and 597.
33. A town of Oriente inhabited by whites. See inset on map, Fig. 1.
34. Ibid., pp. 253 and 314."

Fig. 2.
A typical bamboo house at Macas. Inhabited by the government's representative.

"In their general construction the houses of the Jibaro Indians are of the same type as the great communal houses, known from the Amazon territory and from Brazil, called maloca. The house is elliptical in shape and has a length of 15 to 20 meters and a breadth of 8 to 10 meters. The roof is supported by two or three big posts of strong chonta wood in the longitudinal direction, and at each side there are other shorter poles. The roof consists of several layers of dried palm leaves, carefully plaited into a thatch called hambaŕaha. Similarly the walls are constructed with great care and consist of a row of strong chonta poles placed vertically and tied to horizontal bars by means of lianas. Since there are no openings serving as windows in the walls, narrow intermediate spaces of about two centimetres are left between the poles, through which the daylight filters. These cracks in the walls also allow the inhabitants of the house to look out and watch persons approaching; but on the other hand they may make it possible for enemy spies to watch the inmates of the house and even to attack them with natural or supernatural weapons. In time of war therefore the houses of the Jibaros [95] are specially fortified by means of extra walls and in other ways, as we shall see later on (Pl. X, 3, and 4).

The roof (hambaŕaha), consists of plaited palm leaves, and in the tropical climate is liable to be attacked by insects and gradually destroyed, so it has to be renewed after the lapse of some years. In building a new house therefore the Jibaros observe the

following custom. On the fire kindled in the new house no manioc or palm cabbage can be cooked until it has been purified by burning cedar wood (Cedrela herrerae), the smoke of which will penetrate the thatch and kill the insects existing in it. In this way the thatch, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is not only purified for the time being, but permanently. If manioc or palm cabbage is cooked in the new house before the said procedure, certain maggots, which easily develop in the manioc plant and in palm tops, will infest the thatch and soon destroy it. Until the house has been purified in the way indicated these kinds of vegetable food must be cooked in a special, small shelter outside the new house.

The house has always two doors, one at each end of the house, the one being used by the men, the other by the women. A Jibaro house, it should be noticed, consists of two departments, of which one is intended for the women and children and called ekinturu, the other for the men and for guests and called tangamasha. The quarter intended for the women is at once recognized by certain special arrangements. All round the walls in a Jibaro house there are low banks of split bamboo, called peaka, which serve as seats during the day and as sleeping places at night. These bunks or sleeping racks in the men's department are without edges or sides, but in the women's department each of them is fenced round with split bamboo, or in some cases only banana leaves, thus forming partitions closed in on three sides, somewhat resembling

horse-boxes. For each of the wives in the house there is such a box: here the small children are kept as well as the dogs, the latter always tied up since, extremely savage and angry as they are, they would otherwise not hesitate to attack visitors. -- No guest is expected to enter the house except through the door leading to the men's department, nor can he, without special permission, enter the interior of the house or the women's department. Only a guest who is well known to the Indans, or has lived for some days in the house, can enter there or occasionally use the backdoor also. Whereas the married men sleep in the ekinturu, the full-grown sons and other unmarried men always spend their night in the tangamasha, where each has his sleeping rack and [96] where occasional visitors may also take possession of a peaka for the night. The women are generally in the ekinturu, cooking food at one of the fires on the floor or doing other domestic tasks, and as a rule they set foot in the men's department only to offer manioc-beer to their husbands or to guests, or to bring them food."

1: Karsten--98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342 (1928-29)

"Such is, in its main features, the interior of a Jibaro house. It is intended to lodge a considerable number of people, not only the family-father himself with his wives and their children, but also the married daughters with their husbands and children and some older relatives, especially in the male line. At the great feasts a Jibaro house may shelter anything up to a hundred persons."

1: Karsten--98 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342, 352 (1928-29)

"As to the houses of the CANELOS INDIANS (huasi), they differ from those of the Jibaros proper chiefly in that they are much smaller and that walls are usually lacking. These Indians have not the same interest in fortifying their houses as the Jibaros. In the interior of the house the sleeping benches are almost the only kind of furniture seen, but what at once attracts the attention in the houses of the Canelos Indians is the great number of all sorts of clay vessels which are arranged on shelves under the roof, many of them beautifully ornamented."

1: Karsten--261-262 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 342, 712 (1928-29)

"That the Jibaros are professional warriors also appears from the way in which they construct their houses and from the defensive measures to which they have recourse when particularly threatened by their enemies. The houses themselves are constructed with great care, and as we have seen, even in times of peace are provided with walls of strong chonta poles. When a family is particularly threatened by enemies the house is fortified in a special way. On the outer side of the ordinary wall another wall is made, consisting of big chonta stems, so that the house has two walls, one close to the other (Pl. X, 3.4). Within the houses, all along the walls, a number of small rooms or partitions, about 1 meter in height, are likewise made of chonta poles, each having a small hole in the outside through which the warrior can shoot his attacking enemy. There is one such small room for each defender of the house. The partitions will afford the warrior protection in case the enemies are able to penetrate into the house. As to the doors, there are two in each Jibaro house, one at each end of the house, one for the men, the other for the women. These doors generally consist of six chonta poles, the upper ends of which are united by means of strong lianas, while the nether ends are free and can be separated from each other, three to each side, making an opening of triangular form. The whole opening is so small, however, that only one man at a time with some difficulty can enter the house. During the night the poles forming the doors are always carefully closed and fastened by a transverse pole applied to the inner side,

so that the entrance of undesirable persons is made impossible. Even the outer wall in a fortified house has a special door consisting of similar poles, which can be closed from the inside.

Not only the houses themselves but also the manioc and banana plantations situated close by are protected in a similar way by high fences [262] of strong chonta poles. The aim of this arrangement is to prevent the enemy from approaching the house through the plantations.

Formerly, before the use of firearms was so general among the Jibaros as it is now, the chiefs especially were in the habit of constructing a sort of war tower at one end of their houses. These towers were of quadratic form and sometimes 20 or 30 meters in height. On the top of it there was a small room about 4 meters in quadrate and with walls about 1 meter in height, made of strong chonta poles, which protected the defender against the lances of the enemies. The whole thing rested upon pillars of the stem of the chonta palm, and the warrior ascended along a stair consisting of wooden logs with incisions which gave him foothold. These war towers were called kumbinta. After the Jibaros began to make use of firearms in their wars these measures of defence proved less fit for the purpose, and consequently were no longer used."

"As has been indicated elsewhere, the Jivaro houses are usually erected singly in defensible situations on the headwaters of affluent streams rather than on the main rivers. The typical Jivaro house (pl. 1) is about 75 or 80 feet in length with a width of from 40 to 45 feet. It is approximately elliptical in shape with parallel side walls and rounded ends. The walls are made of chonta palm laths and bamboo or cane stakes, about 9 or 10 feet in height. These stakes are set close together and lashed firmly with strips of bark or vine.

The roof is made of palm thatch and is typically supported by seven tall upright posts, as shown in figure 2. A ridge pole about 40[89] feet long extends between the central posts. From this, rafters constructed of poles are dropped to the eaves, the lower ends of these poles extending about 2 feet beyond the stakes forming the walls of the house. These rafters are lashed into place with bark and vines. The rafters forming the ends of the house radiate from the end posts in the form of spokes from a common center.

At each end of the house is a door, one to be used by the women and the other by the men. The doors are the full height of the walls and consist of three or four heavy slabs of hewn timber set vertically in slots at the top and bottom. In order to enter the house it is necessary to lift these planks at the bottom and set them to one side. They can be barred from the inside by a crossbar which prevents them from being lifted. As a vari-

ation to this type of door, sometimes doors are constructed of a broad hewn plank, the full width of the entrance (pl. 26, a). Sometimes this type of door is attached by means of bark or leather hinges.

The cracks between the wall stakes provide ample ventilation and in the daytime sufficient light enters between them to prevent the interior from becoming gloomy. The floor is of packed earth, which is kept neatly swept at all times."

2: Stirling--89 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 342

"On the Chinganasa River a house in process of construction was observed (pl. 27, a). The skeleton of the house had been erected, the uprights and roof poles being mostly in place, tied together with vines. On the floor of the house were coils of vines to be used for binding purposes and more cut poles for roofing. There were also several baskets of wet yellow clay which had been used for packing the holes in which the upright posts had been set, obviously for the purpose of setting them in place more firmly. The clay had been tamped in place about the base of the posts by means of wooden stakes. Alongside the new house had been erected a small temporary shelter under which were neatly stacked palm leaves to be used for thatching the roof.

In addition to the typical permanent house just described, the Jivaros on the lower Santiago and on the Marañon occasionally construct houses of a different sort. These consist merely of a thatched roof supported by a ridge pole held up by two tall end posts and terminating against low uprights 2 or 3 feet high at the edge of the eaves. This type of house has no walls and as a rule is intended as a more or less temporary home (pl. 27, a)."

2: Stirling--89[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 342

"The architectural plan of the jivaría varies to some extent depending upon the size of the house. A small jivaría such as that of Hisama on the Chiganasa has a single center post with a short ridge pole lashed on top of it in the form of a T."

2: Stirling--90 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 342

"The house of Sakacha was built on the edge of a 30-foot bluff on a small hill in the jungle a couple of miles from the left bank of the Marañon about 10 miles above the junction with the Santiago. This house was a long, rambling structure, about 14 feet wide and 60 feet long, with low eaves and no side walls or ends. It was supported by five center posts arranged more or less in a row. There were four men, three women, and five or six children living in this house."

3: Simson--386 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 342

"Their houses are large and built of 'chonta' or 'tarapoto' palms, split in two and standing vertically in the ground, close to each other, like a stockade; the principal stakes for supporting the roof being entire stems of the same palms. The roof is composed of rafters of bamboo, and thatched with interwoven palm-leaves, principally 'yarina.' The ground-plan of the house is shaped like a bagatelle board, square in front and round at the back, with doors at both ends."

4: Up de Graff--204-205 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 342

"In the corners of the clearing thus made, the houses are built. The ground having been carefully 'scalped,' palms are cut down, trimmed of their tops and cut to a length of from fifteen to twenty feet. This particular wood is selected for its durability and strength. For each house six posts are prepared, the two center ones supporting the centre of the gable being some four feet longer than the rest. They are sunk firmly into the ground, at an interval of about seven feet between the centre posts and the corner posts, thus giving the house a width of fourteen feet and a length of about twenty feet. This is the average size for a family of one man and six wives. Sometimes larger houses are built, with [205] extra supports for the ridge-pole, in which two or three families live together. The framework having been completed by a number of saplings placed parallel on the three main horizontal roof supports (these saplings are technically known as perlines) and tied with green bark on rattans, the house is ready for its palm-leaf thatch. The latter is made of many layers of gigantic leaves; split down the centre of the spine and folded over double, six or eight layers bound securely together forming the regular unit of which the thatch is built, and corresponding in wooden houses to one slate or shingle. As in the modern roof, these units are placed to overlap, forming a final thickness of eight to ten inches, which not even a tropical downpour can penetrate. The framework of such houses can last indefinitely, but the roof must be renewed every eight or ten years on account of the inroads of insects; the underside is preserved from

4: Up de Graff--204-205 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 342

the latter by smoke, but the outer layers are exposed to their attacks. On entering by one of the gaps at either end which serve as doors, a somewhat bare interior is seen."

10: Anthony--159 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 342

"The Jivaro hut is a simple affair, made of a long, rectangular frame of poles stuck into the ground and thatched over with the leaves of palms or plantains. The fire is built inside on the ground and the smoke finds its way out through the most convenient openings."

Generally, there are many families living in a single house, usually about 15 people united by close family ties. The building has the form of an elongated ellipse (1) (fig. 10), the long axis of which measures 15 to 25 meters. The framework is made in the following manner: two posts about 4 meters high, placed in the foci of the ellipse, support a longitudinal ridge-pole, four other posts measuring about 3 meters in height, located on the periphery at the angles of the [584] rectangle inscribed in this ellipse, support two transverse longitudinal timbers which outline this rectangle. All this framework is of chonta wood (Bactris Iriartea) and the joints are secured with the aid of lianas. The walls (2) are made of cane-stalks (Guadua angustifolia) placed close together; in addition

1. It would be more exact to say that it represents a rectangle, the short sides of which are replaced by semi-cirles. Simson, among the Pindos, and Reiss, at Macas, saw a slightly different construction, in which only one of the short sides of the rectangle, the one corresponding to the rear part of the house, was semi-circular; the doors, as in the ordinary type, were made facing the ends of the long axis. One of the houses visited by Reiss was 26 m. long, 18 m. wide and $7^{m}50$ high. --Alfred Simson. "Notes on the Jívaros and Canelos Indians" (Journal of the anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1880, vol. IX, no. 4, page 385). --Reiss, op. cit., page 330.

2. In the regions of the Jíbaro country that can be called civilized, where the fear of attacks has disappeared, this wall has been done away with and the house is only a vast shed.

to this they are reinforced on the inside to a height of $1^{m}50$ from the ground by planks of chonta or caña about 5 cm. wide, arranged in such a manner that their joints never coincide with the interstices of the exterior wall. This precaution is for the purpose of preventing an enemy thrusting his lance through the fissures and striking the Jíbaro in his bed, which, as we shall see, is backed up against the partition. The battens are made of caña stalks spaced $0^{m}50$ apart and placed in diverging rays from the longitudinal beam to the peripheral beams; cross-beams placed at the same distance from each other complete the lattice work upon which the roof rests; the roof is formed of little bundles of straw called cambana or of leaves of a kind of Pandanus (cambaalga), skillfully imbricated from the edges toward the center.

There are also two doors placed at the extremities of the long axis of the ellipse, measuring about 2 meters high and 50 cm. wide. Sometimes, as an aid to defense, they are still more narrow. One of these doors is reserved for the women, the other for the men and this rule is never violated save for some very serious reason. We see there the first manifestation of the separation of the sexes, so accentuated in Jíbaro country.

12: Rivet--585 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 342, 356

The house proper is composed of a single room (1), sometimes divided by a transverse partition in the center; the floor is composed of the beaten earth, perfectly levelled and kept in a state of great neatness.

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1. At Macas, Reiss saw houses divided into three rooms by transverse partitions: the outer room served as a reception room, the central room as the kitchen, the rear room as the bedroom. Reiss, op. cit., page 330-331.

18: Hermessen--442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 342, 462, 361

"Within a radius of several miles from Jamboé there were several Jíbaro houses, each standing alone in a separate clearing a little way back from the river, with a belt of forest interposed, so that they were effectually concealed from view from the water. All were exactly alike--rectangular in plan, with rounded ends, about 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, and constructed of bamboo on a framework of big poles lashed together with lianas. At either end was a door of solid wood, usually kept securely bolted on the inside. The roof was high-pitched and made of palm thatch. Several families of blood relations lived together in one house. There was no partition between the quarters of the men and those of the women, as Orton and others have noted as a detail of the dwellings of the Indians (Záparos) on the Napo and other rivers of the Oriente province of Ecuador, (18) but the rear portion was always allotted to the females."

"18. James Orton: The Andes and the Amazon, New York, 1876, p. 171."

20: Dyott--156 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 342, 712

"Kuashu's home, in all its rough simplicity, was exactly like every other Jivaro establishment. Amongst the dozens I have visited, I have never seen the slightest signs of originality exhibited in their construction. Except for size, they are all identical. The absence of an outer wall, sometimes noted, only indicates the poverty or laziness of the owner. With increase of family, it will be added and the dwelling made to conform to the universal standard. In the more unsettled areas, I have come across defence towers (kumbinta) built alongside the house, and it is not uncommon to see an extra row of short poles planted outside the wall about six inches away, with the intervening space filled with stones; but such things are merely additional safeguards against attack."

20: Dyott--156-157 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 342

"Some writers claim that the Jivaros sub-divide their houses into special quarters for men and women, but I have never come across this. I have frequently noted a sleeping rack to be roughly fenced about, affording a slight measure of privacy to the pair who occupied it; but as to bringing about a general separation of the sexes, I cannot recall ever having seen it done."

25: Vigna--41 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 342

In the House of the Jíbaro. The house of the Jíbaro is rectangular and terminated at its extremities by two semi-circles, in which are found two doors: the common door and the door reserved for the family. The walls are made of pierced cane or with hard logs, tied with reeds. [bejucos] The roof is of straw and the doors generally are solid and of a single piece. During the night they are firmly barricaded.

26: Brüning--51 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342

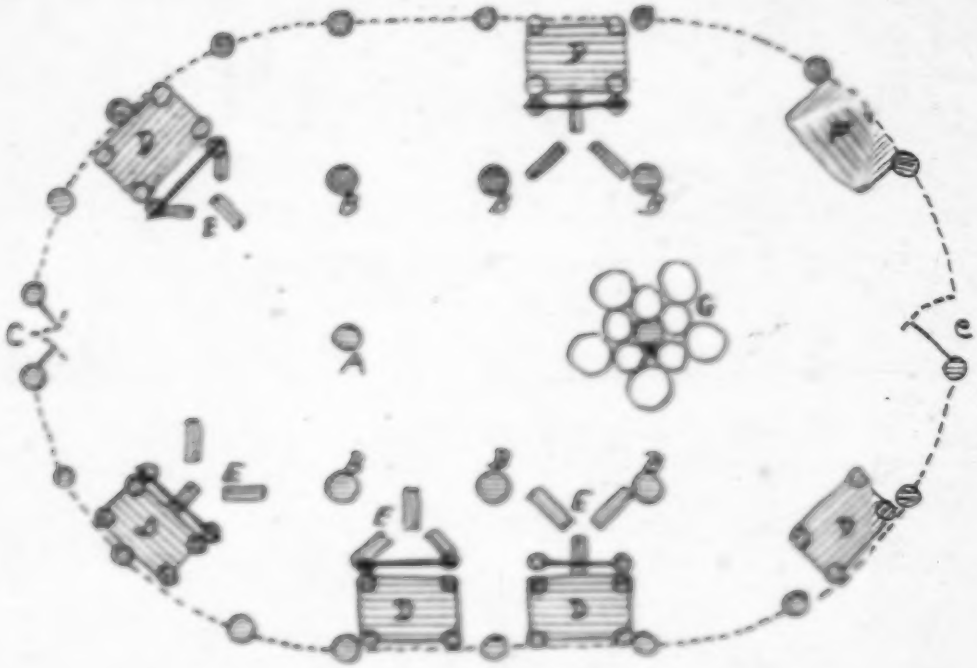

Figure 1. Groundplan of a Hut.

Construction begins with the erection of a provisional scaffold which serves as a support for the workmen. The ground plan of the house (Fig. 1) has almost the shape of a large oval, that is to say, the two long sides run parallel, and at each end there is a half circle. Two round, smooth trees, 6 - 6.5 meters in length, constitute the foundation of the house. These trees are set up as uprights in the centers (A in the drawing) of the two half circles. On top the two uprights are connected by the roof-tree. On either side of the central uprights three additional uprights (B), shorter than the central ones, are set up. The tops of these outside uprights are connected with the roof-tree by means of a square frame. The walls are formed by means of thin posts which on top are connected with each other. The rafters rest on these thin posts and, in turn, support the laths. Everything is firmly tied with lianas, bast, and chambira. Next comes the roof, which is built with special attention as you may expect it in a country where there is hardly a day without rain. The material used are the leaves of various palm trees that had been seasoned long in advance. In Timasto, I have seen a special storehouse for the prepared plaited leaves, that had been stored here over a long period of time. A layer of large, pinnate and plaited palm leaves is first placed upon the laths. (Illustration number 1 shows such palm leaves, partly plaited, in the foreground.) Next, loose leaves are placed upon the first layer (see Illustrations 2, 3, and 4). The roof projects about one meter beyond the wall. When I first visited one of these houses in S. Antonio [52] on the Muchingis (a village about one rowing-hour distant from Nazaret),

26: Brüning--51-52 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-2
116, 342

I beheld with admiration a roof which, as to its construction, surpassed all the roofs of the coastal and mountain Indians and even of the whites. The cleanliness and tidiness of the Indians is generally another point in their favor.

26: Brüning--52 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342

After the completion of the roof the house is ready for occupancy. The outside wal is only gradually finished. The Indians use for it split Chonta palms or even bamboo. These walls permit enough light to go through for the illumination of the interior. As for the doors there do not seem to exist any fixed rules: I found them in the middle of the long side, but also at one end, and even at both ends. I had an opportunity for a closer study of the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracayo. In this house there was at one end (toward the river) a double door, and at the other end (toward the forest) a single door. These doors were crudely made out of one piece, as thick boards hewn with the axe. In Huavico I noticed a door which was made of plaited palm leaves. The Curaca, who was our host, used this door as an umbrella when he was once forced to leave the house during a heavy rain.

26: Brüning--52 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342, 592

The houses are always very spacious since they have to serve more than one family. According to one of my informants, such a house is inhabited by up to 50 persons. As a rule it is the Curaca, as the chief, with his children and their wives and husbands. And since a Curaca may have up to ten wives, the great number of dwellers can be explained without difficulty. The aforementioned house of the Curaca Laichape had a width of 10 meters and a length of 15 meters. 20 - 30 persons lived in this house.

The house (hõa) is a combination of a frame-house and a three-purlin house. It has ridge-purlins that touch the ground. At each one of the gable sides there is a semicircular projection. (See Plate 60, Fig. 2) The walls consist of upright panels of Iriartea-wood. Loopholes are frequently cut out, as may be seen on Plate 66. Very interesting is the nomenclature of the component parts of such a house. The ridge-purlin with its supports is called tšitšimeruke, the ridge-purlin itself is called tšitšimeruke-esari, while the term for the support is tšitšimeruke-axiami. The frame structure is called makui; its component parts have special designations: the longitudinal beam of the frame is called makui-esari, the cross-beam: makui-pauri or makui-yangeri; the upright supports are called makui-axiami. The side-purlin and its supports are called numbixi, the side-purlin itself: numbixi-esari and the supports: numbixi-axiami. The semicircular projections are called texeri, its roundliana: itingamori and its uprights: tšikitsik. The rafters of the saddle-roof are called awangeri, the three main spars of the semicircular extension: akuxkamori, the secondary rafters: texeri awangeri, the crossbeam to which the secondary rafters are tied on the top: anuxtukmori.

In each one of the semicircular extensions there is a door: wáitiri Newly introduced are ridge-purlin supports, tixeraseri (from the Spanish tijeras), that rest in pairs on the frame. Their lower end is sharpened to a point, which is inserted into the

cross-beam close to the frame-supports, so that only two pairs of such ridge-purlin supports are required. Frequently they are used in addition to the ground-supported ridge-purlin uprights. There are no other cross-beams.

Refuge huts are called aak. They consist of two cross-beams, one being higher than the other. The spars are placed across the longitudinal beams. See cartogram no. 8.

The information given about the hõa was gathered from the Atschual Indians. If I remember it correctly, the houses of the Aguarunas were of like construction. In the Aguaruna territory I saw the most primitive huts erected on sandbars as an overnight accomodation. They slept on a layer of leaves. Where they had their heads, they had several of the fan-shaped leaves of the Carludovica palmata or a palm-frond. Cf. cartogram no. 8.

31: Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for describing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
342 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
526 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[720] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

● 342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
359 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

/331 cont./

354 almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
[825] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
342 which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
[353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells,
[353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
356 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war-expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [175] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 41 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336. A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Manzes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

533
539
726

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Sung by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

595 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally
351 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).

• 342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kampanaká* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

 /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4.6 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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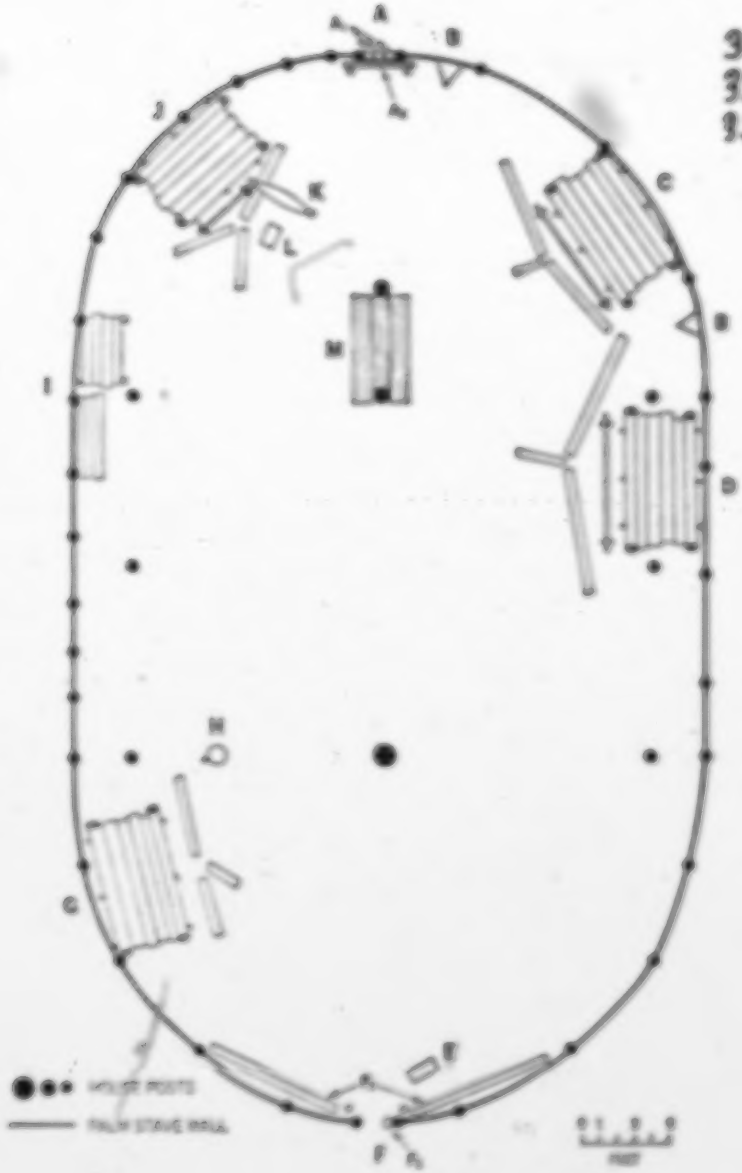

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FIGURE 1

Floor plan of a representative house (upper Río Cangaimi, 1957)

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutanü*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuú*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. 342 •
The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a [712]
single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the door- 342
ways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn 712
wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even 362
though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually 342
after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for 356
abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity [313]
of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of [224]
wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 356 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly 362 until the ninth year of occupancy.

342 If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, 361 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure [224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In [628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous [768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the 462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close 476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection 602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together 554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu- 574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the 535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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2. Side view of a Jivaro house and its surrounding garden (upper Río Yuquipa region, 1956–57).

/p. 90-2/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jivaro (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-0/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cunsini, 1956–57).

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11. Hunting logs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cunsini, 1956–57).

/p. 90-H/

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a re-
765 flection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untā* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight
765 aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s
796 house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with
[554] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara.
• [342] The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*nunpey*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his
[765] *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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When this first *tsentsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers 727
return to their separate homes and begin to make prepara- 796
tions for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will 244
host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food 574
are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally
has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to
plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these
two celebrations, named *nawak*, normally takes place no [231]
sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing
and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as
for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting.
Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a
new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often [342]
two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men 727
who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long 796
distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or
ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic 805
system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able 824
to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests 765
at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might
be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each 224
hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same 574
stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for
the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully
ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration.
The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk
to those invited guests living at some distance so that they,
too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a 574
month later, by the third feast (*napin*). This is the largest of 796
all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days.
He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the 765
[727]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the main-
441 tenance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
• [342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

34:Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969):973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of footholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs. 178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that tsantsa feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier. 178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance. 178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The extensive use of blowguns has 178 184 438 278 411 [224]

2: Stirling--91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 343, 231

"To a limited extent, particularly on the Upano, the Jivaros keep domesticated fowl and pigs, these having been early introduced by the Spaniards. They are cared for by the women and regarded as the women's property. The native 'pavo' (Penelope cristata) is also sometimes domesticated. Small conical structures, strongly built of poles, are erected in the clearing of the jivaría where the domestic animals repair at night as protection against prowling members of the cat tribe (pl. 26, b). Various pets are frequently encountered in the jivaría, monkeys, parrots, and toucans being the most common. These, as well as the dogs, are kept inside the house."

26: Brüning--52 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 712, 347

A special type of buildings are the battle towers which can be found in connection with certain dwellings. I did not see one of these battle towers close enough, but I saw them from a distance while travelling by. The dwellings which I inspected did not have any such battle towers. They are placed at a distance from the main dwelling, but are connected with the latter by means of a ladder, which consists of notched tree-trunks. The towers consist of four sturdy uprights, each one 8 - 10 meters high and placed in a square at a distance of three meters from each other. On top there is a platform, which is protected by a parapet (height: 1 meter) and a roof.

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

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If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

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I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The heaven that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Song by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

595 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally
• 351 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kempanáki* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

/p. 41/ /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large
[202] wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness
[412] and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapinimi* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both
513 in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 Each household has either a single large garden or several
• [351] smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually
[146] located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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2. Side view of a Jívaro house and its surrounding garden (upper Río Yuquipa region, 1956–57).

/p. 90-B/

I: Karsten--96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
352 (1928-29)

"The floor in a Jibaro house is the earth itself. No mats are used, but the natural floor is carefully kept clean by daily sweeping. This is all the more necessary as in a Jibaro house there are not only human, but also certain animal inmates. Thus the hens, although they are as a rule kept outside, make occasional visits in the house, and besides among the members of the family is generally found a tame paugi (Crax paugi) a trumpeter bird, or a parrot, who freely move about. In spite of this, to a stranger visiting a Jibaro house for the first time, it conveys on the whole the impression of cleanliness and sense of order, which are in fact among the characteristic qualities of the Jibaro Indians."

1: Karsten--96 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 352, 513 (1928-29)

"The benches, which at the same time serve the Jibaro Indians as sleeping places at night, are extremely simple and uncomfortable. The length is about one metre and a half, but twenty to thirty centimetres away from the rack is a cross-pole (pataki) on which the sleeping Indian leans his ankles. The bench has a slight downward slant, the upper edge of it being about thirty or forty, the lower end about twenty or twenty-five centimetres above the ground. The sleeping Indian may have a thin deer's skin under him, but frequently even this is lacking, nor has he any cover. Since however the nights are often chilly, a fire is kept burning all night under the cross-pole supporting the legs, so that the sleeper may keep his extremities warm (Pl. XXIV, 3). --Hammocks are not used by any Jibaro tribes.

There are very few other things in a Jibaro house which may pass as 'furniture'. Almost the only things which deserve this name are smaller benches of split bamboo (kutanga) and low round stools (chimbui) used by the men."

l: Karsten--98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
352 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian keeps his most important personal belongings--the newly-woven loin-cloth (itipi) which he uses at the great feasts, and his ornaments, especially the feather ornaments which are liable to be attacked by moth and other insects--in a special, big basket plaited of a certain liana and provided with a cover. This basket, called tukupi, is kept hanging from the ceiling by a liana, being lowered as occasion requires."

1: Karsten--98 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 342, 352 (1928-29)

"As to the houses of the CANELOS INDIANS (huasi), they differ from those of the Jibaros proper chiefly in that they are much smaller and that walls are usually lacking. These Indians have not the same interest in fortifying their houses as the Jibaros. In the interior of the house the sleeping benches are almost the only kind of furniture seen, but what at once attracts the attention in the houses of the Canelos Indians is the great number of all sorts of clay vessels which are arranged on shelves under the roof, many of them beautifully ornamented."

"One end of the house is used as living quarters for the women while the other end is occupied by the men. The beds of the men consist of square platforms of split bamboo elevated about 20 inches above the floor by means of four short uprights supporting cross-pieces. In front of this platform and at the same height a rack is made by placing a pole across two T-shaped uprights. Directly in front of the bed platform and under this rack a fire is kept burning at night over which the sleepers toast their feet. The fires are built from radiating logs, the ends of which are pushed together as they are consumed (pl. 2). At each corner of the bed platform is an upright pole to which the platform is attached. These uprights extend 5 feet above the bed where they support a second platform of split bamboo the same size as the bed. This makes a cover for the bed and is utilized as a place for piling various odds and ends, such as bundles of tobacco, blowgun dart quivers, nijimanche bowls, empty gourds, shields, feather ornaments, etc.

The beds of the women are constructed in the same manner, excepting that walls of split bamboo are built around the four uprights, forming a cubicle and giving them a privacy which the men do not have. Also, the foot rack is absent from the women's bed. The small children sleep with the women, boys moving to the men's end of the house when about 7 years of age. When not in use for hunting purposes, the dogs are kept tied to the women's beds."

2: Stirling--90-91 (1930-1931) 1938 Zivaro
116, 352

"Around the walls at the women's end of the house, racks are constructed on which a hundred or more earthenware jars of all descriptions are stacked. Sitting in the middle of the floor between the two center posts are four or five large red jars, or mikas, covered by means of banana leaves lashed around the orifice. These contain the chewed manioc which is always kept on hand for returning hunters or visitors to the house. These are frequently raised from the ground on three sticks slanting inward, set at equal intervals as props under the swelling body of the jar. Each man of the house has his own special drinking bowl, the curaka having an especially large bowl a foot in diameter.

Here and there around the sides of the room at the men's end of the house long cords hang from the rafters, terminating in a num-[91]ber of wooden hooks from which are hung the majority of a man's possessions; his darts and poison, the latter being contained in a small leaf-covered pottery bowl, his gun (if he owns one), a net bag containing such personal odds and ends as combs, necklaces, and ear ornaments, achiote seeds, and other small objects. By the side of each bed there is generally a large gourd with a curved neck in which is a small round opening. These the women keep filled with water for drinking purposes or for washing the hands and face.

Against the upright posts of the house are lashed the war and hunting weapons; the lances, blowguns, fish spears, etc. The lance generally rests point down on a block of wood at the base of the post."

2: Stirling--91 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 462

"Hanging from the uprights of the men's beds are their spinning outfits and stacked on the canopy above, when not in use, are the looms, for all of the Jivaro spinning and weaving is done by the men."

3: Simson--386 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 352

"The dwellings are vary spacious inside; and the even plaiting of the high pointed roof thatch gives the ceiling a pretty and finished aspect. Several families live together in one house, each in its special corner or portion, where it has its separate fire; the earthen pots and other cooking utensils being stored on a sort of tray of split bamboo suspended from above."

4: Up de Graff--205 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 352

"The only furniture is beds and meat-racks; the inhabitants live on the floor, squatted on their heels. The beds are made of split bamboo laths supported on posts of the same wood, the whole about six feet long, of which the last two feet are left open; they are some three feet wide, and are raised about eighteen inches from the ground. Each member of the family has his or her own bed. In the open space at the bottom of each bed are placed glowing embers which keep the sleeper's feet warm."

4: Up de Graff--205-206 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 352

"Hung round the house, suspended from the roof by [206] chambira cord are various bunches of bananas in different stages of ripeness, ears of corn, blow-guns, and spears. Tucked into the corners of the roof are stone implements, hand-looms, fire-making tools, and balls of cotton-yarn ready for weaving. Here and there hangs a basket made of bejuco (the local rattan, which grows in any size up to a foot in diameter) full of quivers, bamboo cases for blow-gun arrows, tubes of poison (carisas as the Incas say), partially woven cloth, paint-pots, small gourds full of fluffy cotton used on the arrows in place of feathers, and all the odds and ends of their simple household lives. In one corner a couple of monkeys and a turkey have been dropped, shot by the lord of the house, and packed to the settlement by one of his wives (no man will ever pack anything except his weapons or war and the chase; it is infra. dig.)."

12: Rivet--585[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 372

Around the post located at the focus of the ellipse near the women's door are found all the household utensils; the space between it and the door represents the kitchen. Here a sort of bamboo screen hangs from the roof, in which are placed the various culinary vessels. There are as many fires as families in the house. Each fire is made up of three big sticks of wood, 30 to 45 cm. in diameter and 3 to $3^{m}50$ long, placed at 120° angles from each other and converging at the same point. It is there that the pot is placed: as fast as the sticks of wood are consumed, they are pushed little by little toward the center (1).

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 386.

12: Rivet--585-586 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 534

The opposing post is a sort of clothes-rack for the men: it is there that they put their lances, hang up their snares and all their utensils and accessories of the hunt. There are also some smaller stakes driven into the ground here and there, on which the Jîbaro man hangs his various possessions. Baskets which he has woven himself (changuina) hang from the roof, to which they are attached by lianas; his ceremonial clothes, the trinkets which constitute real wealth for him are carefully stored there. Near the men's door is likewise found the tunduli (fig. 11); this is a trunk of a tree similar to palo de balsa(Ochromia piscatoria) about 1^{m} 50 long [586] and 40 cm. in diameter, hollowed out from one end by the aid of hot stones. The end is then hermetically sealed with the aid of a big round piece of wood. The instrument, along one side of the cylinder, has a single opening of square form, or three or four circular openings, or perhaps two openings facing each other and resembling in form and position the sound-holes of a violin. The apparatus is placed horizontally between two posts, with the aid of tightly-stretched lianas attached to its extremities, where two ear-like projections serve for this purpose. Sometimes they put it in a vertical position, suspending it from a tree and fastening it below to a stake driven firmly into the ground (1). The sound is produced by hitting the cylinder hard near the openings with a stick of wood, one end of which is wrapped with cloth.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--586-587 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 513

The beds are placed along the wall, the head backed up against it and the feet turned toward the center of the dwelling. The women's beds are found near their own door, the men's on each side of the opposite door, but a little nearer the short axis of the ellipse, always because of the fear of an attack. Each bed is made of a wooden frame, lifted 30 or 40 cm. from the ground by four legs, across which bamboo stalks split lengthwise are laid close together (fig. 12). This frame measures about 1^{m} 60 wide and 1^{m} 20 long. The result is that when the Indian lies down on it, his legs are completely off the bed. Therefore, about 25 or 30 cm. from the foot of the little bed, there is a horizontal bar, or patachi, placed on two little forked sticks, upon which they place their feet. Immediately in front of this bar, a fire is kept continually burning in order to warm the legs of the sleeper, and also, according to Reiss, to [587] keep away the mosquitoes with its smoke (1). Doubtless both reasons are good, for the mosquitoes are plentiful and the savage sleeps without cloth or covering.

The beds of the women are a little different. They are longer and do not have the patachi. In addition they have two lateral partitions of bamboo and at the foot a little curtain of some kind of material which protects them from being seen. In some houses, the individual curtains are replaced by a wall of bamboo about 2 meters high which runs in front of all the women's beds so that one can pass from one to the other without being seen from the interior of the room.

1. Reiss, op. cit., page 331.

The utensils and furniture of this modest interior are few in number. They consist of flat, oval, wooden vessels (batea), pots of all sizes for chicha, hollow bowls (piningas) and very light fired clay jars (ichingana).[588] painted bright red on the inside (fig. 15). Sometimes these objects have pretty designs in red, black and straw color (fig. 13). The piningas destined to hold guayusa, a beverage of which I shall speak presently, have a small prolongation on the bottom to hold the leaves of the plant for making the infusion (fig. 14).

I have still to mention the low wooden stools called kutanga and finally the various weapons and implements of work: gun, ax, machete, and fish-hooks bought from the whites; lances, blowguns, shields, quivers which I will describe later, the loom for weaving, the spindles formed by a chonta fiber with a round piece of corozo (Phytelephas macrocarpa) serving as a spindle whorl (fig. 8-10), flutes, drums, trumpets of deer horn, fans made of large feathers for kindling the fire, wicker baskets which the women use to carry home the fruits and vegetables on their backs, and finally, the toilet accessories, pieces of mirror, combs, paint flasks; the combs or indashi are very elegant (fig. 7-16), the teeth are made from wild cane fibers, held in place by two pairs of small wooden sticks placed crosswise; the whole is fastened by a cotton thread wrapped around the various parts, forming a regular and pleasing design. The paint flask (fig. 7-18) is an oval calabash, big as an orange, pierced at one end. A stick, closely fitted to the hole, functions as a stopper and a brush.

10: Hermanson--642 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

"The only noticeable difference between the two ends of the house consisted in the sleeping arrangements, which, in the case of the men, were simply low tables or platforms of split bamboo, (19) with a superimposed skeleton frame; while the women had covered booths or cubicles. When the regular accommodation of this kind was inadequate to the occasion, men, women, and children reposed in groups, some apart, on mats of cane or rush laid on the earth floor. Immediately before each one of these sleeping places a fire was kept burning all the time, day and night. In front of each platform, and at the same height, there was a heavy pole, fixed horizontally in two forked sticks, serving as a rest for the protruding feet of the sleepers, who seemed to delight in toasting them over the glowing embers, indifferent to the flames and sparks that leapt from a fresh blaze."

"19. Whiffen, op. cit., p. 47, reports that the Apaporis Indians make shelves or platforms on which they sleep."

18: Hermessen--442 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 352

"About the middle of the building, suspended from the roof-poles by cords of liana or strips of flexible bark, were trays for holding earthenware pots, bowls, and other household utensils; and fastened to the posts supporting the ridge-pole were woven cane baskets, containing the men's finery--necklaces of berries and seeds of various kinds, and of the bored canine teeth of monkeys (Cebus), and decorative tassels of the feathers of Cuvier's toucan (Ramphastus Cuvieri) and the iridescent wing-cases of certain beetles (Chrysophora chrysochlora and Euchroma gigantea). Hunting paraphernalia--quivers, poison-pots, etc., --were hung on the frames of the sleeping platforms, and blow-pipes were kept, for safety, tied against the main posts of the building."

"So simple are the arrangements of a Jivaro dwelling that it should be easy enough to describe them, yet I find myself at a loss to know how to start. I think it was the complete lack of most things which would be considered essential for moderate comfort that struck me most, as my gaze wandered from corner to corner of Kuashu's house, For instance, there were no articles of furniture except a few low stools used by the men. The plain earthen floor was not even strewn with mats of any kind, but was perfectly bare, just beaten down hard by the constant treading of human feet. The whole premises consisted of but a single room, oval in shape, with five sleeping platforms sticking out from the walls. We sampled these racks, called 'pierca' by the Indians. They were about four and a half feet long and struck us as being the acme of discomfort. They were raised something like a foot from the ground and had a slight downward slant. Some measure of resiliency was afforded by a covering of split cane; otherwise, the surface felt like a stiff board under one's back. Kuashu's rack boasted of a deer's skin, but the remainder were all plain. The width of each varied according to the number of people it accommodated. Twelve or sixteen inches away from the base of the rack was a cross-pole (patage), which caught the sleeper under his ankles and below this, on the floor, a fire burned constantly to warm the extremities of those who made use of the bed at night. Alongside of each rack were one or two vertical poles carrying bunches of [156]wild cotton, a spindle and a ball of thread. A wicker basket was also suspended

from the roof containing all the worldly possessions of its owner. The spear and blow-gun belonging to the same man were likewise placed handy for immediate use.

In the centre of the floor stood a large earthen pot propped up on sticks. It contained the family supply of nija-manchi, an intoxicating beverage prepared from the root of the yuca and consumed in great quantities by the Indians. A tundai, or signal drum, hung in one corner from a cross-pole."

25. Vigna--41[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 352

The beds, made of logs and bamboo-cane, are along the walls. Near the bed there are a rifle and a bag containing the toilet articles of the man: that is, achiote, mirror, cotton, and often needles, powder and ammunition. In the center of the house is the "Tunduli", a thick hollow tree trunk which produces a hoarse sound on being struck. With the appropriate blows, they summon the master from afar, they announce war, they communicate the most salient news, they warn of the arrival of some stranger, and, to the measured beat of the Tunduli, they dance and celebrate fiestas. The sound of the tunduli is heard sometimes at ten and fifteen kilometers distance. The other furnishings of the house are a rudimentary loom, blowgun, and "cután" or wooden seat for the head of the house. Strangers or visitors may not sit on the cután. [KS: Wooden seat used by head of the house.] Before sitting on one of the beds, they must wait, standing near the entrance, to talk with the owner. It is a sign of distinction for a visitor to be offered the "cután" by his host.

There is a minor difference between the bed of the man and the woman; the bed of the latter has walls formed of leaves or branches at its sides.

Along the wall are the beds, separated from each other by a smaller or larger interspace. According to my white informants, each bed is said to be used by one family. In the sketch (Fig. 1 D) I have drawn in the arrangement of the beds in the house of the Curaca Laichape. These beds are noteworthy in one respect: they do not allow space for the entire body. In Fig. 2 I have sketched such a bed. Four upright posts (a) are sunk into the floor in a square so that they protrude about one meter. Two and two posts are connected by cross-pieces (b) that are inside the square and parallel to the wall. The cross-beam close to the wall is a little higher than the cross-beam at the other end. Longitudinal beams (c) are placed on top of the cross-beams, and the former constitute the base for a layer of finely-split bamboo (d) which extends somewhat upward along the back wall. [53] This split bamboo is a very elastic foundation. Since the bed is somewhat sloping from the head down to the foot end, another wooden cross-beam (g) is placed at the foot end so that the sleeping person would not slide down the bed. This bed has a length of less than one meter, and a grownup person can not stretch out on it. There are therefore, in front of the bed, two fork-shaped posts (e), connected by a cross-beam (f) on which the feet are to rest. Moreover, in front of each one of these beds there are three pieces of round firewood (h) which are kept glimmering all day long by having them extend at one end to the fireplace. In daytime, this glowing wood is used for the preparation of the meals, while at night it will warm the feet of the sleepers. The natives seem to use a special type of firewood; for the wood was precisely round and

of the same thickness in all the houses which I visited. The sides of the beds are covered - 50 - 60 cm. upward from the bamboo foundation - with cloth or with wide pieces of flat tree bark and bamboo. This is frequently done in the front, too, leaving an entrance only in the middle. The cubicles thus formed and enclosed on each side are at any rate used for the children. There are certain variations, especially with regard to the width of the beds.

26: Brüning--53 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352

In the Aguaruna houses there may be found a great number of low seats, made of light, perhaps Balsa, wood. They occur in a variety of shapes, but I found the one sketched in my drawing the most common one. The one shown in Fig. 3 requires the most labor. All of the seats are made out of one piece of wood. The specimen sketched here had a height of 25 cm. On top there was a circular seat (38 cm. in diameter), slightly carved out in the center. This seat had a short handle. From the top downward the diameter of the wooden block is gradually reduced, and the stem takes on a square shape. At the bottom two longer strips of wood remain and serve as base. These seats are highly uncomfortable for somebody with long legs and not used to this type of seating accomodation, which forces the knees up almost to the height of the chin. A certain training is required if one wants to get up gracefully from this seat after the knees have become numb.

26: Brüning--53 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 352

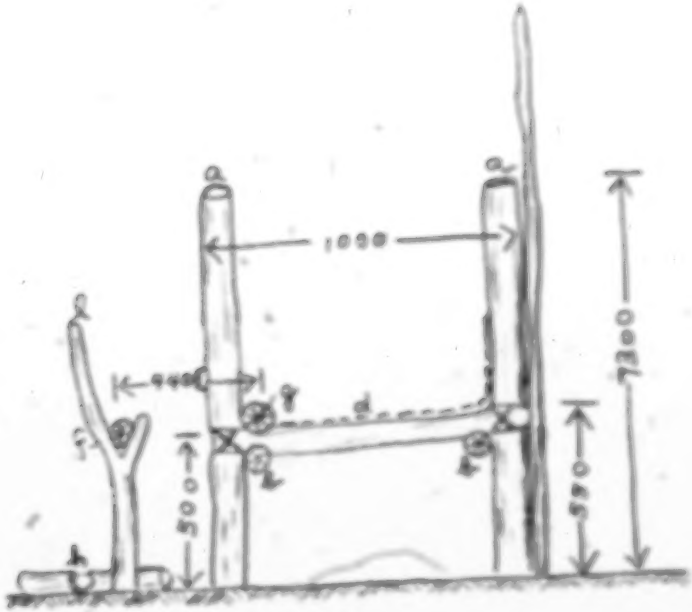
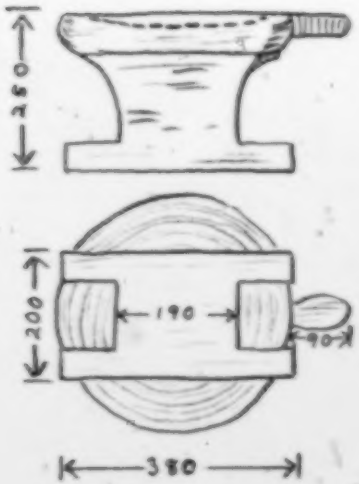


Figure 2. Cross-section of a Bed.



[Translator's comment: Figure 3 is not numbered. The caption should read: Cross-section and Bird's-eye View of a Seat.]

The free spaces between the beds are occupied with square stands designed for storing various utensils, chiefly pots and bowls. One of the semi-circular ends of the house seems to be the special reserve for the women. Here are a great number of these stands, all covered with earthenware, as one may see [54] on Illustration number 2. These stands are made or 4 upright posts, each one approximately two meters long. On top there is a bamboo platform with the pots. Around the upright beam which forms the center of the semicircle there is the Indians' greatest treasure: many pots with what the whites call Masato (Nijamantši in the Aguaruna language), a brew made out of the yucca root; occasionally one may find there pots containing dishes made in advance. On one occasion I was served cold monkey-soup out of one of these pots, and this as a supplement to the regular meal.

Moreover, there are stands for the weapons, blowguns, spears, rifles and carbines, all set up upright.

This takes care of the most conspicuous household objects. I shall describe some of the smaller utensils later on as the opportunity arises. I shall report now on a few visits which I made in various houses. I shall describe my general impressions and, at the same time, the everyday life of the Indians.

28: Tessman--349-350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

The bed (píaka) of the Chiwaros is a plank bed on four legs, as shown on Plate 60, Fig. 4. The beds are placed with their longitudinal sides along the wall. A bed consists of pieces of Iriartea-wood that are placed cross-wise. The bed has a long but narrow surface. The side toward the wall (where the sleepers have their heads) is raised considerably so that the bed slopes down to the front. [350] In front of the bed are two forked posts. One prong of the fork is higher than the other. When they go to bed, the Chiwaros place the head toward the wall and the feet over the crossbeam that connects the two forked posts. The edge of the bed is under the knees. Cf. cartogram no. 9. Between the foot-support and the bed there are small fires burning which keep their legs warm. Young unmarried people have special beds which are covered with a plaited mat. Sucking infants sleep in a hammock (tangáma) made of Ficus fiber. Occasionally they are attached to one of the prongs of the foot rest uprights and extended to the prong of another such upright.

28: Tessman--350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 562

Stools, tšimpúi, of the shape shown on Plate 59, Fig. 12 are chiefly used by men; the stools for women are lower. The various shapes of women's stools are shown on Plate 59, Figs. 11 and 14.

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jívaro
steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm
trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/331 cont./

354 almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
[825] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
342 which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
[353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in
which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in
the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night,
are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual
bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and
open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells,
[353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each
person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of
which is hung his private property, in the case of women cos-
metic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
356 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is
maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily
and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a
way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and
tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean.
When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women
came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the
houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and
cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in
all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well
seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has
languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for
years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury
in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than
among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes
in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two
and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is
usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human
hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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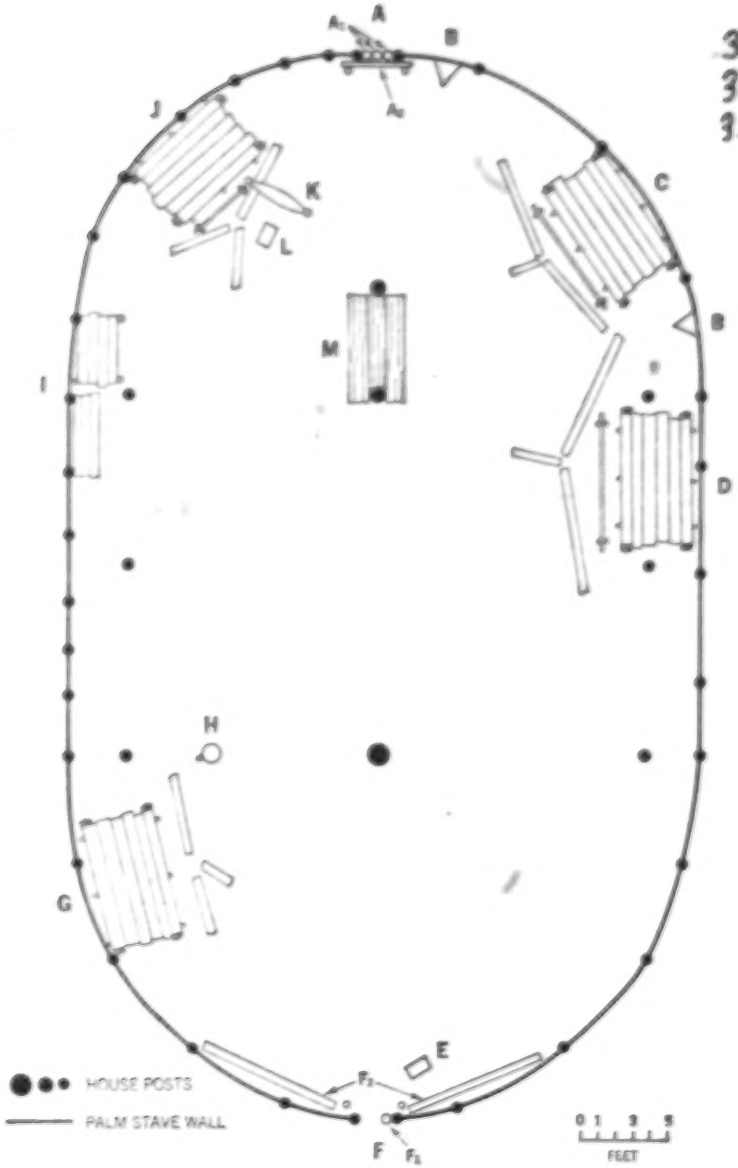

/p. 42/

FIGURE 1

Floor plan of a representative house (upper Río Cangaimi, 1957)

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaṇä*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

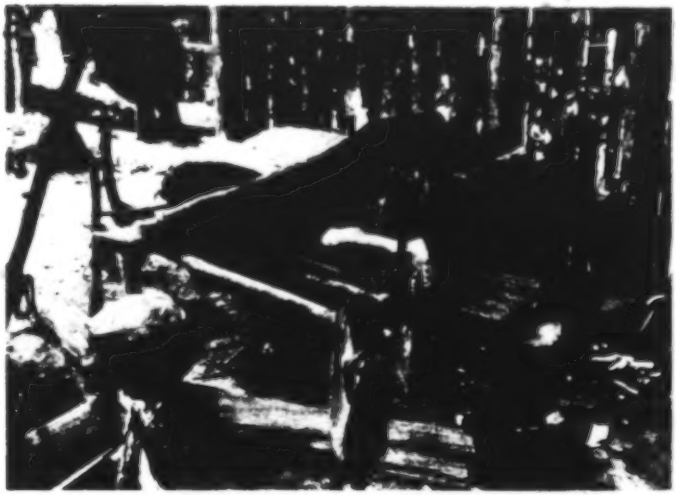
34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*taŋamašä*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-H/

"In the men's department (tangamasha) there are several objects to be mentioned. On one of the chief posts of the house there usually hangs the big signal drum (tunduí) suspended by two lianas. This giant drum has been described as the 'telegraph' of the Jibaro Indians, but this does not exhaust its significance, as we shall presently see. Generally there is also found another and smaller drum hanging to one of the posts. This drum is of European type and originally obtained from the Canelos Indians. Its European origin may be inferred from its very name: tambora (from Spanish tambor). On one of the lateral posts several objects are to be seen: a number of chonta lances (nańki) and blowguns (umi, in Quichua pucuńa), a couple of quivers made of wild bamboo (chipyaťa) in which a great number of fine darts made of palm wood are placed, and frequently one or more round shields (tandaŕa). On another post, close to the fire-place where the owner of the house usually sits when preparing his tobacco water in the morning, there are certain objects illustrating the industrial art of the Indians: a bag made of monkey skin and a smaller bag of chambira fibres, a bundle of wild cotton wrapped up in banana leaves tied to the post, and, hanging from its lower open end, a spindle consisting of a thin, straight pin of chonta wood, at the lower end of which is fixed a small round wheel of chonta or a stone disc with a hole drilled in the middle. Round the spindle is generally wound some cotton thread already spun. When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he

is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names.

I may add at once that both spinning and weaving are occupations strictly limited to the male sex.

The Jibaro Indian keeps his most important personal belongings--the newly-woven loin-cloth (itipi) which he uses at the great feasts, and his ornaments, especially the feather ornaments which are liable to be attacked by moth and other insects-- in a special, big basket plaited of a certain liana and provided with a cover. This basket, called tukupi, is kept hanging from the ceiling by a liana, being lowered as occasion requires."

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jívaro
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342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
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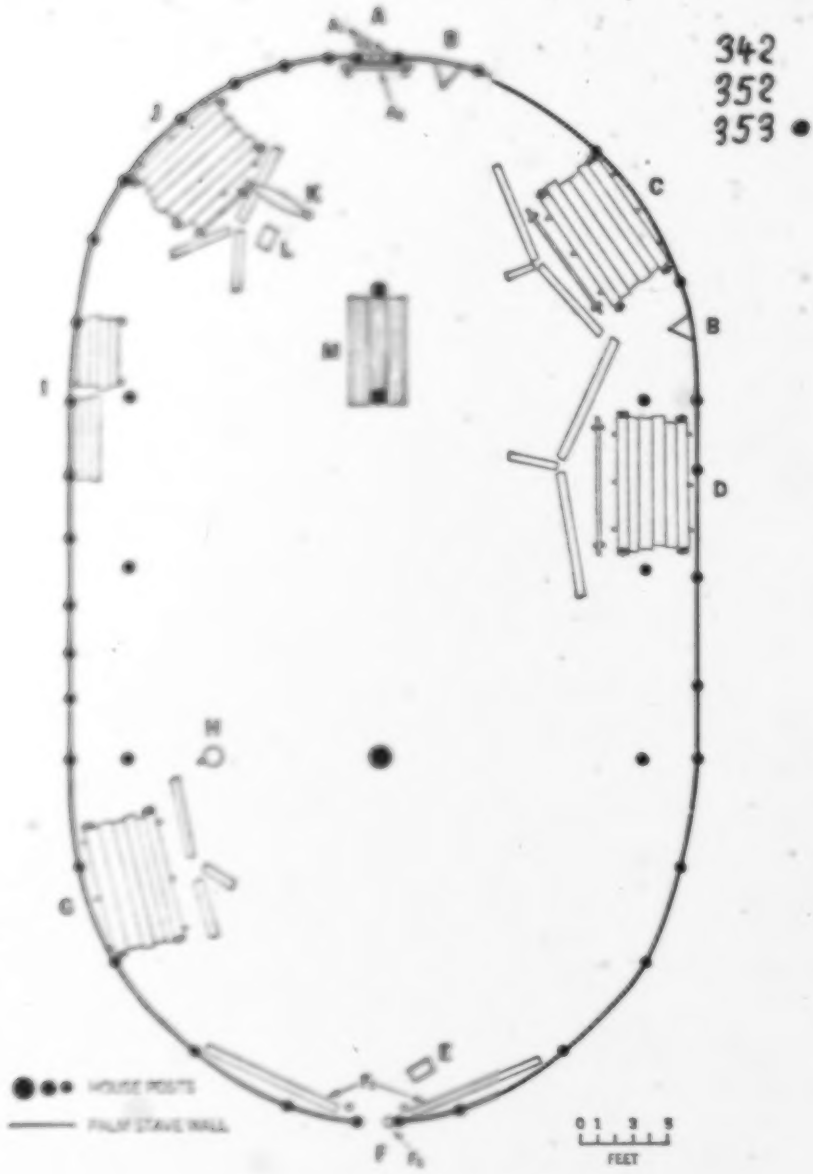
secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/331 cont./

354 [825] almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the 342 [353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bedrooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch 352 342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully 342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such 358 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing 291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

34 Harner E-4 S (1956-1969) 1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



/p. 42/

FIGURE 1

Floor plan of a representative house (upper Río Cangaimi, 1957)

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[574]
[574]
[415]
[855]
[854]
[273]
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[273]

KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutapi*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpui*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

J4:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 [202] nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 [412] The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapinjuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 513 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 [351] [146] Each household has either a single large garden or several smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jivaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

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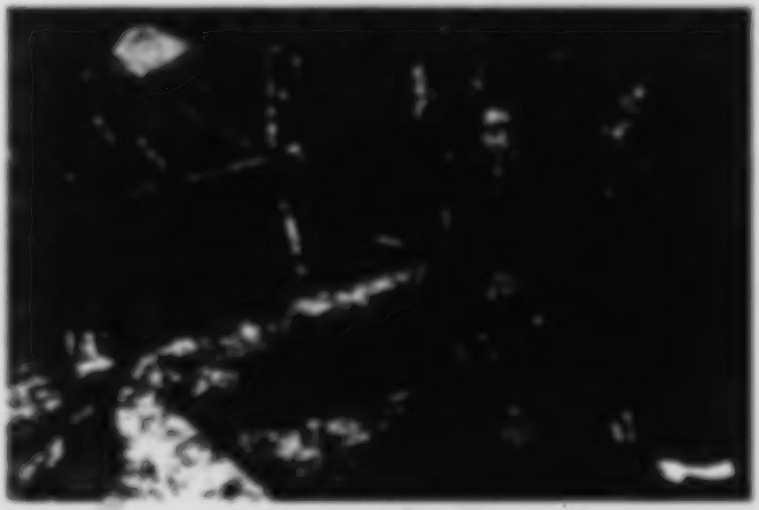
16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving munioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Rio Cangaimi, 1956-57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Rio Macuma and the upper Rio Cangaimi, 1956-57).



/p. 135-c/

34 Harner E-6.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 115-150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhood.
Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremit-
ted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often
little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebra-
tions. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced
onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until
the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Some-
times such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is
consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast
with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it
means that the tsantsa never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
the tsantsa and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[796] Plate 11). The reason given for not using cotton strings
[283] during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned.
The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paste. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
• [353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the tsantsa may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[595] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.*
[764]

The primary purpose of the tsantsa feast, from the Jivaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose, but is to acquire pres-
554 tige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
765

12: Rivet--588 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 354

The Jíbaro use seeds that they call sapatra for illumination. They come from a kind of Fevillea (Curcurbitaceæ), doubtless the Fevillea cordifolia. These seeds, flat and circular, 4 to 5 centimeters in diameter, are strung on a wooden rod so as to form a candle about 40 centimeters long. Since they are very oily, they give a slightly smoky but fairly bright flame: two of these candles suffice to light the house adequately. For night marches, they use copal torches.

25: Vigna--41 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 354, 513, 372, 415

The fire is always kept lit. At night it burns at the foot of the sleeper and keeps him warm, so that the Jíbaro has no need of sheets or blankets. In illness, in order to conserve heat, they use a piece of cloth that serves as loin cloth. They do not have a kitchen; the fire that burns at the foot of the bed serves for hearth and here, they prepare their food. Hollow calabashes are used for water. When they go on a journey, they take along a burning firebrand. [42]

28: Tessman--350 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 354

The fireplaces may be anywhere in the house, but not in front of the doors.

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *nalemA* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

/330 cont./ Each house
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/331 cont./

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemä* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

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1: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
356 (1928-29)

"The roof (kambańaka), consists of plaited palm leaves, and in the tropical climate is liable to be attacked by insects and gradually destroyed, so it has to be renewed after the lapse of some years. In building a new house therefore the Jibaros observe the following custom. On the fire kindled in the new house no manioc or palm cabbage can be cooked until it has been purified by burning cedar wood (Cedrela herrerae), the smoke of which will penetrate the thatch and kill the insects existing in it. In this way the thatch, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is not only purified for the time being, but permanently. If manioc or palm cabbage is cooked in the new house before the said procedure, certain maggots, which easily develop in the manioc plant and in palm tops, will infest the thatch and soon destroy it. Until the house has been purified in the way indicated these kinds of vegetable food must be cooked in a special, small shelter outside the new house."

1: Karsten--96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 356 (1928-29)

"The floor in a Jibaro house is the earth itself. No mats are used, but the natural floor is carefully kept clean by daily sweeping. This is all the more necessary as in a Jibaro house there are not only human, but also certain animal inmates. Thus the hens, although they are as a rule kept outside, make occasional visits in the house, and besides among the members of the family is generally found a tame paugi (Crax paugi) a trumpeter bird, or a parrot, who freely move about. In spite of this, to a stranger visiting a Jibaro house for the first time, it conveys on the whole the impression of cleanliness and sense of order, which are in fact among the characteristic qualities of the Jibaro Indians."

4: Up de Graff--197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
515, 356

"After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

4: Up de Graff--206-207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 356, 462

"In general the houses are clean, free from bad odours, and kept in good repair. The work is divided very [207] unevenly between the sexes, the larger share falling to the lot of the women. They do the cooking, spinning, packing, and have the care of the plantations (weeding is one of their heaviest tasks, for they have to fight against a persistent growth of thorny and poisonous plants, which harbour all manner of venomous insects). Finally, their most important duty is the daily chewing of the yuca root for giamanchi, the standard dish of every household."

12: Rivet--585 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 342, 356

The house proper is composed of a single room (1), sometimes divided by a transverse partition in the center; the floor is composed of the beaten earth, perfectly levelled and kept in a state of great neatness.

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1. At Macas, Reiss saw houses divided into three rooms by transverse partitions: the outer room served as a reception room, the central room as the kitchen, the rear room as the bedroom. Reiss, op. cit., page 330-331.

/331 cont./

354 almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
[825] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
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usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human
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335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. 342
The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a [712]
single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the door- 342
ways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn 712
wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even 362
though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually 342
after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for 356
abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity [313]
of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of [224]
wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 356 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
362 until the ninth year of occupancy.

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma.*

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large
[202] wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

• 356 The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside
[412] daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapimiuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both
513 in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 Each household has either a single large garden or several
[351] smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually
[146] located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemä* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
• [356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

1: Karsten--39 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
361 (1928-29)

"Beneath the Sarayacu are a few Indian houses and even a small village, inhabited by mestizos and Indians, called Juanjiri, but for the rest the regions are wholly desert. The same may be said of the Pastaza's middle course, where there are only sundry Indian settlements. These Indians belong to the small Shimigay tribe, who speak Quichua and are now half-civilized. The savage Indians, on the other hand, have retired far away to the unexplored parts of the interior."

1: Karsten--43-44 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
361 (1928-29)

"Like most other savage Indians the Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, where they are more exposed to their enemies, be they Indians of other tribes or whites, but prefer to construct their large communal houses on some small rivulet in the interior of the country. Consequently, if I wished to visit the Achuares I had to penetrate into a country where most certainly no European had ever put his [44] foot and where the savage Indians lived in absolute independence."

1: Karsten--79-80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
171, 361, 161 (1928-29)

"They [JKM: four Aguaruna Indians Karsten met on Apaga river bank] were really Jibaros. The type is easily recognizable, and the dress and the whole external appearance was the same as that of the Jibaro Indians I had recently visited far away in the Ecuadorian forests. Even the language was in the main the same, although I could at once find considerable dialectal differences. Sometimes they used words which we did not at once understand, but the conversation on the whole proceeded quite nicely. We at once learned that the Aguarunas did not live there close to the river, but about half a day's march into the interior. Those we had met stayed here only temporarily for the sake of hunting and fishing and for this purpose had built themselves a rough hut. It seemed however as if these Indians had intended to stay away for a long time. Like most Indians of the virgin forests the Jibaros are a restless kind of folk who from time to time seek new dwelling-places. In most cases either fear of enemies or of epidemics make them take up their abodes in fresh places. From the information these Indians gave me I learned that the Aguarunas have in recent years been greatly decimated owing to some epidemic. At any rate the Aguarunas living in the region of the Apaga now only formed a comparatively small tribe. The younger of the two Indians, by name Himbikite, offered [80] to take me on the following day to his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, my payment for this service being a nice knife in a sheath."

1: Karsten--94 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 361 (1928-29)

"In describing my journeys among the Jibaro Indians I had occasion to mention repeatedly that the savage Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, but prefer to make their houses beside small affluents in the interior of the country. The reason for this is obvious: it is due to their constant fear of hostile attacks. By hiding themselves in the forests in the way they do, they not only avoid the whites, who now and then travel along the main rivers, but they are also better protected against hostile Indian tribes. The Jibaro houses are also largely constructed with a view to keeping off uninvited guests; in fact, nearly every house is a sort of fortress, as will be shown in greater detail in the part dealing with the warfare of the Indians."

9: Simson--187 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 202, 361

"The Jívaros practise a system of telegraphy, which has at all times been very dangerous to their adversaries in war, by giving strokes on the 'Tunduli,' a large drum, which is heard from house to house, and passed on from hill to hill. The houses are all over their territories at convenient distances for the purpose; and in this manner very varied information is conveyed in a few moments to all the families of hordes dispersed over a large extent of country. This was the greatest danger the Spaniards had to contend with, and is still a main source of protection to these Indians, as they can rouse large numbers at a moment's notice, and sound the alarm through entire hordes."

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 361, 576, 721

"We noticed a sheltered creek on the left bank which had not been visible before. A few strokes more and it was in view. On the hillside above, some two hundred yards from the bank, a bright yellow patch among the dark-green forest, stood a Jívaro shack. [188]

The sight of that hut on the hillside was as good to us as water to a man dying in the Sahara. We felt a new strength, and the word 'fear' had no meaning for us. All we thought of at that moment was that there lay our goal, a few hundred yards ahead. Of the difficulties and dangers which lay in our path, not one thought crossed our minds. To push ahead was all that mattered.

And then we saw human life. Four Antipas, long-haired and stark naked, were crossing the stream ahead of us in a dugout. Indifferent as to the effect it might have on them, we gave a yell, in which was voiced all the pent-up joy which was in our hearts at meeting our own kind after the weary search which lay behind us. If we had stopped to think a moment, we should gave realized that a whoop such as we let fly could carry but one message to a Jívaro--war.Those four in that dugout did not even stop to turn their craft. They stood up, faced about, and paddled hard astern for their lives, throwing the water eight full feet into the air, and racing for the left bank where (as they thought) safety lay. No sooner had they landed than the Boom-boom, Boom-boom of the call to arms came floating across the water to us, to be taken up in fifty settlements all round the country. Clearly it was to be war. Little we cared, however--not because we were particularly brave, but rather particularly hungry. And after all, [189] approaching on the water and

armed with Winchesters, we had little to fear from spears. Following the flying dugout, we came upon some twenty more pulled up on the beach, and we made our way to the landing-place and hauled ashore. Then broke out a storm of war-whooping and howling which beggars description. The object, of course, was to impress us with the idea that we were faced by innumerable warriors. There was nothing, or almost nothing, to be seen of the savages, sheltered as they were behind the thick palisades of split palms which surrounded their huts and which could be guaranteed to stop even a bullet from our rifles."

4: Up de Graff--192-193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 101, 361, 721

"A few words about this tribe will not come amiss, as they played such an important part in our personal history during our search for the Inca gold, and are, indeed, one of the only six known head-hunting tribes of the Amazon zone, grouped under the common name Jívaros, the others (all their enemies) being the Huambizas or Pantecunas, the Aguarunas, the Muratos and the Zaparos. To form an estimate of the relative strengths of these peoples is more than I dare attempt; their migratory habits and their custom of living in small scattered settlements hidden in the dense jungle makes it an impossible task. Indeed, one of the main points of their policy is to conceal from one another not only their whereabouts but also their fighting strength, even going so far as never to use the same trail twice, if possible, in approaching their homes. For these reasons an air of complete mystery surrounds the whole region, [193] and the casual white invader stands no chance of obtaining accurate statistics."

4: Up de Graff--202-203 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 221, 361, 241

"The Antipas, then, are semi-nomadic. The year for them is divided into three parts, not corresponding to the seasons as we know them, but to the capacity of the crops which they plant for keeping them alive; that is to say, they have three distinct homes, some ten or twenty miles apart, each with its own clearing (chacra in Inca), between which they divide their time. At each homestead they plant fresh crops before leaving for the next, living the while on the produce they find waiting for them on arrival, the result of the last sowing. Each crop takes about eight months to mature, on an average. The exception, of course, is the banana-plant, which bears fruit for many years; the old plant dies each year, after bearing one bunch of fruit, but automatically there spring [203] up round the roots fresh shoots which bear the next year.

Living as they do well to the west of the area which is annually inundated, and consequently being free from dependance on the seasons, they can sow at any time of the year, with the certainty of reaping at the end of the unvarying number of months which are needed in order that the crop may ripen. Yuca, for instance, is ready in six months; Indian corn in three months; yams (a potato which grows three to four feet in length and fifty pounds in weight) in a year; sweet potatoes, peanuts, and tobacco are also cultivated in large quantities."

5: Reyes and Teran--118-119 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 101, 361

"The native tribes are grouped more by language divisions than by ethnic differences, and the Pastaza river is the dividing line. Those who speak Quechua live to the north of this line, while those speaking Jivaro live to the south. Neither group lives in settlements, [191] as it is their custom to live in isolation in the depths of the forest, even though they do not keep entirely away from the settlements of the whites, with whom they maintain commercial relations through trading gold or some other native product for trinkets, in which they manifest particular interest."

5: Reyes and Teran--123-125 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 167, 361

"Macas is the largest settlement in the forest. It is about as well or perhaps better established as was Sevilla del Oro, destroyed by the Jivaros in the Sixteenth century. Located 1091 meters above sea level on the banks of the Upano, it has about 1,000 inhabitants, and in the midst of such isolation, boasts such remarkable advancements as electric light service, a hospital, etc. It is more or less at the latitude of Alausí, and may be reached most easily from Cuenca, in the south.

Méndez, founded by Eudólfilo Alvarez in 1913, has been converted into a major gold market. Located on the banks of the Paute, at an elevation of 700 meters, in a gorge which does not permit much [124] agricultural development, it is, on the other hand, the headquarters for an immense floating population which searches avidly for the precious metal in the sands of the river. There are about 600 permanent inhabitants.

Mera, at the gateway to the forest, where the canyon of the Pastaza widens and loses itself on the great plain, is attracting a large stream of immigrants because of its climate and fertility. These newcomers will soon transform the place into an agricultural center of much importance. The town has in the neighborhood of 200 inhabitants. Very near to it is the settlement of Puyo, which has excellent possibilities for future development.

Tena and Archidona are the oldest and most firmly established towns of the Napo region. While the former has made notable progress thanks to its Josefino missions,

the latter, on the other hand, has declined greatly, in spite of having been, in former times, the key to the Oriente.

Rocafuerte, at the confluence of the Aguarico with the Napo, is the most [125] remote settlement of our effective domain in the Oriente. It is the center of the main military garrison of the Oriente; its scant 180 meters of elevation gives it an essentially tropical climate which is quite exhausting. Also on the left bank of the Napo, and separated from Rocafuerte only by a slight depression of the terrain, is the Peruvian garrison of Cabo Pantoja. The isolation of Rocafuerte from the other population centers of Ecuador makes it necessary for its inhabitants to be subjected to the economic despotism of the Peruvian markets.

Zamora, Gualaquiza, Indanza, Sucúa, Puerto Napo, Arapicos, Canelos, and Baeza are settlements of less importance, but all are in the midst of fertile zones which only await better means of communication to attract intensive colonization."

12: Rivet--583 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361

The Jíbaros never live united in villages. Their homes are found scattered in the middle of the forest. These settlements are never permanent; in fact, the savages change their residence frequently, every six years on the average (1). The dwelling is always located near a stream, in the middle of a little cultivated land; no defined road leads to it, and only the Indians are able to recognize the trace of a pathway invisible to strangers in the labryinth of trees and thick underbrush.

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1. "Informe del Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 395.

12: Rivet--617 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361, 202

We have seen with what care the Indian hides his house in the deepest woods with no regular path to it, this placing having no other point except to multiply the difficulties for anyone coming to attack. The walls leave no opening by which anyone could introduce a lance. In every house big pots of water are always ready on boards resting on the roof beams, in order to put out fire quickly. The tunduli plays an essential role in these nocturnal attacks. It is the tocsin which, with incredible rapidity, calls the members of the tribe, to the aid of the besieged.

18: Hermessen--442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 342, 462, 361

"Within a radius of several miles from Jamboé there were several Jîbaro houses, each standing alone in a separate clearing a little way back from the river, with a belt of forest interposed, so that they were effectually concealed from view from the water. All were exactly alike--rectangular in plan, with rounded ends, about 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, and constructed of bamboo on a framework of big poles lashed together with lianas. At either end was a door of solid wood, usually kept securely bolted on the inside. The roof was high-pitched and made of palm thatch. Several families of blood relations lived together in one house. There was no partition between the quarters of the men and those of the women, as Orton and others have noted as a detail of the dwellings of the Indians (Záparos) on the Napo and other rivers of the Oriente province of Ecuador, (18) but the rear portion was always allotted to the females."

"18. James Orton: The Andes and the Amazon, New York, 1876, p. 171."

20: Dyott--151 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
361

"When least expecting it, we suddenly came upon Kuashu's abode in a secluded section of the forest. It was built on rising ground, with juca and bananas growing plentifully all about it. Strategically, the place was well-chosen. A hillock surrounded with boggy land is about as immune from attack as anything could be. Marauding bands of Indians would find it difficult to approach such a place by day unless familiar with the lie of the land; at night it would be next to impossible to avoid detection."

20: Dyott--160 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 361

"Jivaro houses, it might be noted, are never built closely together after the manner of a village, but widely separated in the jungle, with greater resultant personal freedom and less squabbling amongst neighbours. A wise precaution which we in our country might emulate to advantage."

26: Brüning--46 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 131, 166

The Indians are inhabitants of a region which extends along the upper course of the Marañón River, from Yusamaro downward to Puerto Meléndez at the Pongo de Manseriche. They live in this region in small and widely dispersed settlements close to the banks of the River. I have been informed that their chief settlements are located farther up along the tributary rivers. Beyond Yusamaro no Indians are said to remain anymore, yet formerly their settlements are said to have extended to the Pongo Rentema. They had moved down to the Marañón River on account of the quarrels they had with the whites or, rather, the mestizos. Their settlements can not be called permanent anyway. Despite the fact that the Indians live at one place for a long time, and in relatively permanent dwellings at that, they are said to leave their settlements frequently for no special reason in order to reestablish themselves again at some distance from the former settlement.

26: Brüning--50-51 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361

The Indians like to dwell in the vicinity of rivers. Once they have found a suitable spot, they start by clearing out a lot. [51] Such clearing is necessary everywhere, for there is no territory without forest. On the clearing a temporary hut is built out of the timber which the clearing process had yielded. More trees are then cut down to obtain a larger area for the fields where they plant Yucca, corn, cotton, bananas, and maní. This field is as a rule somewhat removed from the house and in the middle of the forest. I have not been able to find out the reason for this. They do it perhaps because there is no suitable land close to the river, where the huts are set up, or for some other reason. As they go along, they collect the material for their permanent home. The erection of the permanent dwelling is a slow process, and occasionally it may take several years before it is ready since they work on it only seldom and with long interruptions.

26: Brüning--52 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 103

It is the rule that a settlement consists of only one house. Two houses, as I had seen them, for instance, in S. Antonio, are rarely found together. The various houses form, however, larger or smaller groups, separated from each other by forest and yet connected with each other by narrow footpaths. One such group has a definite name.

28: Tessman--361 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 361

The single house is the typical form of Chiwaro settlement.

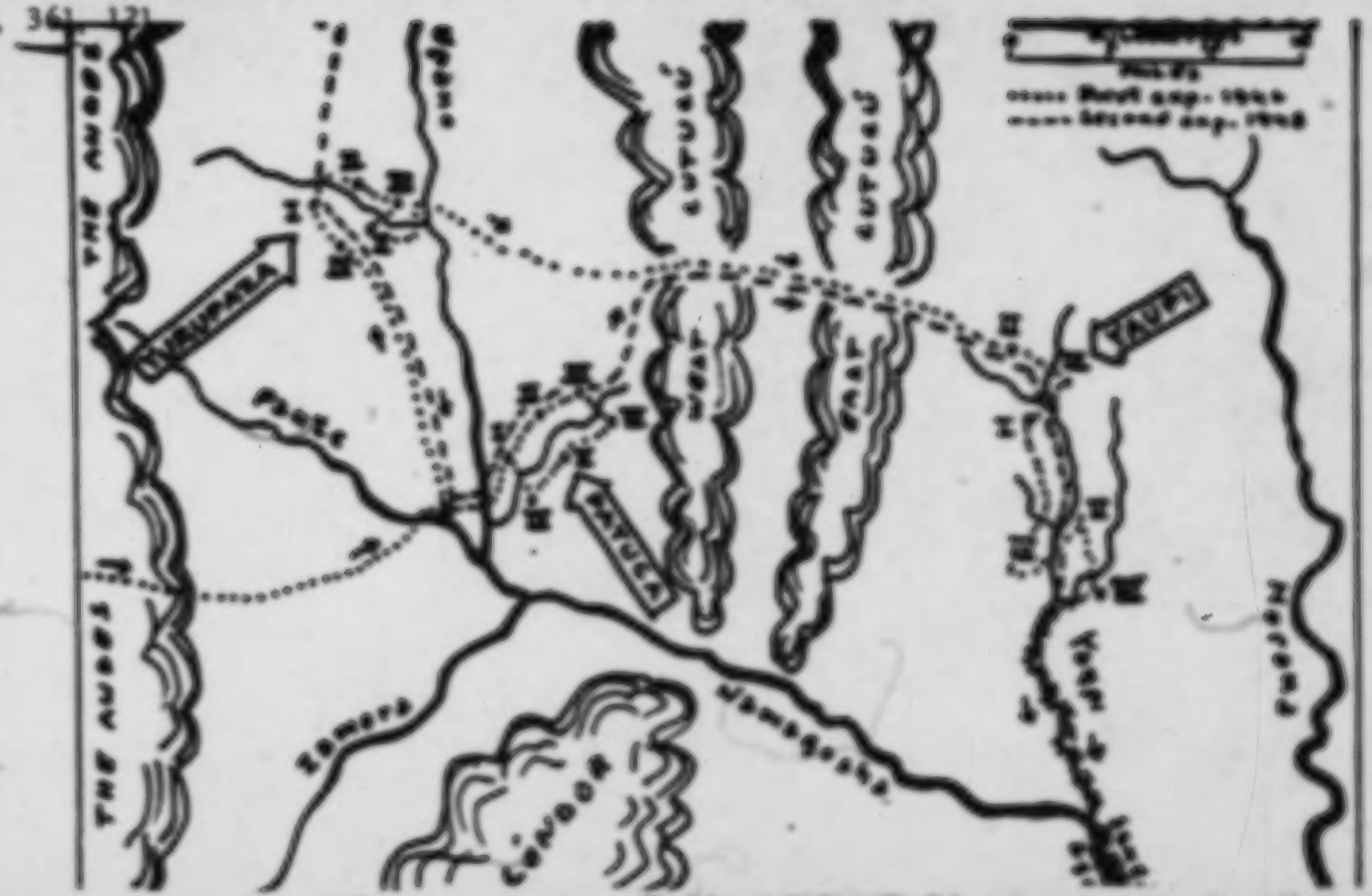
31; Danielsson--84 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 134, 361

"As the rains are very heavy and frequent the uppermost thin layer of humus is washed away from the fields in a few years time. Consequently the Jibaros stay in the same place only as long as the fields are able to produce crops, and then leave to find a new dwelling-place. (This seems to be the real reason for their semi-nomadic character, frequently ascribed to the so-called 'wandering instinct.') Usually they move around within a very limited area."

31: Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for describing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

31; Danielsson--87 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 361 121



/9D9 cont./

49/ dangerous. Farther down, however, the river had to be waded, for the jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

C-GR Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priest, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 700 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Peire and Suing, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /3D6/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived

186 797 in deep remorseful under their priestly tyrant; the Jíbaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scarcely rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

● 361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jíbaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos. [48] Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

/330 cont./ Each house

361 ties alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
399.2 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
526 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[24] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Ifugao
moves quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
124 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms. The
columns are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 35 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm
trunks supporting the roof. Special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowgun, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs. Low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender conspiance supported by
359 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri huará*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
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If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
• 361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting
conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game
requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the
neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwell-
ing may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause
for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling
owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger
crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen
male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a
man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capa-
ble of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy
attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size
and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication
of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday
needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting
visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance.
Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Curucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
184 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *miatuá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jívaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *nimiá huará* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jívaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kapaim huará* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huará* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jívaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jívaro society.

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The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jívaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

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A household tends to have a typical composition of: one

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1897, pp. 49-50; Anonymous, 1921, p. 56. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 6.
30. Anonymous, 1921, pp. 32-33, 56.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93-94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from and accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jivaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11-17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censo, 1954, pp. 178, 191. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 178 Jivaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 78-9, 140-44.
36. Macabeo and Jivaro oral histories. [193]

CHAPTER 2

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is still distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not so evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,492 mm. at Gualaquiza to 1,239 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 97 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 23.2 degrees Centigrade (Fordon, 1971, pp. 73-74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1971, p. 65. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1961, p. 183) I questioned whether the Jivaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunghi and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER 3

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956-57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jivaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 • 161 114

The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1961, p. 133; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

34:Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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reported by Davidson (1966, p. 40) where Jivaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 40 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuars, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Davidson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Davidson's neighborhoods, Pituca and Yutupata, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censo, 1954, pp. 136, 141) of Jivaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the actual count of Jivaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956-57. A comparison of the SIL Jivaro house count with the census figures for the Jivaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Pituca and Yutupata neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.1 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Davidson's "Totally" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

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c. Muratorio, 1980, p. 60.

[104]

d. In the Jivaro language *kakarma* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakarma* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of one and in order to avoid confusion.

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e. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of amitri trading partners in Jivaro culture antedates ca. 1900, although its generalization and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jivaro amitri concept and the Spain American compadrazgo. The frontier Jivaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Mashiri) do reciprocally use the term *kompa* (compadre) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Mashiri and any Jivaro without the implication of personal obligation.

CHAPTER 11

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1976) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

2. Salomon, 1975, pp. 581, 596.

3. Centrada, 1986, and Harner, 1973.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. 342
The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a [712]
single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the door- 342
ways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn 712
wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even 362
though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually 342
after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for 356
abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity [313]
of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of [224]
wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
956 until the ninth year of occupancy.
• 962

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 961 [224] [628] [768]

Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 462 476 602

Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

342 554

A family averaging only about nine persons typically occupies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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1: Karsten--114-115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 372 (1928-29)

"Fire is made--or has been made up to recent times--by the Jibaros in the same primitive way as by other savage Indian tribes, by friction, two sticks of the tree called uruchi numi being rubbed against or drilled into each other. Uruchi numi means 'cotton tree'; this tree however is not identical with the cotton tree they now cultivate, and from which they obtain their yarn by spinning, and I have not been able to identify it. As previously stated, the two sticks used for drilling fire were called uruna and the bag in which they were formerly carried is still called by the same name. The Jibaros very seldom make fire afresh; generally embers are found in some of the numerous fire-places in a house and, as we have seen, the fires are as a rule kept burning the whole night. The fire-places are on the earth, one before each sleeping rack, and are formed by three or four big logs of the [115] chonta palm pointing to a common centre, and the ends of them serve as a basis for the cooking-pots. To light the fire in the morning, if it has gone out, the Indian has only to push the ends of the logs together, to place a few chips in the centre, and blow gently."

3: Simson--386 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 372

"The way the fires are maintained is very ingenious: three large logs, about one to one-and-a-half feet in diameter and ten to twelve feet long, are placed with their points converging to a centre, at equal angles; and on the approximated inner ends the pot is stood. As the logs are consumed, the fire is fed merely by pushing them a little further in towards the centre; and if a stronger fire is required, smaller wood is thrown on the always red-hot and smouldering ends and fanned for a few moments with a fan of plaited grass."

12: Rivet--585[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 372

Around the post located at the focus of the ellipse near the women's door are found all the household utensils; the space between it and the door represents the kitchen. Here a sort of bamboo screen hangs from the roof, in which are placed the various culinary vessels. There are as many fires as families in the house. Each fire is made up of three big sticks of wood, 30 to 45 cm. in diameter and 3 to $3^{m}50$ long, placed at 120° angles from each other and converging at the same point. It is there that the pot is placed: as fast as the sticks of wood are consumed, they are pushed little by little toward the center (1).

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 386.

12: Rivet--588-589 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 172

The savage procures fire by the method of boring or [589] whirling (fig. 16). Small holes are made in a board of soft and perfectly dry wood, in which the Indian whirls the pointed end of a stick of very hard wood. The friction causes the formation of a very fine wood powder which, as a result of the heat developed, finally bursts into flames. The operation is long and tiring and many individuals take turns before arriving at success.

25: Vigna--41 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 354, 513, 372, 415

The fire is always kept lit. At night it burns at the foot of the sleeper and keeps him warm, so that the Jíbaro has no need of sheets or blankets. In illness, in order to conserve heat, they use a piece of cloth that serves as loin cloth. They do not have a kitchen; the fire that burns at the foot of the bed serves for hearth and here, they prepare their food. Hollow calabashes are used for water. When they go on a journey, they take along a burning firebrand. [42]

28: Tessman--353 [?] — (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 372

They make fire by rubbing two sticks, both of which are taken either from the liana (kangum) or the bisa. They do not use flints. Farabee tells a Chiwaro-legend concerning the origin of fire. Sr. F. T. Munis (probably should read: Muñoz) told him the story.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hanse-*
[273] *mata*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high
[273] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[393] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

"The Jibaros paint the outside of their muitsa [JKM: large pots in which is kept the manioc-beer] and pininga [JKM: shallow dishes from which beer is drunk] red with roucou (Bixa orellana), inside again they coat them with a special, beautiful, reddish-yellow varnish which they call yukaípi. This varnish is prepared in the following way. From the top of a certain forest tree they obtain, by parting it into small fibres and squeezing out the juice, a clear, glutinous white matter which is boiled in a small clay pot together with the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and some water. Thus the liquid becomes red or reddish-yellow in colour and makes the varnish called yukaípi. When congealed, it forms a fine glazing upon the surface of the clay dish. In this way the Jibaros not only embellish clay vessels, but also certain wooden objects, especially the shafts of a special kind of lance with points of a jaguar's or bear's leg-bones.

Again, the small black cooking-pots called yukuñda are painted inside with a black polish or varnish called sekaía. It is a black wax produced by certain wild bees which make their nests in holes in the earth. When warmed up at the fire this wax melts and forms a lustrous varnish. It is the same kind of black polish which the Jibaros apply to their blowguns, to be described later on."

1: Karsten--104-105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 386 (1928-29)

"Another work which, according to the idea of the Jibaros, can only be done by the women is dyeing. When the cotton is spun, it has to be dyed in different colours before the men can start weaving, since patterns of different colours are woven into the stuff. It is a remarkable fact that although spinning and weaving are strictly male occupations, it is the women who have to dye the yarn. If we consider that for dyeing the Jibaro women use partly clay, partly certain leaves of the forest, and that women are mysteriously associated both with the clay and with certain plants, we may perhaps understand the peculiar division of labour observed by the Indians on this point.

The Jibaro women dye the yarn by soaking it in a solution obtained by boiling the leaves of certain plants in a clay pot with water, the bark of certain trees or other ingredients being generally added. The vegetable ingredient most often used for producing red colour is the seeds of Bixa orellana (called ipyaku in the Jibaro language), and this is also used for painting clay vessels. For dyeing, the seeds are boiled in water with some of the bark obtained from a big tree called kuai. When soaked in this solution the yarn will get a deep, red colour of great durability. The Achuares obtain the same colour by boiling the red Bixa seeds with the bark of a tree which they call payas.

A yarn of brown colour is produced by soaking the natural cotton yarn in a solution

obtained by boiling in water the leaves of a cultivated vine called tai.

A solution obtained by boiling the leaves of a plant called yamakai gives the yarn a beautiful dark brown colour.

Again, a dark grey or black colour is produced in several ways. The yarn may be soaked in a genipa solution alone. The juice obtained from the fruit of the genipa tree (Genipa americana, called sua by the Jibaros) is especially used by the Indians for facial and body-painting, but besides this it is often used as a dye-stuff and produces a black or grey colour in the yarn. Generally, however, the genipa is not used alone; it is mixed either with a special kind of clay or mud (nui, tsakuśa) or with a solution obtained by boiling in water the black bark of a tree called chiańgrapi. Frequently all three, that is, the genipa (sua), the clay (nui), and the chiańgrapi solution are mixed so as to make the dark colour more durable. Besides the bark chiańgrapi, another bark obtained from a big tree called ukuńcha is used for the purpose. [105]

The work of dyeing has to be done with great care lest the yarn be spoiled or fail to assume the colour intended. The Jibaro women therefore have to fast strictly on the day when they are engaged in this work. Thus, it is believed, the dye will stick fast to the yarn and remain unchanged for any length of time."

2: Stirling--92 (1930-1931) 1930 Jivaro
116, 286, 462

"The dyeing of the thread in various shades of brown is done by steeping it in a solution of vegetable dye made from achiote seeds and various kinds of bark, depending on the shade of brown desired. The dyeing is done by the women, the Indians explaining that the process takes a considerable length of time and the men do not care to be tied down by it."

4: Up de Graff--209 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 386

"Seldom do they dye the cloth when finished, for it is almost always woven in coloured stripes from thread already dyed. On rare occasions, however, a piece is made from natural thread and dipped afterwards, but cloth of one colour is not in vogue."

12: Rivet--360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302, 386

The Jíbaros like to paint the uncovered parts of their body (face, breast, arms and legs), perhaps in red with the seeds of the mandoru (Bixa orellana), or in bluish black with the fruit of a tree called zula or piú-piú (Genipa oblongifolia) (1). Most often, the face paintings assume the form of transverse rays frequently augmented with indentations, and they are red and black indifferently. Those on the breast and stomach are generally black and are made up of squares or simple designs; but sometimes on the breast one find a transverse line from which are detached some ornaments, the arrangement of which, difficult to visualize, is obtained in the following manner: the design is deeply engraved upon a wooden cylinder, about 6 centimeters long and 1 centimeter to 1-1/2 thick. The crevices are filled in with color given consistency by the addition of bird fat. Thus prepared, the cylinder is rolled on the body, pressing it down very hard with the hand, and it imprints the ornaments on the body. The designs made with the zula juice become black little by little on contact with the air, without doubt by slow oxidation; they last 8 to 10 days and even resist energetic cleanings. The designs made with munduru, on the contrary, are effaced quickly and have to be constantly renewed (2). The savage attaches a great importance to this style. He also paints his teeth with zula.

1. By crushing the pulp of this fruit in warm water, one obtains a thick liquid, which, it appears, dyes white hair perfectly black. Cordero, op. cit. page 32.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 332.

Zk: BrGuing--59 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 186, 436

For dyeing purposes the Indians use the leaf of a tree which they call yamakáy. The dye stuff is chocolate-brown. I cannot tell whether they dye the cotton or rather the yarn. They dye fabrics which they acquire through barter.

/33 cont./

extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /33/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with hard fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

34 Harner E-6.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[296]
[535]
[559]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn.
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

• 286 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 will are unknown. Cotton kilts (*tsipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tsuali*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood [244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taraĉi*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

1: Karsten--112-113 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 501, 396 (1928-29)

"The making of canoes is another important task incumbent on the men which requires great patience and skill, and this was especially the case in former times when the Indians did not possess the iron tools of the whites. The canoes of the Jibaros are dug-outs of the same type as is commonly used by the Indians in tropical South America, and they are skilled canoeists. For canoe-making only certain big trees with a straight stem can be used, and of these the cedar is the most sought after. The felling of the huge tree and the excavation of the stem was tedious work before the Indian had the iron axe and knife, and was chiefly carried out by means of stone axes and fire. The Indians still commonly use fire in digging out the stem after it is dry, but great care is necessary lest the edges should become too thin and the vessel burst. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians therefore consider it necessary that the men taking part in the work should restrict their diet and observe sexual abstinence. During the days that they are engaged in felling the tree they can take nothing but roasted green plantains and tobacco water. Manioc-beer, which in normal cases serves the Indians both as food and drink, they are forbidden to consume; otherwise, it is feared, the stem will burst. Afterwards, when the men are engaged in digging it out, they are not only forbidden to have intercourse with their wives, but no woman is allowed to come near the place where they are working; if they do come near, the canoe will burst and become useless.

Besides this, the Jibaros, at any rate the tribes of the Upano, practise the following

custom when the canoe is ready for use. When the vessel has to be taken down to the river, the Indians first only do it 'in play', that is, they pretend to do it and go down to the river behaving the whole time as if they were dragging the canoe. When the vessel is really taken down, the women tie a rope to the stem and drag the canoe by it, calling in the same way as when they are calling their swine. This, [113] according to the Indians, is done 'in order that the canoe may not break'. At the same time the men walk on each side of the canoe striking incessantly on the ground with lances and sticks 'in order to prevent the anaconda(pańgi) from upsetting the canoe'. This rite of course has reference to the future use of the canoe. If a canoe is upset in the cataracts of the river, the Indians generally ascribe this accident to the powerful demon living in the river, the great water boa or anaconda."

4: Up de Graff--217-218 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 396

"Canoe-making is an art which must have been passed down among the Jívaros for many centuries, and with little or no advancement in method, for to-day the process is so primitive as to be almost certainly the same as that employed by the original inventors. With infinite patience, a large semi-hard-wood tree three to four feet in diameter is cut down. (I give it no name, as several varieties may be used.) A clearing is made in the vicinity of the fallen trunk to allow the work to be done. The top of the tree is then burned off, until a rough log some twenty to thirty feet long in the case of the biggest canoes, is left. Then, over a period of several months, the arduous task of removing the bark and sap, and of fashioning the log, inside and out, to the shape [218] of a dugout is carried out. With fire and stone axe, little by little the tough wood is charred and chipped. Over and over again the same process is repeated; the women stand fanning the flames, the men work on the blackened surface with their slow tools. Not more than a couple of inches can be burnt at a time, when the charcoal must be scraped away, and a fresh fire built. And so the log gradually takes on the shape of a canoe, and the first rough process draws to a close. As the last of the fires are doing their work, wedges are driven in between the sides of the craft to give them the outward slant which is noticeable in the finished dugout. The fire also serves to drive out any insects which may have made their way into the wood. Then comes the still longer process of scraping and polishing with stones and sand, until the surface of the canoe, inside and outside, is free from imperfections."

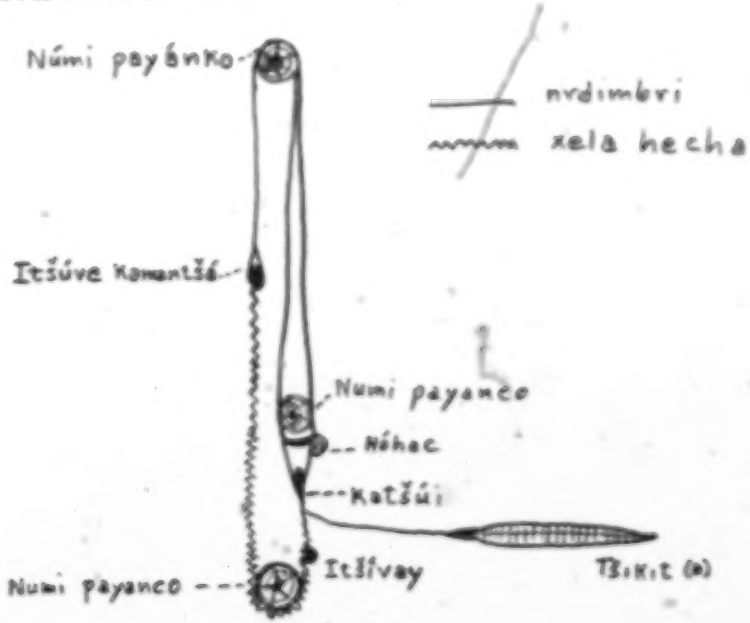
12: Rivet--598-599 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 501, 396

The canoe is indispensable to the Jíbaro. Its construction is a long and laborious operation. For this purpose, the savage looks along the banks of a stream for the biggest tree, preferably a cedar (Cedrela ordorata), and fells it with his ax; this operation alone takes two or three days of work. Then he separates the part that he wishes to use from the trunk; then he levels off one of its sides with the ax and draws on it with carbon the form of the prow and of the [599] stern. The vessel is hollowed out little by little with the aid of fire, then finished with an adze. The keel is made by the same patient, slow procedure. The length varies from 6 to 20 m., the width from 40 to 60 cm., and sometimes attains 1 meter.

The oar is made from a plank 1^{m} 20 to 1^{m} 60 long, terminating in an oval-shaped palette, the whole cut from a single piece of wood.

26: Brüning--59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 286, 404

Figure 6. Cross-section of a Loom.



1: Karsten--107-108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover exhibit their industrial art in the way in which they make their weapons. Of weapons used for attack the lance (nańki) is the most important, or was so before the Indians learnt to know the firearms of the whites. These lances, like the principal weapon of defence, the shield (tandara), will be mentioned again in connection with the [108] Indian wars and I shall therefore not deal with them more closely here. I only add that formerly the lances were thrown by means of a special propellant made of a kind of cane called wachi. This object is now never used and hardly known to the majority of the present-day Jibaros. Nowadays they always throw their lances without the aid of any instrument with the right hand, showing thereby remarkable dexterity. Ordinary bows and arrows of the kind used by most other South American Indians, are entirely unknown both to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians.

The principal hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun (umi, in the Quichua language pucuña) which is made with very great care. The making of blowguns has become a special industry which is developed among only a few Jibaro tribes, and in these is followed by only a few individuals. Thus I myself found that only the tribe at the Arapicos and the Achuares at the central Pastaza were makers of blowguns, with which a trade was carried on with other tribes."

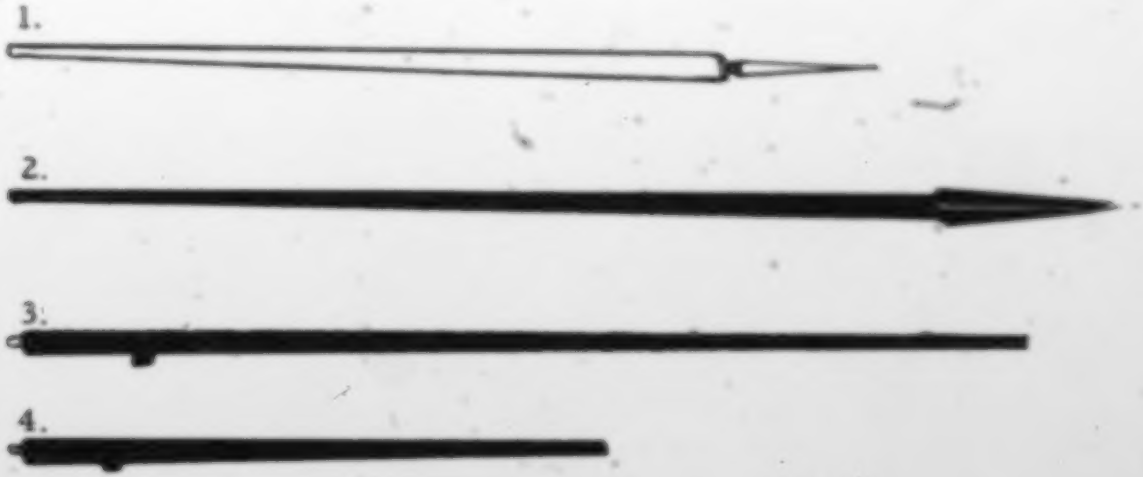


Fig. 1.

1. Lance with shaft of yukaipi and head of jaguar's bone.
2. An ordinary Chonta lance.
3. A blowgun.
4. Small blowgun used by boys.

1: Karsten--143 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

"Besides firearms, which are now known to most tribes, the lance and the blowgun are the most important hunting implements of the Ecuadorian Indians. The lance is used for killing big game like the tapir, the wild hog, and the deer, as well as beasts like the jaguar and the bear. With the blowgun and poisoned arrows the Indians hunt birds, monkeys, and other smaller quadrupeds.

For hunting big game and smaller animals the Indians commonly use dogs of a special mixed race which are bred with great care. This is particularly the case with the Jibaros, who are in the habit of making a great feast in honour of their dogs, called 'the feast of the dogs', by which strength and ability for the tracing and pursuing of the game are supposed to be imparted to them."

1: Karsten--156-157 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 411 (1928-29)

"Some words may be added as to the arrows used for the poison and the blowgun with which they are shot off. The arrows bear no similarity to the ordinary long arrows known from most South American tribes and let off with a bow, a type of weapon entirely unknown to the Jibaros. The arrow or dart is a long thin stick carved out of the hard wood of the chonta palm and somewhat resembling a knitting-needle.

The blowgun, called pucúna by the Quichua-speaking Canelos Indians and úmi by the Jibaros, is about 2 1/2 to 3 metres in length and round like a musket-barrel, although a little thicker. Its making requires great skill and, as I have stated before, it is only manufactured by a few Jibaro tribes, the rest obtaining it by exchange. The Canelos Indians, although they make the poison themselves, do not make the blowguns, but buy them either from the Achuares on the Pastaza or from the Jibaro tribe living on the Arapicos. The blowgun is made of the hard chonta wood, and usually of that particularly strong chonta cultivated by the Indians --the Guilielma species--which also bears the much appreciated contaruru fruit. The blowgun consists of two halves, which are carved separately and then joined together by strips of bast. Lastly the tube is covered with a layer of black wax (sekáta) obtained from wild bees, and carefully polished with so much art and skill that it would be impossible for an uninitiated person to know that it consists of two different pieces. The inner channel through which the dart runs, is 8 to 10 mm. [157] in diameter. This bore is formed by each half being rubbed with a

long and perfectly even chonta stick of the same size as the channel desired. The end from which the dart is blown out is somewhat thicker than the opposite end and has a mouth-piece about 4 cm. long, made of the leg-bone of the jaguar or the deer; any other animal's bone would not do. The jaguar and the deer are to the Jibaros 'demoniacal' animals and their bones are supposed to have some mysterious 'poison' properties. Into this mouth-piece the poisoned dart is placed when the Indian wants to blow it out. About 20 cm. from this mouth-piece there is a small knob of black wax, which serves as a sight when the Indian shoots.

The making of a blowgun is said to require about two months and the work can only be done gradually. The chonta wood must be perfectly dry before the channel can be bored, otherwise there is always a danger of the wooden pieces warping, in which case the channel may become crooked and the whole weapon quite useless. Great care is considered particularly necessary when the channel is bored in the 'gun', which takes eight to ten days. It is especially prescribed that during these days the maker of the blowgun must not cohabit with his wife, lest the channel of the blowgun become crooked.

The dart (tsinsáka) is 25 to 27 cm. long and is carved of the hard and even wood of certain palms. The Jibaros told me five different palms from the wood of which the darts can be carved. The best of these is the ináyu palm. The wood of these palms, and especially of this last, is believed to possess certain 'poison' properties and

therefore to be the proper material for poisoned arrows. The ináyu palm (Maximiliana regia) however is rare in the country of the Jibaros proper. On the other hand, it is quite common in the region of Canelos whence the Achuares on the Pastaza, for instance, obtain it by exchange."

1: Karsten--157-158 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 411 (1928-29)

"When the Indian wants to go out hunting he prepares a number of poisoned arrows. The night before starting, their points are smeared with poison to a length of 2 to 3 cm. and the arrows are then stuck into the earth round the fire so that the poison may partly dry. Otherwise much of it would be brushed off when the arrows are placed in the quiver. The opposite end of the arrow is wound round with wild cotton (ceibo) so that, when the arrow is put into the blowgun, it fits the bore tightly and can be blown out with force. The arrows are kept in a quiver about 25 or 26 cm. long consisting of wild bamboo cane and worn hanging on the stomach from a band round the neck. To the lower end of the quiver [158] a round gourd is attached, provided with a small hole. In this gourd the wild cotton needed for the arrows is kept and pulled out through the hole as it is required.

At the upper end of the quiver hangs a small tool which is of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians it consists of the extremely sharp jaws of the fish paña (Serrasalmo), among the Jibaros again of the equally sharp nippers of the fresh water crab uriki. When the Indian wants to shoot an animal or a bird he first makes a cut in the arrow with this sharp instrument at the point where the poison ends, so that it will break with the least effort. Experience, it should be noticed, has taught the Indian that certain animals, especially monkeys, but also the bears, when hit by a poisoned arrow, at once pull it out from the body in which case the poison cannot

develop its full efficacy. If, on the other hand, the small operation just mentioned is performed, the arrow at once breaks when the animal tries to extract it, and the poisoned head remains in the body.

With the blowgun the Indians are able to shoot as far as 30 or 40 metres, and in general they display remarkable dexterity with it. The power of resisting the poison is of course different in different animals, and also varies according to the efficaacy [sic] of the poison. Small birds fall at once to the ground in agony, bigger birds generally after a few minutes. Even if the poison does not immediately cause death, yet it brings about a certain paralysis of the muscles and stupefaction, causing the bird to move reluctantly, and if it manages to fly away, it usually does not go far and the Indian, following the direction of its flight, can be sure to catch it in a few moments. Monkeys possess little power of resistance to the arrow-poison and fall to the ground in about five minutes. Bigger animals like the wild hog and the bear cannot be killed with one single arrow, but require several. The bear, for instance, I was told, can only be brought down with some 10 to 30 arrow-shots, according to the action of the poison. The animal is shot after it has taken refuge from the pursuing dogs in a tree. The largest wild animals, like the jaguar and the puma, are seldom hunted with poisoned arrows; to kill them requires a great number of arrows and even then they

would be able to retire to the thickets of the forest where they will die only after several hours."

1: Karsten--159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 278, 784, 411 (1928-29)

"All Indians seem to observe the rule never to use poisoned arrows against snakes, vultures, and other similar animals, which are considered unfit for food and concerning which they have certain superstitious ideas. The arrow-poison in that case would lose its efficacy entirely. Similarly the idea seems common to all Indians, that the blowgun and poisoned arrows cannot be used in war. The arrow-poison with which a human enemy has been killed, it is believed, can no longer be used to kill an edible animal; in this respect the arrow-poison resembles lances and rifles. If an enemy has once been killed with such a weapon, it can no longer be used in hunting. A wild hog, for instance, if killed with such a lance or rifle, would have the same taste as human flesh and would not be eaten by anybody. The Jibaros therefore exchange the lances they have used in war as soon as possible. The Indians told me that in former times they used their blowguns and poisoned arrows in war, but the same rule was valid in regard to them as to the lances and guns, namely, that afterwards they could only be again used in war, never for killing game, since the same weapon cannot be used for both purposes."

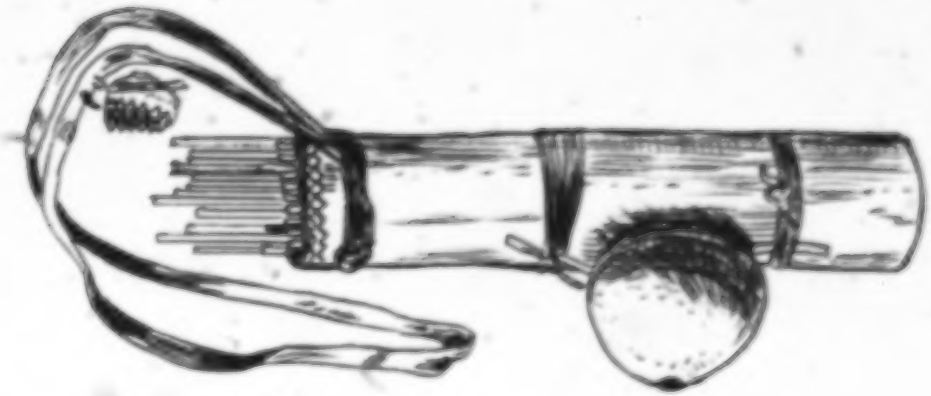


Fig. 4. A quiver for poisoned arrows.

1: Karsten--262-264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 712, 411 (1928-29)

"It is still common among the Jibaros to arrange a kind of trap on the way which leads to the house and where one expects the enemy will try to approach it. One such trap consists of a round hole in the ground, about 1 1/2 meters deep and large enough for a full-grown man to fall into it. At the bottom of the hole three pointed sticks of chonta, resembling points of lances, are arranged in an erect position. These pointed sticks are called ashi. The part which sticks out from the earth has a length of about half a meter. At the surface of the earth the opening of the hole is covered with small sticks and leaves which makes it difficult or impossible for the enemy, creeping along in the darkness, to discover its presence before he falls into it. When he falls his feet are transfixed by the pointed sticks and he is not able to get out. Besides, the defenders of the house are often keeping watch at these holes, ready to dispatch the enemy when he is caught in them. The Jibaros call these traps mesértinyu whua, ' a hole of death'.

Another kind of trap, which likewise is arranged on the narrow path leading to the house, is the following: it consists of a small tree, growing close to the path, which is bent down, or of a big branch of a tree, one end of which is fixed in the ground so that with the latter it forms an angle of about 30°. To the upper end of this branch eight pointed chonta sticks are attached in such a way that they form as it were a comb. The branch is bent back like a bow against a couple of poles fixed in the ground for the purpose, to which it is attached by means of a strong liana in a certain ingenious way that

cannot be fully described in words. Across the path a few inches over the ground another liana is stretched [263] and tied at one of the poles just mentioned. Between this liana and the liana holding the bent branch there is such a connection that when the foot of the enemy touches the former, the bow is released, and the comb with the pointed chonta sticks will strike him with terrible force in the face or the chest. The liana stretched across the path is sometimes covered with leaves in order that the enemy may not notice it, but besides, even this weapon is calculated to operate mainly in the darkness, since the attacks are nearly always made at night. The trap described (Fig. 7) is called tambunchi by the Jibaros and singbraru by the Quichua-speaking Canelos Indians.

Whereas the tambunchi has been used by the Jibaros since ancient times, the following defensive measure is of modern origin. Across the path along which the enemy is expected to come a blackened string is stretched at such a height that it is level with a man's chest. At the tree where one end of the string is fastened a charged and cocked rifle is tied, with the barrel fixed in the direction of the string. The end of the string is fixed in such connection with the trigger of the rifle that when the enemy, coming along in the darkness, gives it a push, the shot is discharged and is likely to hit him in the chest. Even if he should [264] escape being hit, the shot would warn the inhabitants of the house that enemies are approaching."

1: Karsten--264-265 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 177 (1928-29)

"The principal weapons of war of the Jibaro Indians are the lance (nánki) and the shield (tandára), the former being used for attack, [265] the latter for defence. Nowadays the Jibaros, besides these weapons, also commonly use firearms (akáru) received from the whites, generally in exchange for a human head (tsántsa). The lance should be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, if possible the kind of chonta cultivated by the Jibaros (called ui). The head is of prismatic shape and with the shaft forms a single piece. Formerly the Jibaros also used lance-heads made of the leg-bones of the jaguar or the bear, which were fitted into shafts of chonta, or shafts made another kind of wood and painted red with the paint called yukáipi. These lances were moreover frequently adorned with showy parrot feathers. Lances adorned in this way are no longer encountered anywhere, but on the other hand those provided with iron heads and shafts of yukáipi are not seldom seen. A special power is ascribed to the chonta lance owing to the belief that the spiny chonta palm itself is a demoniac tree, the seat of a spirit (wakáni or iguánchi). The chonta lance therefore inspires not only men but also spirits and demons with fear. Hence at the Tsantsa-feast the head-trophy is always kept tied to a chonta lance at those moments when it is not needed for the ceremonies."

1: Karsten- -265-266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 411, 262 (1928-29)

"The shield (tandára) is made of the enormously big air roots of the giant tree which is called kámaka by the Jibaros and llanchámа by the Indians of Canelos (Bombax ceiva), a kind of wood which has the advantage of being at once light and strong. It is always round in form and wrought of one single piece, although the shields are sometimes very large, 80 to 90 centímetres in diameter. Just as is the case at the making of other important objects, the Indian has to observe certain rules of abstinence while he is making the shield, work which of course requires a long time. During the days that he makes the rough work he partly fasts, especially abstaining from eating batatas or sweet potatoes (Convolvulus batatas), called inchi by the Jibaros. If he eats this fruit, the shield will mould, rot, and become useless. This superstition is due to the fact that the sweet potato has the same appearance as mouldy or rotten wood. During the same days the maker likewise abstains from cohabiting with his wives, for if he has intercourse with a woman the shield will get warped or burst, and consequently spoiled.

The CANELOS INDIANS, at the making of the shield, formerly observed the following rules. The rough-work was carried out in four days. The Indian worked every day from early morning until noon. During the whole forenoon, until the work was finished for that day, he fasted and did not eat or drink anything. As soon as the work was finished at noon [266] he had chincha (manioc beer), and in the afternoon he could also eat other kinds of food. While working upon the shield he observed the rule not to speak

to anybody, but kept strict silence. Nor did he, during the four days and nights, cohabit with his wife. If he infringed these rules the shield would get lumpy or burst, or be attacked by mould.

As soon as the shield is made it is often painted on the outside with the black dye obtained from the genipa fruit, called sua by the Jibaros. The patterns represent spirits (wakáni, supai), giant snakes (pangi, amárun), butterflies (wambishku), and other animals. These patterns are supposed to inspire the enemy with fear and to give strength and courage to the warrior himself. Nowadays such ornamented shields are no longer made and seldom encountered in Indian houses. A unique shield of this kind which I obtained from the Jibaros is now in the ethnographic museum of Gothenburg.

The Jibaros use shields of two kinds. Some are very large and somewhat heavy and are used only for defence within the house. The shield rests against the ground or against a round seat of the kind the Jibaros use, and the warrior with his lance tries to defend himself against the enemy penetrating into the house. Other kinds of shields are smaller and lighter and are carried by the Indians on war expeditions.

The shield of the Jibaro Indians is not only a weapon of defence, but also a religious instrument, a fact that everybody who takes part in their victory-feasts is able to establish. The tandára is full of magic power, and when is [sic] is beaten with the lance in a particular way, this is in fact a sort of religious or magical ceremony which is

believed to inspire the spirits--first of all the spirit of the slain enemy--with fear. The ceremony referred to is called Yáktinyu."

1: Karsten--266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 713 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros never use blowpipes and poisoned arrows in their wars, but only for hunting. They believe that if they kill a man with a poisoned arrow that poison will no longer do for killing an animal or bird of the forest. Besides, it seems that the poisoned arrows are not regarded as a sufficiently effective weapon to fight men with. The Indian, when killing his enemy, desires to inflict as large wounds and to shed as much blood as possible, a fact that explains his predilection for the lance as a weapon of war."

2: Stirling--60 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 411

"The blowgun is never used in warfare and, as has already been mentioned, only lances are utilized in the hand-to-hand fighting in the house.

Poison is never used in warfare because of the fact that it was given to men for the purpose of hunting game and to use it for fighting would be to offend the spirits. Force only is supposed to be used in killing enemies in war."

"A study of the weapons used by the Jivaros in warfare and in hunting indicated that interesting changes have taken place since the Spaniards first entered their country. Benavente, in 1540, speaks of the first group of Indians that he encountered in the Jivaro country, [79] probably on the Paute River, as being armed with lances and round shields. Later, at the point where he terminated his penetration, he encountered another considerable group of Indians which he described as being dressed in camisetas and mantas. He says these Indians were armed with slings and shot at the Spaniards with bows and arrows. From this general description I believe that there might be some doubt as to these latter being Jivaros.

Salinas, writing in 1571 (second letter), says that the Indians in the vicinity of Santiago have copper axes, (13) shields made of tapir skin and of wood, and spear throwers.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 of the Jivaros of the Santiago, says that they hunt game with the bow and arrow. Speaking of the Indians of Valladolid, western neighbors of the Jivaros, he says that their arms are lances of palm wood more than 25 palms in length, stones, axes, and javelins. The stones very probably refer to the use of slings.

Salinas says that the Mainas, eastern neighbors of the Jivaros, for their arms have darts, shields, throwing rods with spear throwers, and wooden clubs (macanas) made of palm wood. There has been no reference to the use of clubs by the Jivaros.

"13. The author found two archeological specimens of copper axes on the lower Upano River."

2: Stirling--78-79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 411

"Lucero, writing of the Jivaros a century later, speaks of lances and shields, adding that the lances were frequently tipped with human bone taken from enemies killed in battle. He also speaks of the Jivaros of the Santiago carrying stones in the slack of their skirts, which might point to the use of slings."

2: Stirling--79 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"Guns did not come into general use among the Jivaros until the early part of the twentieth century. During this period they captured some guns from the Peruvians, and later the light muzzle-loading escopetas or shotguns were introduced in considerable numbers by the traders. At the present time it is the ambition of every Jivaro to own a gun, although probably less than half of the men possess them. This strong desire to own 'escopetas' can scarcely be based on practical considerations, since they are little more effective for hunting purposes than the blowgun and have the additional disadvantage that the noise made in shooting frightens game. While guns are becoming more common, blowguns still continue to be important adjuncts of every Jivaro household.

It seems clear that during the sixteenth century the Jivaros used lances, spear throwers, and bows and arrows. Sometime during the latter part of the seventeenth century the bow and arrow and the spear thrower began to go out of use, being replaced by the blowgun with poison darts."

2: Stirling--80 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175, 411

"During the writer's investigations he noticed that the blowgun, now the most striking and characteristic weapon of the Jivaro, is never mentioned by the sixteenth century writers. This is of special interest when we observe that later writers have been particularly impressed by its occurrence and never fail to speak of it. This fact led to an investigation of early records in other regions of South America in an attempt to discover from which direction this weapon reached the Jivaro. The only instrument at all comparable which is mentioned in the sixteenth century is the pea shooter or pellet gun of Mexico and Central America. This simple device, which was little more than a toy for shooting small birds, is a far cry from the elaborately manufactured, complex blowgun, shooting long-range piercing darts made effective by the use of poison. The earliest reference to the true blowgun found by the writer is in Saabedra, who in 1620 describes the blowgun with poison darts in use among the Mainas on the Morona, who were the first of the eastern Andean tribes to be missionized."

2: Stirling--80 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 177

"The remarkable parallel between this weapon [KS: the blowgun] and its accessories as manufactured in Indonesia and in South America has been a frequent subject of comment by ethnographers. Details regarding the nature of many of these parallels and the improbability of their independent development need not be mentioned here. As far as the writer is aware, no one has suggested the post-Columbian introduction of the blowgun into the South American region. The amazing similarity in the methods of manufacture and materials used would seem to make it extremely unlikely that this highly specialized complex could have developed independently in the two areas. It seems to the writer much more probable that the use of the blowgun and its equipment was brought into South America by southeastern Asiatics, possible from the Philippines, who were carried across the Pacific on one or more of the many Spanish galleons which followed this route in the sixteenth century. These individuals, escaping into a familiar jungle environment which supplied all of the necessary materials, could easily have used their knowledge to manufacture this complicated but most useful weapon. (13a)

"13a. The writer has been informed by Dr. Wendell Bennett that there is an early Chimu vessel in the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle, of Trujillo, with a painting of what appears to be a man using a blowgun. This may represent a pellet gun."

2: Stirling--80-81 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 411

"Judging from the early literature, its [KS: the blowgun] use in South America originated in the general vicinity of the Mainas, from whom it was obtained by the Jivaros, who today are probably the most expert blowgun manufacturers in South America. From this region it spread across the northern Amazon basin to the Guianas, where its intro-[81] duction appears to have been comparatively late. It seems quite certain that the Jivaros did not have it until the seventeenth century.

In northwestern South America the blowgun is called variously cerbatana, or bodoquera, or by the Quechua term pucuna. By the Jivaros it is called umi.

There are numerous variations in the technique of making blowguns as practiced in different sections of the Jivaro country. The descriptions given by Rivet (14) and that of Up de Graff (15) approximate most closely the process as witnessed by the writer on the Chinganasa River. The writer has on numerous occasions observed Jivaros at work manufacturing blowgun darts and preparing them for use.

"14. Rivet, 1907, p. 594.
15. Up de Graff, p. 210."

2: Stirling--81 -83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 411

"When a man desires to make himself a blowgun he first cuts down a suitable chonta palm which is allowed to dry in the sun for a period of about a week. At the expiration of this time the thorns are removed from the outside of the trunk and it is split in half. From these pieces, two strips, each about 3 inches in width, are split off and cut to the length desired for the blowgun. Then with a machete these strips are shaved until they are very straight and taper from one end to the other. One side of each is made flat while the other is rounded in such fashion that when the two flat sides are placed together the two strips form a cylinder which tapers from about 1 1/4 inches in diameter at one end to three-quarters of an inch at the other end.

The operator than places in the ground 8 feet apart two forked uprights at a height of about 3 feet, one of these being an inch or two lower than the other. A perfectly straight cylindrical rod of chonta wood is prepared, approximately a quarter of an inch in diameter and slightly longer than the intended length of the blowgun. Then a small straight groove is scratched with a bone awl down the full length of each strip in the center of the flat side, following the straight grain of the wood. Using a sharp tooth, this groove is enlarged on each strip until the two together are slightly less in diameter than the intended bore of the blowgun. The two halves are then placed face to face with the rod sandwiched between, in the middle, and are tied together with bark strips.

Sand and water are then poured into the hollow at the high end. The rod is worked back and forth, enlarging the groove. From time to time the implement is turned over so that the grinding goes on equally on each section. This operation is continued, the sand and water being constantly applied, until the flat faces of the two chonta [82] strips meet and have been planed perfectly smooth. The bore is then of the size desired.

Next a section is cut from the leg bone of a watusa (cayuca) forming a bone tube about 2 inches long. The edges of the bone are ground to make them smooth. Then secate(16) is melted over the fire and smeared over the entire surface of the inside of the two chonta strips, which are then carefully fitted together so that the edges meet exactly. The secate dries quickly, firmly gluing the two sections together.

Next the implement is wrapped closely in spiral fashion from one end to the other with tinyuci (fiber strips from the midrib of the ivory nut palm). The strips which are used about a half inch in width. This is fastened tightly in place and is then smeared all over with secate. After the secate has dried it is smoothed and worked over by heating a machete and applying the flat side. Sometimes the smoothing is done by means of a stick while the original application of the secate is still warm and soft.

A quantity of charora (17) is placed in a pot and heated until it melts and boils. Then it is mixed with sucuta (the juice of a green fruit about the size of a small orange) which

16. Latex of Sinphonia sp.
17. Wax-like resin from the Copernica cerifera.

darkens the mixture. When it has taken on a black color, the pot is removed from the fire and set aside until the sucuta has cooled a little. Then with a stick or machete it is smeared all over the surface of the blowgun. Following this process, it is smoothed and dressed with a stick or a hot machete as before. When this has been done, the surface of the implement has taken on a gloss.

Next the large end of the blowgun for a length of 2 inches is dressed down until a small cylinder projects which is slightly larger than the bore. The bone mouthpiece is fitted snugly over this and the shoulder left by dressing down the end of the tube is covered over and tapered down by applying some of the warm charora which covers half of the bone mouthpiece. Another small lump of charora in the form of a small mound is applied to the barrel about a foot from the mouthpiece. The two incisor teeth of a watusa are then imbedded in this so that the groove between the teeth is parallel to the axis of the bore. This serves as the blowgun sight. (18)

Finally the bore is polished by drawing the blowgun back and forth over a rattan strip to which a wad of cotton or balsa floss is attached. Sometimes a long slender ramrod of chonta wood with cotton attached to one end is used in place of the rattan strip. This

"18. Rivet (1907, p. 595) states that this is not used as a sight, but as a guide to the hunter so that he always has the tube in the same position when shooting and can thus correctly allow for any error in the shooting quality of his weapon."

process being completed, the blowgun is ready for use. [83]

The work is done little by little as the maker has the leisure or inclination, so that it is difficult to say how long a time is required. A man in a hurry could probably complete the entire process in a week."

2: Stirling--83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 784

"The length of a blowgun varies more or less according to the desire of the maker. In general, however, they may be divided into two types: the short variety which are usually approximately 10 feet in length, and a longer type which may be as much as 15. The longer the weapon, the greater its range and accuracy. On the other hand, the long blowgun is an awkward implement to carry through the thick forest. The long blowguns are generally used in hunting larger game, such as wild pig, monkeys, and large birds which roost in high trees. During the manufacture of the blowgun various dietary taboos must be observed and the maker must remain continent, otherwise the blowgun will warp or check.

Frequently a pair of canine teeth of the jaguar or two alligator teeth are attached to the blowgun at the base of the mouthpiece by imbedding them in chorora in such fashion that the points of the teeth curve around the cheeks of the user when the tube is held in position. These seem to be particularly desired for ornament but they serve a useful purpose as well, giving a certain amount of lateral support to the weapon."

"In using the blowgun it is held with both hands, palms down, close to the mouth, with the sight held uppermost (pl. 22, c). The bone mouthpiece is placed to the lips and a slight puff is sufficient to speed the dart on its way. Although the range varies in proportion to the length of the weapon, it might be said that the maximum effective range of an average blowgun is about 45 yards.

In order to keep the weapon from warping or bending it is always stored in an upright position, muzzle upward, usually with the mouthpiece resting on a block of wood, and tied to the center post of the house, or suspended vertically, muzzle upward. In order to keep the bore clean, a piece of cotton or kapok is stuffed into the muzzle.

The blowgun darts, called tsensac, are made from the midribs of the leaves of the ivory-nut palm. The leaves are cut at the season when the ivory nuts are ripe, for at this time the wood is very hard. A cut is made just deep enough to go through the bark covering of the rib and then the bark is stripped off. These strips are cut into the proper length, which is measured from the base of the palm of the hand to the crook of the elbow. The strips are then split into sticks of the proper size and shaved to a point at one end, the stem of the dart having a diameter equal to that of a common match.

The darts are stored in a cylindrical quiver called tunda, made from a section of bamboo, with a cover to fit over the opening (pl. 36, a). The quiver is filled with a roll of the fibrous material obtained from [84] inside the midribs of tinyuci palm leaves in order to protect the darts and to keep them in place. Attached to the dart quiver is a hollow

spherical calabash with a small opening. This is filled with the floss of the silk cotton tree (19) which is attached as wadding to the butt end of the darts as they are needed (pl. 36, e). "

"19. Eriodendron anfractuos.

2: Stirling--85 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

"Attached to the dart quiver (pl. 36) is part of the jaw of a fish with sharp teeth (Serrosalmo piraja). This instrument is used for making a circular cut around the dart about an inch from the point so that this section will break off in the wound. This procedure is particularly necessary in shooting monkeys, as a monkey always will attempt to pluck the dart out immediately upon being hit."

2: Stirling--85 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 713, 411, 777

"The blowgun is never used in warfare. The Jivaros say that it was given them for the purpose of obtaining game. To use it against man would bring bad luck. (22)"

"22. Figueroa, writing of the Mainas in 1665, specifically states that the blowgun and poison darts were never used against their human enemies. Skinner, 1805, p. 285."

2: Stirling --85-86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The traditional war equipment of the Jivaro from earliest times has consisted of the lance and shield (pl. 28). Before the spear thrower was abandoned, a small lance or javelin was in common use. The ordinary name for lance is nangi, but ceremonially it is referred [86] to as shingi. It is made from the hard black wood of the chonta palm and as a rule is from 6 to 8 feet in length. The head is usually in one of two shapes; either diamond-shaped with a low ridge running down the center of each side and tapering to a cutting edge, or triangular in cross section without the cutting edges (pl. 14, a). At the present time lance heads of the former type made of iron are in common use (pl. 11, a). From a practical standpoint, these are unquestionably superior to the wooden lance, but the Jivaros believe that the all-chonta lances contain magical properties not possessed by iron, and therefore the more conservative Indians still prefer them for use in warfare. Until comparatively recently the Jivaros say that they used lances tipped with points made from the leg bones of the jaguar. In the seventeenth century Lucero spoke of lances fitted with points made from human leg bones. These seem to have been a smaller type of spear and probably represent the javelin which was formerly propelled by means of the spear thrower."

2: Stirling--86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The use of the spear thrower appears now to be entirely forgotten by the Jivaros. Pigorini figures a spear thrower credited to the Murato. It consists of a straight stick tapering slightly from the butt to the tip. An inch or two below the tip a spur is attached, apparently by means of binding made secure by the addition of some sort of wax or resin. The handle has a small perforation through it about an inch from the base through which a string is passed, evidently for the purpose of fastening the implement to the wrist. It is not dissimilar in general appearance to archeological specimens from the Peruvian highlands. (22)

Mortillet says that the javelin proper consists of a shaft 76 cm. in length made from a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia), which is smooth on the outside but filled with pith and unusually light in weight. One of the extremities is closed by a plug made of a resistant wood for receiving the spur of the throwing stick. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta point in the form of a very sharp prismatic prong about 22 cm in length. (23) "

"22. Pigorini, p. 46, pl. 1.
23. Mortillet, 1891, p. 241."

"The Jivaros call the shield pandara. Like the lance, it has apparently changed but little during the passage of the centuries. They are made from the large flat buttresses of the camusha (ceiba) (24) tree. These buttresses do not have a definite grain and therefore do not split or check easily. In addition, they are tough and light. The shields are circular in form and, although approximately 3 feet in diameter, are always made from a single piece. The shield is fabricated in such a manner as to make it appear to be composed of three [87] superimposed concentric disks, each about a half inch in thickness and each with a diameter approximately one-half that of the disk upon which it is superposed. Thus the center of the shield, while apparently somewhat thicker than the outer edge, is actually not as much so as it appears because of the concavity of the inner surface which is really in the form of a very much flattened cone. A hand grip of rattan is attached at the apex of this cone and is fastened in place by being pegged into three small holes made on either side of the central disc (pl. 28).

As a rule, the shields are painted with sua and achiote. The decorations usually represent animals or spirits designed to give power in warfare. The shield which the writer obtained from Hisama on the upper Chinganasa River had a design depicting Pangi, the anaconda; the moon, and the sun's rays. The round shield itself represents the sun.

"24. Bombax ceiva.

The shield, like the chonta lance, is supposed to contain tsarutama so that it is used for other purposes than for defence in fighting. Hisama carried his shield with him when night fishing, in order to ward off Iguanchi. He stated that the shield was called upon frequently when it was suspected that evil spirits were in the vicinity, or that a rival wishinu was attempting to work harm through magical powers.

As is the case when making the blowgun, the maker of a shield is required to undergo rigid taboos during the period of manufacture. He must remain continent during this time, must not talk, and must be particularly careful of his diet. If the proper observances are not followed, it will lose much of its power, and is likely to warp and check.

Formerly shields were also made from the skins of the tapir and of the manatee, but this practice has apparently been abandoned."

3: Simson--387 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 411

"Their arms are the spear of chouta, sometimes furnished with an iron head, and 'bodoquera,' or blow-gun, for smaller game and birds. Some use shields."

3: Simson--390 [3] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 411

"Their [KS: the Canelos] fighting is done entirely with the lance, which is their inseparable companion, and all my attempts to induce any of them to part with his weapon were useless. The same reply was always elicited: 'Wherewith shall I kill the jaguar when he comes?' These spears, as those of the Jívaros, are very well made, of chouta-palm, and generally with a well-shaped iron or steel head, procured from traders. Some men have, however, on one or two occasions, penetrated into civilization as far as Riobamba solely with the object of purchasing a spear-head to their taste. The shaft is gracefully tapered towards the end, and sometimes tastefully coloured."

4: Up de Graff--210-212 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 411

"While speaking of the food supply, I will add a word or two about that deadly weapon, the blow-gun, which is the only means the Jívaros have of procuring meat. These 'guns' are about ten feet long, with a bore of about 1/4 inch, and an outside diameter of some two inches at the mouthpiece, tapering to 3/4 inch at the 'muzzle.' They have a killing range of two hundred feet at least, within which distance perfect accuracy is assured. Any target from the size of a squirrel upwards can be hit every time by the skillful hunter. Their absolute silence adds to their deadliness a thousandfold, for the hunter can bag a large number of monkeys or turkeys before the troop or flock discovers that death is flying through the air.

The ingenuity that the Jívaros display in the manufacture of these weapons with the primitive implements at their command is worthy of attention, for the finished article could not be turned out any better by a modern factory. What machinery in the world could better overcome the mechanical difficulties of producing a perfectly true 1/4 inch bore ten feet in length than do these simple people?

The wood used is the same as that employed for making spears, and it is known in Inca as chonta. In grain and colour it resembles ebony, but is much heavier and harder. It belongs to the palm family and bears good fruit. It is remarkable for its absolutely straight [211] grain and its rigidity (the qualities which make it fit for this particular use). It is so brittle that when broken it splinters into a number of long sharp needles; it is so hard that it is impervious to moisture and unaffected by heat, so that it

never warps.

The strips of the shell of the chonta are selected, cut to the right length, and smoothed to a thickness of approximately an inch by the removal of the pith, being split to a breadth of an inch and a half. Then by means of the crude tools they have--flints, stones, animals' teeth and shells--a groove is scraped in each piece 1/4 inch wide and 1/8 inch deep. It would, as a matter of fact with such primitive tools be materially impossible to cut a crooked groove in this wood, on account of its perfectly straight grain. The two strips are then placed together and bound here and there with bark; then the outer surface is split off bit by bit till it is round in form; next, by making incisions at various points and stripping off portions of the chonta, the weapon is tapered so as to comply with the dimensions given above. Now the process of binding commences. The 'gun' is tightly wound with green bark tapes (about half an inch in width) from end to end. On this binding is melted black bees' wax (taken from an insect which builds its hive in the ground, and produces a honey which is used for medicinal purposes) which is smoothed over with hot stones and forced into the cracks so as to perfect the surface; next, another layer of bark tapes, slightly thinner, is bound on, and more bees' wax (a heavier coat this time) is applied; the final step in the finishing of the exterior is a second treatment with hot stones, which produces a hard, even surface. Then the completed weapon is a perfectly straight, round, tapered black tube.

Next the bore is trued and polished by means of a cord with a rag tied to its centre

and stretched between two [212] trees. The tube, having been slung on this cord, is run backwards and forwards for weeks, while sand and water are fed into one end; toward the end of this laborious but efficient process, finer sand is used. At the end, the bore has a surface equal to that of the barrel of a shot-gun. Finally, to the butt end of the gun is fitted the mouthpiece, a carefully scraped funnel of hard-wood fashioned to fit the mouth exactly, so as to admit of no air escaping and robbing the weapon of its power. This piece is made to fit over the end of the tube to which it is bound, and waxed by the same process as I have described above."

4: Up de Graff--212-213 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 411

"The arrows are always treated with jambi (poison--Inca). The particular kind which is used, the product of boiling the bark of a vine, has a swift and painless effect on all the animals and birds of the forest, as far as I know, except the jaguar. (I once tried one of the latter, and filled him so full of arrows that he looked like a porcupine, without any apparent effect except that of angering him.) The arrows are made from a bamboo having a triangular cross-section, and of the same size at the joints, which the other canes and bamboos are not. From this species can be cut an absolutely straight missle, which would be impossible in the case of the others, in which each section between the joints is, however slightly, concave. By splitting and scraping, an arrow some twelve inches long and one-sixteenth at its greatest diameter, is made. One end is sharpened to a point one inch long, from the base of which the whole arrow is tapered toward the rear to a point equally fine, in order to give it a perfect balance in flight. The head is dipped in the jambi and dried in the sun or before the fire. The base of the head is ringed by means of an instrument which is always carried attached to the quiver (a section of bamboo); this consists of the lower jaw of the paña (the barking fish--[213] Inca) which is fitted with razor-edged teeth. A tuft of cotton is twisted round the shaft about three inches from the tail, which serves the double purpose of the feather of an ordinary arrow and the wad between the powder and shot of a cartridge. Forced out by the air behind the cotton tuft, the missle leaves the 'muzzle' so rapidly that it is invisible to anyone looking across its path (though of course visible from behind). The

trajectory for the first fifty yards is remarkably flat for the class of weapon, and will penetrate a pine board half an inch at fifteen yards' range. I have hunted with these guns a great deal and can bear witness to their deadly efficiency."

9: Bennett--660 (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 411

"Most interesting specimens in this collection [KS: donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum] are two ten-foot blow-guns and two dart quivers. The blow-guns are in a state of disrepair, which allows one to make close observations on their compositions and the technique of their manufacture.

Blow-guns are made from the chonta palm, which is both hard and straight-grained. The guns are made in two pieces cut to a semi-circular shape and grooved on their flat sides. The grooves are also semi-circular in shape, and the straight grain of the palm allows them to be very evenly cut so that when the two pieces are placed together a remarkably clean one-quarter-inch bore results, which is later polished smooth with string, cloth, and sand. The two pieces are now bound tightly together with long thin strips of bark wound spirally around them. Then the whole binding is covered with black beeswax. Several layers of this kind may be applied. The two blow-guns in this collections have carved bone mouthpieces, and taper from about an inch and a quarter in diameter to three quarters of an inch. One has a raised lug near the mouthpiece end which probably served as a sight."

9: Bennett--660 [2] (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 411

"The quivers are made of a one-foot section of bamboo fitted with a woven cloth strip for carrying. The bamboo darts are about a foot in length and pointed at one end. They are scraped down to a delicate thinness. A large gourd is attached to each quiver. This contains cotton which is twisted around the dart before it is placed in the blow-gun. A small container of poison is also attached to the quiver. Finally each quiver has a lower jaw of a piranha (the biting fish) with sharp teeth as part of its equipment. Before shooting a dart, it is grooved with this sharp-toothed jaw about an inch from the point. The cotton wadding is twisted around it and the point is dipped into the poison. It is then placed in the blow-gun and expelled with a sharp puff at its target some hundred feet away. If the animal struck starts to run, the dart will probably break off where it has been grooved, thus leaving the poisoned point to work its effect on the victim."

10: Anthony--152-153 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 411

"A great part of their game the Jivaros kill with the blowpipe or blowgun. The blowpipe is a long, slender rod of wood, made from two strips which are carefully hollowed out down the midline, in such fashion that when bound together by a long strip of bark there is a straight, smooth, cylindrical bore the full length of the rod. The blowpipe is generally made of black palm, which has a very tough, interlacing fiber, so that the rod, though slender, has great strength and will not warp or twist. The ammunition for this weapon may be either little balls of clay or arrows. Clay is shaped into small balls, of a diameter just big enough to fit the bore. These balls, after having been baked in the sun, are placed in the mouth and blown through the tube as a small boy blows a bean in a toy blowpipe, but the length of the Indian blowpipe, often eight to ten or more feet, gives the clay ball a great velocity. As a result the projectile will kill small birds or mammals such as squirrels or rabbits. The arrows are long, slender strips of cane, straight and with a sharpened point; a tuft of cotton is twisted about the rear end of the arrow to make it fit the bore in an airtight manner. These arrows fly exceedingly true and game may be struck with them at long distances. For larger game poison is used; for small birds the arrow is plain.

For this purpose the Jivaros use a black gumlike substance brought up from the lower Amazon and undoubtedly a form of curare. The arrows are prepared by dipping into the

poison about half an inch of the tip which then looks very much as if it had been coated with tar. This poison is narcotic in its action and very deadly and an animal that has been wounded with an envenomed arrow will drop in a very few minutes. If the Indian is hunting monkeys, his favorite game, the arrow is scored with a knife about an inch back of the point so that it may break readily at this place. The monkey shows considerable cleverness when hunted and, if wounded, invariably plucks out or breaks off the arrow. He is outwitted, however, by this precaution, because the [153] arrow breaks and leaves the poisoned tip in the wound. I was told that salt is an antidote for the poison, and if the Jivaro wishes to take a monkey alive, he may do so by hurrying at once to a stricken animal and placing salt in its mouth."

10: Anthony--153 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 4Π

"Another weapon frequently seen among these people is the lance or spear. The point of the lance is of iron, very sharp and flat; the shaft is of some tough wood. With this they may kill bear, peccary, or any of the larger terrestrial mammals."

12: Rivet--593-594 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 411

The national weapon is the lance. It is shaped entirely from a single piece of chonta, a very hard wood of black color. It has a variable length: the five examples that I possess (fig. 17) measure 2^m 15, 2^m 36, 3^m 5, 2^m 15, and 2^m 38. Each one of them is composed of two parts: a cylindrical handle 2 cm. in diameter and a point which always has the shape of a triangular pyramid, the cut of which is sometimes an equilateral triangle 2 cm. per side, or a more or less elliptical triangle with a base sometimes 5 cm. 5 long. In the first case, the passage from the handle to the point is made without notable widening (fig. 17 -1-3), in the second case, there is a sudden widening at this point (fig. 17 -4-6-7). The length of the point varies considerably; on my five specimens it is respectively 49, 56, 42, 64 and 89 cm. In normal times, when he has nothing to fear, the Jíbaro carries a lance with a point no longer than 20 cm. The lances with long points are primarily designed for war. Along the lateral sides, the point sometimes has barbs that are quite deep with the opening toward the handle. On my specimens 3 and 6, there are two pairs: upon the first at 40 and 48 cm., and upon the second at 13 and 17 cm. from the end. Some of these lances (nos. 3, 6 and 7) have ornaments made of cotton thread and bird feathers, forming a veritable collar at the place where the handle terminates. It is probably at this point that the Jíbaro holds the weapon in order to strike. Lance no. 7 is ornamented with three narrow rings made of cotton thread along its point.

12: Rivet--593-594 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 411

This primitive weapon is tending to disappear, for now the Jíbaro can easily obtain iron spear-points. He attaches them with pitch to the end of a piece of very light white wood, which he paints red for more or less of its length with the aid of a vegetable substance called yucalipe.

The lance is a thrusting weapon but sometimes, although very rarely, it is employed as a missile.

The blowgun is more complicated in manufacture so that certain individuals have made a specialty of it. A tree trunk 4 to 5 meters long set at a certain distance from the ground, with the top smoothed off, serves as a work table for these artists. Upon this work-bench they place two carefully chosen, firm stalks of chonta side by side, of compact, black fiber, very dry and the proper length for the blowgun. The upper surface of these stalks is first leveled with a knife, then one of them is fixed solidly with little pegs or nails of chonta, and the Indian, using the second as a plane, rubs the two roughly-flattened surfaces together, putting set sand between them. This polishing operation lasts many days. This done, the movable piece is pinned down beside the first; then the artisan, stretching a cotton thread wet with manduru (Bixa orellana) [595] dye along the axis of one of them, raises it, and then loosens it so that a perfectly straight red line is traced by elastic ty on each surface. These lines serve as a guide on each piece for hollowing out a semi-cylindrical groove. This work is done with the aid of a hog tooth (Dicotyles labiatus) sharpened on stone in the form of a burin and tied to the end of a handle (fig. 18). This operation finished, the two pieces are joined together, face to face, so that the half-canal with which each of them is grooved forms by superposition the bore of the blowgun.

The outer surface of the instrument is carefully rounded with a knife, then, with the aid of fine, supple and resistant strips of tree bark 3 cm. wide, the two halves are joined together very strongly by a series of spiral turns; in addition the whole thing is

coated with a kind of tar that the Indian has melted in a pininga; then with admirable patience, he softens this coating by heating it bit by bit, and polishes it and smooths it with the soft inner surface of manioc rind. Finally, the artist needs only to finish the central groove, left very rough and uneven by the work of the burin. At the end of a narrow rod of chonta as long as the tube, he places a piece of the skin of a fish called raya and uses it to polish the interior. For the fish-skin, he presently substitutes some leaves of maize and finally a plug of cotton. This is the last operation in the laborious process.

Footnote to Fig. 18. Burin (1)

1. The drawing of the burin is extracted from: Luigi Pigorini. "Di alguni oggetti etnologici dell' Ecuador posseduli dal Museo preistorico ed etnografico di Roma" (Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Sér. 3. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Vol. VI. Meeting of April 24, 1881). Pl. I, fig. 4. This object comes from the Muratos.

12: Rivet--595-596 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The two blowguns in my collection measure 2^{m} 26, and 2^{m} 80 [596] (fig. 17 -2-5). The mouth of the first is made of a bone tube, that of the second is wooden. At one end the instrument has a projection on the outside which, at first glance, seems for the purpose of serving as a sight; that is not true: in fact, it is found on the same end as the mouth. Its purpose is to permit the Indian always to place his weapon in the same position at the time of shooting and thus always make the same correction in his arm.

With his blowgun, the Indian shoots little arrows, the ends of which are poisoned for a length of only 2 cm. They are little round rods 245 mm. long, $2^{mm.}5$ wide, terminating in a very sharp point. These arrows are kept in a quiver or tunda (fig. 8-9), a bamboo tube 28 cm. long and 65 mm. in diameter, the bottom of which is blocked with pitch; they are kept in place by a kind of straw mat which holds the tunda. Attached to this apparatus by vegetable fibers is a calabash containing huambulushi, a kind of cotton produced by Bombax ceiba [JP: kapate], and suspended by a string is the jawbone of a fish with very fine teeth (Serrosalmo Piraja) (1). At the time the arrow is shot, its posterior end is encircled with a round cotton pad of the same caliber as the bore of the blowgun, then he makes a circular saw cut 3 cm. from the point with the jawbone: the stricken animal, in struggling, breaks the arrow at this point of least resistance and only the poisoned part stays in the wound.

1. Colini. "Collezione ethnografica degli indigeni dell'alto Amazzoni," op. cit., page 39.

The shield is round and measures about 1 m. in diameter. her made of the skin of a big tapir (Tapirus americanus) or of a manatee (Mana ericanus), or of a very hard wood, usually cedar (Cedrela odorata) which lances pierce. Gonzalez Suarez says that the palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria), exces light and elastic as cork, upon which the lance rebounds without penetrating, is al (1). Reiss likewise points out the use of soft and light woods (2). Here is the ption given by Uhle of a specimen brought back by the German explorer (3) (fig. 19

"The shield is made of wood, light in weight and color,[598] the form of a round flat disc, the exterior surface of which is divided into three co c circles, each of which projects slightly beyond the next, going from the center periphery. The semi-circular handle, which serves to hold it, is formed of th all curved sticks, fixed like pegs by their ends into the disk itself, and strongly together with the aid of a strip of cipó [JP: a liana] (?) or of bark which is wra ound them."

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. 212.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 334.
3. Kultur und Industrie Sudamerikanischer Volker nach den sitze des Museums fur Volkerkunde zu Leipzig befindlichen Sammlungen von A. S W. Reiss und B. Koppel. Text und Beschreibung der Tafeln von Max Uhle. 2 rlin, 1889-1890, 2nd vol., pl. XXIV, fig. 9. It is the reproduction of this figure th ive here (fig. 19).

12: Rivet--598 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The javelin used by the Jíbaros is one of the most unusual; it can be thrown with the aid of a propelling device (fig. 18) analagous to certain instruments described by A. de Mortillet (1). The javelin proper he says is comprised of a long handle of 76 cm. made of a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia) which is perfectly smooth on the outside but full of an excessively light pith. One of the extremities is closed by a stopper made of a resistant wood, for that is what receives all the shock. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta dart in the form of a very sharp triangular pyramid, about 22 cm. long: it is this part which is poisoned.

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1. Adrien de Mortillet. "Les Propulseurs à crochet modernes et préhistoriques" (Revue mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris, 1st year, VIII, August 15, 1891, page 241.

12: Rivet--598 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The spear-thrower is made of a piece of wood about 69 cm. long, with a groove hollowed on its upper side to receive the handle of the javelin; the rear end of the latter butts against the edge of the spear-thrower. The spear-thrower has a hole on its lower surface at the junction of its posterior and middle thirds, where the Indian puts his index finger in order to throw the javelin, as the illustration shows. The complete apparatus measures about 1 meter long.

18: Hermessen--442-443 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 411

"The bodoquera, or blow-pipe, whose manufacture has been described by Simson, (20) was from eight to ten feet in length. The darts [443] used in it were about ten inches long, a little over one-sixteenth of an inch thick in the middle, tapered to a fine point at either end and made out of the rib of the leaf of the chonta palm (Bactris ciliata). These were held in a quiver fashioned out of a length of bamboo, to which was fixed a spherical gourd, filled with the very light floss of the silk-cotton tree (Eriodendron anfractuosum) for tipping the darts to fit the bore of the blow-pipe. (21) The poison-pot was made of half of a small gourd and had a cover or lid attached to it. The poison was a thick, black, viscous compound, its principal ingredient being the juice of the plant Strychnos toxifera. Captain Whiffen speaks of the use of the same poison by the Huitoto tribe of the Issa (Putumayo) and Yapurá Rivers. (22)"

"20. Op. cit., p. 155.
21. Cf. H. W. Bates: The Naturalist on the River Amazons, Everyman's Library edition, London, 1914, p. 302.
22. Op. cit., pp. 144-145."

25: Vigna--43[3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 411

The weapons which the Jîbaro uses at present are: the shotgun or rifle purchased from the white people. With the shotgun he hunts the mountain animals and his enemies. In former times his weapon was the lance made with the wood of "chonta" or with iron bought from the whites. They are very skilful with the blowgun; and by means of poisoned arrows which they hurl a distance of twenty to twenty-five meters, they hunt small and large animals. The children are very dexterous in the handling of the blowgun.

26: Brüning--64 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411

The blowgun (ōm) has a length of 2.5 - 3 meters. On its outside it is tapering from the bottom toward the top. At the bottom there is usually a straight mouthpiece made of bone. The blowgun is made of chonta wood cut of two longitudinal halves. In each half a semicircular channel is crudely cut. Each half is then tied over a tight rope which is smeared with water and sand. By moving the half of the blowgun back and forth on this rope, the channel is made smooth by the action of the sand. After the two halves have been prepared in this manner, they are taken off the rope and united after a cleaning process. The two halves are held together by a sort of bast which is wound in spirals from one end to the other. A layer of resin (pengái) is smeared over the bast. I observed how the Indians, in order to smooth the resin, heated a smooth piece of pottery over a fire and moved it lightly over the resin, which thereby is caused to melt to an even surface. Near the mouthpiece each blowgun has a sight (omgumió), consisting of a short narrow piece of bone which is pasted on to the resin in a longitudinal direction.

26: Brüning--64 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411

The thin splinter of the wood of two palm trees, kungúk (i) and cincúk (i), is used as a missile (çénçak). Pieces about 20 cm. in length are cut off from these palms, and from these pieces thin splinters are cut lengthwise. The darts are smoothed by scraping with a knife, and one end is shaped into a point. As a rule, these points are poisoned with utši, especially the darts used for larger animals. This poison is imported in thin bamboo containers from the Ucayali. The rubber collectors along the Ucayali River bring the poison to Iquitos and Barranca from where it is brought upstream on the Marañón River. Some of the Indians make this trip with the express purpose of obtaining this poison. The Aguaruna Indians themselves prepare a poison which they call çeác, but they do not regard it as effective as the utši.

In order to make the poison ineffective in animals that are to be eaten, the Indians right away rub kitchen salt into the wound.

The arrows are kept in a quiver made of thick bamboo (tónta); therein is a bundle of straw tšipáti) which is especially prepared for this purpose. The straw prevents the arrows from falling out even if the quiver be turned upside down. The quiver is carried around the wrist by means of a loop. A totuma fruit (called máti in the Quichua language) is fastened to the quiver by means of a string. The totuma fruit is stuffed with the wool of the balsawood tree (wambóš, a Quichua word). The wool can be withdrawn through a small round opening. If an arrow is to be used, the hunter takes out a little of this wool, winding it round the obtuse lower end of the arrow so that it will fit exactly into the opening of the blowgun. Prior to this a notch is made about three centimeters below the point of the arrow [65] so that the poisoned top will break off when it enters the animal. The notches are made with the sharp teeth of some animal which I was not able to identify. The lower jaw of this animal dangles from the quiver. The term for the tool is páni . In order to be able to clean the blowgun, the Indians always carry at the side of the quiver a long rolled-up piece of a flexible reed which, at one end, is equipped with a tuft of vegetarian wool (hápik).

26: Brüning--66 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 226, 262, 411

In addition to meat the Indians eat a great deal of fish. Fishing is done by a variety of methods. They obtain the largest catch when they stupefy fish. For this purpose they use two plants, each one separately. One is the herbaceous plant másu, the other the bark of a liana (tímu). Both are pulverized and thrown in quiet coves of the rivers and brooks. The narcotized fish soon come to the surface where they are speared with long pointed chonta sticks (šikít). These fishing spears have a circular cross-section and a diameter of about 2 cm. Their length is 3 - 3.5 m.

When the rivers are on the rise, the Indians are quick to make an estacada (a sort of grill) of bamboo and place it across the mouths of the brooks and inlets. When the waters are falling again, the fish remain behind these estacadas. The natives even use fish-hooks which are a desirable article of barter.

These are the main articles of food in the realm of fauna. According to the rubber collectors, the natives are said to eat a large beetle larva which occurs in decaying wood.

26: Brüning--71 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 436, 554

While the blowgun is their hunting weapon, the spear is their war weapon. At the same time, the spear is part of the etiquette, for a man would never leave the house without it, even if he would visit only his nextdoor neighbor. It is the weapon that signifies masculine dignity.

Spears with iron points were generally in use when I visited the Indians. The point (see Figure 7) has a socket at the bottom. The shaft is fastened into the socket with the help of resin. The spear or lance has a length of 2 1/2 - 3 1/2 meters. They are said to obtain the iron points by way of barter from the Indians along the upper Senepa. The points are said to come from Ecuador. The spear with the iron point is called nánki by the Indians. Formerly spears were used shaped out of the wood of the chonta palm, and they still occur in isolated instances. The shape of their point is the same as the iron one, but its cross-section shows a somewhat concave outline. Shaft and point are made out of one piece. These chonta lances are called angõs.

Figure 7.

Iron Spear Point

26: Brüning-- 71-72 (1902) 1928
116, 411, 177, 436

Jívaro

In all the tambos I found Winchester rifles which they had d from the rubber
collectors by barter for rubber. But since the Indians mos time do not have any
[72] shot to go with it, these rifles are for the most part orn l pieces. As a matter
of fact, the Indians are not too fond of rifles since, they mai heir report chases
the game off.

In their tambos they have special stands where all the wea e vertically placed
and with great orderliness. Especially the blowguns have to in a vertical position,
otherwise they would bend.

28: Tessman--351 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 224

Karsten (in his Contributions, pp. 36 ff.) reports on the hunting customs. My own information is the following: The blowgun(Aguaruna: úme, Atschual: ûombi) is wound with liana fiber and has no resin coating. The small sight is made of resin. The mouthpiece is a piece of tubular bone of the white-bearded peccary. They clean their blowguns with a liana which has a cotton tuft in the middle. The small arrows (tsínsak) have points that are smeared with poison (tsîas); the Atschual Indians buy the latter from the whites. We gather from Karsten's reports (in Beiträge etc., pp. 1 ff.) that only a few Chiwaros have the knowhow for preparing this poison. There are many prescriptions in connection with the preparation of this poison. According to my information, the quivers are made of bamboo. They call the quiver hinduk. The little arrows are reproduced by Rivet in L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 366. The bamboo-quivers have a tree-calabash at the bottom; the Chiwaro-Makas Indians have such a calabash also on top.

28: Tessman--355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 531

The spear (Aguaruna: nánki, Atschual: nángi) is their main weapon of war. It has an iron point, which is as a rule imported from Ecuador. Formerly they may have had a wooden point (palm-wood). The shaft (at least the Makas shaft) is a fine piece of craftsmanship (see Plate 61). I am inclined to regard these shafts of a brightly shining brownish-red and decorated with carved patterns the best artistic accomplishment of the Chiwaros. Next highest I rate the execution of the inside of their bowl-plates, and third in line of artistic achievement are the feathered circlets and the other body ornaments. There are also spears made of one piece of wood (see Plate 65, upper right).

In his book Blood Revenge etc. Karsten gives a description of war and war methods. Karsten tells us that the Chiwaros used to have spears with bone-points. The bone was later replaced by iron.

They do not have slings for the hurling of arrows. No slings at all. No clubs. A long time ago they started to import a dagger with short haft and a long, wide iron blade. (See Plate 59, Fig. 6) The dagger is worn in a scabbard on a belt. Two hollowed-out pieces of wood form the scabbard.

The Aguarunas, Uambisas and Makas Indians have a round shield (tandara, according to Karsten, see his Blood Revenge, Plate 4, right). It is not decorated with feathers. The wood is neither polished nor decorated. It gives the impression three disks were placed one on top of the other, the one in the middle being the smallest.

12:Macaw E-9 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

6

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly 124 [169] 123 [411] stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and must usually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more outlying parts of the tribal territory typically involved accepting the most of my future wants and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amicable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding. [918]

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is as characteristic of this population, what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, if I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts, what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here. 128

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives, leading as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society. 105

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fertility (magical) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs 183 182 [128]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[774] [775] future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUINAK*

The second kind of soul, the muinak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muinak. Furthermore, a muinak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease [761] or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muinak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muinak is to avenge his death. This [582] soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muinak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men [589] who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muinak while it is in the [720] corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muinak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three [776] types of *iwanti* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-[761] human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous [825] snake (*mokoni*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause [829] him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other [777] cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of [412] firearms, a belief has been growing that a muinak can enter into these items [752] to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always [761] believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanti* kills the murderer, it sometimes ap-[776] pears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper [787] tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually [411] succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanti* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly
[342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma-
[574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one
[576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at
[231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which,
628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be-
648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about
[161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable
[164] in the region of the Jivaros, and it is being accelerated by
[177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jivaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular
726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately
● 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a
714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
719 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon manliness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries, each tries to protect himself, each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
(554 his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man: women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off, eyes and mouth are sewed up, hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784 self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
269] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
(237 wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they
[465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun-
[436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads,
[999] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements,
123 money was used as well. When visiting strange households
124 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder
[911] invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit.
[628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor-
[191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred-
[795] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate,
[122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

14 Harner E-6. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[175] The Jivaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
[669] stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
[177]
[699]
[191]

In the old days, all the Jivaro [*tsunki huni*] lived near the Río Pastaza. Then two Jivaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoma, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *huni*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jivaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jivaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *huni* returned downstream and told their people:

[692]
[691]
[23]

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[641] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy
[642] with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[29] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[27] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

648 175 797 439 [411]

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1901, but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

175 797 648

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

175 249 439 648

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upanó, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

175 648 [797]

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

34:Harner E-4.9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 195
Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usu- 648
ally attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as
individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were [411]
fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[80] probably
contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro
occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another,
directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the
boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a popu-
lation of about three thousand—far above that of Macas.
Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and
many of the white prospector-miners returned to the high-
lands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano,
Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [487]
built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province [797]
of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the
trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually,
Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immi-
grate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which
they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca
to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed [411]
the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465]
particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which
they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the
colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423]
arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented
by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro dimin-
ished and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for
pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [791]
population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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101 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has con-
628 tributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had
439 not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighbor-
[411] hood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these
[441] products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro
[464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu-
177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of
184 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially
43 because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

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poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

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411 223 224 [278] Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 8) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the toucan, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

411 [438] [278] The blowguns and curare dart poison are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jívaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, [224] by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

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stuck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jívaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

411 [224] [171] 411 224 [223]

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

224 [231] [411]

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call parrots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

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415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
439 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [914]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*arwe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

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8. Hunter returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blowgun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Rio Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law. 701 628 721

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation. 701 721 [726] [727] [727] [411]

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri huarā* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu huarā* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche. [484]

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*untsuri*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The 756

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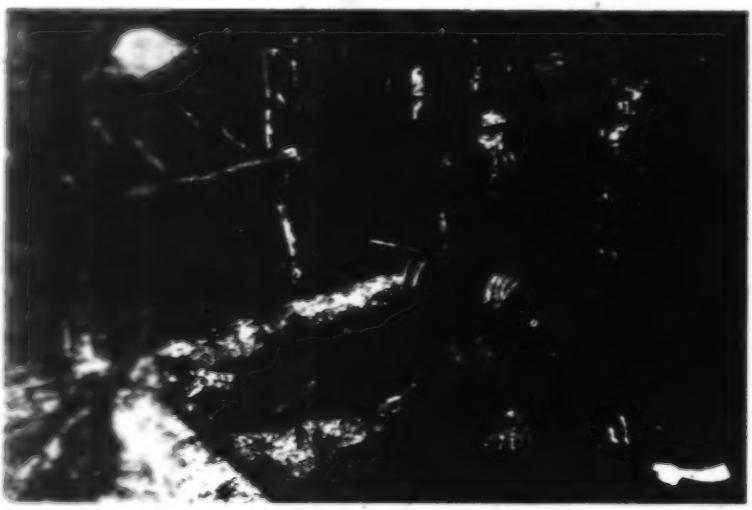
[273]

16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).



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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jívaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired [587] much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one [765]
of the three types of *iwanči*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makanči*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*pani*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411]
the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752]
accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien tribe's region, strict silence is maintained and scouts are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, snake back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hostiles. The main body of men follows the scouts, but simply keeps to the trail itself. 726

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the scouts remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs lean-to's and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 A.M., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 2 or 3 A.M., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the scout outpost, the scouts are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former scouts go back down the trail to sleep in the lean-to's where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the scouts find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is attacked, but sometimes two may be assaulted simultaneously, and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy. [411] 727 583

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambisa attacked his house in the Río Yaupi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

121 124 151 181

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

177 439 178 412 [411]

34 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend 461 in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent 517 on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the 439 adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western [592] and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading part- [512] nerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his [412] time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain [286] skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become [291] shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon [281] after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple com- [224] monly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this 591 change are not clear except that some informants said that in- [851] laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the [578] old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary [583] matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's [411] father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of 411 steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the [721] Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The [439] new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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178
from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178
ners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to
develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara [278]
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essen-
tial result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317]
of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and
machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming
from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412]
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237]
tier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278]
the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh-
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
• 411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

178 184 438 278 411 [224]

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178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[727]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

479 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jivaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
411
824

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart. 178 278 411 824 [951]

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites. 178 412 178 413 [284] 178 321 439

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners. 178 439 [281] [285] [294]

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be- 178 291 439 [301] [286] [287]

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 322, 412 (1928-29)

"Similarly, woodwork of every kind is a man's occupation. Various objects of Indian ergology reveal great technical skill, which is all the more admirable as the implements that the Indians have at their disposal are very primitive. Formerly, when the Indians did not yet know such iron instruments as the axe and the knife which are nowadays common among all tribes, their resources for making various wooden objects were of course still more limited. Their principal implements at that time were sharp snail's shells, axes or clubs of stone of the kind which are still found in some Indian huts or occasionally encountered in the earth in old Indian settlements, and a kind of knife of split bamboo, called shingyana.

2: Stirling--107[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 412, 482, 462

"The ground is not tilled in any fashioned. The only agricultural implements are a digging stick and a planting stick; frequently, the same implement serving both purposes. A typical digging stick is made of hard chonta palm, is about 4 feet in length, 1 1/2 inches in diameter, and is flattened at one end (pl. 23, a). The manioc is planted by taking small shoots from growing plants and placing the stems in shallow holes punched in the ground with the digging stick. The earth is then packed around the stem with the fingers and the plant requires no further care, the moist ground and the more or less continual rains doing the rest. The roots of the manioc are usually harvested when about a foot in length. If permitted to grow to a much larger size the tubers become coarse and woody. In harvesting manioc, which is one of the principal routine duties of the women, the tubers are excavated by means of the digging sticks, placed in the carrying baskets and borne by means of a head strap from the gardens to the house. This is no inconsiderable task, especially where the fields are at a distance over steep mountain trails from the jivaría (pl. 23, b)."

4: Up de Graff --203-204 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 412

"If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.

The first step in making a chacra is to remove the undergrowth; the soft stems are cut with hard-wood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works for days and weeks, until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable net[204]work of creepers among the upper branches. With a rending crash, a hole in the roof of the forest is made, and the sunlight pours in. At the same time the Indians pour out, leaping for their lives not only from the falling trees, but from the myriads of ants, bees, wasps, hornets, scorpions and centipedes which have been aroused. Worst of all is the iuturi (Inca), a dark red ant an inch and a half in length, which stings with its tail the moment it touches flesh, unlike any other poisonous

insect or snake in those woods; it does not wait to be disturbed but attacks of its own accord. I have even seen one make its way along the canoe rope, which was purposely passed under the water for a distance of two or three feet as a protection against crawling things. It must have been immersed for a full minute.

After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers."

4: Up de Graff --218 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 412, 437, 177

"We had with us many cases of machetes and steel axes, which we bartered from time to time. It may be, then, that the next time I visit them, to get them to work the 'placer' deposits of gold which lie hidden somewhere in their territory I shall find that a great change has been wrought in their lives by the advent of these tools. For of all the blessings of civilization which these people needed, the axe and the machete to combat the prolific growth of weeds and bush in their clearings, and to make for themselves the multitudinous necessities of life--for almost every thing they use is cut from numi (wood--Jívaro) --stand out first and foremost."

20: Dyott--182-183 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 412

"We are very apt to regard our modern-day inventions with awe and wonderment, thinking that it is only within the last century that we have made any real progress, but just imagine what a step forward was made by savage man when he discovered how to make bronze or iron implements. There are still tribes in the upper Amazon who use stone axes. I have even seen them in the hands of the Jivaros [183] and to watch a man pounding away at a big tree with such a crude weapon, takes one's thoughts back a good many thousand years. Kuashu had an old iron axe with which he cut up a few logs while we were hunting for strange insects. It was not a heavy blade, but he handled it with skill, and before the morning was out he had reduced half a dozen trunks to firewood."

28: Tessman--350 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 412, 287

The fire-fan (awáxin) is made of the feathers of the curassow bird; the quills are connected with two sticks (of the type shown on Plate 76, Fig. 13). Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 589) reproduces a fire-fan which is extremely beautiful: a handle is plaited to the simple fan. There are no plaited fire-fans.

The broom (matéi) is made of the ribs of the pinnate leaves of Astrocaryum (aff.) vulgare (chambira L.). But there are also brooms made of the leafy stems of a grass with broad blades.

28: Tessman--351 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 412

They used to have stone axes (kanámp), but I have not seen any.

28: Tessman--353 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 252, 412

To grind the Indian corn they use a stone chopping knife (like 'M.O.G.", p. 166, Fig. 14) on a wooden board. They do not prepare any manihot flakes. They have tubular vessels with pestles.

[704] [715] future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[10]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and [561] leaves his corpse through its mouth.[11] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

[582] The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill [589] instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power refrain to avoid marrying widows.

[707] Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (tsantsa), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of iwanfi or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous [776] [761] snake (mukanfi). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (pasi) [825] which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause [824] him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of [771] [812] firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items [752] to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted [761] wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

[776] [787] [811] Before the avenging spirit or iwanfi kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwanfi fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

/331 cont./

extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Ilocano from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with hard fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tacos) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are preferably used.

14:Harner E-4.5 [1956-1969]1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

173 The Jivaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
648 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
177
459 In the old days, all the Jivaro [*untsuri huara*] lived near the
[191] Rio Paute. Then two Jivaro went up the Rio Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Rio Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *huara*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have
[402] pigs?" The Jivaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of
[411] the Jivaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs
[231] to Macas. The two *huara* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy
[412] with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large
[202] wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside
[412] daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapimiuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both
513 in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 Each household has either a single large garden or several
[351] smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the
[146] exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
595 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,600 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its
[554] number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

may invite his neighbors to help him make a clearing, but this practice is infrequent. 241 476

All the above crops, except maize, are planted together in the same cleared plot. Manioc plants, which are the largest in the garden, are spaced slightly less than two yards apart throughout, with the smaller plants between them. A line of plantain and banana trees separates the garden from the forest. 244 [243] 241

Crop planting is done with two aboriginal tools and the machete. The former are a sharp-pointed planting stick thrust into the soil to make seed holes, and a flat-bladed palm wood digging stick used as a lever to excavate holes for planting and digging up manioc and other tubers and corms. The machete also functions as an excavating tool in planting. 412

Times of planting and harvesting overlap and thereby assure a constant reaping of agricultural staples. Sweet potato, *papa china*, and Araceae species are planted at any time of the year. Sweet potato and *papa china* mature in about six months, while the Araceae tubers and the carrot-like *maya* require a year. Plantain and banana are planted during a full moon at any time of the year, and are harvested twelve to fifteen months later. "White" maize and peanuts are usually sown semiannually at the blooming of the *šutsí* flower, maize maturing in seven months, the other crop in five. 241 244 [243]

The most important crop, sweet manioc, is planted and harvested daily in the same act. As the women dig up the manioc tubers, they place several cuttings from the same plant's stalk in the old hole and partially cover them with earth. Manioc matures in ten to twelve months, but the actual harvesting can, if desired, be delayed as much as an additional year. This continual replanting of the manioc crop on a year-round basis, as the individual plants are dug up, is an important factor in the reliability of Jívaro crop production. Thus the Jívaro, in a real sense, "store" much of [462] 241

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 231
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [252]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [302]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; 177
and the *kayens mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [352]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the machete are characteristically simple but well made, although a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

322 532

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing objects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns traded from the frontier Jívaro.

[534] [413] [415] [399]

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely employed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

[844] [244]

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a fragment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taračī*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

[294] [415] [291] [294]

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

[252] [273] [235]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

142 3. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute
291 (Río Sepa, 1956–57).
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• 412 /p. 90-C/
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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415
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[312]
[482]

4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[177]

The introduction of machetes and steel axes has made woodworking and tree felling more efficient and rapid. The formerly tedious work of felling trees for garden clearings with the aboriginal stone axes has been described by Up de Graff for the Jivaroan "Antipas" (a neighborhood of the Aguaruna or Huambisa) among whom he resided in the late nineteenth century:

> If you saw the one-handed stone axes which are the only tools these people have with which to fell the enormous trees, many of them three to five feet in diameter, to make their clearings (often five acres in extent), you would wonder how it were possible to accomplish this feat. It is a feat of patience rather than of skill. The wood is not cut, but reduced to a pulp, six or eight men working round one tree at the same time.
>
> The first step in making a *chacra* [Spanish: garden] is to remove the undergrowth; the soft stems are cut with hardwood machetes, what can be torn up by the roots is torn up, and the small saplings are snapped off by main force. Then the attention of the workers is turned to the larger trees. A ring is cut round the trunks of all the trees within a radius of, say, a hundred feet of some picked giant, enough to weaken them, and prepare them for the final strain which breaks them off. Finally the giant itself is attacked by a party with axes which works *for days and weeks* [emphasis supplied], until at last there comes a day when the great trunk has been eaten away sufficiently for it to crack and fall. But it does not fall alone, for it drags with it all the smaller trees in its vicinity which are bound to it and to one another by an unbreakable network of creepers among the upper branches . . .
>
> After leaving the trees to lie for several months during the dry season, the Antipas fire them, a process which eliminates all the smaller limbs and bush, leaving only the trunks, to deal with which they have no tools. I have examined the stumps of these

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[3]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

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[592]

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

178
592
241
476
[313]
[412]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178
from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an 178
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara [278]
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317]
of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara. [412] [237] [278]

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown. 675

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

1: Karsten--88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
413, 751 (1928-29)

"Very frequently a comb of Indian manufacture is stuck in the hair on the back of their heads, being regarded at the same time as an ornament and as a magical amulet."

1: Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302, 413 (1928-29)

"At the painting of the slayer's body with genipa the Jibaros formerly used a special instrument consisting of a cylindrical object, made of a special kind of very hard clay, into which certain circular ornaments were incised. The instrument was dipped into the genipa-solution and rolled along the cheeks, arms, legs, and body, of the slayer, the ornaments incised in the instrument being thereby stamped upon his body. This instrument, which is called payánga, is still known, but it is no longer made of clay but of a kind of wood."

/331 cont./

291 extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /33C/

299 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
298 are made by the Ilvaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
316 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
256 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which,
502 seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
531 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
● 413 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
[316] sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
302 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which grado-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
[524] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[306] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small
[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary
tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that
they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs.
Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then
used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing
322 other small carving jobs. Wooden objects made with the
machete are characteristically simple but well made, although
532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be
seen on the handles of stools and mortar boards, and on the
tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob-
[534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter
material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt ra-
• [413] [415] [399] zles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey
leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns
traded from the frontier Jivaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em-
[344] [244] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the
umbilicus of a new-born infant, and sometimes a hardwood
weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there
is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the
processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a
[294] [415] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of
garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of mon-
key bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the
[291] [294] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag-
ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*uwali*) over
one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing
[252] [273] [235] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash
peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see
Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending homes against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

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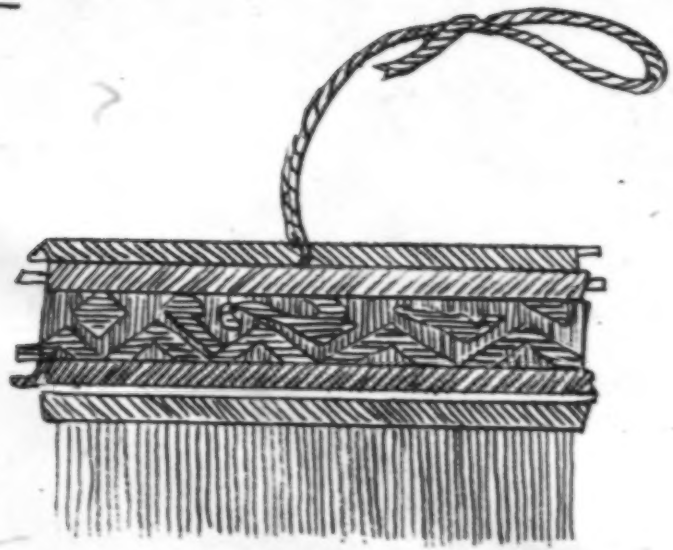
1: Karsten--94
116, 415

Jivaro

1. The small bag of chambira fibres (wambáchi). 1/3.

2. The big bag of chambira (shigra).



3. The comb (timashi).

4. The bag made of monkey's skin (uyúna).

1: Karsten--96-97 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 415 (1928-29)

"There are....various utensils and other things which attract attention. The majority of the utensils are, of course, found in the women's department where the food and drink is prepared. Most of them are pottery; almost the only exception being the large bottle-gourds (yumi) in which water is kept. Thus there may be found shelves full of large and small clay pots, some used for the cooking of food and called ichingaña, while in others the manioc substance is kept from which the Jibaro women prepare the native drink of the Indians, the manioc-beer or nihamañchi. The pots in which the manioc-beer is kept [97] are the largest of all and called muitsa. An earthen pot of this kind is usually found in the centre of the ekinturu standing on the floor, propped up with sticks. Its opening is generally covered with a gourd or earthen dish, so that the hostess of the house is always ready to prepare the beer by mixing a certain quantity of manioc substance with water when a guest arrives.--The cooking pots are generally found on one of the fires burning outside the sleeping boxes. The other clay pots and dishes will be described with more detail later on in connection with the industrial art of the Indians."

1: Karsten--97-98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 415, 353 (1928-29)

"In the men's department (tangamasha) there are several objects to be mentioned. On one of the chief posts of the house there usually hangs the big signal drum (tunduí) suspended by two lianas. This giant drum has been described as the 'telegraph' of the Jibaro Indians, but this does not exhaust its significance, as we shall presently see. Generally there is also found another and smaller drum hanging to one of the posts. This drum is of European type and originally obtained from the Canelos Indians. Its European origin may be inferred from its very name: tambora (from Spanish tambor). On one of the lateral posts several objects are to be seen: a number of chonta lances (nańki) and blowguns (umi, in Quichua pucuńa), a couple of quivers made of wild bamboo (chipyata) in which a great number of fine darts made of palm wood are placed, and frequently one or more round shields (tandara). On another post, close to the fire-place where the owner of the house usually sits when preparing his tobacco water in the morning, there are certain objects illustrating the industrial art of the Indians: a bag made of monkey skin and a smaller bag of chambira fibres, a bundle of wild cotton wrapped up in banana leaves tied to the post, and, hanging from its lower open end, a spindle consisting of a thin, straight pin of chonta wood, at the lower end of which is fixed a small round wheel of chonta or a stone disc with a hole drilled in the middle. Round the spindle is generally wound some cotton thread already spun. When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he

is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names.

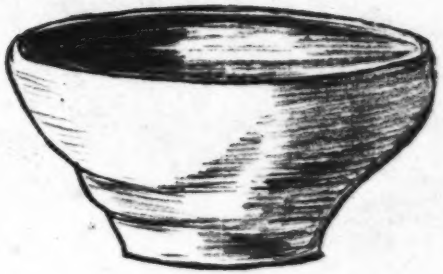
I may add at once that both spinning and weaving are occupations strictly limited to the male sex.

The Jibaro Indian keeps his most important personal belongings--the newly-woven loin-cloth (itipi) which he uses at the great feasts, and his ornaments, especially the feather ornaments which are liable to be attacked by moth and other insects-- in a special, big basket plaited of a certain liana and provided with a cover. This basket, called tukupi, is kept hanging from the ceiling by a liana, being lowered as occasion requires."

1: Karsten--98
116, 415

Jivaro

1. and 2. Clay pots for cooking tobacco leaves (yukúnda), of two different types. 1/3.

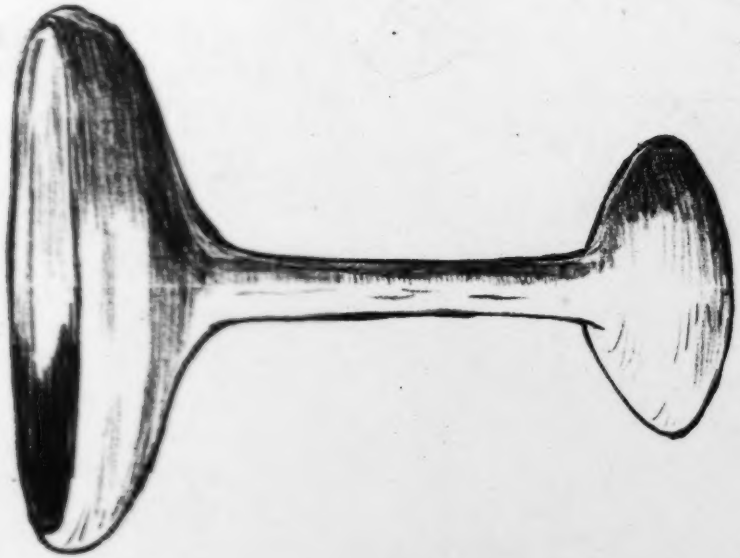


3. A small clay dish used at the feasts by such persons as are obliged to fast. The Jivaros. Rio Upano. 1/3.

4. Small clay pot for drinking manioc-wine. Jivaros.

1: Karsten--99
116, 415

Jivaro



1. Eating dish provided with a foot. 1/3. Achuares. Rio Pastaza.

1: Karsten--99
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

2. Ornamented eating dish (pininga) provided with a foot. Achuares. Río Pastaza.

1: Karsten--100 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
415 (1928-29)

"The cooking utensils are mainly of two kinds: the ordinary black cooking pots (ichingaña) already mentioned, and the smaller pots called yukuñda in which the Jibaro men prepare tobacco water by boiling the leaves."

1: Karsten--100 (1916-18) (1928-29) 1935 Jivaro
116, 415, 531

Fig. 1. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

1: Karsten--100
116, 415, 531

(1916-18) (1928-29) 1935

Jivaro

Fig. 2. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

1: Karsten--102
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

Fig. 1. Big ornamental clay pot for the keeping of the fermented manioc substance. Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza. (about 1/10).

1: Karsten--102
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

Fig. 2. An ornamental clay pot. Canelos Indians. (about 1/2).

1: Karsten--149
116, 415

Jivaro

Fig. 3. Clay Pot for keeping arrow-poison. Canelos.

2: Stirling--102 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 415, 484

"When the Jivaro is traveling he carries his feather ornaments neatly rolled and packed in tubes of bamboo. These tubes, together with other ornaments, hair combs, ear tubes, achiote paint and other accessories, are carried in a rectangular bag with a flap which is either woven of chambira fiber and suspended by a strap over one shoulder or else is made of monkey skin with the fur attached and suspended in the same manner (pl. 13)."

25: Vigna--41 [5]
116, 354, 513, 372, 415

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The fire is always kept lit. At night it burns at the foot of the sleeper and keeps him warm, so that the Jíbaro has no need of sheets or blankets. In illness, in order to conserve heat, they use a piece of cloth that serves as loin cloth. They do not have a kitchen; the fire that burns at the foot of the bed serves for hearth and here, they prepare their food. Hollow calabashes are used for water. When they go on a journey, they take along a burning firebrand. [42]

26: Brüning--58 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302, 415

Every day the face is painted with achiote (ipáko) which is made up into an ointment with the help of some fat. The patterns consist chiefly of round dots (diameter ca. 25 - 30 mm.) and wide, symmetrically arranged lines. Preferably they paint two spots in the cheek-bone region. But before the pattern is applied in bold strokes, the face is rubbed with dry achiote. The achiote ointment is stored in small bamboo containers.

26: Brüning--65-66 (1902)-1928 Jívaro
116, 415, 283

The most common hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun. But frequently we saw cheap single-barrelled hunting rifles. The Indians carry their ammunition, etc. in a [66] hunting-bag (wampatš), which is fashioned like a net out of strings which the Indians themselves had twisted. They twist these strings out of palm fiber between the palm of the hand and the naked thigh. The fiber is called tšambira by the whites and kumáy by the Indians. The hunting-bag is somewhat narrower on top. They wear it over the right shoulder under the left arm on a band which is plaited out of the same strings.

28: Tessman--348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302, 415

On festive occasions and during war expeditions the men paint their faces with lines and dots, which gives them a truly devilish appearance. The red paint is preserved in small bamboo containers: the bamboo section is sealed off at the bottom, and a piece of fur is used as a stopper on top. They also paint with genipap. According to Reiß and Karsten the Chewaros use for bodypainting a wooden stamp (formerly a clay stamp) in which the pattern is engraved. They dip the stamp into the dye and roll it over the body.

28: Tessman--353 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 415

They serve their food on bowl-like plates.

28: Tessman--353 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 415

Intoxicating beverages are drunk out of earthernware bowls (pininga). See Plate 59, Figs. 9 and 10. They fetch their water in calabashes which have a hole cut in the smaller part. They store the water in similar calabashes from which the stem-end has been cut off.

28: Tessman--354 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 323, 415

They produce cooking pots (itsinek) with a wide opening (Plate 59, Fig. 8) and pots with a narrower opening for the cooking of massato. The latter ones are called muetsa. Moreover, they have earthenware bowls (pininga) for intoxicating beverages. These pininga usually have the same coloring inside and outside. Their best and most original earthenware product is a bowl-like plate. They are red on the outside, covered with a paste of bixa (ipaku) and the juice of Apocynacee Couma guianensis, lechecaspi L. (naúm). Inside they are decorated with simple patterns (concentric circles, curves, and lines), and they are glazed yellow or green. No other tribe in Eastern Peru makes anything comparable to these plates (see color Plate VII, top). The resin which they use for this is called nétaka. They also have bowls with a double bottom with rattling fruit-shells inside.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

595
562
342
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353
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[235]
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[574]
[574]
[415]
[855]
[854]
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[273]

KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutapā*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuā*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [244] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*tarachi*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously. 415 [235] [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáčarum* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north. 323 415 [462] [824] 415 531 [439]

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare dabugun akrt poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. 415 [273] [276] [278]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [271] [273] [515]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Rio Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
224 from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
411 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
439 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [914]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *nuhé* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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285
[312]
[482]

4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

273
• 415
291
516
462
857
177
123
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7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-E/

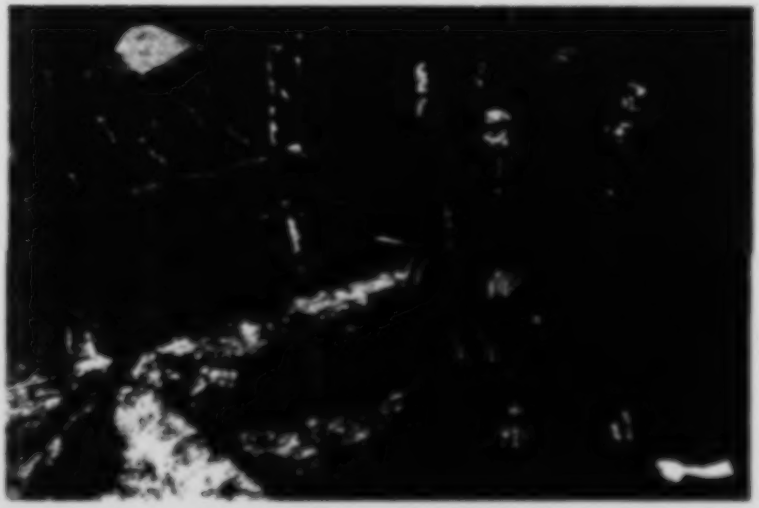
34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

142
291
301
411
574
516
• [415]
[273]

16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).



34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natema* (Rio Tutanangoza, 1964).

/p. 138-G/

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*nnukinctü*, *čarayčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirušä* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyayü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntä*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kiyak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirintä*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakai, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [273]
kumai) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*uyusi*, *ručinč*, *ipü*, *wamat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

/331 cont./

291 extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Ilvaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and defies even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucuti) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
729 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
[674] which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
aguaci Jíbaro. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an addi-
tional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly,
however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eld-
er does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however,
the elder has the legal right to keep all the parent's posses-
sions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any
formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder
brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
• 422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
423 and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that
he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the
artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has
gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested,
the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there
is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A
woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her
house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or
communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or
part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being
cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in
this case, it is the capital improvements of the land that is
owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural
state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting,
fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or
household level except in one type of apparently very rare
situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 175
Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usu- 648
ally attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as
individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were [411]
fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[22] probably
contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro
occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another,
directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [487]
built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province [797]
of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the
trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually,
Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed [411]
the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465]
particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which
they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the
colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423]
arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented
by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [731]
population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
[674] *untsuri šuara*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

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422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that
• 423 he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens. 423

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jivaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jivaro life. 578 628 682

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
• 423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
563 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
648 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jivaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukra, and governed by Catholicized Jivaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jivaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jivaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huma*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jibaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jivaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

4: Up de Graff--238-240 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 427, 484

"On the sand-spit at the junction of the Santiago and the Marañon lay some two hundred Antipa canoes, heavily laden with fruit, vegetables, honey and giamanchi in enormous quantities. They were drawn up in a great uneven fringe for a distance of a full quarter of a mile all around the edge of the tongue which juts out between the two rivers, and scattered all over the miniature peninsular were hundreds of savages, men, women, and children--three or four to every canoe--squatting in groups of families, some gossiping, some cooking, others speaking excitedly of war, others polishing their spears with sand, and yet others already partaking of their evening meal. The slanting rays of the sun tinted the whole scene with a purplish light, and threw into restful harmony the naturally crude colouring of forest, river, sand and savage. No cloud obscured the deep blue dome of the evening sky. The three long wailing notes of the yungaruru floated across the water, and the screams of the first flock of parrots rose high above the hum of human chatter as they skimmed over the trees on their return home from the days' foraging.

As we toiled up the stretch of bad water that lies between the gate of the cañon and the junction of the rivers, the scene gradually unfolded itself before our astonished eyes. What a change was this from the deadly [239] emptiness of the landscape when Game and I first paddled by the long desolate first reach of the Santiago, straining our eyes for the sight of any living thing!

To say we were taken by surprise is to understate the case. We were amazed at the

rapidity with which the fame of our expedition had spread amongst the savages. Apparently a good proportion of the whole tribe of Antipas had ventured well outside the radius of their home territory--a rare display of boldness--in search of those confounded presents of ours. There they were, sitting patiently waiting for hand-mirrors and striped shirts, with tons of fruit, vegetables, and other products of the rivers and woods. The full capacity of our fleet of four canoes was five tons at the most, and we were already heavily laden. Despite this, we found it wholly impossible to convince these adventurous merchants of the impracticability of their suggestion that we should take possession of all they had to offer in exchange for the coveted trade-goods. That evening we spent weary hours in trying to drive this obvious truth home to them, without any success attending our efforts. We transacted what business we must, and when we had bought more peanuts and honey than we could possibly want, we decided to sleep on the matter.

Next morning we were forced with the necessity of getting rid of that great concourse of Jívaros and, more important, seeing them go off in a contented frame of mind. We decided eventually to go the round of the whole beach, and present the crew of each canoe--generally a man with a couple of women and a child or two--with something to keep them quiet. I may mention that we had made the whole party leave the tip of the tongue of sand to us, where we pitched our little linen tent in a strategic position; on three sides water, which nothing could cross alive unless we wished it so, [240] and on the fourth

4: Up de Graff--238-240 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 427, 484

the flat open sand-bar with no protection whatever for lurking bodies.

The plan which we adopted was successful up to a point; the savages were certainly well satisfied to receive their presents, and to obtain a close view of the far-famed apaches, whost arrival had caused such a stir in the country; but all the good which had been done was threatened with instant reverse by our refusal to 'trade in' their tons of supplies for which we had no use nor space for carrying along in our four dugouts; so acceptance was the only possible course to follow. The beach became littered with the finest produce of the country."

4: Up de Graff--240-241 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 427

"Then came the stiffer problem, the ultimate object of all our manoeuvering up to this time; viz., to organize a fleet of canoes and canoemen not only to move our cargo and outfit up the Santiago but to accompany us as a guard against attack and as a war party in any possible conflict with the Huambizas. These Antipas were bitter enemies of the Huambizas and therefore we figured they would admirably suit our purpose. For many days we had been working up to this climax, endeavouring to convince old Pitacunca that it would be worth his while to give us thirty days' paddling in exchange for his choice of an axe or machete, with the same terms for every one of his men. No other bait had been tempting enough, as we had known only too well would be the case. Bit by bit we had led them on, until at last we had made our final offer, and before their bulging eyes we opened a box of axes and a case of machetes. The sight of the glistening steel and the bright red paint on the handles struck home to their very souls (if they had any), and I could see that they decided then and there to possess themselves of these treasures by fair means or foul. They knew, and we knew, that they had no [241] intention whatever of fulfilling their contract, despite the solemnity with which the terms were propounded and agreed to. Jack remarked at the time, I remember, that it was a moot point as to which party thought the other bigger fools. But we had our own ideas as to the enforcing of the contract. There was no doubt about it that if we wished to retain the services of the Indians we should have to be eternally vigilant and diplomatic. By day they could never give us the slip, clearly, armed as we were with Winchesters. The canoemen

would be divided between the several craft and escape would be out of the question. By night we should chain the canoes together, and always keep a guard mounted. By land they would never dare to face the risks of encountering a Huambiza war party. And so it turned out, with the exception that we allowed Pitacunca to take the Exploradora with three other Antipas, keeping them always within rifle-shot, in any event, they would not cut and run without their comrades and even if they did they could never paddle so heavy a craft away from us who manned the light twenty-four footers. In short, they were a slippery crew to deal with, and we couldn't be too careful."

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 427, 152

"Meanwhile, the bulk of the gathering of Antipas had melted away, leaving only the wise minority, who saw something in the shape of a big haul coming when we turned the bows of our dugouts up the Santiago. Clearly we should leave behind us nine-tenths of our purchases, and the harvest would be rich for those who were there to gather it. (Old 'Pete' had probably warned them to be ready at midnight on our first night out.) Perhaps the bulk of the remainder watched us from the seclusion of the woods as we pushed off, as they hoped, in all innocence.

'Sept. 29th. Having finally satisfied the Antipas, by [242] means of our presents, that we are friendly disposed toward them, and closed the deal with the crew by handing them out their axes, we are due to start at mid-day to-day. 'Pete' and his men are obviously well satisfied with the business they have done. It is quite clear that they contemplate leaving us to-night with much relish.'

About five o'clock that evening we sighted a sand-bar for the first time since entering the Santiago...

That night it fell to Pedro to mount guard from sun-down till midnight. Long ago we had given our time-pieces away to the Antipas up the Maranon, for they were useless impediments. By the time each man of us had jumped overboard half a dozen times to save a paddle, a war-bag, or Ambusha, they were not much use except as presents. In the last-named capacity they were handed out to 'Lázaro,' Pitacunca, and one or two other important gentlemen. The original recipients kept the cases, which they hung

around their necks, and distributed the wheels to their less favoured fellows.

During that watch of his Pedro had no peace. Every few minutes the siege would be renewed. With smiling faces our friends would beg for a canoe to cross the river for one of a hundred purposes, urging reasons which were apparently so pressing as not to allow of even waiting till dawn. They had heard a troupe of night monkeys on the other bank; they had spotted a fine log for the fire five hundred yards down-stream (always down-stream!); they thought it would be a good idea to have some fish for breakfast; they were sure that the turtles would be out on the other end of the sand-spit, and they could approach noiselessly in a canoe...[243] and so on, until Pedro called me up in despair. I kept them quiet with a long story about the dangers of going off alone in the dark, with the possibility of a Huambisa surprise at any moment. I treated them in the only way possible, like children, meeting them on their own ground. Neither I nor Pitacunca believed our own words, much less those of the other. But the game of bluff had to be played out, like any other game, and the hardest bluffer won. So passed the first of a series of such nights, always the same farce had to be staged, endless machinations met by endless argument. At length, after four or five nights had passed in this fashion without any success being attained, it dawned on the Indians that other tactics must be adopted if they were (in the language of sport) to make a get-away. They began to fall sick, and with remarkable ingenuity discovered that the waters of the Santiago brought on all manner of ills, from loss of appetite, by way of general debility, to heart-failure.

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 484, 427, 152

Still we persisted, keeping them at the paddles after the fashion of galley-slave drivers. They were by this time a miserable, dejected crowd, keeping any way on the canoes, complaining of their ills, and bemoaning the certain death that awaited them if they continued."

4: Up de Graff--247-248 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 153, 427

"To return to my tale, then, the canoemen had to go. But we were determined that they should not carry off with them the wage which they had done so little (and that little so very unwillingly) to earn. It would be a bad precedent to set, for, if ever we had occasion to need their services or those of any other of their tribe again, we should start at a disadvantage if they thought they could fool us, as they certainly did, despite our precautions.

We made them build us a shack that evening on the island, and next morning a permanent shelter on the mainland, in which to cache part of our stores against our return, being unable to paddle so great a weight up-stream without their help. They all worked hard and with a good will, for freedom would be theirs within a few hours. Then we broke the news to them that they must return their axes and machetes, having failed to keep their contract. After the usual pow-pow they were handed over. It was not so peaceable a transaction as it might have been, for we had to hold them up with our rifles before we could make them give up our property. And then they went. [248]

It was not till they had been gone two hours or more that we had the idea of opening our cases of stores to see that all was in order. Half the axes and machetes and three-quarters of the poison had gone. Now the boxes and cases in which they were carried were purposely fastened with long screws, the secret of which we had not thought that any savage would discover. But, too late, it dawned on us that I myself had been indiscreet enough to open a box one day when that old thief Pitacunca was looking on. So, day by

18: Hermessen--440 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 427

"Shortly after our arrival a number of Jíbaros of both sexes issued in single file from a cane-field bordering the river and approached the house. They had been employed in various agricultural tasks about the place and were coming for their daily pay, which they took in goods, money being unknown to them."

12: Rivet--609 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 765, 428

Property is transmitted from male to male (1), generally from father to son. When the husband dies, the wives of the deceased take off all their ornaments, cut their hair, and stop painting their faces and body, as a sign of mourning. In a word, they renounce all elegance. (2) It is not true, nowadays at least, that the favorite wife follows the head of the family to the grave.

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1. Lubbock. op. cit., page 31.
2. Collecion de cartas etc. op. cit., page 61.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
• 428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
589 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

589 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the
[628] abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

685 A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
428 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
593 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
[589] if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
727

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685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
729 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
[674] which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
untsuri tsuará. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an addi-
tional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly,
however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eld-
est does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however,
the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's posses-
sions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any
formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder
brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
423 and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that
he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the
artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has
gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested,
the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there
is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A
woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her
house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or
communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or
part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being
cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in
this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is
owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural
state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting,
fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or
household level except in one type of apparently very rare
situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has con-
628 tributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had
439 not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of
[411] machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighbor-
[441] hood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, those products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro
[464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu-
177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of
184 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied
• 43 feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34:Harner E-6,5 [1956-1969]1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tools and firearms. These complementary inequalities in supply and demand between the frontier and interior Jivaro formed the basis for the trade that supplied the latter with European-type technological items. Such technological items constituted almost the sole aspects of Western civilization that had been adopted by the interior Jivaro in 1956-57.

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4: Up de Graff--190-191 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 431, 576

"We had been careful to bring with us an assortment of trade-goods--a few beads, some small round looking-glasses, and (most successful of all) a supply of their own particular brand of poison. This latter we carried in sections of bamboo cane, about an inch in diameter and six inches long. The poison is poured in after removing one of the knots or partitions which grow at regular intervals, and the cup thus formed, when full, is closed with a palm leaf tied down with a strip of bark; the latter is put on green, and when it dries it automatically tightens up, sealing this natural receptacle as securely as a jam-pot

Once they began to take an interest in the presents, things went swimmingly. Little by little the howling of the tribe in the huts behind the undergrowth had died away, open hostility gave place to confidence, more and more savages slipped down to the canoe to see what we had, urged thereto by their companions who had already done so, and little by little friendly relations were established. Finally, their curiosity, nursed by the evident delight of their men-folk at the treatment they were receiving at our hands, overcame the women of the settlement. Down they came to the bank, each one bearing an enormous gourd full of giamanchi, first in one and twos [191] and then in one great stampede. The etiquette in connection with the welcoming of guests, be they friends or strangers, is rigid and extremely burdensome to one whose stomach is not accustomed to receiving unlimited gallons of liquid. A rough estimate proves that there must have been presented to us in all some 600 gallons of giamanchi, all of which we were expected to

drink if possible. If not, we were at any rate bound to taste each one of the gourds which were brought down to the river by the some 300 wives of the numerous warriors who were assembled on that beach. For refusal to accept food at the hands of any one of the women, who represent their lords in this ceremony, is sure to incur grave displeasure. After the tenth drink or so Game, who was of a distinctly independent turn of mind, began to protest to me in no uncertain terms that he would 'see himself dead before he would touch another drop ' I implored him at any rate to go through the motions of imbibing, to which he eventually allowed himself to be persuaded. And so we solemnly raised every one of those nauseating receptacles to our lips, and were at peace with the Antipas."

4: Up de Graff--199-200 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 431

"Bit by bit the leaven of our carefully chosen words was seen to be working in the minds of the Indians. From time to time the chief would bring up the subject of those presents, with childish inquiries as to the size [200] of the hand-mirrors and the colours of the beads. Had we made him a direct proposition to come down-stream with us, it is very likely that his natural caution would have persuaded him that we were preparing a trap. We were in a quandary that third night of our stay with him, for the next day we should have had to go back to camp in any event, having arranged with the others to return within fifteen days at all costs if alive and free. We were debating as to whether we should openly propose to 'Lázaro' that he should accompany us with a party of canoe-men, when we saw him putting off in his canoe to come over to the island.

He landed, came straight over to where we were sitting by the fire and sat down. A few minutes' talk brought him to the real purpose of his visit.

Why could not the difficulty about getting the presents through the Pongo be overcome by him going down with us with some of his expert river-men and helping us?

We jumped to our feet. What fools we had been never to think of that way out!... How brilliant an idea had occurred to him!.... Why, at one blow he had solved the whole problem, and his tribe would reap the benefit of his astuteness. Most certainly! We had never thought of such a thing, but would avail ourselves of his offer. When should we start? The sooner the better, after all: on the morrow?....Right. We would waste no time.

4: Up de Graff--199-200 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 574, 431

And, although it was never sure whether we should reach the Pongo with any Antipas until we were actually under way and, what is more, out of sight of the hutments on the bank, it is a matter of history that we did. For next day, without any fuss or ceremony, we bought a sound dugout for one carisa of poison, and pushed off with eight canoemen, led by the medicine man Pitacunca en route for Borja and our friends."

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34.Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9-Jivaro SD9

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, 175
but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in 648
permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures [797]
reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when [431]
they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which [765]
included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been [727]
killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no mem- 179
ory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

A very long time ago there were the *ai apači* ["*ai*" white men]. 173
They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to 829
their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *mačin*. . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *huarä* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the 174
knees and elbows of the *ai apači* was something like the [173]
shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

34.Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 bewitching shamans (*tsawek*, or *yahauchi tsuisim*: bad shaman) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*peser tsuisim*: good shaman) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

[556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables.

[465] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a distant patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[431] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

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Several cases were encountered in which men gave their 756
daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary
bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because [583]
the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the sha-
mans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given [431]
gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual
visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not
specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually [431]
not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking
for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, [574]
and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-
shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more 756
often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly recip-
rocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him 496
to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their
desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be
a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with
the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure ex- 756
clusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man
presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such
a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically,
it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gun-
powder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete
or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing [776]
shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and
supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit
servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of
shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*)
makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with
normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the
relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

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756 776 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 554 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to [431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shot- [177] guns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspä*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 776 554 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *amiči*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigu*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[4] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
431 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuit*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the
441 neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
574 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[491] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
728 accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amik'i*) between people in general, in preference to kinship
[601] terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to
[572] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga-
[576] tion, and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these
[571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of
[572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of
[431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts.
[753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

177 178 648 233 433 439 [464]

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

648 657 797 563 [233] [721]

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukra, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*Iwara*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

11: Mead--161 [4] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 434

'In early times the Spaniards, and after them several South American countries, passed laws with severe penalties for any one known to have prepared one of the heads; but it was difficult for the law to reach the transgressors and not much seems to have been accomplished toward stopping the practice."

12: Rivet--614 [3] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 434

The commerce in mummified and shrunken heads at one time developed in a disquieting fashion and the government, fearing that the appeal of easy gain would incite the natives to continual wars in order to procure the heads, or even to attacking the whites themselves, forbade the sale of these hideous trophies, a rule which was, however, without force.

13: Rivet--71-72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 435

The first tsantsas coming to Europe had their hour [72] of renown and attained extraordinary prices. In 1865, one of them was sold for 1500 francs (1). Ten years ago another was sold at auction for 500 francs at the Hotél Drouot (2). Actually, these objects are much less rare and have lost a part of their commercial value. At Macas, at Gualaquiza and at Zamora, the whites buy them directly from the Indians for ten sucres, that is 25 francs, and take them to Cuenca, Riobamba and Loja, where they resell them for 30 to 50 sucres, that is 75 to 125 francs. In Europe, the best examples are worth 200 and 300 francs and there is not an important museum that does not possess at least one. In Paris, the Museum of Natural History has five of them, the Anthropological Society one, the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadero three, the Army Museum one, and also there are a good number in private collections.

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1. Pozzi, op. cit. page 359.
2. D. Les Tetes Momifiees des Incas (La Nature, 20 Octobre 1900, No. 1430, p. 336.

23: Turner--57 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 727, 435

"The macabre nature of the shrunken head trophies (tsantsas) of the Jibaro Indians has long assured them a ready sale to curio-hunters. As Stirling has pointed out in a valuable paper, (1) this demand has given rise to a considerable business in the manufacture of counterfeit tsantsas, with the result that a large proportion of the specimens in private (and some public) collections are in fact the heads of unclaimed dead from hospitals and pauper asylums prepared by taxidermists. The laws of Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil prohibit the export of tsantsas, but numbers are surreptitiously hawked to tourists along the Pacific coast from the Panama Canal southwards. The prices asked may range from £2 to £10 or more, according to the estimated means of the customer. While some of these may be authentic, the majority certainly are not."

"1. Stirling, M: W:, Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology: Bulletin 117. Washington, 1938. Cf. also Rivet, P., 'À propos 'de Tsantsa,' Journ. Soc. Américanistes de Paris, N:S: 24, 1932, pp. 213-14."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jívaro SD9

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tawaspā*)

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The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jívaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jívaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

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The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband [435]

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of the *tawaspa* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and 684
strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter. 301

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary 684
adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, 593
but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak 837
instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the 684
moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. 837
Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall 839
no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. 684
They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men [837]
and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of 684
adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks 837
the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at 593
the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called 586
father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

26: Brüning--46-47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 436

In former years the Indians came as far as Bella Vista and later even to Bagua Chica in order to exchange parrots and other animals for articles of everyday use. Raimondi tells us that in 1845 the Aguarunas destroyed at the same time the mestizo-settlements [47] Puyaya and Copallín, the one situated on the right bank of the Marañón River, somewhat below the Rentema, the other on the left bank.

The old mestizo Santiago Lara, one of the survivors of Copallín and now 56 years old, told me in Bagua Chica the following story concerning the destruction of Copallín: "It happened in about 1856 that Jibaros first attacked the houses that were situated outside the village. The inhabitants of the chief settlement, warned by the clamor, were given a chance to flee. My father took me on his shoulders, and we fled, like the others into a mountain gorge. When the Indians came, they found the village deserted. They carried away everything they regarded as valuable, but they did no damage to the buildings." And yet, neither Copallín nor Puyaya was ever resettled by its inhabitants. Another Copallín was founded on the right bank of the Uteabamba River.

26: Brüning--48 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 436

In order to get articles that were valuable to them the Indians started to collect the products of their forests. In exchange for rubber, various resins, canoes, Maní, yucca, bananas, tamed animals and parrots the Indians ask for Winchester repeating arms, rifles and the necessary ammunition, axes, knives, scissors, needles, fish-hooks, mirrors, cotton wares, sewing thread, etc. At that time the rate of exchange was the following: For a small canoe for six people they would receive an ordinary single-barrelled rifle (European value perhaps 10 Marks). For a hen or a large bunch of bananas they would receive one vara (84 cm.) of Tocuyo (thin, unbleached cotton, muslin?). In exchange for a basket (15 liter) of ground-nuts (maní) they could barter 4 vara (336 cm.) of Tocuyo. I have witnessed it several times in Nazaret that the Indians were terribly cheated with regard to weight when they made their rubber deliveries to the white men, and I could see it from the expression on their faces that they were aware of the fraud.

26: Brüning--59 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 386, 436

For dyeing purposes the Indians use the leaf of a tree which they call yamakáy. The dye stuff is chocolate-brown. I cannot tell whether they dye the cotton or rather the yarn. They dye fabrics which they acquire through barter.

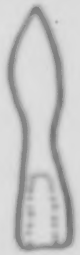
26: Brüning--71 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 436, 554

While the blowgun is their hunting weapon, the spear is their war weapon. At the same time, the spear is part of the etiquette, for a man would never leave the house without it, even if he would visit only his nextdoor neighbor. It is the weapon that signifies masculine dignity.

Spears with iron points were generally in use when I visited the Indians. The point (see Figure 7) has a socket at the bottom. The shaft is fastened into the socket with the help of resin. The spear or lance has a length of 2 1/2 - 3 1/2 meters. They are said to obtain the iron points by way of barter from the Indians along the upper Senepa. The points are said to come from Ecuador. The spear with the iron point is called nánki by the Indians. Formerly spears were used shaped out of the wood of the chonta palm, and they still occur in isolated instances. The shape of their point is the same as the iron one, but its cross-section shows a somewhat concave outline. Shaft and point are made out of one piece. These chonta lances are called angõs.

Figure 7.

Iron Spear Point



26: Brüning-- 71-72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 177, 436

In all the tambos I found Winchester rifles which they had obtained from the rubber collectors by barter for rubber. But since the Indians most of the time do not have any [72] shot to go with it, these rifles are for the most part ornamental pieces. As a matter of fact, the Indians are not too fond of rifles since, they maintain, their report chases the game off.

In their tambos they have special stands where all the weapons are vertically placed and with great orderliness. Especially the blowguns have to be kept in a vertical position, otherwise they would bend.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [797] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *šuarä*.
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[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
[231] sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
[436] plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
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3: Simson--389 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 437

"We continued our friendly relations at the Pintuc and received many daily presents of yuca, plantains, sweet potatoes, and fowls, presenting the Indians in return with hatchets, looking-glasses, and beads for the men; and needles, thread, and beads for the women. We also procured some of their tiger and monkey-tooth necklaces and some feather ornaments."

4: Up de Graff --218 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 412, 437, 177

"We had with us many cases of machetes and steel axes, which we bartered from time to time. It may be, then, that the next time I visit them, to get them to work the 'placer' deposits of gold which lie hidden somewhere in their territory I shall find that a great change has been wrought in their lives by the advent of these tools. For of all the blessings of civilization which these people needed, the axe and the machete to combat the prolific growth of weeds and bush in their clearings, and to make for themselves the multitudinous necessities of life--for almost every thing they use is cut from numi (wood--Jívaro) --stand out first and foremost."

"To return to my tale, then, the canoemen had to go. But we were determined that they should not carry off with them the wage which they had done so little (and that little so very unwillingly) to earn. It would be a bad precedent to set, for, if ever we had occasion to need their services or those of any other of their tribe again, we should start at a disadvantage if they thought they could fool us, as they certainly did, despite our precautions.

We made them build us a shack that evening on the island, and next morning a permanent shelter on the mainland, in which to cache part of our stores against our return, being unable to paddle so great a weight up-stream without their help. They all worked hard and with a good will, for freedom would be theirs within a few hours. Then we broke the news to them that they must return their axes and machetes, having failed to keep their contract. After the usual pow-pow they were handed over. It was not so peaceable a transaction as it might have been, for we had to hold them up with our rifles before we could make them give up our property. And then they went. [248]

It was not till they had been gone two hours or more that we had the idea of opening our cases of stores to see that all was in order. Half the axes and machetes and three-quarters of the poison had gone. Now the boxes and cases in which they were carried were purposely fastened with long screws, the secret of which we had not thought that any savage would discover. But, too late, it dawned on us that I myself had been indiscreet enough to open a box one day when that old thief Pitacunca was looking on. So, day by

day, as we had been pushing up the Santiago, more and more stores were carefully extracted (the Jívaros using the very machetes we had given them as screw-drivers in just the same way as I did myself) and cached as we travelled along in the heavy verdure which lines the banks of that river. So it happened that they drew ten times the pay they had contracted for, after all. It was too late to do anything in the way of revenge. Had we had a speed launch at hand, we might have caught those stalwart robbers, but hardly otherwise. They must have reached home in one day's paddling. We never saw Pitacunca again.

The loss of that fine poison which Morse and Iberico had gone to such pains to obtain in the Huallaga River and bring along with the Exploradora, rankled in our minds for many a long day, aggravated by the thoughts of the sweet revenge which we could have taken, had we known in time, by appropriating that fine canoe in which the Jívaros escaped and turning them loose to their own devices on the bank."

10: Anthony--158-159 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 437

"The Jivaros were very much interested in our work, which appealed to them because it dealt with the most vital feature of their daily lives, the animals of their own jungles.

They are a rather difficult people with whom to deal, for the reason that money has scarcely any value in 'Jivaría' and [159] their material wants are few. It is possible to gain their friendliness by gifts of such a nature as mirrors, needles, fishhooks, or powder and shot; but if one desires to secure the labor of a Jivaro, as a canoe man for example, it may be necessary to do a great deal of patient and tactful trading before you succeed in engaging him."

11: Mead--161[3] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 437, 441

"The first heads that found their way out of the Jivaro country did so by being passed from hand to hand until they came into the possession of some trader who brought them down the Amazon to Para, where they were disposed of. Unfortunately the Jivaro soon learned that these heads were much in demand by white men and began to prepare them for the traders, being by no means particular as to whose head was used, and it is said that advance orders were frequently taken and filled. Certain it is that now and then short-haired heads bearing mustaches find their way into the market."

The drum (fig. 8-8) is not the work of the Jíbaros; they acquire it by exchange from the Indians of the Napo who make a specialty of this manufacture. The barrel of the drum is hollowed out from a small log of cedro (Cedrela odorata) 175 mm. in diameter and 19 cm. long. The thickness of the walls does not exceed 1/2 cm. The skin used is that of the howling monkey, doubtless because the Indian imagines that the skin of this noisy animal ought to have a special sonority (1). The tension of the hide over the barrel is obtained almost as in European drums, by two narrow bands of wood joined together by strings. The apparatus is carried suspended from the neck by a cord and only a single drumstick is used.

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1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire, etc., op. cit., page 58.

The commercial relations are very restricted. The natives fatten hogs and raise chickens to sell to the whites, where they are in contact with them. The exchange of salt is certainly the most important because of the rarity of this product in the region. The few sources of salt in the forest are jealously exploited by the neighboring tribes. One of them, called Huénunga, is situated on the borders of the river Maembaimi, another exists not far from the river Zhuizha and bears the name of Mayáhiko (1). The Jívaros often go there from considerable distances. The water is collected and evaporated in clay pots; at the end of two or three days it is only necessary to break the container to obtain a big ball of very hard salt.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano Peruano, op. cit. I III, notes on pages 416 and 417. The commerce in salt is very old among the Jívaro. We have actually seen the origin of the struggle between them and the Canaris was over the possession of salt sources.

12: Rivet--614 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437

In certain regions where they are in contact with the whites, the natives occupy themselves with gathering rubber, which they exchange at the trader's for iron tools and weapons, bad guns, cheap rubbish, and especially alcohol. They also skin the beautiful birds from their forests and one sees them occasionally coming into the villages with parrots, monkeys and vanilla.

12: Rivet--614 [4] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437

To the neighboring Indian peoples, the Jívaro sells the magnificent blowgun that he makes with such skill and care and receives arrow poison in exchange from the people of the lower Amazon, and drums from the Indians of Napo.

All these transactions are performed by barter, since money exists only in the places inhabited by the whites.

12: Rivet--615 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437, 721

To sum up, properly speaking, commerce does not exist and the Jívaro until this day has no use for his energy, activity, and intelligence except in the bloody battles that his tribe wages ceaselessly against the neighboring tribes.

13: Rivet--255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
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An Ecuadorian told me he had persuaded an Indian to prepare for him an entire human skin in the same manner as the tsantsas, in exchange for a bad gun.

25: Vigna--46[2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 437

Among the Jíbaros, commerce as such does not exist. They do not use money among themselves; they have learned the use of this from the whites. Among themselves they use barter or exchange of things. The Jíbaro is exceedingly rich, for he lacks nothing; his necessitites are very limited.

1: Karsten--108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
438 (1928-29)

"The principal hunting weapon of the Indians is the blowgun (umi, in the Quichua language pucuña) which is made with very great care. The making of blowguns has become a special industry which is developed among only a few Jibaro tribes, and in these is followed by only a few individuals. Thus I myself found that only the tribe at the Arapicos and the Achuares at the central Pastaza were makers of blowguns, with which a trade was carried on with other tribes."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 8) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the toucan, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

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The blowguns and curare dart poison are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jívaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

[224]

Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

34:Harner E-4,5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 439 714

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 282 438 439 415 283 824

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-G/

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *amigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *amigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *amigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *amigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society, where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

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to the east and southeast. In its total extent, this network of Indian trading partners apparently stretches from the foot of the Andes in the west to near Iquitos on the Amazon in the east, and from the Río Napo in the north to the Río Marañon in the south. Its most complex and intensive manifestations occur in the isolated interior, where the native distribution system is uninterrupted by white traders or colonization.

Trade in the interior involves two kinds of commodities about equally: white-manufactured valuables (*apa'i kuir*) and Indian-manufactured valuables (*kuar kuir*), the latter particularly from the Achuara tribe. The frontier Jívaro west of the Cutucú mountain range, who are in direct contact with the whites at Macas, Sucúa, and other smaller settlements, obtain the Western-manufactured items primarily by engaging in wage labor for the whites. These then are carried over the Cutucú range by means of several different foot trails.

The Achuara people to the east, lacking any such direct source of large quantities of steel cutting tools and guns, have to trade with the interior Jívaro to obtain them. The Achuara, for their part, have a near monopoly on the manufacture of blowguns and curare, and produce feather ornaments which are highly esteemed by the Jívaro. The Achuara also supply various monkeys, parrots, and marmosets, as well as such items as woven kilts, ornamental earsticks, and native beadwork. In addition, they are the sole suppliers of glass beads, which, for an unknown reason, are available in the Peruvian Amazon, but not in the Ecuadorian Oriente. Except for these glass beads and some .44 caliber cartridges, Achuara trade in items from Peru is severely limited, apparently because the only native-produced goods in which the Peruvians are interested are jaguar, ocelot, and especially peccary hides. The geographical isolation of the Achuara

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites. 438 439

The Achuara also rely upon the Jivaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Rio Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jivaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Rio Mangosiza and the other near the Rio Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18). 438 319 441

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white-Jivaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products. 438 439 441

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *amiki*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigri*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[6] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels 441 572 441 431 572

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441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
431 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*tsuit*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the
441 neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
574 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[431] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tawaspā*)

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jívaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jívaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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18. The saline spring from which almost all of the salt used by the interior Jívaro is obtained. Those living within a day or two of the spring boil the water in pots and trade the resultant salt to more distant neighborhoods (near the upper Río Mangosiza in the eastern Cordillera de Cutucú, 1956–57).

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178
from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178
ners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to [278]
develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essen-
tial result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317]
of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and
machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming
from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412]
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237]
tier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278]
the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh-
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs. 178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier. 178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance. 178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has 178 184 438 278 411 [224]

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178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
• 438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[727]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jivaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
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1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

2: Stirling--76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 439

"In concluding this discussion of shrunken heads, a word should be said concerning counterfeit tsantsas. It is probably safe to say that the majority of specimens now in private collections, and even in many scientific museums, are of fraudulent origin. Formerly it was not easy to induce the Jivaros to part with their tsantsas. However, in recent years, the more or less standard price of a gun for a head became established between traders and the Indians. To discourage this traffic, both the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Governments have passed laws prohibiting their exportation. Nevertheless, as might be expected, a good many are smuggled out. The majority of the heads which leave the country, however, were never in the hands of the Jivaros but were prepared by various individuals from the bodies of unclaimed paupers to supply the constant demand of tourists and travelers."

2: Stirling--76-77 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 439, 727

"The trade of manufacturing imitation tsantsas has been pursued for at least 75 years at various places in Ecuador, in Colombia, and in Panama. The first reference to this profitable form of taxidermy is by Philippi, (7) in 1872, who calls attention to the activities of a white man living on the borders of the Jivaro country. This man, having learned the method of preparation from the Indians, had made and sold two such heads which Philippi had seen. Philippi's description and illustrations of an acknowledged fraudulent specimen shows the difficulty, in some cases, where Jivaro techniques are closely followed, of detecting spurious examples. [77]

Ambrosetti, (8) in 1903, published another less clever imitation, and Rivet, (9) who discusses this matter at some length, illustrates an example which he secured in Quito, made by a student in Loja."

"7. Philippi, 1872b, p.343.
8. Ambrosetti, 1903, pp.519-523, pl.IV.
9. Rivet, 1908, pl. I, fig. 1."

"In most instances it is not difficult to detect the frauds. The Jivaros have a somewhat stereotyped method of distorting the features by pulling out the lips and spreading the nostrils, producing a false prognathism and giving the impression of a retreating chin. The forehead is compressed laterally and at the level of the temples there are two depressions, probably resulting from the technique of grasping the head at these points while preparing it. Most of the counterfeit heads reproduce the features much more naturally than the genuine specimens, preserving the aspect of the features more nearly as they were in life.

Many of the false specimens do not have the facial down removed, nor are they polished. The Jivaros usually singe off this fine hair and polish the skin. Likewise, some of the counterfeiters fail to blacken the skin. This black color is superficial, however, and in old or worn specimens the yellow color of the skin is often exposed.

On most of the genuine examples there is a median posterior incision extending from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed. Sometimes there are two lateral cuts going up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and Rivet (12) describes

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"12. Rivet, 1908, p.80."

one in which the posterior incision does not disjoin the cervical section but is in the form of an occipital buttonhole.

The nature of these incisions is not a safe criterion in judging specimens, as similar techniques are employed by the counterfeiters. However, the method of sewing the incision may often tell the tale. [78] The counterfeiter usually does a more skillful job of sewing than the Jivaro, having finer tools, and generally uses a much finer fiber than the Indians, or he may even substitute thread.

The Jivaros invariably pierce the crown of the head with a circular hole through which the suspension cord is passed. Sometimes there are two such holes placed along the median line of the crown. The counterfeiter usually omits these perforations.

The Jivaro specimens likewise have the lips perforated vertically; as a rule with three or four holes made by passing through the chonta pins to prevent the mouth from warping during preparation. Sometimes the pins remain in place with cotton cord lashings; sometimes they are removed and the lips tied together with cotton strings, often with long ornamental pendant tassels. During the present century, in order to enhance the 'showiness' of their products, it has become the frequent practice of counterfeiters to decorate their tsantsas with feather headdresses and similar ornaments, a practice never followed by the Jivaros. The only decorations ever seen on genuine tsantsas are the lip cords, which sometimes have a few beetle wings or feathers attached, and occasionally small toucan feathers are attached to miniature tubes in the ear lobes, but not through the rims of the

ears as is done by one counterfeiter.

Occasionally, as Up de Graff has indicated, counterfeiters shrink an entire body after the fashion of a tsantsa. Most of these specimens have evidently originated in Panama. Von Hassel states that a tribe exists in the region of the Cusicuari, Rio Negro, and Orinoco who reduce entire bodies in this manner. However, if his information in this regard is no more accurate than it was when he recorded that the Aguarunas reduce human heads to a fifth their size, more or less with hot stones and the smoke of a bonfire of the roots of certain palms, saying, 'This smoke, which has the same quality as alum, contracts and reduces the head to the size they desire', we may well discount the former statement.

Rivet encountered an Ecuadorian who told him that in exchange for an old gun he had persuaded a Jivaro to shrink an entire body for him. This brings up a final type of counterfeiting most difficult of all to detect, namely, occasional shrunken heads prepared by the Jivaros for trade or to order, which are not actually tsantsas at all."

12: Rivet--593 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 462, 439

Generally-speaking, the Jíbaro depends very little on foreign industry. It is the women who mold the various household pots with the aid of a simple wooden palette, glaze them with the juice of certain plants, and bake them in an open fire, it is they who spin and weave the clothes, while the husband makes his magnificent ornaments himself. We shall see that he does not show less skill and patience in the manufacture of his weapons and hunting implements.

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again. 796 787

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[6] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa. 727 794

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: [789] [848]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

[533] [539]

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose. [439] [789]

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam [798]

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175 648 highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jívaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[13]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xívaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[14]

The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, into the Jívaro territory. These [177] [439] [135] newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[15] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

173 648 177 • 439 [191] The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circumstances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:

In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri huará*] lived near the Río Paute. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who were kilts like the *huará*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jívaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *huará* returned downstream and told their people:

[412] [411] [231]

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] [412] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

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177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *šuarä*.

• 439

[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
[231] sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
[436] plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

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new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1902, but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

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101 628 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 439 [411] [441] The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro [464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. 177 At the same time, there was a shortage of native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, 184 partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied 43 feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

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262 574 765 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet. [231] [146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally important service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attacking party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *nimá*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar. 231 [224] [241] [726] [825]

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they receive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power. [789] [276]

The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and [439]

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tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 291
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [252]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [302]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; 197
and the *kayem mačit* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [352]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

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stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been men- [235]
tioned previously. [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *apáčram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [824]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of minia- 531
ture drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, aver- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [273]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273] [515]

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415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Winchester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[177] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 *The shotguns, percussion-cap* weapons usually with a 20-
439 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [714]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *awigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *awigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *awigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *awigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jívaroans

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438 to the east and southeast. In its total extent, this network of
• 439 Indian trading partners apparently stretches from the foot of
441 the Andes in the west to near Iquitos on the Amazon in the east, and from the Río Napo in the north to the Río Marañon in the south. Its most complex and intensive manifestations occur in the isolated interior, where the native distribution system is uninterrupted by white traders or colonization.

Trade in the interior involves two kinds of commodities about equally: white-manufactured valuables (*epa'i huir*) and Indian-manufactured valuables (*huar huir*), the latter particularly from the Achuara tribe. The frontier Jívaro west of the Cutucú mountain range, who are in direct contact with the whites at Macas, Sucúa, and other smaller settlements, obtain the Western-manufactured items primarily by engaging in wage labor for the whites. These then are carried over the Cutucú range by means of several different foot trails.

The Achuara people to the east, lacking any such direct source of large quantities of steel cutting tools and guns, have to trade with the interior Jívaro to obtain them. The Achuara, for their part, have a near monopoly on the manufacture of blowguns and curare, and produce feather ornaments which are highly esteemed by the Jívaro. The Achuara also supply various monkeys, parrots, and marmosets, as well as such items as woven kilts, ornamental earsticks, and native beadwork. In addition, they are the sole suppliers of glass beads, which, for an unknown reason, are available in the Peruvian Amazon, but not in the Ecuadorian Oriente. Except for these glass beads and some .44 caliber cartridges, Achuara trade in items from Peru is severely limited, apparently because the only native-produced goods in which the Peruvians are interested are jaguar, ocelot, and especially peccary hides. The geographical isolation of the Achuara

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manu- 438
factured goods by entering into any labor relationship with 439
whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them 438
with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant 317
rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon 441
far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro
to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in
the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mango-
ura and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and
Plate 16).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of 438
men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit 439
each other every two and a half to four months. The visit- 441
ing trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from
the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and
shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-
made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their 441
essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and there- 572
after address one another in the diminutive as "little friend,"
i.e., *amiki*. While the term *amigui* is the third person possessive
form of *amigi*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the develop-
ment and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[4]
Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after 441
a series of informal visits, during which they may have 431
exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the 572
formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more
months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's
neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a
cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties
are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

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441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
431 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *awigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather orna-
ments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuit*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the
441 neighborhoods of the two *awigri*. When the former host
574 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[431] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *awigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Awigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior 439
region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:
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Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tsumpi*)

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The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict 441
accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is 592
exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro 442
do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, *it is apparently* unthinkable that a "friend" would consciously attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *awigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *awigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that 441
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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back. [441] [628] [721]

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *awigri* named Hintai was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *awigri*, Mukúlam, of the *yawarna* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade further to the southeast with Ayuali, in the *Aymap* neighborhood. Finally, Ayuali then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos. [439]

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintai was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cumaimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *awigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kalinhint, in the Cumaimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kalinhint, in turn, traded with Wampiemurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampiemurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa. [439]

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14. Man with *tsawar* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

11. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *tsawar* in place.

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "acci- 765
dental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*. 789

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first 727
feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at 776
least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or 796
dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable dis- [648]
tance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women [539]
sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker 765
(although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo 439
in one of the communities on the western periphery of the 789
tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose. 789

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with 774
utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As 778
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574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
[796] the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[283] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[595] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764]

The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire pres-
554 tige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jívaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this does not mean to convey the idea that the Jívaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jívaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jívaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[2] but very few reached the interior Jívaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jívaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

178 461 517 • 439 [592] [512] [412] [286] [291] [281] [224] Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

178 591 [851] [578] [583] [411] The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

178 411 [721] [439] The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 459

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178
ners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to
develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara [278]
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essen-
tial result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [319]
of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and
machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming
from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412]
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237]
tier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278]
the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a middle ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh-
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have 571
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

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digging of footholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

178 231 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poisons are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

178 184 438 278 411 [224]

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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178 291 439 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chigüaza region against the Achuars in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 • 439 197 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuars and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuars and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 61–62; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78, and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuars in trade.

CHAPTER 15

[821] 1. The appearance of this corner is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vazco Galindo, 1895, p. 40; Crespo, 1885, p. 56, and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

[114] 1. I am indebted to Pedro Shuba and Peter Hurt for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

11: Mead--161[3] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 437, 441

"The first heads that found their way out of the Jivaro country did so by being passed from hand to hand until they came into the possession of some trader who brought them down the Amazon to Para, where they were disposed of. Unfortunately the Jivaro soon learned that these heads were much in demand by white men and began to prepare them for the traders, being by no means particular as to whose head was used, and it is said that advance orders were frequently taken and filled. Certain it is that now and then short-haired heads bearing mustaches find their way into the market."

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177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *Iuará*.
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[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[28]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[29]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[799] to the south on the Río Zamora.[30] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*granalote* in Spanish)
[231] sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[436] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
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439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who continued the first
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101 628 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has contributed significantly to the isolation of the interior Jivaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 439 [411] [441] The relative isolation of the interior Jivaro, however, had not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighborhood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jivaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jivaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jivaro [464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jivaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manufactured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of 177 184 native-type goods among the Jivaro on the frontier, partially 43 because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jivaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 628 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly show their *tsantsas* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to avoid word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

• 441 591 592 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any corporate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create social bonds by making "friends" (*asuipi*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *asuipi* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceeding the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual [593] for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *asuipi* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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mind to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *awigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *awigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *awigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *awigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

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These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jívaroans

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to the east and southeast. In its total extent, this network of Indian trading partners apparently stretches from the foot of the Andes in the west to near Iquitos on the Amazon in the east, and from the Río Napo in the north to the Río Marañon in the south. Its most complex and intensive manifestations occur in the isolated interior, where the native distribution system is uninterrupted by white traders or colonization.

Trade in the interior involves two kinds of commodities about equally: white-manufactured valuables (*apa'i huir*) and Indian-manufactured valuables (*huar huir*), the latter particularly from the Achuara tribe. The frontier Jívaro west of the Cutucú mountain range, who are in direct contact with the whites at Macas, Sucúa, and other smaller settlements, obtain the Western-manufactured items primarily by engaging in wage labor for the whites. These then are carried over the Cutucú range by means of several different foot trails.

The Achuara people to the east, lacking any such direct source of large quantities of steel cutting tools and guns, have to trade with the interior Jívaro to obtain them. The Achuara, for their part, have a near monopoly on the manufacture of blowguns and curare, and produce feather ornaments which are highly esteemed by the Jívaro. The Achuara also supply various monkeys, parrots, and marmosets, as well as such items as woven kilts, ornamental earsticks, and native beadwork. In addition, they are the sole suppliers of glass beads, which, for an unknown reason, are available in the Peruvian Amazon, but not in the Ecuadorian Oriente. Except for these glass beads and some .44 caliber cartridges, Achuara trade in items from Peru is severely limited, apparently because the only native-produced goods in which the Peruvians are interested are jaguar, ocelot, and especially peccary hides. The geographical isolation of the Achuara

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rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuars also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuars have access to a dozen rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañón far to the south in Perú, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yuqui (see Map 1 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuars-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *awiñi*. While the term *awigri* is the third person possessive form of *awigri*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[1] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other, a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man knows

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• 441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
451 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *awigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical assortment of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather orna-
ments, beads, blowpipe, blowpipe dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuai*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the
441 neighborhoods of the two *awigri*. When the former host
574 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a more hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[431] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *awigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Awigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	TOUCAN	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (revamped)

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consciously attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

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The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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441 572 593 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amiči*) in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsači*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his per- [602] sonal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 628 721 The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading [572] partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jivaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jivaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back. 441 [628] [721]

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *amigri* named Hintač was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *amigri*, Mukučam, of the *yaŋuntsa* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Aŋuaši, in the *čaŋuap* neighborhood. Finally, Aŋuaši then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos. [439]

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintač was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cusuimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *amigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kašinhint, in the Cusuimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kašinhint, in turn, traded with Wampútsurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampútsurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa. [439]

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FIGURE 5
Schematic diagram of a trading partnership chain

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jivaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakwam* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 • [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal witchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in inter-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
• 441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jívaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from
726 which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
431 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
• 442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowgun, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kuir*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the
441 neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
574 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[431] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tsumpi*)

The profile equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *awigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

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The *awigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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34:Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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FIGURE 5
Schematic diagram of a trading partnership chain

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
461 (1928-29)

"Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterized as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros."

2: Stirling--104
116, 226, 278, 461

(1930-1931) 1936

Jivaro

"The aboriginal methods of fishing appear to be poisoning, trapping, and spearing. Fish traps as a rule are constructed during high water in overflow areas where streams are about to subside, or along small swollen streams up which fish have ascended from the main rivers. For poisoning fish a dam is generally constructed along a small stream during low water. Barbasco shrub is gathered in sufficient quantities, macerated by means of pounding it between large stones, and then thrown into the water, being careful to distribute it evenly at a point 30 or 40 yards above the fish dam. The juice of the plant spreading through the water stupefies the fish, which rise to the surface in a more or less helpless condition, where they are gathered up by the Indians. On these fish-poisoning occasions generally a large part of the community participate; men, women, and children taking part and make of it an enjoyable social affair."

3: Simson--387-388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 661, 512

"They are regular workers, and do not pass the whole day in idleness like many others of their race. They issue forth to hunt, work in their plantations, build canoes, attend to pig breeding, etc., regularly every day; returning to the house generally early in the afternoon to enjoy repose in the lighter occupations of scraping lances or darts for the 'bodoquera,' making combs, feather ornaments, etc., whilst the women, who sometimes go out to work with them, cook and prepare the chicha [388] mass--their standard alimentation, and during their journeys the only one, being convenient and light to carry wrapped up in plantain leaves."

*3: Simson--390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 461, 157

"They [KS: the Canelos] are lazy workers; and the young men, much after the fashion of more civilized communities, given up to dandyism, drink and trivial loquacity. All are excessively curious, and some even coolly placed their hands in my pockets to find out of what the contents consisted. However, some of the old and more serious men are quite steady-going members of society, as a rule; but even these also, on occasion, are fond of their little excesses."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

223 edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.
224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go
512 hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as
461 follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he rests, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yaci*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you [515] have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yaci*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[3]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

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There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

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Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

1: Karsten--98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"I may add at once that both spinning and weaving are occupations strictly limited to the male sex."

1: Karsten--99 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462, 774 (1928-29)

"In the industrial art of the Indians, just as in their agriculture, appears the strict division of labour which is characteristic of their social life and which has its ultimate foundation in their animistic views. According to this division of labour, pottery-making is the most important of the industrial tasks incumbent on the women, whereas for instance spinning and weaving, basket-making and different kinds of wood-work are occupations which, according to the idea of the Indians, are only suitable for men."

1: Karsten--103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
278, 462, 791 (1928-29)

"To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know, only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

1: Karsten--104 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

".... although spinning and weaving are strictly male occupations, it is the women who have to dye the yarn. If we consider that for dyeing the Jibaro women use partly clay, partly certain leaves of the forest, and that women are mysteriously associated both with the clay and with certain plants, we may perhaps understand the peculiar division of labour observed by the Indians on this point."

1: Karsten--104 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"Another work which, according to the idea of the Jibaros, can only be done by the women is dyeing."

1: Karsten--105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 283, 462 (1928-29)

"Spinning and weaving have been mentioned as occupations incumbent solely on the men. The yarn is spun from a sort of cotton wool cultivated by the Jibaros and called uruchi, and since the cotton tree and consequently the cotton wool obtained from it is 'a man', it follows from this peculiar view that the men have both to spin and to weave. This was the explanation I received from the Indians when I asked them the reasons for the division of labour observed by them in this respect."

1: Karsten--106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462 (1928-29)

"Among other industrial tasks incumbent on the men basket-making may be mentioned."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

". . . . woodwork of every kind is a man's occupation."

1: Karsten--115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 252, 462 (1928-29)

"The Indians prepare their food either by boiling it in a clay pot or roasting it at the fire. The latter method is resorted to when the Indians are in camp, hunting, fishing, or working, and it is the only way of preparing food which is considered proper for a man. Boiling the food at home is exclusively a woman's business, the only things cooked by the men at home being the tobacco water and the weisa solution (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), the natema, and certain other magical medicines which according to their ritual can only be prepared by a man."

1: Karsten--121 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"The manioc-beer cannot be brewed except by the women, a custom which the Indians themselves explain by pointing out that the manioc has 'a woman's soul' (wakáni) and that therefore only a woman can properly influence it for the purpose of bringing it to fermentation. But when ready, the drink is particularly appreciated by the men, serving them as food as well as a drink."

1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"This idea [JKM: Jibaros believe plants are endowed with human thoughts and feelings, even special sex] also explains the division of labour which prevails among the Jibaros with regard to agriculture. Those plants which are 'men' must be sown and tended by the men, whereas those which are 'women' must be cultivated by the women. Of those fruits that form the staple food of the Indians, most are regarded as female. Hence among the Jibaros, as in fact among most Indian tribes, agriculture is essentially, although not exclusively, a duty incumbent on the female sex."

1: Karsten--124-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--126-127 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"The rough work, as pointed out before, is done by the men, who fell [127] the trees and clear and level the ground selected for the new plantation--extremely heavy work which takes a long time. This was especially the case in former times when the Indians had only stone axes and knives of chonta wood to use in clearing the virgin forest to make plantations. After this the work of the women begins, who further prepare the ground for the planting."

1: Karsten--131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241, 462 (1928-29)

"Next to the manioc, the plantain is the most important of the fruits that are especially sown or planted for a tobacco-feast. The sprouts of the plant are put into the ground by the men, namely, by the husband of the woman assisted by other male relatives, without particular ceremonies. The success of the work, however, the rapid growth and fruitfulness of the plantation, depend to a great extent on the strict observance of the rules of diet which are imposed upon the husband as well as upon his wife.

After the Jibaro has planted the plantain he, moreover, for some time after takes care not to drink guayusa (weisa) or to wash the mouth with this tonic, believing that otherwise the root of the plantain will rot away. The same would happen if he painted his face or head with genipa (sua), which therefore he avoids using."

lt Karsten--287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 789, 462, 535 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayambruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

2: Stirling--91 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 352, 462

"Hanging from the uprights of the men's beds are their spinning outfits and stacked on the canopy above, when not in use, are the looms, for all of the Jivaro spinning and weaving is done by the men."

2: Stirling--91 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

"The cotton when ready for spinning is packed in a case of leaves shaped like a tamale, open at the lower end. From this the Jivaro spins his cotton thread on a spindle of chonta palm to which is attached a circular bone spindle whorl (pls. 30, a; 31). As a man sits loafing or resting on the edge of his bed he usually keeps his spindle busy so as to keep on hand enough thread for weaving purposes. Looms are of the suspension type erected in a take-down rectangular frame. Shuttles are made of chonta wood (pl. 32). The men weave the women's clothes as well as their own and also make the woven headbands and belts which they use."

2: Stirling--92 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 386, 462

"The dyeing of the thread in various shades of brown is done by steeping it in a solution of vegetable dye made from achiote seeds and various kinds of bark, depending on the shade of brown desired. The dyeing is done by the women, the Indians explaining that the process takes a considerable length of time and the men do not care to be tied down by it."

2: Stirling--107 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 262, 462

"Although the Jivaros receive a considerable part of their subsistence from the products of the chase and from fishing operations, they might safely be termed a truly agricultural people. Maintenance of the gardens is almost solely the duty of the women. The only portion of the labor of preparing and maintaining a garden clearing which is done by the men consists in the felling of trees in making the original clearing. The planting, care, and harvesting of the crops is all women's work.

Sweet manioc, taken in the form of nijimanche, constitutes the most important single food item. The boiled fruit of the chonta palm is likewise used to form a drink prepared in the same manner as nijimanche. To a lesser degree, maize, sweetpotatoes, sugar cane, squash, and peanuts are raised. As a general rule, a good-sized garden clearing surrounds the jivaría itself, but frequently additional fields are maintained which are a mile or more distant. Bananas, plantains, and papayas are grown extensively, but require no care other than planting."

2: Stirling--107[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 412, 482, 462

"The ground is not tilled in any fashioned. The only agricultural implements are a digging stick and a planting stick; frequently, the same implement serving both purposes. A typical digging stick is made of hard chonta palm, is about 4 feet in length, 1 1/2 inches in diameter, and is flattened at one end (pl. 23, a). The manioc is planted by taking small shoots from growing plants and placing the stems in shallow holes punched in the ground with the digging stick. The earth is then packed around the stem with the fingers and the plant requires no further care, the moist ground and the more or less continual rains doing the rest. The roots of the manioc are usually harvested when about a foot in length. If permitted to grow to a much larger size the tubers become coarse and woody. In harvesting manioc, which is one of the principal routine duties of the women, the tubers are excavated by means of the digging sticks, placed in the carrying baskets and borne by means of a head strap from the gardens to the house. This is no inconsiderable task, especially where the fields are at a distance over steep mountain trails from the jivaría (pl. 23, b)."

2: Stirling--111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 585, 462

"Marriage takes place immediately following the purchase arrangements and the woman takes up her duties in the man's residence, where they do not differ much from the duties to which she has been accustomed at home. The work of clearing the chacras and the work of housebuilding is done by the men. The women plant and tend the crops. The men do the hunting and fishing, while the women cook and attend to the household duties. The house is divided into two halves, each of which has its own door; one for the men and one for the women. In one half are the beds of the men and the section in which they remain while in the house. In the other half the women live and tend to their household functions."

4: Up de Graff--206-207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 356, 462

"In general the houses are clean, free from bad odours, and kept in good repair. The work is divided very [207] unevenly between the sexes, the larger share falling to the lot of the women. They do the cooking, spinning, packing, and have the care of the plantations (weeding is one of their heaviest tasks, for they have to fight against a persistent growth of thorny and poisonous plants, which harbour all manner of venomous insects). Finally, their most important duty is the daily chewing of the yuca root for giamanchi, the standard dish of every household."

4: Up de Graff--207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"The men are before everything else warriors--the protectors of their womenfolk from the raids of neighbours; after that, they are the hunters; and lastly, they are the weavers. Why this last task should be by common consent allotted to them instead of to the women, remains to me a mystery. The latter do the spinning and every other kind of manual labour in the life of the tribe, and yet it is the men who not only weave their own loin-clothes, but also the material for the women's garments."

10: Anthony--159 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"As evidence of their handiwork, I saw very creditable cotton cloth, which had been made by them from their own cotton. Strangely enough, the men, when questioned, said that they personally had woven this, the household weaving of fabrics being peculiarly a feminine province everywhere else in Ecuador."

12: Rivet--593 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 462, 439

Generally-speaking, the Jíbaro depends very little on foreign industry. It is the women who mold the various household pots with the aid of a simple wooden palette, glaze them with the juice of certain plants, and bake them in an open fire, it is they who spin and weave the clothes, while the husband makes his magnificent ornaments himself. We shall see that he does not show less skill and patience in the manufacture of his weapons and hunting implements.

18: Hermessen--442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 342, 462, 361

"Within a radius of several miles from Jamboé there were several Jîbaro houses, each standing alone in a separate clearing a little way back from the river, with a belt of forest interposed, so that they were effectually concealed from view from the water. All were exactly alike--rectangular in plan, with rounded ends, about 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, and constructed of bamboo on a framework of big poles lashed together with lianas. At either end was a door of solid wood, usually kept securely bolted on the inside. The roof was high-pitched and made of palm thatch. Several families of blood relations lived together in one house. There was no partition between the quarters of the men and those of the women, as Orton and others have noted as a detail of the dwellings of the Indians (Záparos) on the Napo and other rivers of the Oriente province of Ecuador, (18) but the rear portion was always allotted to the females."

"18. James Orton: The Andes and the Amazon, New York, 1876, p. 171."

18: Hermessen--444 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 462

"The women were kept much to themselves and never ate with the men. Their particular concerns were the preparation of the food for the household and the care of the young children. They also performed all agricultural labors after the ground had been cleared. Added to their lot, again, was the making of earthenware vessels; and the results of their handiwork in this way were remarkably good, considering that they were ignorant of the use of the potter's wheel. (25) Most houses also had rude apparatus for spinning and weaving cotton, work which, however, came within the province of the men."

"25. Cf. Whiffen, op. cit., pp. 95-96."

20: Dyott--182 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

"The felling of trees and other work connected with the making of clearings, falls on the shoulders of the men and is one of their most arduous duties. Wherever the forest growth is small and stunted, the ground is obviously of poor quality for agricultural use. On the other hand, wherever the soil is rich and deep, the trees are of great size and their removal is no easy business. The usual procedure is to cut down all the underbrush around the roots of the largest trees first, and when this has all dried out, to set fire to it. It is then easier to tackle the big fellows. The real giants are generally ringed about their base, so that they die and are more easily handled afterwards. A second burning gets rid of a lot more rubbish, but it will be some time before the ground is reasonably clear. Nothing is carted away. What won't burn is allowed to rot where it falls. So with the combined effort of time, fire and rough axes, the land eventually becomes suitable for cultivation. The circumference of many a tree is so great that it is beyond such primitive methods of handling. The trunk will therefore be cut off forty feet above the ground, or in many cases, left standing where it is, a gaunt skeleton of spreading branches."

25: Vigna --44 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 231, 222, 462

The Jîbaro women breed domestic birds, hogs, little monkeys, parrots, and even wild birds, with astonishing skill. They do not keep fruit or products of the earth in their house which is always painstakingly clean, but every day they go to the garden to obtain the necessities for the day.

25: Vigna--44-45 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 226, 462

Fishing is carried out indiscriminately by men and women. With the crushed root of the barbasco they numb[45] the fish in the brooks or rivers. They are then gathered in a sort of mat which is placed a certain distance from the spot in which they have thrown the barbasco. The Jíbaros are fond of fish and fishing constitutes a social event.

26: Brüning--58 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 286, 462

The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning--66 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 241, 462

Vegetarian foodstuffs are no less numerous than animal foods. We have to distinguish between cultivated and wild-growing plants. The former include the yucca (máma, non-poisonous Manihot), the banana (pandáp), the ground-nut (dúse), and perhaps the sweet potato: camote, (íntši).

As a rule, the fields are in the middle of the forest. Here the man cuts the trees in order to make a clearing. Today he uses bartered steel axes, made in U.S.A. Not so long ago they are said to have used stone axes. In spite of my inquiries I have not been able to see one of these. The rest of the work--the burning of the branches (they leave the burned trunks in the fields), sowing, and harvesting--is done by the women.

The foremost cultivated plant is the yucca (máma). It is the basis for the masato (term used by the whites), the Indian beverage, called nijamántši in the Aguaruna language.

26: Brüning--70 [6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 462, 482, 285

Women as well as men (if the latter stoop to carry a load at all) carry their loads in baskets rather low on the back by means of a belt which is placed on the head.

There are two types of baskets. One kind, chiefly used by women, is an oval basket, about 40 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 30 cm. deep. The other basket is almost exclusively used by the men and serves as a storage place for their belongings. It is about 25 cm. wide and just as deep. It has a double wall and a leaf insulation between, so that it is waterproof. Moreover, it has a cover. These baskets are carried in the hand by means of a short handle. Both basket types are made of split bamboo.

28: Tessman--351 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

Karsten is our authority (in his Contributions, pp.1 ff.) for the following information: Indian corn, Plantain, and Guilelma palms are planted by the men; the other useful plants by the women. This division of labor is related to the Chiwaro belief that Indian corn, Plante, and Guilelma have masculine souls, while the other useful plants are endowed with feminine souls. About the Nüngi, i.e., the good demon of the earth, see Part III. Useful plants are planted in a ceremonial manner, and in this connection they use a great deal of fertility magic. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 5) the Chiwaros also plant beans (mika).

28: Tessman--353 [8] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

The men make the strings out of the fiber of Astrocaryum (chambira). Out of these strings the men knit bags with various techniques, but always with a bent bone-needle (see Plate 60, Fig. 1), the thicker end of which is perforated and threaded with the end of the string. An unfinished bag is shown upper right on Plate 68, a specimen for their knitting is shown on Plate 59, Fig 13. Furbags are shown at the lower right on Plate 68.

28:Tessman--353-354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 286, 462

Only men do the spinning. The spindle of the Aguarunas is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 15. According to Rivet (L'Anthropologie XVIII, p. 366) they use a long spindle. The whorl [354] consists of stone-nut (?) and it is set up from below. Only men do the weaving, and they even weave the cloth for the women. The loom touches the ground and is in a vertical position.

28: Tessman--354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 285, 462

Plaited mats (tšintšak-piaki) are made for the beds of the adolescents. The men plait the baskets, which, as a rule, are made in hexagonal meshes. They have carrying baskets (like the two shown upper left on Plate 68) and storage baskets which are more finely made and lined with leaves. Such a basket with cover is shown lower left on Plate 68. There are also smaller baskets of this kind. For the cruder baskets they use material coming from the Carludovica palmata (tšankīn), for the finer baskets the material comes from the Carludovica trigona (kapi). A funnel-shaped basket done in a different technique is shown lower left on Plate 68. In this one they keep fish and carry them home.

29: Vité--15-16 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 595, 462

The majority [KS: of the Jíbaros] are polygamous, probably because everything is so constituted as to make it unnecessary for the man, who is the head of the family, to work. The women themselves endeavor to be many in a family in order to divide the work which covers everything from the cultivation of a small garden up to participation in the hunt, in which they play the role of dogs, discovering and following the prey and frightening it with cries and noises up the spot occupied by the man, the lord of the forest. The latter then strikes it with an easy blow of his lance; he does not humble himself whatsoever to pick it up, because it must be carried on the woman's shoulders. They are very jealous [16] and very devoted to their children. They are not acquainted with our caresses and kiss.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[737] soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is
[774] directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the
[778] tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to
[789] benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the
[535] power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordi-
[564] narily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the
[462] muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker,
[231] is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

774 Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The
825 tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its
[789] former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

774 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nékás wakani, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female.
[824] The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is
[183] passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incarnated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food
[825] to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

/333 cont./

000 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[727] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm
[462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

582 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention.
583 That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

628 Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair
[579] style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense
[302] of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is
[202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 356 362 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly until the ninth year of occupancy.

342 361 If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure [224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In [628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous [768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 462 476 602 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 554 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 574 535 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occupies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
595 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man
[554] who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
• 462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

may invite his neighbors to help him make a clearing, but 241 476
this practice is infrequent.

All the above crops, except maize, are planted together in 244
the same cleared plot. Manioc plants, which are the largest in [243]
the garden, are spaced slightly less than two yards apart throughout, with the smaller plants between them. A line of plantain and banana trees separates the garden from the forest. 241

Crop planting is done with two aboriginal tools and the 412
machete. The former are a sharp-pointed planting stick thrust into the soil to make seed holes, and a flat-bladed palm wood digging stick used as a lever to excavate holes for planting and digging up manioc and other tubers and corms. The machete also functions as an excavating tool in planting.

Times of planting and harvesting overlap and thereby 241
assure a constant reaping of agricultural staples. Sweet potato, 244
papa china, and Araceae species are planted at any time of the year. Sweet potato and *papa china* mature in about six months, while the Araceae tubers and the carrot-like *maya* require a year. Plantain and banana are planted during a full moon at any time of the year, and are harvested twelve to fifteen months later. "White" maize and peanuts are usually [243]
sown semiannually at the blooming of the *hutsi* flower, maize maturing in seven months, the other crop in five.

The most important crop, sweet manioc, is planted and harvested daily in the same act. As the women dig up the [462]
manioc tubers, they place several cuttings from the same plant's stalk in the old hole and partially cover them with earth. Manioc matures in ten to twelve months, but the actual harvesting can, if desired, be delayed as much as an additional year. This continual replanting of the manioc crop on a year-round basis, as the individual plants are dug up, is an important factor in the reliability of Jívaro crop production. Thus the Jívaro, in a real sense, "store" much of 241

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons; of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exlusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 273 462 512 [252] [283]

serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a [224] large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring [252] him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat. 273 462 512 574

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a copal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar: 273 462 512 313 [241]

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

273 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
• 462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
512 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
313 with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.
[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been men- [235]
tioned previously. [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [824]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of minia- 531
ture drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, aver- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [273]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273] [515]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
[462] food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[251] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[226] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[296] personal effects. Matting is unknown.

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
[177] chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
224 from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
411 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
[224] hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jivaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [914]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jivaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tarači*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

592 [595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and [589] three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, [591] also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, [851] the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*ezur*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first [606] child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and [591] his family dwell in a new house nearby.

583 Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when 591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father- [411] in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. [595] This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

593 The man is formally head of the household and also in- 462 formally seems generally to dominate his family. He is re- [592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending [606] the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident 606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes
579 far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household it-
273 self. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make
261 possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other house-
554 holds. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be
575 available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the
• [462] other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore
575 more willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting
224 trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy,
933 away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations
[92]

34 Marner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956-57).

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415
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• 962
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/p. 90-8/

34 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *ni'i ark* ("child swal-
794 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
789 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemi* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
794 from the Jivaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
789 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135-39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jivaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence, as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

• 462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
957 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only 462
duty. 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only 868
the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her [323]
by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form [532]
and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with [826]
clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to [831]
touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blow- 224
gun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less 462
than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at 857
that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to 868
shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them [262]
himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.

[727] In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
411
824

1: Karsten--144-145 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
619, 463 (1928-29)

"Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison , only a few of them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza.[145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes. Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-

makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots' (1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesus en el Marañon Espanol, p. 87."

2: Stirling--94 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 463, 533

"While all Jivaros sing and all Jivaro men are able to play upon the flutes, some are regarded as being much more talented than others, and these are more frequently called upon to perform."

26: Brüning--74-75 (1902) 1928 Jíwaro
116, 501, 463

It is difficult for a neophyte to handle a canoe as it requires great skill to maintain one's balance. It is amazing to what thickness the cedar trunks grow. [75] During my trip through the Marañón territory I encountered an uprooted cedar tree with a diameter of about 170 cm.

Another means of transportation in the river area is the raft (balsa). It canbe used for downstream voyages only and is therefore not so frequent. It is made by uniting several balsa trunks. The rafts are kept within the current by means of paddles.

28: Tessman--344-347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

28: Tessman--353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 757, 463

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit 756
servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or 776
dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish 554
his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, 756
of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The 184
tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into 648
the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon 554
a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the 756
fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power 554
from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult 756
men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans [169]
constitute a significant proportion of the male population. [463] •
A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is [562]
basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, [554]
and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

/text continues on p. 124/

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machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
[199] [646] [439] [199] [166] [441] [319] [251] [765] [175] [765] received the visit of the *huevi*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase land obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[20] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[20]

175 646 499 [199] Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1850. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[21] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*granalote* in Spanish) [231] [436] [969] on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

179 999 439 646 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

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Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambiniini, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34] 101 648 [797]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation. 177 648 [101] [69] [464] [797]

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu- 101 177 177

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has con-
628 tributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had
439 not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighbor-
[411] hood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these
[441] products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro
[464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu-
177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of
184 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied
43 feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, 123 money was used as well. When visiting strange households 124 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder [411] invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [795] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

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come down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 175
Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usu- 648
ally attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as
individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were [411]
fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[20] probably
contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro
occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another,
directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the
boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a popu-
lation of about three thousand—far above that of Macas.
Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and
many of the white prospector-miners returned to the high-
lands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano,
Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [487]
built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province [797]
of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the
trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually,
Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immi-
grate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which
they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca
to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed [411]
the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465]
particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which
they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the
colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423]
arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented
by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro dimin-
ished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for
pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [791]
population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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756 bewitching shamans (*warwek*, or *yabauči uwišin:* bad shaman) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*peyer uwišin:* good shaman) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

[556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables. [465] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a distant patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[431] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

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342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting
conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game
requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the
neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwell-
ing may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause
for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling
476 owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
602 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger
crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen
male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a
man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capa-
ble of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy
attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size
and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication
of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday
needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting
visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance.
Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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season,[1] and a diversified crop inventory all contribute to 24
making a continual supply of agricultural products possible throughout the year.

Crops grown for their tubers or corms include, besides sweet manioc, two varieties of sweet potato, *papa china* (from Spanish) [taro?], and three other members of the Araceae family (*sayu*, *tuka*, *wamkup*), the carrot-like *maya* (arracacha?), and peanuts. Of these, manioc is grown in by far the largest quantity, and is the chief source of starch. The most important non-tuberous food plants are plantains and "white" maize. Other crops grown in relatively small quantities are squash, red peppers, tomatoes, onions, the "gold" banana (*guineo de oro* in Spanish), pineapple, papaya, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton. *Tsapas* (for heavy [222]
cordage), various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs, especially *Banisteriopsis* species and *Datura arborea*, are both cultivated in the garden and collected wild in the forest.

Gardens are abandoned after three plantings of manioc, in 241
other words, after about three to five years, because of the growing amount of labor required to clear the ever increasing numbers of weeds. New garden clearings are made nearby in virgin timber except when the actual household is being moved, in which case the gardens are planted at the new home location. This practice of shifting gardens, the so-called "slash-and-burn" or swidden technique, is made possible by the plentiful supply of land. The Jivaro recognize this method, despite the necessity of making new clearings, as involving less effort than attempting to cope with the weeds at the old site.

If a man clears the forest without the aid of neighbors, he 241
tends to make small clearings at different times, while the 595
rare communal effort results in one large clearing. Whether [976].

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
595 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man
[554] who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 500 baskets of manioc; a total of 180 baskets of *papa china*, Arracacia corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings
[243] for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
• 476

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may invite his neighbors to help him make a clearing, but 241 476 this practice is infrequent.

All the above crops, except maize, are planted together in 244 the same cleared plot. Manioc plants, which are the largest in [243] the garden, are spaced slightly less than two yards apart throughout, with the smaller plants between them. A line of plantain and banana trees separates the garden from the forest. 241

Crop planting is done with two aboriginal tools and the 412 machete. The former are a sharp-pointed planting stick thrust into the soil to make seed holes, and a flat-bladed palm wood digging stick used as a lever to excavate holes for planting and digging up manioc and other tubers and corms. The machete also functions as an excavating tool in planting.

Times of planting and harvesting overlap and thereby 241 insure a constant reaping of agricultural staples. Sweet potato, 244 *papa china*, and Araceae species are planted at any time of the year. Sweet potato and *papa china* mature in about six months, while the Araceae tubers and the carrot-like *maya* require a year. Plantain and banana are planted during a full moon at any time of the year, and are harvested twelve to fifteen months later. "White" maize and peanuts are usually [243] sown semiannually at the blooming of the *hatsi* flower, maize maturing in seven months, the other crop in five.

The most important crop, sweet manioc, is planted and harvested daily in the same act. As the women dig up the [462] manioc tubers, they place several cuttings from the same plant's stalk in the old hole and partially cover them with earth. Manioc matures in ten to twelve months, but the actual harvesting can, if desired, be delayed as much as an additional year. This continual replanting of the manioc crop on a year-round basis, as the individual plants are dug up, is an important factor in the reliability of Jívaro crop production. Thus the Jívaro, in a real sense, "store" much of 241

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Several cases were encountered in which men gave their 756
daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary [583]
bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because
the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the sha-
mans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given [431]
gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual
visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not
specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually [431]
not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking
for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, [574]
and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-
shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more 756
often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly recip- 496
rocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him
to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their
desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be
a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with
the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure ex- 756
clusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man
presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such
a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically,
it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gun-
powder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete
or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing [776]
shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and
supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit
servants called *tsewtsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of
shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuir*)
makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with
normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the
relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[8]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[9] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

34:Harrer E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

I: Karsten--453-454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 481, 789, 827 (1928-29)

"The Jibaroe, when they are about to cross a broad river swimming, are in the habit of swallowing a fish-sound before they enter the water. In this way, they believe, they will be able to float on the water and swim as easily as a fish.

Similarly they take care, before entering the water to swim, to tie up the prepuce of their penis and to fix it to the stomach by means of a [454] cord which they always carry with them for the purpose.(1) If the water comes in contact with the glans, it is believed, it will impede erection at the right time and render coitus difficult."

"1. See the naked Indian on Plate XXIII, 1."

4: Up de Graff--193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 142, 304, 481

"The personal appearance of the Antipas is briefly as follows: The men are shorter than we are, averaging avout 5 feet 6 inches, are muscularly built, and many are covered with the scars of spear wounds, the marks of warfare; they are swifter of foot than we, compare well with monkeys in agility (they are wonderful tree climbers) and are all apparently well-nourished and well-conditioned. From childhood up they have their front teeth filed to a sharp point and coated with a jet-black shining vegetable pigment which produces the same effect as nitrate of silver. The hair on the top of their heads is the only hair on their bodies, but that is magnificent. It falls on an average to their waists, sometimes even as far as their knees, is jet-black, straight and glossy. They wear it flying loose like a thoroughbred's mane before it is cropped, only occasionally winding it round their necks as, for example when they are weaving or cooking, and coiling it on the tops of their heads, as a Turk would his turban when travelling or hunting in the forest. They seldom adorn it with feathers or other ornaments. Their skins are more chocolate than red-brown. Technically speaking, they cannot be described as 'red-skins' under any circumstances; occasionally we met with signs of their having mingled with the colonials of Borja whose women their ancestors carried off into captivity. Their eyes are invariably black when uninfluenced by this intermarriage with the white race. We met a few with a trace of whiskers. Their toes are splayed like those of all bare-foot savages, and they make considerable use of them as secondary hands."

25. Vigna--45 [2]
116, 481, 501

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

In the water, the Jibaro who is a perfect fish, braves the swiftest currents of the rivers of the eastern Amazon; he has been accustomed to swim with skill and rapidity from childhood. In order to ford the large rivers he uses a boat of wood carved from the trunk of a resistant tree. He calls this boat "canoa", and when he has completed it, before launching it in the river he will take care of the finish by means of fire, engraving on the external walls symmetrical lines and cabalistic drawings with the fire.

26: Brüning- - 71 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 481

When they climb high and smooth trees, the Indians connect their legs (between foot and ankle) with a short piece of firm liana. The semi-circle formed by the liana embraces in climbing part of the tree trunk, and the Indians thereby obtain a firmer footing than if they would encircle the trunk with their naked legs alone.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taughe to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid. 863 868 481 861

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor. 867

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jivaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in 866 867 609 186 153 186 203

2: Stirling--107[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 412, 482, 462

"The ground is not tilled in any fashioned. The only agricultural implements are a digging stick and a planting stick; frequently, the same implement serving both purposes. A typical digging stick is made of hard chonta palm, is about 4 feet in length, 1 1/2 inches in diameter, and is flattened at one end (pl. 23, a). The manioc is planted by taking small shoots from growing plants and placing the stems in shallow holes punched in the ground with the digging stick. The earth is then packed around the stem with the fingers and the plant requires no further care, the moist ground and the more or less continual rains doing the rest. The roots of the manioc are usually harvested when about a foot in length. If permitted to grow to a much larger size the tubers become coarse and woody. In harvesting manioc, which is one of the principal routine duties of the women, the tubers are excavated by means of the digging sticks, placed in the carrying baskets and borne by means of a head strap from the gardens to the house. This is no inconsiderable task, especially where the fields are at a distance over steep mountain trails from the jivaría (pl. 23, b)."

4: Up de Graff--195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 302, 141, 482

"Passing on to the women of the tribe, there are a few outstanding characteristics to be noted. Their hair is not allowed to grow much below the shoulders, in direct opposition to our own more modern practice. They stand about 5 feet 3 inches on an average, are well-built and strong, move with the grace of a jaguar (I select this animal as being a native of the same woods), and are as much at home in the water as on the land. They do all the packing when the family is on the move, being capable of lifting 100 lbs. to their shoulders and moving through the forest with perfect ease."

9: Bennett--661 [2] (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 482

"... there is a head-band bundle carrier of bark [KS: in the collection donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum]. It consists of a single long piece of bark, left flat in the strip that goes across the forehead and braided on the ends that binds the bundle to be carried."

Ab: Bröhing--70[6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 462, 482, 285

Women as well as men (if the latter stoop to carry a load at all) carry their loads in baskets rather low on the back by means of a belt which is placed on the head.

There are two types of baskets. One kind, chiefly used by women, is an oval basket, about 40 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 30 cm. deep. The other basket is almost exclusively used by the men and serves as a storage place for their belongings. It is about 25 cm. wide and just as deep. It has a double wall and a leaf insulation between, so that it is waterproof. Moreover, it has a cover. These baskets are carried in the hand by means of a short handle. Both basket types are made of split bamboo.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

299 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
512 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
313 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

• [482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

34 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[412] 5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusimi, 1956-57).

192
291
302
415
293
285
[312]
[482]

6. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956-57).

[412] 8. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956-57).

/p. 90-8/

36 Marner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

x. Hunter returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blow-gun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Rio Cusimi, 1956-57).

142
291
224
302
411
482

/p. 90-8/

I: Karsten--453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 827, 484 (1928-29)

"When the Indians are travelling they always take with them some bundles of fermented manioc substance wrapped up in banana leaves, so that they can prepare the beer on the way whenever they find water. When they dilute a certain quantity of the manioc substance in the water, they never afterwards throw away the waste of manioc substance left, but they wrap it up again in the empty banana leaf and put a stone on the bundle, leaving it in this way at the resting-place. Then the manioc-beer which they have drunk will remain 'steady' in the stomach, and they will not soon get hungry again. This is the idea of both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

2: Stirling--102 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 415, 484

"When the Jivaro is traveling he carries his feather ornaments neatly rolled and packed in tubes of bamboo. These tubes, together with other ornaments, hair combs, ear tubes, achiote paint and other accessories, are carried in a rectangular bag with a flap which is either woven of chambira fiber and suspended by a strap over one shoulder or else is made of monkey skin with the fur attached and suspended in the same manner (pl. 13)."

4: Up de Graff--238-240 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 427, 484

"On the sand-spit at the junction of the Santiago and the Marañon lay some two hundred Antipa canoes, heavily laden with fruit, vegetables, honey and giamanchi in enormous quantities. They were drawn up in a great uneven fringe for a distance of a full quarter of a mile all around the edge of the tongue which juts out between the two rivers, and scattered all over the miniature peninsular were hundreds of savages, men, women, and children--three or four to every canoe--squatting in groups of families, some gossiping, some cooking, others speaking excitedly of war, others polishing their spears with sand, and yet others already partaking of their evening meal. The slanting rays of the sun tinted the whole scene with a purplish light, and threw into restful harmony the naturally crude colouring of forest, river, sand and savage. No cloud obscured the deep blue dome of the evening sky. The three long wailing notes of the yungaruru floated across the water, and the screams of the first flock of parrots rose high above the hum of human chatter as they skimmed over the trees on their return home from the days' foraging.

As we toiled up the stretch of bad water that lies between the gate of the cañon and the junction of the rivers, the scene gradually unfolded itself before our astonished eyes. What a change was this from the deadly [239] emptiness of the landscape when Game and I first paddled by the long desolate first reach of the Santiago, straining our eyes for the sight of any living thing!

To say we were taken by surprise is to understate the case. We were amazed at the

rapidity with which the fame of our expedition had spread amongst the savages. Apparently a good proportion of the whole tribe of Antipas had ventured well outside the radius of their home territory--a rare display of boldness--in search of those confounded presents of ours. There they were, sitting patiently waiting for hand-mirrors and striped shirts, with tons of fruit, vegetables, and other products of the rivers and woods. The full capacity of our fleet of four canoes was five tons at the most, and we were already heavily laden. Despite this, we found it wholly impossible to convince these adventurous merchants of the impracticability of their suggestion that we should take possession of all they had to offer in exchange for the coveted trade-goods. That evening we spent weary hours in trying to drive this obvious truth home to them, without any success attending our efforts. We transacted what business we must, and when we had bought more peanuts and honey than we could possibly want, we decided to sleep on the matter.

Next morning we were forced with the necessity of getting rid of that great concourse of Jívaros and, more important, seeing them go off in a contented frame of mind. We decided eventually to go the round of the whole beach, and present the crew of each canoe--generally a man with a couple of women and a child or two--with something to keep them quiet. I may mention that we had made the whole party leave the tip of the tongue of sand to us, where we pitched our little linen tent in a strategic position; on three sides water, which nothing could cross alive unless we wished it so, [240] and on the fourth

the flat open sand-bar with no protection whatever for lurking bodies.

The plan which we adopted was successful up to a point; the savages were certainly well satisfied to receive their presents, and to obtain a close view of the far-famed apaches, whost arrival had caused such a stir in the country; but all the good which had been done was threatened with instant reverse by our refusal to 'trade in' their tons of supplies for which we had no use nor space for carrying along in our four dugouts; so acceptance was the only possible course to follow. The beach became littered with the finest produce of the country."

4: Up de Graff--240-241 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 427

"Then came the stiffer problem, the ultimate object of all our manoeuvering up to this time, viz., to organize a fleet of canoes and canoemen not only to move our cargo and outfit up the Santiago but to accompany us as a guard against attack and as a war party in any possible conflict with the Huambizas. These Antipas were bitter enemies of the Huambizas and therefore we figured they would admirably suit our purpose. For many days we had been working up to this climax, endeavouring to convince old Pitacunca that it would be worth his while to give us thirty days' paddling in exchange for his choice of an axe or machete, with the same terms for every one of his men. No other bait had been tempting enough, as we had known only too well would be the case. Bit by bit we had led them on, until at last we had made our final offer, and before their bulging eyes we opened a box of axes and a case of machetes. The sight of the glistening steel and the bright red paint on the handles struck home to their very souls (if they had any), and I could see that they decided then and there to possess themselves of these treasures by fair means or foul. They knew, and we knew, that they had no [241] intention whatever of fulfilling their contract, despite the solemnity with which the terms were propounded and agreed to. Jack remarked at the time, I remember, that it was a moot point as to which party thought the other bigger fools. But we had our own ideas as to the enforcing of the contract. There was no doubt about it that if we wished to retain the services of the Indians we should have to be eternally vigilant and diplomatic. By day they could never give us the slip, clearly, armed as we were with Winchesters. The canoemen

would be divided between the several craft and escape would be out of the question. By night we should chain the canoes together, and always keep a guard mounted. By land they would never dare to face the risks of encountering a Huambiza war party. And so it turned out, with the exception that we allowed Pitacunca to take the Exploradora with three other Antipas, keeping them always within rifle-shot; in any event, they would not cut and run without their comrades and even if they did they could never paddle so heavy a craft away from us who manned the light twenty-four footers. In short, they were a slippery crew to deal with, and we couldn't be too careful."

4: Up de Graff - 241- 243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 427, 152

"Meanwhile, the bulk of the gathering of Antipas had melted away, leaving only the wise minority, who saw something in the shape of a big haul coming when we turned the bows of our dugouts up the Santiago. Clearly we should leave behind us nine-tenths of our purchases, and the harvest would be rich for those who were there to gather it. (Old 'Pete' had probably warned them to be ready at midnight on our first night out.) Perhaps the bulk of the remainder watched us from the seclusion of the woods as we pushed off, as they hoped, in all innocence.

'Sept. 29th. Having finally satisfied the Antipas, by [242] means of our presents, that we are friendly disposed toward them, and closed the deal with the crew by handing them out their axes, we are due to start at mid-day to-day. 'Pete' and his men are obviously well satisfied with the business they have done. It is quite clear that they contemplate leaving us to-night with much relish.'

About five o'clock that evening we sighted a sand-bar for the first time since entering the Santiago...

That night it fell to Pedro to mount guard from sun-down till midnight. Long ago we had given our time-pieces away to the Antipas up the Maranon, for they were useless impediments. By the time each man of us had jumped overboard half a dozen times to save a paddle, a war-bag, or Ambusha, they were not much use except as presents. In the last-named capacity they were handed out to 'Lázaro,' Pitacunca, and one of two other important gentlemen. The original recipients kept the cases, which they hung

around their necks, and distributed the wheels to their less favoured fellows.

During that watch of his Pedro had no peace. Every few minutes the siege would be renewed. With smiling faces our friends would beg for a canoe to cross the river for one of a hundred purposes, urging reasons which were apparently so pressing as not to allow of even waiting till dawn. They had heard a troupe of night monkeys on the other bank; they had spotted a fine log for the fire five hundred yards down-stream (always down-stream!); they thought it would be a good idea to have some fish for breakfast; they were sure that the turtles would be out on the other end of the sand-spit, and they could approach noiselessly in a canoe...[243] and so on, until Pedro called me up in despair. I kept them quiet with a long story about the dangers of going off alone in the dark, with the possibility of a Huambiza surprise at any moment. I treated them in the only way possible, like children, meeting them on their own ground. Neither I nor Pitacunca believed our own words, much less those of the other. But the game of bluff had to be played out, like any other game, and the hardest bluffer won. So passed the first of a series of such nights, always the same farce had to be staged; endless machinations met by endless argument. At length, after four or five nights had passed in this fashion without any success being attained, it dawned on the Indians that other tactics must be adopted if they were (in the language of sport) to make a get-away. They began to fall sick, and with remarkable ingenuity discovered that the waters of the Santiago brought on all manner of ills, from loss of appetite, by way of general debility, to heart-failure.

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 484, 427, 152

Still we persisted, keeping them at the paddles after the fashion of galley-slave drivers. They were by this time a miserable, dejected crowd, keeping any way on the canoes, complaining of their ills, and bemoaning the certain death that awaited them if they continued."

4: Up de Graff--243-244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 152, 787

"On the eighth day the climax came. We sighted an island, which seemed to be ideal for pitching camp, and put into shore with the intention of deciding once and for all, what we were going to do with those treacherous and demoralized creatures who moaned and babbled between every half-dozen strokes of the paddle. But we were not destined to play an active part in the settlement of the problem, after all, for no sooner had we landed and lain down to rest than Pitacunca, by virtue of his high office, had resort to the never-failing hayahuasca (bitter wine--Inca). The plant is the means by which the medicine men of the Upper Amazon throw them[244]selves into a trance (in reality a state of drunken semi-torpor) from the depths of which they utter prophetic statements which are received with as much reverence as were ever those of the Sybil. Their power for good or evil is thus unlimited, for they pour forth their visions to a spell-bound audience which hangs on every word."

"To return to my tale, then, the canoemen had to go. But we were determined that they should not carry off with them the wage which they had done so little (and that little so very unwillingly) to earn. It would be a bad precedent to set, for, if ever we had occasion to need their services or those of any other of their tribe again, we should start at a disadvantage if they thought they could fool us, as they certainly did, despite our precautions.

We made them build us a shack that evening on the island, and next morning a permanent shelter on the mainland, in which to cache part of our stores against our return, being unable to paddle so great a weight up-stream without their help. They all worked hard and with a good will, for freedom would be theirs within a few hours. Then we broke the news to them that they must return their axes and machetes, having failed to keep their contract. After the usual pow-pow they were handed over. It was not so peaceable a transaction as it might have been, for we had to hold them up with our rifles before we could make them give up our property. And then they went. [248]

It was not till they had been gone two hours or more that we had the idea of opening our cases of stores to see that all was in order. Half the axes and machetes and three-quarters of the poison had gone. Now the boxes and cases in which they were carried were purposely fastened with long screws, the secret of which we had not thought that any savage would discover. But, too late, it dawned on us that I myself had been indiscreet enough to open a box one day when that old thief Pitacunca was looking on. So, day by

day, as we had been pushing up the Santiago, more and more stores were carefully extracted (the Jívaros using the very machetes we had given them as screw-drivers in just the same way as I did myself) and cached as we travelled along in the heavy verdure which lines the banks of that river. So it happened that they drew ten times the pay they had contracted for, after all. It was too late to do anything in the way of revenge. Had we had a speed launch at hand, we might have caught those stalwart robbers, but hardly otherwise. They must have reached home in one day's paddling. We never saw Pitacunca again.

The loss of that fine poison which Morse and Iberico had gone to such pains to obtain in the Huallaga River and bring along with the Exploradora, rankled in our minds for many a long day, aggravated by the thoughts of the sweet revenge which we could have taken, had we known in time, by appropriating that fine canoe in which the Jívaros escaped and turning them loose to their own devices on the bank."

4: Up de Graff--250-253 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 484

"Sweeping along under the right bank came fifty-five Jívaro canoes in single file, a huge serpent moving with perfect rhythm. [251]

Tuhuimpui, as we soon learned was the leader's name, landed on the point of the island, stuck his spear head-down in the sand, and advanced for a friendly pow-wow. His great following had shown a keen desire to overrun our refuge at his heels, but I had ordered him, at first sign of such a movement taking place, to command his party to retire to the main bank, and await the result of our parley. We were perfectly safe as long as we kept a strip of water between us. So the pow-wow began. The Aguaruna chief bore himself with conscious pride of office. His manner had not a trace of servility. He, by reason of his position and his knowledge of Inca had been elected as spokesman, and he was every bit as good as any apache.

'We have heard that you have come searching for gold,' he began. 'Here on this river are very many Huambizas, evil men, who kill the apaches and steal their women. I myself have talked with the apaches and been to Barranca, and I know. You will be killed, so we have come here to take you back to safety. The Huambizas carry weapons such as yours' (indicating by signs and sound the firing of a rifle). [252]

'I have heard,' I replied, 'of the great chief Tuhuimpui down-river, and know him to be a friend of the white man. Clearly has he proved his friendship once more by coming on this errand fraught with perils to give us his advice and protection. To prove our mutual regard, we must drink together.'

The rum-barrel is produced, and a stiff drink handed out.

It is a curious fact, and one which throws a good deal of light on the much-discussed alcohol question, that any ignorant savage in the world will appreciate to the full his first drink of rum. It would appear that there is something in the natural constitution of man that answers to the call of alcohol.

'I would have you know,' I went on, 'that we appreciate your offer, but that we fear no Huambizas nor any other; we come in peace, but if attacked we know how to defend ourselves.'

The chief retires to the water's edge, and calls across to a fellow chief to put over to the island to consult with him. In the long line of canoes the warriors sit, watching the proceedings.

'Midia, midia,' cries Tuhuimpui (come, come), and an Antipa chieftain steers his canoe across the stream.

I have joined my comrades in the shelter and we discuss my interpretation of the powwow. We decide that we must try and get the whole war-party to go up-stream with us; their help would be invaluable.

In a few moments I am back talking with Tuhuimpui, who has returned from his conference with the Antipa.

'We are a war-party, come to kill the Huambizas.' Tuhuimpui turns with childlike simplicity to this new story.

4: Up de Graff--250-253 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 726, 484

'We will help you, then, for they are our common [253] enemy,' I answered. 'Let us join forces and push on together.'

Thus we struck a bargain. We were far from being deceived as to what was the real object of our new allies. Once more that canoe-load of presents was shaping the destinies of men. But all the same it suited us to avail ourselves of their help to penetrate further up-river, laden as we were with heavy stores."

"Next morning we started. All day long we sat and watched the great rhythmic strokes of the paddles, as the canoes flew along. Our escort was composed of some two hundred men of the Aguarunas and Antipas, evidently two parties which, finding each other bent on a common mission (which needs no explanation) had joined hands. By day they mingled so that there was no distinguishing the two parties, but by night they camped apart, suspicious, probably, of each other for they are natural enemies. Each carried with him a new loin-cloth, a rouge-pot, feather ear-ornaments, a záparo (rattan basket --Inca) of giamanchi, a spear, and a half gourd for a drinking-cup. Some had blow-guns with them also. They were for the most part naked. They were an impressive-looking crowd, and they took very little notice of us white men, with the exception of their chiefs with whom we had all our dealings.

The first day, everything seemed to go swimmingly. In the late afternoon we drew up on a sand-bar and pitched camp. Tuhuimpui volunteered to provide the game throughout the journey, and he certainly made a good start that day. He advised us not to use our rifles for hunting, as they might carry news of our whereabouts to the Huambizas, which seemed to us fair enough. We had our choice of supper from a great pile of game of all kinds--turkeys, pheasants, monkeys and wild hogs, principally--and selected what we wanted [254] before the rest was removed from before our tent. After supper, the chief came along with a basin-full of giamanchi; we were to drink deep of the comforting preparation and sleep in peace, while the Indians kept watch all night! To escape from

this doubtful blessing, I mixed a cup of condensed milk as a counter offer. If there is one thing which a Jívaro abhors it is canned food in any shape or form. The trick worked, for no more was said of drinks that night.

And how could he be expected--I went on, after disposing of the giamanchi difficulty--to find the guard all night, and leave us to sleep in slothful ease? Surely to this we could never consent. We would do our fair share. Indeed he must warn his men not to approach to within fifty yards of our camp, for our sentries would fire on suspicion--and who could distinguish between enemy and friend at night? In the common cause we must take half the burden on our shoulders, and we must carry it well. Too much care could not be taken now that we were so near the enemy, and what a disaster it would be if in our zeal we killed some of our own friends! No, there was no getting away from the fact that they must be very careful not to approach our bivouac at night."

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 152, 484

"We were by this time ourselves the object of many a greedy pair of eyes. Those battle-heated savages were in a nasty temper. They were becoming bolder every minute, approaching in groups of five or six in an attempt to borrow our rifles and not always remembering to leave their spears behind them even then. One who was too persistent in his desire to disarm Jack received the butt-end of his Winchester full in his chest, an incident that did not tend to smooth matters over. We were rapidly losing our self-control, much as we wanted to avoid another massacre. There was a lull in the trouble however, when Tuhuimpui came up to pow-wow, still insisting that he 'thought it would be as well if each of us captained a Jívaro dugout, at intervals throughout the long column, to inspire his men with confidence. Our prestige was very great, our power greater. We could save them [286] from disaster, should the Huambizas give chase. We should be a tower of strength to them in the gathering darkness.' All this was highly complimentary, but of course merely served to conceal the crafty designs of that smooth-tongued old scoundrel who coveted our heads and our outfit.

If we were to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations we must walk carefully. With infinite patience, then, through a conversation lasting, perhaps, a quarter of an hour, I persuaded Tuhuimpui that the most we could do would be for four of us to go two and two, while the fifth took a third canoe. Scarcely veiling his disappointment but forced to give way before our determination not to be massacred singly, he went off at last, and gave the necessary orders. Had we been all separated, doubtless at a given signal, the crew

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 152, 484

of each of our canoes would have capsized their craft, themselves diving with their spears, and precipitating us and our Winchesters into the water, where the Jívaros are as much at home as on land, but where our arms would be at a great disadvantage. In a moment we should have been stuck like common paichi."

4: *Up de Graff*--287-288 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 727

"The grinning skulls of the victims of our raid stared a hideous last look at us from the strand, their naked eyeballs bulging, their dry tongues lolling in a mute farewell. Theirs would never be the good fortune to be buried; disgraced before their fellows they would lie gaping at the sun until the kites and buzzards picked the bones and the dry skulls were swept away by the rising waters to their last resting-place.

In an hour we had made a sand-bar where it was decided to stop for the night. Indeed, by the time my canoe arrived the fires were already blazing, the vanguard having had a few minutes start of us. With the same care as ever, we pitched our camp at a safe distance from that of our 'allies.' Restrained by our show of determination not to be fooled into taking a false step they left us in peace that night. We on our part held another council. Were we to turn back or not?... The boldness of the Jivaros since their successful raid convinced us that but one thing was wanting to convert a great 'victory' into an overwhelming triumph. A single watch would have been none too safe. All night long the savages sat around their fires, putting the finishing touches to the heads, chattering and gesticulating in the light of the flames.

Next morning we were away as usual with the sun. Once more Tuhuimpui tried to make me see the wisdom of adopting the formation he suggested. Once more [288] I staved him off. So the long line swung down river in the same order, an interval of perhaps a mile between the van and the main body, and the same between the main body and the rear-guard."

18: Hermessen--445 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 484, 502

"After putting in some days at Jamboé, making friends with the natives and exploring the surrounding country, we made ready to proceed farther down the Zamora, our objective being a place called Chicaña, a day's journey on the river. As all Jíbaro canoes are communal property, some parleying had to be done with the different chiefs before consent could be obtained to our use of one. The dug-out which we eventually got was navigated by two Jíbaros, hired for the trip, one standing at the bow and the other at the stern, and having long poles for steering. No effort was required to move the canoe, as the current alone was strong enough to take it along at a good rate.

There were frequent rapids, some shallow and smoothly graded, others deep and strewn with great boulders and projecting rocks, making formidable obstructions among which the craft was maneuvered by the Indians with consummate skill and grace. On both sides of the river the forest came down to the water's edge, save where the low banks sloped away to wide sandy playas, marking the flood-plain."

18: Hermessen--445 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 484, 609

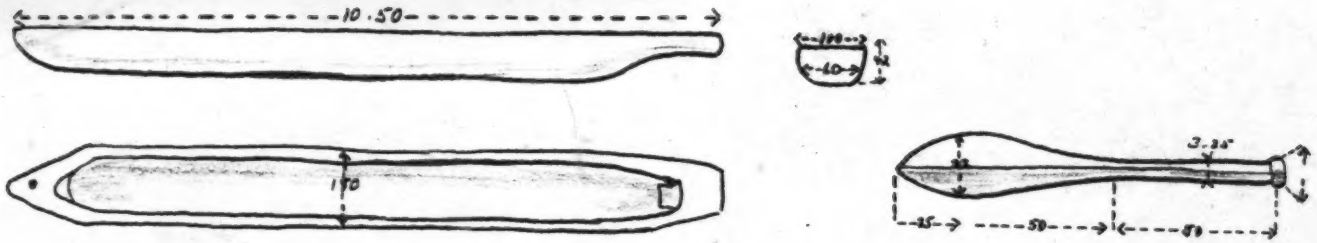
"At an estimated distance of between 25 and 30 miles from Jamboé we passed the mouth of the Yacuhambi (or Yanazambi, as Wolf calls it), a river of respectable size flowing into the Zamora from the northwest. Two or three miles farther on we came to the Rio Nanguipa, which discharged into the Zamora on the right. We landed on the opposite bank, at the solicitation of the canoe-men, for a rest at a nearby house to which they conducted us. In it were several Jíbaros, none of whom evinced the least concern at our appearance, even giving me, a white stranger, only a casual glance."

25: Vigna--42 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 273, 276, 484

The principal drink, --which is also often eaten--and liquor, is the chicha of yuca, called "nijamanchi." The women who are in charge of its preparation, masticate the cooked yuca and spit it into special bowls where the mass ferments within a few hours. Its taste is similar to that of curdled milk. During the morning they take an infusion of "guayusa" - leaf of a tree that contains much caffein and is a savory sedative. On journeys, the only food they carry is the chicha of concentrated yuca, which they take with water; they do not take any other food en route.

26: Brüning--74 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 484

Figure 8. Canoe and Paddle.



26: Brüning--74 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 484

The most important means of transportation along the upper Marañón and its tributaries is the canoe (Fig. 8). One could even say that this dug-out is the only means of transportation since there are only a few isolated overland paths.

The canoe appears in several sizes. Some accomodate only one to two people, others up to twenty men. All of them are made of cedar wood. Whether small or large, they all have the same shape. The part that touches the water is round in cross-section just as the original tree. At both ends flat seats for the oarsman were provided when the canoe was dug out. The canoe is directed by means of paddles, but on upstream voyages long bamboo poles (tanganas) are required, and with their help the boat is pushed forward. Should the river bank be flat, some Indians may jump into the water to pull the canoe with the help of lianas.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash
[484] when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing
415 food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.
[296]

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
411 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Win-
439 chester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[177] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent
manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwell-
ing in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-
action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly
valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading
partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
224 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and
411 the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-
loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
439 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for
hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native
trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law. 701 628 721

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation. 701 721 [726] [727] [727] [411]

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri šuarä* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu šuarä* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche. [484]

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwišin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The 756

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177
756
776
648

mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *payü* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *payü* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

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484
756
776
[177]
[648]

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *payü!* Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an 178
important new development. This innovation, which is re- 756
lated to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to 554
acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking 178
the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, 756
evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, 554
shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the 648
Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, [721]
Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competi- [484]
tion between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced 177
considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this 178
more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Cane- 756
los tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. 554
Examples of such recently transmitted information include 648
new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession [776]
by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic compe- [775]
tition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in 178
supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 774
778

5: Reyes and Teran--107 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135, 487, 177

"The scarcity and rudimentary state of communication routes has obliged people living in the Ecuadorian Oriente to seek their economic well-being largely through mining rather than through agriculture, in spite of the fertility of these lands. And among the minerals, it is the exploitation of gold which today mainly concerns those [GCB: white men] who venture into these regions. Gold also is the concern of a large number of natives whose labor is exploited by the whites."

"All the routes of penetration into the Oriente are projects which are very far from realization. The lack of roads has been the underlying reason why the dominion of these vast regions by Ecuador has so far been only an ardent and unfulfilled desire. As yet neither the railroad nor the auto road has penetrated the forest. Only at intervals are there more or less improvable horse trails [caminos de herradura] and the rest are only difficult and arduous footpaths, which search for the liberating river--the sole route which permits the crossing of these infinite distances.

The routes of penetration used with some frequency in the Oriente are the following:

[128] 1. Leaving from Tulcán, the route of the Pun river, on the Ecuador-Colombia frontier, which, passing along the banks of the Chingual river, leads to La Fama, Sebundoy, El Cesáreo and ends at Valbuena. Some day it will perhaps reach as far as Santa Rosa de Sucumbíos and from there to the Putumayo.

2. Leaving from Quito, the route of the Papallacta, which leads to Baeza and then, surmounting the Cordillera of Guacamayos, takes the traveler to Archidona, Tena and Puerto Napo.

3. Leaving from Ambato, the route of the Banos river, which leads to Mera, Puyo and Canelos. From Mera, following the current of the Anzu toward the north, one can, by this route, penetrate as far as Puerto Napo. In the same way, one can advance to the south from the Puyo river as far as Macas, going by way of Arapicos. [129]

4. Leaving from Riobamba, the route of Chanala and Zuna, which leads to Puerto Proano, Macas, Sucúa and Mendez. The crossing of the Andean cordillera in this region is painful and arduous.

5. Leaving from Cuenca, the route of the Paute and Pan rivers, which leads to Mendez. This is the best horse trail of all those mentioned, although they have not been able to improve the way through the gorge of the Paute.

6. From the same town of Cuenca, one can leave by two other routes, that of the Gualaceo to Indanza, and that of the Sígsig which leads to Gualaquiza, across the páramos [GCB: high, cold regions] of Matanga.

7. Leaving from Loja, the route of the Zamora river, which leads to the settlement of this name as well as to those of Chito and Zumba, the most distant Ecuadorian outposts in the southern Oriente. [130] In addition to the above enumerated routes, there are other projects of penetration, especially in the direction of the Napo, such as those which would lead to Cayambe and Latacunga. Each of these settlements believes it has the best route into these various regions. On the Azuay river, as well, they speak of a route along the Paute which will lead the traveler more rapidly to the distant lands of the Oriente!

The railroad projects, including that of the Curaray, have been left abandoned. Even Ambato no longer dreams of it. Today this town is satisfied with the auto road which is

steadily advancing toward Mera and Puyo.

The trans-Amazon highway leaving from Puerto Bolivar on the Pacific and passing by way of Loja and Zamora to the Maranon river has gone up in smoke like an unrealizable desire."

/329 cont./

491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

000 Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paira and Suñag, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /330/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild
186 Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived
797 in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos.
• [487] Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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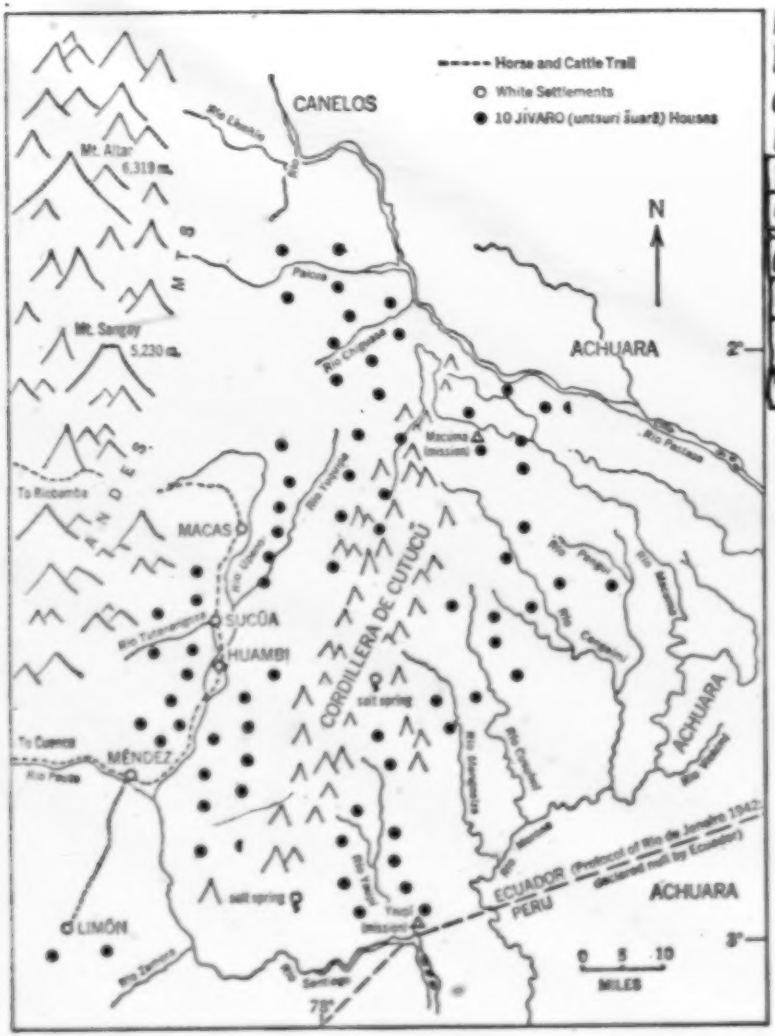

MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 175
Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as 648
individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were [411]
fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[23] probably contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [487] built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province [797] of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed [411] the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465] particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423] arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [731] population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

/329 cont./

132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzags along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
●491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

/329 cont./

491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
• 491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
563 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
648 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

1: Karsten--112-113 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 501, 396 (1928-29)

"The making of canoes is another important task incumbent on the men which requires great patience and skill, and this was especially the case in former times when the Indians did not possess the iron tools of the whites. The canoes of the Jibaros are dug-outs of the same type as is commonly used by the Indians in tropical South America, and they are skilled canoeists. For canoe-making only certain big trees with a straight stem can be used, and of these the cedar is the most sought after. The felling of the huge tree and the excavation of the stem was tedious work before the Indian had the iron axe and knife, and was chiefly carried out by means of stone axes and fire. The Indians still commonly use fire in digging out the stem after it is dry, but great care is necessary lest the edges should become too thin and the vessel burst. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians therefore consider it necessary that the men taking part in the work should restrict their diet and observe sexual abstinence. During the days that they are engaged in felling the tree they can take nothing but roasted green plantains and tobacco water. Manioc-beer, which in normal cases serves the Indians both as food and drink, they are forbidden to consume; otherwise, it is feared, the stem will burst. Afterwards, when the men are engaged in digging it out, they are not only forbidden to have intercourse with their wives, but no woman is allowed to come near the place where they are working; if they do come near, the canoe will burst and become useless.

Besides this, the Jibaros, at any rate the tribes of the Upano, practise the following

custom when the canoe is ready for use. When the vessel has to be taken down to the river, the Indians first only do it 'in play', that is, they pretend to do it and go down to the river behaving the whole time as if they were dragging the canoe. When the vessel is really taken down, the women tie a rope to the stem and drag the canoe by it, calling in the same way as when they are calling their swine. This, [113] according to the Indians, is done 'in order that the canoe may not break'. At the same time the men walk on each side of the canoe striking incessantly on the ground with lances and sticks 'in order to prevent the anaconda(pańgi) from upsetting the canoe'. This rite of course has reference to the future use of the canoe. If a canoe is upset in the cataracts of the river, the Indians generally ascribe this accident to the powerful demon living in the river, the great water boa or anaconda."

4: Up de Graff--198 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 501

"The medicine man, the biggest Jívaro I ever saw, jumped into our canoe, having seized a paddle from a neighbouring craft. These paddles are some four feet long, of which three feet is handle and one foot blade, the latter being pear-shaped and from 14 to 15 inches broad at the centre: the action is a short, quick stroke, from 50 to 60 per minute, the blade forming a strong suction behind itself owing to the speed of the stroke. Gripped with one hand close to the water and with the other at the extremity of the handle, these paddles are tremendously powerful. They are made of a very tough, fibrous, yellow wood called by the Incas remo caspi (remo being the Spanish for an oar or paddle, and caspi the Inca for wood). The process is painfully slow, owing to the crude tools at the command of this stone, their chisels are of animal's teeth, and the only substitute for the file and the plane which is known to them is sand, with which they get a wonderful finish to their work. The Jívaros call paddles 'canaliz.'

The medicine man paddled us across, then. He was the finest canoeman we ever had. He sent our dugout flying straight across the strong current in a way which the two of us together could never have equalled. His first strokes were so strong that the canoe shot away from under us and we toppled off the thwarts into the bottom."

12: Rivet--598-599 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 501, 396

The canoe is indispensable to the Jíbaro. Its construction is a long and laborious operation. For this purpose, the savage looks along the banks of a stream for the biggest tree, preferably a cedar (Cedrela ordorata), and fells it with his ax; this operation alone takes two or three days of work. Then he separates the part that he wishes to use from the trunk; then he levels off one of its sides with the ax and draws on it with carbon the form of the prow and of the [599] stern. The vessel is hollowed out little by little with the aid of fire, then finished with an adze. The keel is made by the same patient, slow procedure. The length varies from 6 to 20 m., the width from 40 to 60 cm., and sometimes attains 1 meter.

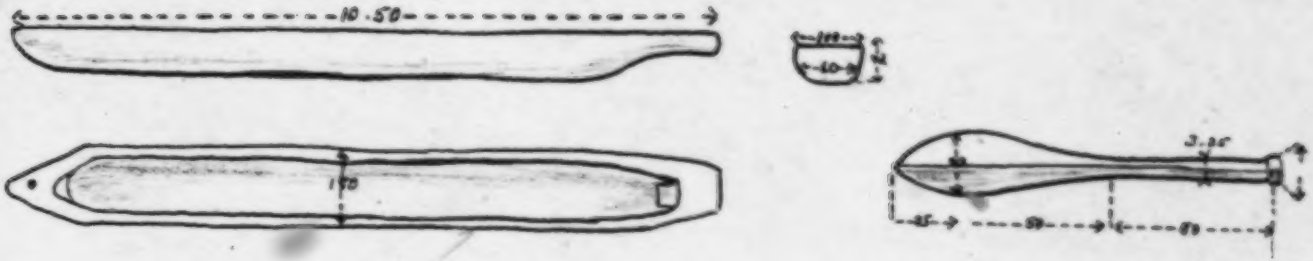
The oar is made from a plank 1^m 20 to 1^m 60 long, terminating in an oval-shaped palette, the whole cut from a single piece of wood.

25: Vigna--45 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 481, 501

In the water, the Jibaro who is a perfect fish, braves the swiftest currents of the rivers of the eastern Amazon; he has been accustomed to swim with skill and rapidity from childhood. In order to ford the large rivers he uses a boat of wood carved from the trunk of a resistant tree. He calls this boat "canoa", and when he has completed it, before launching it in the river he will take care of the finish by means of fire, engraving on the external walls symmetrical lines and cabalistic drawings with the fire.

26: Brüning--74 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 484

Figure 8. Canoe and Paddle.



26: Brüning--74 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 484

The most important means of transportation along the upper Marañón and its tributaries is the canoe (Fig. 8). One could even say that this dug-out is the only means of transportation since there are only a few isolated overland paths.

The canoe appears in several sizes. Some accomodate only one to two people, others up to twenty men. All of them are made of cedar wood. Whether small or large, they all have the same shape. The part that touches the water is round in cross-section just as the original tree. At both ends flat seats for the oarsman were provided when the canoe was dug out. The canoe is directed by means of paddles, but on upstream voyages long bamboo poles (tanganas) are required, and with their help the boat is pushed forward. Should the river bank be flat, some Indians may jump into the water to pull the canoe with the help of lianas.

26: Brüning--74-75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 501, 463

It is difficult for a neophyte to handle a canoe as it requires great skill to maintain one's balance. It is amazing to what thickness the cedar trunks grow. [75] During my trip through the Marañón territory I encountered an uprooted cedar tree with a diameter of about 170 cm.

Another means of transportation in the river area is the raft (balsa). It can be used for downstream voyages only and is therefore not so frequent. It is made by uniting several balsa trunks. The rafts are kept within the current by means of paddles.

28: Tessman--350 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 501, 177

"Canoe (See Glossary) and paddle: kaneitio, according to Karsten from the Spanish canalete (i. e., Indian paddle). Judging from the Spanish name, they must have been imported."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the 231
western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe- 439
heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro 412
life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding [244]
implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root
crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for [322]
woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and [323]
to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although [252]
the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it [302]
is available. [313]

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mačit* 412
("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was 439
formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; 177
and the *kayens mačit* (Collins machete), of North American
manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mačit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far [313]
less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze [322]
blades, which were apparently introduced about the same [352]
time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, [501]
but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

5: Reyes and Teran--66-68 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133, 502

"Navigation [GCB: of the eastern Amazon] really begins at the end of the pongo of Manseriche, east of the mouth of the Santiago river, where once was located the old Spanish settlement of Borja, capital of the famous province of Mainas....Becoming as narrow as 30 meters in these gorges, the river is proportionately widened on the plain as each voluminous tributary pours into it from one or the other of its banks. [67] La Condamine estimated that its width at the village of Omaguas, between the Tigre and the Nanay rivers, was 765 meters, and he did not find its depth to be more than 100 fathoms. At the mouth of the Napo its width was calculated by the same authority as 1,840 meters, while the width of the mouth of this tributary was fixed at 1,250 meters. But these dimensions vary considerably with the crecidas [freshets]; it is then that an immense zone along its muddy sides, reaching about 5 kilometers in width, is covered by its waters. As the river subsides, the water still remains in the concavities of the terrain, and sometimes forms brazos [arms] which contain islands, or sometimes forms numerous lagoons, which in periods of dryness remain isolated from the running waters.

The possibilities of navigation along the [GCB: eastern] Amazon increase or diminish according to whether one is concerned with the dry period or the period of the freshets. In the former, steamers can ascend only as far as the mouths of the Morona, and in the latter, [68] somewhat farther east, as far as old Borja. The two settlements

5: Reyes and Teran--66-68 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-2
116, 133, 502

of major importance along the northern banks of the great river are Iquitos, at the mouth of the Nanay, and Nauta, between the mouth of the Nanay and that of the Tigre. By law and by geographic necessity, Ecuador can never renounce access to this section of the Amazon."

12: Rivet--604 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 502

The Jíbaro is a skilled navigator. With his little canoe, braves the rapids of the most raging torrents, maneuvers the frail craft through rocks and whirlpools with a surety, a precision, and a calmness which all voyagers and missionaries agree in praising. The number of the oarsmen varies, according to the dimensions of the boat, from two to six. Each has a single oar in a seated or kneeling position. One Indian placed in the stern steers and keeps the canoe in the current with the aid of an oar.

18: Hermessen--445 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 484, 502

"After putting in some days at Jamboé, making friends with the natives and exploring the surrounding country, we made ready to proceed farther down the Zamora, our objective being a place called Chicaña, a day's journey on the river. As all Jíbaro canoes are communal property, some parleying had to be done with the different chiefs before consent could be obtained to our use of one. The dug-out which we eventually got was navigated by two Jíbaros, hired for the trip, one standing at the bow and the other at the stern, and having long poles for steering. No effort was required to move the canoe, as the current alone was strong enough to take it along at a good rate.

There were frequent rapids, some shallow and smoothly graded, others deep and strewn with great boulders and projecting rocks, making formidable obstructions among which the craft was maneuvered by the Indians with consummate skill and grace. On both sides of the river the forest came down to the water's edge, save where the low banks sloped away to wide sandy playas, marking the flood-plain."

26: Brüning--75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 505, 576

With reference to canoe voyages I should mention the following: As soon as a settlement is in sight, the Indians put ashore in order to wash and comb themselves and to paint their faces. Then they proceed, and when they pass a settlement, they hit the edge of the canoe with their paddles and give a long oration with a loud voice. They do this until the settlement is out of sight.

Bordesholm, January 1928.

Hans H. Brüning.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huarā* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huarā* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

1: Karsten--114 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 511, 262 (1928-29)

"Scarcity of food is an almost unknown thing to the Indians of Western Amazonas. As to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, the extraordinary fertility of the soil, the richness of the forests in all sorts of game, and the industry of the Indians, enable them to live easily and fairly well as far as food is concerned. On this point they are much better off than for instance the Chaco Indians, who in certain months of the year approach the very verge of starvation. The Indians of the Amazon territory appreciate vegetable and animal food equally. Their agriculture is well developed, although their methods of cultivating the soil are simple, and meat is secured to them by their domestic animals, the swine and the hens, as well as by the game they catch by hunting. Fish is also an important food. Their vegetable and animal food will shortly be treated separately, and I shall then give a more detailed account of their agriculture and their hunting and fishing practises."

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 511, 181, 619

"Contentment reigns supreme. Men and women seem happy in their lot. They have an abundance of every necessity and luxury they know. Their one worry in life is the constant fear of attack by raiders, but this they forget as easily as children do the dangers ot the street . Light is the daily round of all, and above all others of him who has a daughter to give in marriage! He who aspires to her hand becomes to all intents and purposes the slave of his future father-in-law for a term of five or six months until he proves his worth. The young savage takes over the scouting, hunting and fishing duties of the house into which he is going to marry; he is at the beck and call of its head, and must answer every call like a fag at school. But only once does he go through the mill; his own household set up, he takes to himself as many wives as he can find among his own people or steal from his enemies; thus it comes about that there is many a woman among the four Jívaro tribes who has been stolen and re-stolen until she is as much at home on the Santiago as on the Marañon, as happy burning hair off monkeys for an Aguaruna as spinning cotton for a Pautecuma. Indeed to my mind there can be one explanation of the existence of identical languages, habits, clothes, modes of fishing and hunting, and applied arts among all the Jívaro peoples, namely that they spring from a common ancestral tribe. A family would break away from the common hunting grounds, move off and establish itself on another river, and nurse its hatred of the parent group until, joined by others, little by little it became the nucleus of another tribe. And so through the course of [223] time they have drifted so far apart that to-day no one tribe

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 511, 181, 619

is found with their headquarters within thirty days' canoeing of another, and a deadly hostility exists between them all. There are white men alive to-day in the States who have been scalped by North American Indians; but after the Jívaro has taken his war-trophy, 'finita la commedia.' "

1: Karsten--97-98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
512, 286 (1928-29)

"When the family-father gets up in the morning, and while he is cooking his tobacco water at the fire, he is frequently seen spinning for a while, or he may weave at the loom standing close by near the wall. This loom is of the same primitive type as among many other South American tribes and cannot be described more closely here; it is shown in the photograph (Pl. XXIV, 1). The cotton yarn to be used for weaving is first dyed in different colours, mainly white, red, brown, and black, and these differently coloured yarns are combined in such a way that in [98] the woven material different arrangements of colours are distinguished which have different names."

1: Karsten--243-245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 512, 276 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros begin their day very early, about 3 o [sic] 4 o'clock in the morning, when the crowing cocks announce that a new day is dawning. The house-father is the first who gets up and wakens the other people in the house, especially the women. He arranges the logs forming the fireplace, and blows upon the embers so as to revive the fire. The first thing he does is to prepare his tobacco water. For this purpose he places a small clay pot (yukúnda), half-filled with water, on the fire and puts some tobacco leaves into it. After the water has boiled for a short while, it is allowed to cool somewhat and he then pours a little of its contents into the palm and draws it in through his nose, allowing it to flow out through the mouth. This is repeated three or four times. The tobacco medicine, taken in the early morning, is supposed to have a wonderful power of clearing the head and preserving from disease and witchcraft. Then follows a similar procedure with the guayusa solution. The leaves of this important tree, which grows wild everywhere in the Ecuadorian forests, are likewise boiled in water, and the decoction is appreciated as a tonic and as a purifying medicine. The Indian washes out his mouth with it and sometimes drinks a small quantity, throwing it up afterwards. While the tobacco or the guayusa is boiling, the house-father is generally seen doing some work. He may sit down at the distaff to spin for a short while, or at the loom to weave, or cut arrows, etc. [244]

Meanwhile he considers it is time for his house people to get up too. He shouts in a loud voice: tsaráwi, tsaráwi, tsaráwi, nandákta, nandákta, (i. e. 'it is dawning it is

dawning, get up, get up!"). These words are particularly addressed to the wives sleeping in the women's department, but at first they seem to pay no heed to them. After a while therefore the husband again repeats his tsarâwi, tsarâwi, nandâkta, and later a third time. Gradually the women awake, get up, and start to work, their first task being to bring the house father his usual nihamánchi (manioc-beer). Meanwhile the younger men in the house, the unmarried sons and the sons-in-law, have assembled at the fire-place and all drink the manioc-beer brought by the women. It is now about 6 o'clock in the morning.

At certain times, and especially if the family is threatened by enemies, the house-father, while he is cooking his tobacco water and guayusa, not only awakens his house-people but also delivers a sort of speech to them in which he reminds his sons and sons-in-law of the outrages committed by this and that enemy against the family in former times, and exhorts them to prepare for revenge. The essence of this speech, which is repeated for days and weeks in much the same form will be related in the part dealing with the wars of the Indians.

About 8 o'clock the first meal of the day is taken. As a rule it consists of boiled manioc and boiled or roasted plantain, meat, or fish. This food is prepared by the women in the 'kitchen' (ekínturu) and is taken by them to the men's department, each kind of food on a special, big banana leaf. The leaves are placed on the floor and the

men sit down on small benches to eat. The men and women generally eat separately, the former in the big ante-room (tangámasha), the women and children in the women's department.

After the 'breakfast' the day's work begins. If the weather is fine, the men take their forest knives, lances, and blowguns and go out, some to hunt, others to work in the forest or in the fields; the majority of the women leave for the plantations carrying their baskets and their small babies on their backs. In the middle of the day therefore a Jibaro house is generally almost empty, some old man or woman and some of the bigger children being the only occupants. If a man has several wives, however, one of them as a rule stays at home to look after the house. --All stay away until about 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when they return one after the other, the men usually carrying with them some animal or birds which they have brought down with their blowguns, or fish [245] caught in the river, the women carrying heavy baskets full of manioc, sweet potatoes, and other fruits. It is not until at 4 or 5 o'clock that the second meal of the day is eaten. While out of doors the Jibaro has generally only drunk the manioc-beer he took with him in the form of fermented manioc substance wrapped in banana leaves.

If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc. Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a-

rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterised as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros.

The Jibaros generally pass the evening conversing, drinking manioc-beer, and doing some unimportant work in the house by the light of the fires. After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night. Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

1: Karsten--442
512

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body."

3: Simson--387-388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 461, 512

"They are regular workers, and do not pass the whole day in idleness like many others of their race. They issue forth to hunt, work in their plantations, build canoes, attend to pig breeding, etc., regularly every day; returning to the house generally early in the afternoon to enjoy repose in the lighter occupations of scraping lances or darts for the 'bodoquera,' making combs, feather ornaments, etc., whilst the women, who sometimes go out to work with them, cook and prepare the chicha [388] mass--their standard alimentation, and during their journeys the only one, being convenient and light to carry wrapped up in plantain leaves."

4: Up de Graff--218-220 (1897) 1923 Jivaro -1
116, 512

"During our sojourn among the Antipas in their homes, I had many an opportunity of studying their every-day lives. You walk into a hut and a typically domestic scene presents itself. The women are seated on their heels about a great earthenware jar of freshly boiled [219] mama (arrowroot--Jívaro). Some are half-clothed, some not clothed at all. Those who have lost their husbands in war must pick up what cloth they can, the cast-offs of their luckier neighbours whose menfolk still live to weave for them. A monkey or two is pottering about, chewing bananas, and even a tame paujil is perched on a cross-beam, uttering its peculiar call. A woman stretches out her hand and selects a piece of yuca from the pot. She puts it in her mouth and chews it to a pulp resembling mashed potatoes; satisfied that it has reached the desired state, she deposits it on the ever-growing pile of the same pulp, which stands within reach of all on banana leaves. This is the giamanchi, the staff of life. (Preserved with the human saliva, it will last for six months if stored in crocks and buried in the ground against contact with light or air. When the time comes for it to be consumed, or in other words, when the proper amount of fermentation has taken place, it is mixed with water in a gourd until it looks and tastes like buttermilk. The whole idea is to our modern minds repulsive, but my own experiments have proved that there is no other way (in the woods) of preserving arrowroot. It is a highly sustaining starchy tuber, containing 80 per cent. starch as against the potato's 20 per cent. Cooked when fresh, it is light and fluffy--a delicious vegetable

dish.

One or two of the women are carrying babies slung in a small cloth hammock on the back. One of them is nursing a baby which cannot be less than three years old. (This is a common custom, which appears to us both strange and undesirable. The Antipa women do not wean their infants until they are grown to the kindergarten stage as we know it. They even pack them long after they can walk, run and swim. Thus the step from babyhood to marriage is only a matter of seven or eight years. [220]

Another woman is nursing her baby when she remembers the young monkey curled up on her head. It too she treats as her own offspring, and suckles it with the same care as she does her son. (This is common among the Indians of the Amazon, be they semi-civilized or savage.)

Six or eight fires are smouldering round the walls, one for each wife. On a meat-rack steaks from a freshly killed huangana (wild hog--Inca) are being cured, and their smell fills the house."

116, 512

"Leaving the women to their daily task of chewing, after having accepted the giamanchi proffered by one, we pass outside to where a group of bucks are engaged in wild conversation. They are, to all appearances, imitating the action of a trombone player. Their right hands fly to and fro from their mouths to the full extent of their arms, palms inwards. Their tones are loud and deep, and the light in their dark eyes betrays their emotion. They are talking of war; this we know, for only then do they indulge in these gestures and forced tones.

Nearby in the forest rises the smoke of many fires, and the thudding of the axes is heard as the party works on a new dugout. Over there comes a string of women heavily laden with yuca, bananas, and faggots cut from the chacra. Entering another house, we find a man at work on a blow-gun, with a pot of boiling beeswax at his elbow, his hair wound round his neck to keep it from the fire. A boy of some ten years is eagerly helping his father to complete the weapon which is to be his. Soon he will be off into the woods after humming-birds, which will give him plenty of chances to perfect his aim before his lungs are strong enough to allow him to take his place amont the hunters of his tribe, with real poisoned arrows. Grouped at the door under the shade [221] of a pántam (banana plant--Jívaro) are half a dozen women making baskets. They manipulate the split rattans with ease and dexterity, weaving intricate patterns, and producing baskets of great strength. They are made in pairs, one set slightly smaller than

the other; the larger is then lined with a specially tough palm-leaf and the smaller is placed inside it. The two are then sewn together round the top, and a cover, composed of another pair of baskets is hinged to the first. The result is a durable, rainproof receptacle, which is used for packing anything and everything, or for storing household goods; those which are destined for packing only are made three feet high and two feet broad. I learned the art of making them myself on the Yasuní, and the knowledge stood me in good stead."

12: Rivet--599-600 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 512, 521, 201

The Indian is an early riser: at 3 o'clock in the morning he wakes up, and if he is [600] head of a family, his first concern is to repeat in a loud and spiritual voice the history of the tribe, the wars that it has carried on with the neighboring peoples, and the names of the relatives killed in these fights. He mixes into his account praise for his friends and himself and insults for his enemies, advice to the children so that they may some day become worthy of their father, that is to say that they be adroit hunters, that they raise good dogs, that they be hardy in expeditions and unrelenting in vengeance. (1) During this discourse, the Jíbaro keeps the closed left fist placed level with the lower lip against the chin (fig. 20). This discourse finished, the women give everyone the morning infusion of guayusa.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 75.

20: Dyott-154-155 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 512, 157

"By six o'clock the whole family was astir. Kusaho and his two youngest boys, Wesuma and Humbikti, formed and animated group in the centre of the house, talking over plans for the morning. Mihanda, the eldest son, did not join in the conversation. He seemed a surly sort of fellow, for he sat on his rack staring at the floor in a peculiarly detached way as if he had no interest in what was going [155] on about him. His wife, Secouta, equally absorbed, crouched by the fire with her small son Katani alongside of her. The latter was a nice little child seven or eight years old, naked as the day he was born, with a clean brown skin and dark hair falling over his shoulders. He squatted on his haunches, like a rabbit sitting up in the grass, and made quite an attractive picture."

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons, of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exclusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and
273 boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving
462 bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning
• 512 cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife
[252] brings more beer and serves it.
[293]

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a
[224] large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring
[252] him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

34 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat. 295 462 512 594

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a cupal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar: 295 462 512 313 [241]

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

14:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
• 572 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
913 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
[482] with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
[252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
[606] mat and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[955] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 50 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this
[156] variety is typically accompanied by low density of population
[222] for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[156]

34 Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

223 edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.
224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go
• 572 hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as
461 follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he hoes, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 461 517 439 changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western [592] [512] [412] [286] and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

[291] [281] [224] The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 591 birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the [851] [578] [583] [411] old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of 411 steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the [721] Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The [439] new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

1: Karsten--96 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 352, 513 (1928-29)

"The benches, which at the same time serve the Jibaro Indians as sleeping places at night, are extremely simple and uncomfortable. The length is about one metre and a half, but twenty to thirty centimetres away from the rack is a cross-pole (pataki) on which the sleeping Indian leans his ankles. The bench has a slight downward slant, the upper edge of it being about thirty or forty, the lower end about twenty or twenty-five centimetres above the ground. The sleeping Indian may have a thin deer's skin under him, but frequently even this is lacking, nor has he any cover. Since however the nights are often chilly, a fire is kept burning all night under the cross-pole supporting the legs, so that the sleeper may keep his extremities warm (Pl. XXIV, 3). --Hammocks are not used by any Jibaro tribes.

There are very few other things in a Jibaro house which may pass as 'furniture'. Almost the only things which deserve this name are smaller benches of split bamboo (kutanga) and low round stools (chimbui) used by the men."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
513 (1928-29)

"Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

2: Stirling--90 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
513

"The small children sleep with the women, boys moving to the men's end of the house when about 7 years of age."

12: Rivet--586-587 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 513

The beds are placed along the wall, the head backed up against it and the feet turned toward the center of the dwelling. The women's beds are found near their own door, the men's on each side of the opposite door, but a little nearer the short axis of the ellipse, always because of the fear of an attack. Each bed is made of a wooden frame, lifted 30 or 40 cm. from the ground by four legs, across which bamboo stalks split lengthwise are laid close together (fig. 12). This frame measures about 1^{m} 60 wide and 1^{m} 20 long. The result is that when the Indian lies down on it, his legs are completely off the bed. Therefore, about 25 or 30 cm. from the foot of the little bed, there is a horizontal bar, or patachi, placed on two little forked sticks, upon which they place their feet. Immediately in front of this bar, a fire is kept continually burning in order to warm the legs of the sleeper, and also, according to Reiss, to [587] keep away the mosquitoes with its smoke (1). Doubtless both reasons are good, for the mosquitoes are plentiful and the savage sleeps without cloth or covering.

The beds of the women are a little different. They are longer and do not have the patachi. In addition they have two lateral partitions of bamboo and at the foot a little curtain of some kind of material which protects them from being seen. In some houses, the individual curtains are replaced by a wall of bamboo about 2 meters high which runs in front of all the women's beds so that one can pass from one to the other without being seen from the interior of the room.

1. Reiss, op. cit., page 331.

18: Hermesson--442 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

"The only noticeable difference between the two ends of the house consisted in the sleeping arrangements, which, in the case of the men, were simply low tables or platforms of split bamboo, (19) with a superimposed skeleton frame; while the women had covered booths or cubicles. When the regular accommodation of this kind was inadequate to the occasion, men, women, and children reposed in groups, sexes apart, on mats of cane or rush laid on the earth floor. Immediately before each one of these sleeping places a fire was kept burning all the time, day and night. In front of each platform, and at the same height, there was a heavy pole, fixed horizontally in two forked sticks, serving as a rest for the protruding feet of the sleepers, who seemed to delight in toasting them over the glowing embers, indifferent to the flames and sparks that leapt from a fresh blaze."

"19. Whiffen, op. cit., p. 47, reports that the Apaporis Indians make shelves or platforms on which they sleep."

25: Vigna--41 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 354, 513, 372, 415

The fire is always kept lit. At night it burns at the foot of the sleeper and keeps him warm, so that the Jíbaro has no need of sheets or blankets. In illness, in order to conserve heat, they use a piece of cloth that serves as loin cloth. They do not have a kitchen; the fire that burns at the foot of the bed serves for hearth and here, they prepare their food. Hollow calabashes are used for water. When they go on a journey, they take along a burning firebrand. [42]

28: Tessman--349-350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

The bed (píaka) of the Chiwaros is a plank bed on four legs, as shown on Plate 60, Fig. 4. The beds are placed with their longitudinal sides along the wall. A bed consists of pieces of Iriartea-wood that are placed cross-wise. The bed has a long but narrow surface. The side toward the wall (where the sleepers have their heads) is raised considerably so that the bed slopes down to the front. [350] In front of the bed are two forked posts. One prong of the fork is higher than the other. When they go to bed, the Chiwaros place the head toward the wall and the feet over the crossbeam that connects the two forked posts. The edge of the bed is under the knees. Cf. cartogram no. 9. Between the foot-support and the bed there are small fires burning which keep their legs warm. Young unmarried people have special beds which are covered with a plaited mat. Sucking infants sleep in a hammock (tangáma) made of Ficus fiber. Occasionally they are attached to one of the prongs of the foot rest uprights and extended to the prong of another such upright.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutayá*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*Zimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [921]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jivaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tayamaiz*), and the women's 562
(*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 594
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner,E-4,5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large
[202] wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside
[412] daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapiniuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both
513 in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 Each household has either a single large garden or several
[351] smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the
[146] exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[231]
[854]
[721]

11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-H/

"The Jibaros, as also the Canelos Indians, do not think it proper to defecate in the immediate neighbourhood of the house and never leave their excrements in the open air, but every time make a small hole in the earth for the purpose which is afterwards carefully filled up. An evil wizard, they say, may throw his 'arrow' (tunchi) into the excrement by looking at it with an evil eye, with the consequence that the person who has left his excrements exposed will fall ill and die. Another way of making away with them is to defecate directly into the river and allow them to be carried away by the current. When I travelled with the Indians in canoe they always proceeded in this latter way.

Breaking wind is by the Canelos Indians looked upon with superstition and thought to endanger the person in question is some way; 'the soul (aya) thereby goes out'. When, therefore, among a party of Indians anybody suddenly breaks wind, it is customary that someone of the rest--the one who is the quickest to do so--draws his attention to it by clapping him with his hand three times on the back saying uianza, uianza! The meaning of this word is unknown, but the ceremony in question is regarded as an act of kindness and implies that the person who was the object of it has to prepare a feast. This feast is called Uianza. The both Indians, the one who broke wind and the other who clapped him on the shoulders, grasp each other's hands and a third again separates them, as in making a bet. This means that the first mentioned has pledged himself to make a

feast for the rest of the party. He has at once to arrange a hunting expedition and to make the usual preparations, and the feast is held after the lapse of eight days.

Another way of arranging the matter is that the person who broke wind is obliged to offer to the person who clapped him on the shoulders three big mucahuas (clay vessels) with manioc-beer as a reward for his 'kindness'. Frequently, I was told, of the two persons in question the one is a man, the other a woman."

26: Brüning--56 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 514

I have been told that it is customary among the Indians to move the bowels in the water, and afterward they wash themselves. The following personal observation may have a bearing on this. During a canoe trip our Indians put to shore, and some of them jumped suddenly into the water; after a while they broke a thin twig from a stranded tree and, for a short while, moved it back and forth between their buttocks. At the same time they emitted from their mouths a sound which sounded like a mixture between hissing and whistling.

1: Karsten--510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 751, 515 (1928-29)

"....Indian hygiene is very defective, although it is evident that these children of nature generally have much more resistance against infecting microbes than a white man. In certain other respects, on the other hand, they give evidence of a natural hygiene which may serve even civilized people as an example. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, like all forest Indians in the Amazon region, are cleanly. Thus both men, women, and children take a bath every day in the little river on the banks of which their home is situated, but frequently they bathe twice a day. All dirt and waste is carefully removed from the house by daily sweeping, nor are any dirt or refuse heaps tolerated in the neighbourhood of it. Superstition itself has in some cases tended to develop the hygienic sense of the Indians. On this point I beg to refer to the fact that after a death all those clothes, eating plates, etc., which have been in intimate contact with the defunct are destroyed by burning and that, in the case of an epidemic, the whole village is destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants."

4: Up de Graff--197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
515, 356

"After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

12: Rivet--600 -601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 515, 302, 264

The hygenic operation finished [KS: morning infusion of guayusa], everyone washes, for the Jíbaro is clean, contrary to his brother of the sierra. As soon as he returns from the neighboring river, he makes his toilette in the house itself; he has the custom of putting water in his mouth, from which he spits it into his hands in order to wash his face and wet his hair; then he combs it carefully, for he likes to have his hair well-arranged and shiny. Then, while the women are preparing breakfast, he sets to work, either at the weaving of a garment, or the manufacture of his ornaments or his arms. At the end of about an hour the repast is ready: there are abundant piningas of chicha, some manioc and boiled bananas, and a piece of wild pig or of fish. After having [601] refreshed himself sufficiently, the Jíbaro paints his body and his teeth, puts on his customary ornaments, takes his lance, his blowgun or his gun, his little net, unties his dogs and for 4 1/2 or 5 hours in the morning hunts or goes to visit his friends in the neighborhood, during which time the women take their wicker back-baskets and armed with a little machete or a knife cultivate the surrounding land.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the Indian has always returned; one never meets him at night, normally. As soon as he gets back, his wives come in turn to present him with a bowl of chicha, which they stir with their hands before offering, and while the master drinks, they turn their heads, either because of respect, or out of habit.

26: Brüning--56 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
I16, 515

The Indians are very cleanly; they bathe frequently. When it comes to bathing and to body-culture in general, the men surpass the women. When we approached an inhabited settlement on our canoe voyages, our crew would stop a little before in order to take a bath and to comb their beautiful long hair or to make up their faces by drawing a few dots or lines with achiote.

26: Brüning--56 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515, 291

When bathing, the Indians dispose of their loin cloth (itipe). With a short piece of string they tie up the prepuce in front of the glans. In isolated cases I noticed that the Indians tied the penis string to a stronger waist string, an operation which pulled the penis upward. The waist string is also used to fasten the loin cloth. According to information received from the whites, the tying-up of the prepuce is motivated by the fact that a small fish (carnero) may be found at certain points of the Marañón River and its tributaries; this carnero is said to enter the urinary tract, thereby causing painful inflammations. If there was a sudden downpouring of rain during our canoe voyages, the Indians used to store the itipe in a waterproof basket and afterward tie up the prepuce.

26: Brüning--67 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 264, 515

I have been unable to observe whether the Indians stick to a certain timetable when they take their meals. The few times we visited one of their tambos, we were always served cold food out of one of the numerous pots. They seem to be familiar with the technique of "cooking in advance." Liquid food, for instance, a sort of soup, was served in shallow bowls (pinínge), and solid food was served on the large leaf of a plant, always accompanied by a small piece of salt. In one instance I found in the soup the coarsely cut leaves of the yucca plant: they were boiled with the soup. Liquid stuff is drunk directly out of the bowl. Solid food is brought to the mouth with the hands.

In their tambos they always keep pots with water. I have seen these pots hanging from the ceiling on a thick rope or placed on a trifurcated post that was rammed into the dirt. After each meal the Indian takes a mouthful of this water, rinses his mouth with it and forcefully squirts it over his hands.

26: Brüning--71 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515

An Indian who blows his nose grabs the lower part of his nose with thumb and forefinger and blows his nose into the palm of his hand. The mucus is then thrown off, and the hand is cleaned on any object, sometimes even without preceding disposal of the mucus. But I have never seen that an Indian wiped his hand on a piece of clothing.

/331 cont./

354 almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
[825] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
342 which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
[353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in
which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in
the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night,
are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual
bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and
open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells,
[353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each
person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of
which is hung his private property, in the case of women cos-
metic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
356 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is
maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily
and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a
way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and
tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean.
When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women
came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the
houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and
cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in
all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well
seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has
languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for
years.

●515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury
in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than
among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes
in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two
and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is
usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human
hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

415 beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which
273 the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating.
[271] Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves
[515] in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are
[484] used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

285 Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited
415 openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively
[462] insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana
[251] leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other
[226] personal effects. Matting is unknown.
[296]

411 Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for
439 hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Winchester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the
[177] guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as
[438] single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges
224 from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the car-
411 tridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

411 The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-
438 gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the
[224] tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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• 516
[415]
[273]

16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

12: Rivet--604 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 517

Outside of hunting and fishing, which constitute his principal occupation, the Jíbaro uses his time to visit his neighbors, relatives and allies; I will come back to these visits in connection with the social life.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

1: Karsten--246-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
521 (1928-29)

"The most curious thing in this greeting ceremony, however, is the tone in which the men speak and the way in which the whole conversation is carried on. It is not the ordinary conversational tone; the Indian who is speaking for the moment shouts loudly, and the words follow [247] each other so quickly that to a person who is not well acquainted with the Jibaro language it is extremely difficult to understand what they are saying. During the conversation the host and the guest regard each other with stern looks just as if they were angry or excited, while they speak they hold the hand to the mouth, and after every fourth or fifth word they spit on the ground, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A listener unacquainted with the customs of the Indians might believe that two madmen are conversing. It may be more to the point however to liken them to two lions, doing their best to arouse mutual respect. The guests drink manioc-beer the whole time they are conversing, it being offered them by two or three women who move continually between the men's ante-room and the 'kitchen' with their piningas."

1: Karsten--248-249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 576, 609, 521 (1928-29)

"Ceremonial greetings also take place when two parties of Jibaro Indians suddenly meet on the trail in the virgin forest, even when they are well known to each other. On the other hand, if the Indians are totally unknown to one another the greeting ceremony assumes the form called Enéma. The Enéma is properly a war dance and is especially a preparation for war, so this peculiar ceremony will be described in detail in connection with the wars of the Indians. The Enéma greeting ceremony differs from the war dance Enéma especially as regards the words uttered, though in the former case, too, there is always a menace behind the words and movements. For each party there is the possibility that the other one is travelling with hostile intentions and the very aim of the 'greeting' is to find out whether this is so. Assuming as haughty and arrogant an attitude as possible and facing each other with fierce looks, the Indians in turn and with a thundering voice call out certain questions to one another, accompanying these with threatening movements of the lances. The conversation is generally carried out much in the following manner:

Amuesha ya?, 'Who are you?'
Wétei (Andicheiti), 'I am (my name is) Andiche'.
Amínyu wikáhei, 'I am coming to see you',
Chamurstai--chamursti, (movements with the lance).
Waritkunái --waritkuni, etc. (movements with the lance).

Úruka irúndra wikéima, 'Why do you go united (in a party)?'
Mésechasi, 'Is it in order to make war?'
Tsa, tsa, méseta wikáchahei, 'No, no, we are not going for war',
Pingichichâma wikáhei, 'We are coming to speak nicely (with you)',
Wari sumáktinyu, 'To buy something',
Mésetaka nakítahei, 'We do not like to make war',
Wáriki, wáriki, wikáhei, 'We go only for things (to barter)';
Wínya eíntsu ístinyu, 'To see our own people';
Seása itáhei, 'We bring arrow-poison (to sell)';
Nanki itáhei, 'We bring lances (to sell)', etc.
Seasa, akáru sumáktinyu, 'to buy arrow-poison, guns', etc.
Maketi, 'It is all right'. [249]

The conversation having gone on in this way for a while and the peaceful intentions of the strangers having been manifested, the Indians can enter the house and sit down to have manioc-beer, or, if they met in the forest, both parties continue their march."

2: Stirling--97-98 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 521, 195

"The remainder of the night our men slept in this same section of the house and during most of the following day they retained their places along the wall of the Jivaría in comparative quiet. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or 24 hours after our arrival, Caneros pulled his seat in front of Ambusha and began a vigorous ceremonial conversation, very loud, and delivered in a sort of syncopated rhythm, beating time with his feet and gesturing with his arms, while Ambusha replied in similar vein, each of them punctuating the talk with ejaculations of 'Casa', 'Casa', (So that's it!), 'Ho', 'Ha', (Good! Fine!), 'Tsa', 'Tsa', 'Tsa', (No, no, no!), 'Tcah', 'Tcah', (I don't know). The substance of the conversation concerned the events that had happened on the trip and other events of interest that had taken place since the speakers had last met.

After about half an hour Caneros moved his seat in front of Utita and went through the same performance, then with Tuki, and finally with Tsamagashi. Meanwhile, the remainder of the men sat quietly by the walls, apparently indifferent to what was being said. During [98] these curious conversations, the fist is closed lightly and the palm of the hand turned toward the face. While talking, the knuckles are placed against the mouth. As they talk they spit vigorously and frequently between the fingers. The conversation is also punctuated with tongue clicks and smacking of the lips. This continued until evening, various other pairs now teaming off in the same manner so that the noise of talking was much greater than on the previous day."

12: Rivet--599-600 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 512, 521, 201

The Indian is an early riser: at 3 o'clock in the morning he wakes up, and if he is[600] head of a family, his first concern is to repeat in a loud and spiritual voice the history of the tribe, the wars that it has carried on with the neighboring peoples, and the names of the relatives killed in these fights. He mixes into his account praise for his friends and himself and insults for his enemies, advice to the children so that they may some day become worthy of their father, that is to say that they be adroit hunters, that they raise good dogs, that they be hardy in expeditions and unrelenting in vengeance. (1) During this discourse, the Jíbaro keeps the closed left fist placed level with the lower lip against the chin (fig. 20). This discourse finished, the women give everyone the morning infusion of guayusa.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 75.

12: Rivet--612-613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 521

The Jívaro enters the house saying, "Uinahe" ("I have come"), to which the host answers simply, "Uiñita" ("Come"). Then he sits down on a bench near the door without adding a word. This coldness on the part of the visitor and indifference on the part of the host are the rule. It is not until the latter, properly dressed, is seated opposite the new arrival and has asked him why he has come and where he is going and where he has come from, that the conversation commences; a strange colloquy of extraordinary animation, vivacity and volubility; each one in his turn taking the floor and hurriedly pouring out what he has to say in a loud and sonorous voice. "All the body goes into action, hands and feet moving, the chest heaving, eyes flashing fire, forehead burning, and the hair violently thrown back from the head falling on naked shoulders." (1) One would think that a violent dispute had broken out between the two friends, but they are simply talking; while one speaks, the other approves, confirms, gets excited, and shows by his various comments [613] the interest he takes in the speaker's recital. At the end of half an hour of this tiring conversation that foreigners, even those most used to the Jívaro language, cannot follow or understand, the tone becomes more natural and more calm, and the Indian does not disdain the joking that refreshes and brings a smile to the lips of these wild savages. This is the moment when each woman offers to the visitor a pininga of chicha. If the host has only one wife, she must offer three bowls of drink.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 8.

12: Rivet--612-613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 574, 521

It has been noted that the Jívaro always talks thus in groups of two, and that the chief of the tribe, for example, does not communicate his instructions in a collective way but speaks individually to each member of the tribe (2), when he wants to assemble them in case of war or for any expedition, hunting or fishing, or for a feast. In short, the Jívaro captains use nothing but dialogue and never harangue their soldiers.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 84.

13: Rivet--242-243 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
195, 521

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)"

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O. P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import. . . .

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

20: Dyott--164-166 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 195, 521

".... Out of the thicket appeared the figure of a strange Indian.....

The stranger halted, eyed us thoughtfully, and then shouted out 'Oi-a.' Kuashu replied, 'Ah,' receiving an equally intelligent grunt of 'Um,' in reply.

If you should suddenly come face to face with a stranger, your natural impulse would be to call out to him and then walk over to where he stood, but these are not the tactics [165] of the Indian. 'Is this man friend or foe?' he asks himself, and if the unknown suddenly veers round and hurries towards him, the obvious answer is: 'He is an enemy, coming to attack.' If, on the other hand, he turns away, he is an enemy trying to escape; but suppose he goes on about his business, or else you both stop and talk, you have time to show your colours and announce your friendly intentions.

Normal Indian conversation is slow and halting, but it can go off like machine-gun fire at times. Should a phrase not come readily, there is no pause. Both parties continue to grunt at each other, holding one hand in front of the mouth all the time and probably expectorating between the fingers with a precision that denotes much practice.

When Kuashu hailed this stranger, we all stood stock still, the boys with the deer slung on a pole, the ends of which rested on their shoulders, Johnston and myself behind them. The conversation which followed, if translated freely into English, would run somewhat as follows. Kuashu began.

'So you are here?'--'Yes, I am here.'--'What are you here for?'--'What am I here

for?'--'Yes, what are you here for?'--'I am wandering about.'--'You are, are you?' --'Yes, I am.'--'Why do you wander about?'--'I am wandering about for a little time.' --'For a little time you are wandering?'--'Yes, for a little I wander about visiting friends.'--'Then you are visiting friends?'--'Yes, for a few days I visit.'--'Only for a few days, you say?'--'Um, only a few days.'--'I am surprised.'--'You are, are you?' --'I am surprised that you wander about for a little visiting friends.'--'Um.'--'When did you come?'--'Only yesterday I came.'--'Yesterday?'--'Um.'--'For a few days only?'--'That is what I said.'--'You came yesterday to wander about for a little to visit some friends?' [166] --'Um.'--'Ah--So you understand, do you?'--'Um'--'Ah'--'Um.'

After this fragment of news had been thoroughly pulled to pieces and passed back and forth between the two until its significance had been fully grasped, another piece of intelligence was torn to shreds in the similar manner. The grunts, representing assent or approbation and other guttural noises, that were indulged in, especially when the conversation flagged, were decidedly curious."

20: Dyott--166 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 195, 521, 828

"Direct questions and answers are not understood by the Jivaros. To ask a deliberate question does not seem to conform to his idea of propriety. Every subject has to be approached by a round-about route and with infinite repetition. This is probably due to the inherent difficulty primitive man has in expressing shades of thought and his round-about course is equivalent to our guarded phraseology noticeable amongst politicians when delicate matters are being discussed. To an Indian, the most trivial incident is of as much importance as it would be to a child, so everything has to be taken seriously. It is also well not to look too intently at the person you are talking to. You may be accused of casting a spell on him if you do. A man looking in can see the world: hence the world looking in can see the man. Such is their line of reasoning, and consequent aversion from the vulgar stare of some white men."

20: Dyott-166-167 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 521

"Our conversation with the stranger disclosed the fact that he was called Napi, and that he was on speaking terms with Kuashu's family. He lived several days to the south on the Paute river, and had taken an opportunity of travelling with two other men who were on their way to visit friends living not far off. Before all this information had been divulged, Napi had joined our group, and we were all making tracks for home.

On the way back, we climbed up a steep, muddy bank. [167] Half-way up the slippery slope, Kuashu stopped, his eyes on the ground, examining some footsteps which had been plainly impressed in the clay-like soil. They were those of Napi's travelling companions.

'Why are your friends carrying such heavy loads?' he asked. 'And the young woman with you, is she your wife?' Napi shook his head.

'No, the woman belongs to one of the other men.' And he went on to explain that his companions had brought over two loads of salt which they had promised their friends some months back.

Kuashu seemed to be a past-master at interpreting human foot-prints. To him they were like an open book. He explained in reply to our inquiries that the habit women had of carrying bundles from early childhood caused their feet to turn in, the angle generally becoming more pronounced the older the woman became. Men always turned their feet outwards and the heel is much larger in proportion. Kuashu was quick to note that the toes of the two men were dug deeply into the soft ground, indicating that they were carrying heavy loads and were obliged to get a good foothold at every step."

20: Dyott--168-169 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 264, 521

"The noon-day meal went off very well. There was an abundance of food and plenty of nija-manchi to drink. [169] From start to finish there was not a lull in the conversation. It went on incessantly, everyone chattering away at once. The story of how the deer had been killed was repeated at least ten times, and on each occasion Kuashu would get up to show by action just what took place. The assembly roared with laughter, the women being just as interested in the event as anyone else, and Chingasso was regarded with envy for having been a witness to such exciting scenes."

25: Vigna-45-46 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 521, 574

The social obligations of the Jívaros are curious. On visits of courtesy or friendship, the visitor, even though he may be the father of the owner of the house, waits in silence near the door, until his host finishes his tasks, his conversation with another, his meal or his toilet. When the host deems it opportune, he addresses the visitor. The latter, on the alert and with his hand near his mouth, spitting on the floor at intervals, does not give greetings; he only tells him that he has come. And he repeats each expression two, three and even four times. The host accompanies with monosyllables of approbation, or by repeating the last word. After the speech, the host repeats the same speech with some comments; thus, the [46] conversation sometimes lasts whole hours. When there are many visitors, while one speaks, the others keep silent and remain in a file along the wall of the house, awaiting their turn for conversation with the host. One can imagine the thankless task which is imposed upon the latter when he is visited by many friends. Many times they become hoarse and aphonic from so much talking. Only at the end of the conversation does the master of the house order one of his women to serve chicha to the visitor; the cups of chicha are offered again and again until the guest says: enough. It is a dangerous thing to refuse chicha.

25: Vigna--46 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 521

The "official" conversation between two Jíbaros who for the first time are talking or communicating things of transcendency, is exceedingly picturesque and typical. In these conversations, the pantomime, the tone of voice, the words and monosyllables that they use, have a special importance and finality. It is not easy to imitate these conversations and only the men can do it with perfection. If they do not wish to be understood in the solemn conversations, the words that they use will have special inflections and apocopes. The Jíbaro women never converse with the ceremonial of the men, but in a familiar form.

26: Brüning--49 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 522, 195

The natives, when among themselves, like to joke, and a good joke is greeted with hearty laughter. They show their astonishment by emitting a drawling, softly pronounced gua.

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"What makes the funeral customs of the Canelos Indians particularly interesting are the ceremonial games which take place the first night after death, during the vigil. Among these Indians custom prescribes that during the first night after the death of the head of the family or the housewife the surviving relatives must hold vigil, thereby entertaining themselves, among other things with a dice game. The object of the game is partly to distribute the property of the dead among the survivors, since otherwise it is taboo and cannot be touched by anybody, partly to protect them against the contagion of death, that is, the disease-and death-demon. This game derives its origin from the mountain culture in Ecuador and Peru, where it is still played in a somewhat different form by the Quichua-speaking Indians.

The game is at Canelos called Huairitu--a diminutive form of the Huayru of the mountain Indians--and the die consists of a piece of manioc, about 10 to 12 cm. in length, with four sides, each side about 3 or 4 cm. broad, both ends [468] flat, so that the die can stay upright. If the game is played in honour of a dead woman, the die is somewhat smaller than if the deceased was a man. Of the four sides one is provided with three small holes; this is called singu, after which the whole die takes its name. The opposite side is quite empty and is therefore called llambui (nil, zero). Of the two remaining sides one generally bears four holes (chuscu in Quichua) and the other 10 (chunca).

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

Among the Indians of Sarayacu, one of the four sides is hollowed out, so that the whole piece is like a small canoe, both ends of which are flat. The opposite side, which forms the bottom of the canoe, is empty (llambui); of the two other sides one has 3 small holes (singu), the other again 10 (chunca).

Apart from this, the huairitu game is played in the same way at Canelos and Sarayacu. The following is the manner in which the game is played at Sarayacu with the canoe-formed die.

If the die, when it is thrown, remains upright, the player has won the stake and he has, besides, the right or obligation to 'punish' his opponent. If, on the other hand, the empty side, which represents the bottom of the canoe, remains upward (llambui), the player has lost his cast. If the open side of the canoe remains upward, this is also reckoned as nil, but it is not indicated by a special name. If either of the sides which are provided with 3 or 10 holes remains upward, the player receives 3 or 10 maize grains accordingly, and these he at once puts aside.

When the family-father or -mother dies, it is the obligation of the surviving relatives to spend the first night in watching 'in order to accompany the soul (aya) on its last wandering'. During the first night the soul stays in the house, in the vicinity of the dead body, but afterwards goes to the heavens, to the mountains or the forests. Since the deceased has in his life often travelled by canoe, he starts his last journey in a

canoe. This is the reason why the Sarayacu Indians give the die this form.

Among these Indians, just as among the Quichas of the Sierra, men alone take part in the game, never women and children. Likewise, only the invited guests play, never the nearest relatives of the deceased. If someone of the latter plays huairitu, the deceased will drag him along with him to the other world, that is to say, he will soon die. Similarly, among the Canelos Indians it is regarded as a great offence against the departed parent should anyone fall asleep that night. The departed soul itself does not leave such an Indian in peace, but draws him by the feet[469]so that he may not sleep. If he really falls asleep, his sleep will be very restless. In the morning when he wakes he will feel tired and sick and shortly afterwards he will die.

As soon as the patient has expired, guests are invited from all houses in the neighbourhood in order that they may take part in the vigil and play huairitu. The guests arrive after sunset and are, as is the custom among these Indians, generously entertained with manioc-beer (asua). The dead man is dressed in his best clothes and placed on a bier at one of the walls of the house. All around food of every kind, manioc, plantain, fowl, eggs, chicha, and so forth, is laid in various gourds, all these dishes being intended for the defunct. The playing men are arranged in two rows, opposite each other, so that every player has an opponent. The player who succeeds in throwing the die upright wins a hen, a head of plantain, manioc, chicha, or some other thing. What

is won is at once taken out from the remainder and kept for the winner until the morning. If someone throws singu, he receives as already mentioned, three maize grains, which are likewise kept till the morning. one who throws chunca receives ten, and so on.

The player who wins the stake is, moreover, entitled to punish his opponent, which he generally does by striking him on the back of the hand with his own hand, or giving him a fillip on the forehead.

Early in the morning the hens, won by the players in the course of the night's gambling, are slaughtered, boiled and eaten by all communally with manioc and plantain. Every player likewise counts the grains he has won, keeping a special account of how many times he has thrown singu and how many times chunca. These grains generally have no practical importance, they only indicate the relative favour wherewith spirits by the deceased.

To the Indian mind, the huairitu game is not a mere game of hazard. The departed soul is believed to hover about the dead body the whole night, itself personally interferring in it. The player only throws the die on the ground; it is the unseen hand of the deceased which turns it in this way or that, according as he wishes to favour the player or not.

Just as those, who win nothing, but repeatedly throw llambui, are regarded as more

or less antipathetic to the deceased and are therefore punished, so, on the contrary, the one who wins most is regarded as his particular friend and favourite. He is in consequence particularly honoured by the relatives and in the morning leaves the house of death richly endowed with presents of manioc, plantain, eggs, chicha, etc. [470]

It is a bounden duty of the survivors to honour the deceased with an huairitu game. If there is no wake and the game is not played, the deceased will feel offended and it may happen that he takes revenge on his relatives by sending disease and death, failure of the crops and famine, or some other misfortune. On the other hand, he will reward those relatives who pay him due honour. Their domestic animals will increase in number and their fields will flourish; in their house food will never be lacking, there will be plenty of manioc, plantain, game etc. He will moreover arrange that those, who now render him this service of love, will themselves, when they die, have people to honour them in the same way."

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians know yet another dice game that is played after a death, but this has now fallen almost into desuetude. It is called singu or huairitu like the game just described, but the die used is of another kind. This die, which may perhaps more properly be called a playing-board, consists of an almost circular wooden disk, about 15 cm. in length and 2 to 3 cm. in breadth. The obverse is somewhat convex, so that the disk can easily be put in motion by turning it round. On the right side of the disk a small human figure is incised or annealed. This figure represents the soul of the deceased (aya) and is called huahua huairitu, 'the huairitu-babe'. On both sides of this figure three small holes are applied and furthermore one hole between its legs, in a fashion which appears more clearly from the drawing. (Fig. 13). Thus there are in all 7 holes on the disk.

The corpse is placed on a bier in the middle of the house. Upon its paunch a board or some similar flat and even object is laid and upon the latter a cloth is stretched tightly. Upon this board the singu-die is placed.

The players arrange themselves on both sides of the bier. As usual, all of them are guests invited to the feast, and all are men. Each player had brought with him a small gourd containing charcoal and some water, when he arrived at the house. [471] With this colouring matter the guests paint certain black ornamental markings on the face before they begin the game.

Round the bier and in front of each player the widow of the deceased has placed an equal number of gourds containing different kinds of food which belonged to the dead Indian when alive: manioc, plantain, earth-nuts, eggs, chicha, as well as living hens tied by the feet. The food and the hens are staked at the game. Everything is really intended for the deceased, but since a soul needs only a little food, the deceased distributes most of it among the players, according as they possess his affections.

Each of the players has an opponent who is seated opposite him on the other side of the bier. If a player is victorious in the game, it is his opponent's share in the food that he wins. If he looses, he looses his own share to his opponent, who besides is entitled to punish him.

In the game five grains are used which are thrown on the singu-board. The players throw the grains by turns: at first A of the one row, then his opponent A´of the other row; thereupon B of the first row, and B´of the other row, and so forth.

Of the five grains one is at once placed in the hole which is situated between the legs of the small figure. This grain indicates the departed Indian's own share in the dishes put out, and it should not therefore be touched or removed by the players. The four remaining grains are taken by the player whose turn it is to throw them, and he takes his stand at the head of the corpse. The board is usually placed so that the small figure is orientated in the same direction as the corpse, its head being turned towards the

corpse's head. The player now throws all of the four grains at once upon the board, the intention being that they should enter into some of the six empty holes. We may assume that one grain enters into one of the holes, whereas the others fall outside. In that case the player is entitled to repeat the throw with these three grains, and, if he prefers, may throw them from the foot-end of the corpse. We may assume that one more of the grains enters into a hole. Now the player seizes the board with outstretched fingers, in the manner shown in the drawing (fig. 14), and turns it cautiously round. This should be done so that the three grains which lie in the holes, that is, the one which had previously been laid between the legs of the figure and those now thrown in, do not fall out. The manoeuvre of turning the board is now repeated once more. The idea is to have it confirmed that the result of the cast was not accidental, but that the deceased is really willing to give up thus [472] much of his share to the player as is indicated by the cast. In other words, an opportunity is given him to confirm the result of the cast, and possibly to alter it. If two grains have fallen each into its hole, this means that the player has won 4--2, that is, a half of the quantity of food which his opponent has in front of him. If the latter has, for instance, two hens and four eggs, the winner receives one hen and two eggs; he also receives half of his quantity of chicha, and so forth.

If, after the two casts, only one grain has entered into a hole, the player is entitled

only to a fourth of the quantity of food possessed by his opponent. Again, if all four grains have entered into holes and, by the controlling test, managed by turning the board round, none falls out, then the player has won his opponent's whole share, which is at once given over to him. At the same time, the latter is thereby out of the game, since he has nothing more to play with, and the winner has the further right to punish him by giving him a fillip on the forehead.

If, on the other hand, after two repeated casts no grain has entered into a hole, the player has lost his whole share in the food supply to his opponent, is punished by him, and passes out from the game.

If with his two casts a player has won nothing, this is called llambui (nothing, zero). If every grain enters into a hole, all the players call out: llámbui gánan, 'he has won everything!'. The game is continued until there is only one of the players left.

As I have mentioned, the players never intentionally touch that grain which has been placed between the legs of the figure, because it indicates the departed Indian's own share in the foods put out. It some-[473] times happens, however, that a player, when he throws the grains upon the board, accidentally hits the grain lying between the legs of the figure, so that it falls out from the hole. This is looked upon as very unfortunate, since in consequence of the awkward cast the deceased looses his share. The

widow and the other relatives, who do not take part in the game but follow it with keen interest, then begin to weep and wail, exclaiming: 'He has taken his share!' It may also happen that at the controlling test, carried out by turning the board round, a player out of carelessness or mere wickedness turns it round so quickly, that not only his own grains, but also that of the deceased fall out of their holes.

I was also told that no one is allowed to fall asleep during the whole night. If someone seems inclined to do so, burning cotton is put close to his eyes to keep him awake.

The whole game is a tribute of honour paid to the departed parent. The latter is supposed to feel flattered by it and will reward his loving relatives for it. He himself takes part in the game, giving good luck to one, bad luck to another. His soul is present in the small board, and when the latter is turned round, at the test, the Indians imagine that thereby the soul is swinging round. When the grains are thrown over the corpse, this is believed to hasten the decay of the body, whereupon the soul, released from its material bonds, will set out upon its wanderings to heaven.

If, as the result of a cast, two of the grains happen to fall into holes situated opposite each other on both sides of the small figure, they form, together with the grain placed between the legs of the figure, a cross. This cast is regarded as a good omen: the soul of the defunct will now soon enter heaven.

Each player may in the morning take the food he has won during the night to his home

and eat it alone. Or, if the winners prefer it thus, a common meal is prepared out of the whole quantity of food early in the morning, in which all, both guests and hosts, winners and non-winners, take part."

1; Karsten--473-474 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The huairitu game, both the last-mentioned and the one previously described, is not generally played the whole night, because the food put out is distributed as a rule before the morning. The rest of the night is spent in playing another kind of game, with burning balls of cotton. Upon the board which was placed on the stomach of the dead Indian a small cotton ball is laid and set on fire. The playing men arrange [474] themselves on both sides of the corpse and blow the burning cotton hither and thither upon the board, keeping the small ball in constant motion. Each player who finds the ball in front of himself immediately blows it to the other side, from where another player blows it in another direction, and so forth. The aim of this game is to nullify all danger of contagion proceeding from the dead body, since it is feared that the disease-demon may carry off other persons among the relatives surviving.(1)

All the Indians have expressly declared to me that the game is by no means played merely for the sake of pleasure or as a pastime, but that it is an absolute duty towards

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"1. It is worth mentioning that a similar ceremonial game also occurs among the Shimigay Indians of the middle Pastaza. The game is here called singu, but the die is conical in shape (se Karsten, Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians, p. 26)."

the deceased. Apart from the details of the game, this moreover appears from the fact, that an omittance to perform this duty--that is, to wake and to play the dice game --is supposed to entail very grave consequences. The Canelos Indians did not even like to show how the huairitu game was played, but only explained it verbally. If the die is cast without necessity, my informant said, someone in the house might die."

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"Those of the Canelos Indians who are related to the Indians of the Napo practise certain other kinds of game which are played at vigils. These games, however, are not dice games, but entertainments of another kind. Although these games are more in vogue among the Napo Indians than among the Indians of Canelos, I shall relate them here.

Four games of this kind came under my observation.

1. The game of blindman's-buff. One of the Indians is blindfolded and represents the dead person. His task is to catch some one of the rest of the party. These run around him, touch him with their hands and play all sorts of trick on him, in order to attract his attention, trying at the same time to avoid him. If the player blindfolded succeeds in catching one of the other men, this one must in his turn take the part of the blindman until he has caught someone else, and so forth, as long as the Indians like to play the game.

2. Playing with burning cotton. The playing men sit down on the ground in a circle round a big cloth or mantle, which is held by all so that it is tightly stretched and somewhat raised above the level of the [475] ground. One or two small cotton balls are set on fire and thrown on the cloth; the burning ball is then blown hither and thither on the cloth by the men holding it. The Indian who finds the burning ball in front of him blows it quickly towards another Indian sitting opposite him, the latter in his turn tries to rid

himself of it by blowing it away, and so forth. By keeping the ball in constant motion it is possible to continue the game with the burning cotton for several seconds, without the cloth being burnt. One ball having been consumed by fire, another is kindled and thrown on the cloth, or perhaps two at once, the game being continued until the players get tired of it. --As it will have appeared, the game is about the same as the one already described as taking place in connection with the dice games.

3. The game with the concealed pin. The body of the dead Indian, dressed in his finest clothes, lies on the bier at one side of the room. The game itself consists in a pin or needle being concealed somewhere in the clothes of the defunct, sometimes even in his body, for instance in his feet. One of the playing Indians kneels down in front of the bier on which the corpse is placed and another, standing behind him, holds his hands to the searcher's eyes so that he cannot see. It is now the task of the Indian to find the pin concealed, feeling with his hands all over the clothes of the defunct. As soon as he has found the pin, he must alone empty a gourd of brandy. Thereupon he in his turn conceals the pin in the dress of the defunct, allowing another Indian, who has to kneel down in the same way in front of the corpse, to look for it. As soon as this one has found the pin, he drinks brandy in the same way and conceals the pin for somebody else.

4. Sirasu catuaini huashâma is the name given by the Napo Indians to a fourth game

which, as we shall find, is played in much the same way in Europe. The playing men are arranged in a row, one behind the other. An Indian, who represents the dead man, places himself in front of the first man in the row and says in a low voice: sirasu catuaini huashama, or, generally, only: sirasu catuaini, which means: 'give me the last man from behind', or: 'give me the last one'. The man who said this now tries to catch the Indian standing last in the row, who, for his part, tries to escape him, running either to the right or to the left. His task is to reach the spot in front of the first man before he is caught by the 'Dead Man'. If he succeeds in doing so, the Dead Man must repeat the same with the following Indian from the end, who is now the last one. Again, if the last man (sirasu) is caught before he has succeeded in taking the [476] first place in the row, he must in his turn play the Dead Man, the former Dead Man taking his station as the last one in the row.

The games described above are continued during the whole night and nobody is allowed to fall asleep. Early in the morning, when the game is finished, a curious ceremony takes place. All of the men, who were engaged in the game, start to run about in the room on all fours, barking like dogs and attempting to imitate their movements; they kill all hens which belonged to the deceased, wringing their neck at the spot on which they catch them. A meal is subsequently prepared of the hens killed, in which all, both guests and hosts, men and women, take part.

1; Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

The Indians declare that this meal is a gift of the deceased by which he rewards those of his relatives and friends who have honoured him by the wake and by the food offered to him and have accompanied him on his last journey."

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The ceremonial game after a death among the Napo and Canelos Indians is called aya pugllana, which means 'to play the Dead Man'. This is in accordance with the idea appearing in most of these games, that the departed Indian himself actively takes part in them. Thus, for instance, in the first game it is the dead Indian himself, or more properly speaking, the disease-and death-spirit who is looking for fresh victims among the survivors, who acts the part of the blindman. Similarly, in the fourth game the Indian, who calls out sirasu catuaini and tries to catch the last man in the row, represents the disease-demon. The Indians have the idea that by representing dramatically the way in which the demon catches the survivors they are able to prevent them from being carried off in reality-- a principle underlying numerous games, dances, and other ceremonies of the South American Indians. Thus, for instance, the mask-dances are wholly founded on this idea. The game with the burning cotton is a purification ceremony. The Indians ascribe magic virtues to the cotton itself, and the burning cotton is believed to destroy the disease-contagion (usually personified into a demon) and to protect the survivors against infection. The same idea is equally manifest in the game with the concealed pin. Pointed instruments, like pins and needles, are often used as amulets against evil spirits. The pin is concealed in the very source of the disease, the corpse itself. When the Indians look for it and find it they are, as it were, rendered immune against the disease. The brandy which the Indians have to drink afterwards is

one prophylactic more against the feared spirit. The Indians are quite conscious [477] of the meaning of these ceremonies when they say that they play in the way described 'in order not to die away'.

It seems, at the outset, somewhat more difficult to explain the other custom, above described, when the men, imitating dogs, run about on all fours and kill the hens. The Indians have not described it to me in further detail, but I may point out some ideas which most probably underly it. First, it is clear that the men who act in this way are supposed to represent the dead Indian himself. The departed Indian himself must catch and kill the hens which he wants to give to those honouring him, and the Indians seem to fancy that on that occasion he takes the shape of a dog. On this point it may be appropriate to mention an idea prevailing among the Jibaro Indians, according to which, if a departed parent is not duly honoured with offerings of food, he will take revenge, among other ways, by reappearing in the shape of a dog that bites the hens in the house to death. That the souls of the departed may transmigrate into dogs is a common Indian belief which is shared by the Napo and the Canelos Indians also. Consequently, if, as may sometimes happen, the starving dogs bite the hens to death and eat them, the Indians ascribe this to the soul of a departed relative that has taken the shape of a dog. It seems to me most probable that the strange funeral custom just described must be explained in this way.

Examining more closely the customs described above, we find that all of them are founded on a few definite religious ideas. On the one hand the survivors wish to honour the defunct by the games, inasmuch as they accompany him on his last journey and allow himself to dispose of the most valuable property he left behind, his domestic animals, usually in the expectation, directly expressed, that in return he may reward the survivors by virtue of the supernatural power he possesses. On the other hand, the games have for their object to protect the surviving relatives against the disease- and death-demon, who has carried off one member of the family and is believed to look for more victims among the living. This is an idea which must be explained more closely. In order to understand the funeral customs of primitive peoples it is necessary to distinguish, at any rate theoretically, between two classes of spirits to which the ceremonies have reference: the soul of the defunct, and the evil demon who caused the death of the relative and is regarded as a source of danger to the survivors also. It is a well-known fact that according to the belief of the Indians death-bringing disease depends on an evil spirit who penetrated into the body of the patient. If the demon succeeds [478] in completing his work of destruction in the body, the patient dies. But the disease-demon, having obtained possession of a person and caused his death, will at the same time lay hold of his soul also and change him altogether into an evil demon, whatever may have been his character in life; so that in many cases there is

practically no difference between the death-bringing demon and the spirit of the dead. This idea explains a fact which has often been commented upon by students of primitive religion but has never been satisfactorily explained: why persons, who in their lifetime have, perhaps, been honoured and loved are nevertheless after death feared as evil demons who are trying to inflict all sorts of evils upon the surviving relatives. This is due to the supposed fact that the defunct, that is, his soul, has fallen victim to a strange death-bringing demon who is trying to change the soul itself into a demon. The more spiritual power a person possessed in life, the more he is generally feared after death, because the strange demon lays hold of this power. This is the reason why old people and sorcerers are as a rule most feared after death as evil revengeful beings. It is only when we know this idea that we can satisfactorily explain a number of funeral customs and rites of the Indians which seemingly contradict one another.(1)

Although the Indians believe that the disease-and death-demon is trying to identify itself with the soul of the dead person, they still make a distinction between the two

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"1. On the point, see more fully my Civilization of the South American Indians, pp. 477 sqq."

spirits which clearly appears in many of their funeral rites and ceremonies. Thus, of the mourning customs described above, some particularly have reference to the soul of the dead, others again to the death-bringing demon. For instance, when food is placed in front of the corpse and when the dice game is played, the Indians are only thinking of the deceased relative who was loved in life and to whom after his death the due cult is paid. Again, when pepper or tobacco-water is squirted into the eyes of the surviving relatives, when the game of blindman's-buff is played, when the mourners play with pins concealed, with burning cotton balls, or pieces of wood, these rites most clearly have only reference to the evil disease-and death-demon who still is believed to haunt the house and threaten the lives of the surviviors.[sic] Their object is to protect the latter against this dangerous spirit, or, as we should say, against the contagion of death, with which the soul of the defunct has involuntarily been associated."

2: Stirling--112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 524

"Children do not have many formal games which they play but, like children in all parts of the world, they contrive to occupy themselves. There are usually mud banks to slide down and a fine playground in the jungles adjoining the chacras. Most of the games played by the girls consist in playing at making pottery, cooking, or working in the chacras. By playing at these tasks, they learn the duties which they must later perform, and at a very tender age they begin to be of real assistance to their mothers."

28: Tessman--356 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
U6, 524

They have no tops, no whizzing disks, no ball games. Rope games are called uámbiĩg. As a doll they use an oblong calabash. They do not have any wooden or clay-made dolls in human shape.

28: Tessman--356 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 526, 578

According to Karsten wrestling is one of the program points of a victory celebration. According to my own information wrestling is a way of deciding an argument between two Aguaruna men. The two antagonists grab each other with folded hands behind the head, and each one tires to throw the other to the ground. Whoever succeeds in this is the victor, and this settles the dispute.

25: Vigna--41 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 527, 783

In their fiestas, --they have solemn fiestas, periods of domestic events and of initiation - before the rites and dances begin, the chief, if he has some crime to expiate, must purify himself, taking infusions of tobacco and other herbs.

25. Vigna--47[5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 527

The Jíbaro has many occasions for fiesta in the family: a good hunting or fishing, the birth of an infant, marriage, etc. are all motives for having feasts. The principal ceremonial fiestas for the Jíbaro are: the Tobacco, the Yuca, and the macabre fiesta of the Tzantza, the greatest celebration of all. When they do not have a tzantza of a man, they will make a fiesta with that of a special monkey, which causes much preoccupation.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *tsantsa*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[273] [535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high
[273] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The women hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[373] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

14:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 533 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The [535] content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these 533 *hanwanti* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a 539 man:

> Why see you so near to me?
> For they will come after us.
> This other one
> Who came very close
> Crowd me to bed.
> It would be better if you
> Got further away.
> And what is your name?
> I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.
>
> I asked her,
> "Where are you going?"
> She answered me, saying,
> "I go deep into the eastern forest."
> That is what she told me.
> By the way,
> Another truth is that a stone can talk!

533 While such *hanwanti* songs have a courtship function 832 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in- 527 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities 527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre- 837 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly 273 a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him. 293 527 • [297] [578] [297]

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity. 279 527 591

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *uesa*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often. 550 527 591 599 [578]

1: Karsten--99
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

2. Ornamented eating dish (pininga) provided with a foot. Achuares. Rio Pastaza.

1: Karsten--100
116, 415, 531

(1916-18) (1928-29) 1935

Jivaro

Fig. 1. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

Fig. 2. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

"... the Jibaros very seldom embellish their clay vessels with ornamental designs or patterns. The only exception I have noticed to this rule, for instance among the Upano and the Santiago tribes, are certain very vague triangular ornaments applied in dark brown colour inside the yukunda after they have been painted black with sekafa. It is otherwise with the Achuares on the Pastaza, whose ceramics differ in many respects from those I have found among other Jibaro tribes. Thus the small round clay dishes or cups standing on a foot which are seen on Pl. XVIII, 5. and 6., are not to be met with among any other Jibaro tribe and are, I believe, unique in South America. The Achuares told me that they were formerly used by them as food-plates; now they were no longer used, but had still been preserved as the Indians keep many old things which have gone out of fashion. Upon these plates the Jibaro women placed different kinds of food when serving their men: on one some boiled manioc was placed, on another some fish, on a third some boiled Indian pepper, etc. As appears from the picture, the eating-cups were painted both inside and outside. Upon a brown bottom, produced by painting the vessel with roucou, [102] certain patterns were applied in white. The use of a white clay--a clay which, as far as I know, only exists in the country of these Indians --is a peculiarity in the ornamental art of the Achuares; at any rate I have not seen it anywhere else in Eastern Ecuador or Peru.

In the same way the Indians paint the shallow dishes represented on Pl. XIX, 1. and

2. As is seen, however, these are only ornamented inside, the designs being painted with white clay. The patterns are those customary among the Jibaros, although the technique for painting them is partly different. The designs appearing in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and Canelos Indians are in fact always the same: they either represent human spirits, certain dangerous snakes, certain birds, especially the macaw, or certain insects, as for instance butterflies, millepedes, and scorpions. As to the snakes, such species are mostly represented which for one reason or another particularly inspire the Indians with fear. The snake that plays the most important part in the ornamental art of the Indians --being represented especially on clay vessels and in facial paintings, etc. --is the great water boa or anaconda (Eunectus murinus). Thus the broad snake-like figures appearing in the shallow dish in Plate XIX, 2, represent the anaconda (pangi), whereas the designs on the other dish (Pl. XIX, 1), and the snake-like figure encircling the outer border of the painted clay cup in Pl. XVIII, 6, represent the very venomous snake ekis (Lachesis, called yamuńga in the Jibaro language). On the foot of the same cup among other things a human spirit and a millepede are represented."

1: Karsten--102
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

Fig. 1. Big ornamental clay pot for the keeping of the fermented manioc substance. Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza. (about 1/10).

1: Karsten--102
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

Fig. 2. An ornamental clay pot. Canelos Indians. (about 1/2).

1: Karsten--102-103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 323, 531 (1928-29)

"Like the Achuares, the CANELOS INDIANS nearly always apply ornamental designs to their clay vessels, but their ornamental art is easily distinguished from that of the Achuares and even the clay they use is different. The big jars in which they keep the masticated manioc substance (asua) are generally without ornaments and only have the outside painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as appears from the beautiful, ornamented jar represented on Pl. XX, 1. Among the ornamental designs figures of snakes predominate, the great anaconda (amarun) being the reptile most often represented. Even human spirits with the arms stretched out, birds, tortoises, and certain poisonous insects are represented much in the same way as among the Achuares. Generally the Indians are themselves able to tell which particular reptile, bird, etc. a certain figure represents. Thus the women at once informed me that the brown rings [103] which encircle the big jar on Pl. XX, 1. represent the spots of the great boa, amarun, a monster which has struck the imagination of the primitive Indians more than any other member of the animal world. The smaller dishes from which the manioc-beer is drunk are nearly always ornamented with figures in black or brown colour. White designs are unknown, and the white clay used for the purpose by the Achuares does not exist at all at Canelos. Generally the outside is ornamented; more rarely the dishes have ornamental patterns inside and when they have,

they are always simpler. In the smaller dishes also the snake patterns predominate, poisonous snakes like the Lachesis (called pitalaía by the Canelos Indians) being most often represented. These dishes are called mucahua by the Indians. (See Pl. XIX, 3. 4. 5).

Of particular interest is the small but elaborately ornamented clay dish represented in Pl. XX, 3. and 4. Diminutive cups or dishes of this kind are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians only at the great feasts, a special sacred drink being drunk by means of these small cups. How the manioc-wine is prepared and how it is consumed at the end of the most important feasts will appear from descriptions given later. I only add in this connection that the magical ideas which are associated with the Indian clay vessels in general, appear among other things from the extraordinary care with which the small clay cups used for the drinking of manioc-wine are made and ornamented. The same may be said of the small clay pot in which the Jibaros keep the tobacco juice which is ceremonially given to the principal persons at the great feasts. The vessels used on these occasions must be specially made and painted for each feast, and they must be made by the old woman, the 'priestess', who administers the sacred drinks at the feasts. Not only these, but also the most important of other clay vessels used at the religious feasts have to be specially made.

To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know,

1: Karsten--102-103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 323, 531 (1928-29)

only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

I: Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 286, 531 (1928-29)

"....a few words may be said about the patterns woven in the stuff. The loin-cloths of the men (itipi) and the women's tarachi in fact always show certain ornamental patterns which are rather stereotyped, being always in the main the same. They form different systems of colours which are distinguished from one another by their names.

The colour or colours which occupy a central place in a bigger system are underlined by me. These systems are the following:

The arrangement of colours which in the section of the loin-cloth represented in Plate XXI, 1. is found on the extreme left, in the middle, and on the extreme right, and is marked with the letter a, consists of the colours black + reddish brown + black-white-black-white + reddish brown + black and is by the Jibaros called puítsah.

The arrangement of colours which consists of white (or light red) + brown + black + brown + white (or light red) is called yambítsa hī ('the pigeon's eye'). (1) As appears from the picture, these arrangements are the most common in the loin-cloth, and they are here marked with the letter b.

"1. The eye of the pigeon is black, and is surrounded by feathers in brown and white colour."

The arrangement of colours which is marked with the letter c and consists of alternate black and reddish brown stripes is called yauakina. [106] Some of the yauakina arrangements, as we find, are broader and consist of seven black or brown stripes. These are called uñta yauakina ('the big yauakina'), whereas the narrower yauakina arrangements, consisting of five black or brown stripes, are called uchichi yauakina ('the little yauakina'). They are in the picture marked with c, 1 and c, 2 respectively.

The white, undyed yarn is by the Jibaros called pufsuh. Sometimes it is slightly coloured with roucou so that it is rather light red or yellow than white, as in the picture.

These colour arrangements are found on all original itipi. Like the 'pigeon's eye', so the rest of the designs are no doubt taken directly from nature. Thus the design called puítsah evidently denotes a snake's skin, but I have not received positive information on this point. The Jibaro Indians themselves apparently ascribe great importance to them. When the family father is at leisure in the afternoon, and while he is sitting after the day's work is finished, waiting for the meal to be brought by the women, he may sometimes be seen singing at a low voice and in a special tune passing with his fingers along the different designs woven in his itipi and repeating their names.

especially the name of the 'pigeon's eye' (yambitea hi), just as if the designs were to him a kind of verse. That the itipi designs have a magical or mysterious significance may be taken as certain, considering that most other ornamental designs of the Jibaroe have such a significance: they are believed to keep off evil spirits, to give the body strength, and so forth. I shall have an opportunity to point out this again in the part dealing with religion."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 531 (1928-29)

".... I shall only include here a few words about a small object which is partly regarded as an ornament and partly serves a practical purpose, namely, the comb, timashi. The Jibaro comb is a real piece of art that cannot be described in detail. It is made of a special kind of cane growing on the river bank, called pata, which is carved into a number of tiny sticks. These are connected with one another by means of other parallel transverse sticks which are fastened to the prongs by means of cotton thread, the intermediate space between the latter being embroidered in various triangular and other patterns of the same kind as the Indians put on their face and clay vessels.

The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--464 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
531 (1928-29)

"the Jibaros are in the habit of painting upon the doors small human figures with the hands stretched out, figures of snakes, birds, etc. (See Pl. XVII, 2). The Jibaros, as we have seen, not only use primitive doors consisting of a few poles by means of which the entrance is shut, but also doors more resembling those of civilized peoples. The figures in question, I was informed, represent the souls of the departed (wakáni) and are by no means only decorations."

"The idea that the spirits can be controlled by imitating them in their external appearance, is also conspicuous in the ornamental designs applied to the body and to certain objects, for instance the doors of the houses, shields, and clay vessels. All these designs are borrowed from the animal world, and it is interesting to note that they invariably represent dangerous animals, or animals in which evil spirits are thought to appear. How the Indians try to keep off the spirits of the departed or other spirits from their houses by painting their figures on the door, has been shown before (Pl. XVII, 2 and p. 454). The figures appearing on the door are characteristic of the ornamental art of the Jibaros. The most conspicuous of them are human spirits, represented in the usual way with the arms stretched out. The small circles, with [491]a point in the middle are also very common. It took me long to find out the real significance of this pattern, even after I had been informed that it was thought to keep off evil spirits. On inquiry, I was simply told that the small circles represented yusa. By the name yusa the Indians denote the big macaw (Arara hyacinthinus) which is one of their principal bird demons, but there is little resemblance between such a little circle and the beautiful parrot. We get the solution of the riddle when we look at the Indian drawing of a macaw found on Fig. 20, b (p. 494). The Indians paint the eyes of the bird separately, and the small circles are precisely identical with the eyes of the macaw. To the Indian mind special importance is attached to them, because in the eyes the

power of the demoniacal bird is concentrated. Hence the eyes occur as independent magical ornaments in the art of the Indians.

The circle pattern, however, occurs in two forms and has two significations: it not only represents the eye of the macaw but also the round black spots on the skin of the anaconda. Frequently the pattern occurs as two concentric circles with a black spot in the middle (Fig. 20, c). The eyes of the macaw in fact are surrounded by concentric rings; but the pattern may represent the spots of the anaconda as well. What these spots are like in reality, and how faithfully the Indians represent them in their art, will be clear when we compare the cincture made of an anaconda's skin on Pl. XXI, 3 with the patterns engraved on the instrument payánga, depicted on p. 311. Generally the Indians are, in each particular case, able to explain whether the pattern in question represents the magical bird or the huge reptile. As to the patterns engraved on the payánga, for instance, they expressly declared that they represent the spots of the anaconda (pangi), which they also apply to the face, to shields when they are ornamented, and so forth."

1: Karsten--491-492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 825 (1928-29)

"The giant serpent, especially the water boa or anaconda (Eunectes murinus), is one of the animal beings most frequently represented in the ornamental art of the Jibaros, and it is natural to connect this fact with the other fact that it is one of the most dreaded animal demons known to the Indians. Thus the designs painted on the beautiful big clay vessel from Canelos depicted on Pl. XX, 1, represent the giant snake, not however the water boa or anaconda, but the boa constrictor, a comparatively rare reptile in Western Amazonas and much more rarely represented in the Indian art than the water boa. The Canelos Indians call this reptile amárun and use the same name for the orna- [492] ment. Another snake demon, almost equally often represented, is the Lachesis, one of the most common and most venomous snakes in the whole of South America. It occurs as an ornament for instance on the clay dishes on Pls. XVIII, 6., XIX, 1., and XX, 2. and is also applied to the face (Fig. 18, d, p. 493)."

1: Karsten--492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"That the Indians represent the most dreaded animal demons in their ornamental art, applying their figures even to eating and drinking vessels, is a significant fact which suggests that certain mysterious ideas are connected both with the clay vessels and the ornaments. As I have pointed out before, there is an interesting connection between a woman, who alone has to make the the clay vessels, and the earth and clay of which they are made. The clay vessel, according to the idea of the Indians, 'is a woman'. When we further consider the ceremonial character which the drinking of fermented and narcotic drinks assumes at the great feasts, we understand that a whole primitive 'philosophy' underlies both the making of clay vessels and their use."

1: Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789, 302 (1928-29)

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1. and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig, 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

26: Brüning--52 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 531, 777

In the house in Huavico, which at that time was used by a rubber trader, though it had originally belonged to the Indians, I noticed several grotesquely painted black human figures on the frame which connects the main uprights. The Indians explained that this was a preventive measure against worm holes.

28: Tessman--355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 531

The spear (Aguaruna; nánki, Atschual: nángi) is their main weapon of war. It has an iron point, which is as a rule imported from Ecuador. Formerly they may have had a wooden point (palm-wood). The shaft (at least the Makas shaft) is a fine piece of craftsmanship (see Plate 61). I am inclined to regard these shafts of a brightly shining brownish-red and decorated with carved patterns the best artistic accomplishment of the Chiwaros. Next highest I rate the execution of the inside of their bowl-plates, and third in line of artistic achievement are the feathered circlets and the other body ornaments. There are also spears made of one piece of wood (see Plate 65, upper right).

In his book Blood Revenge etc. Karsten gives a description of war and war methods. Karsten tells us that the Chiwaros used to have spears with bone-points. The bone was later replaced by iron.

They do not have slings for the hurling of arrows. No slings at all. No clubs. A long time ago they started to import a dagger with short haft and a long, wide iron blade. (See Plate 59, Fig. 6) The dagger is worn in a scabbard on a belt. Two hollowed-out pieces of wood form the scabbard.

The Aguarunas, Uambisas and Makas Indians have a round shield (tandara, according to Karsten, see his Blood Revenge, Plate 4, right). It is not decorated with feathers. The wood is neither polished nor decorated. It gives the impression three disks were placed one on top of the other, the one in the middle being the smallest.

/331 cont./

extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /33C/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucum) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting 415
and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been men- [235]
tioned previously. [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All 323
pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction
and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay 415
are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of [462]
the *ipáiawe* tree is powdered for tempering material in food [824]
bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only 415
the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of mini- 531
ature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These [439]
however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, aver- 415
aging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, [273]
covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in [276]
size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery [278]
or pound jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273]
[515]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although • 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [413] [415] [389] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood [244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taračī*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only 462
duty. 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only 868
the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her [323]
by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form [532]
and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with [826]
clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to [831]
touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blow- 224
gun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less 462
than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at 857
that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to 868
shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them [262]
himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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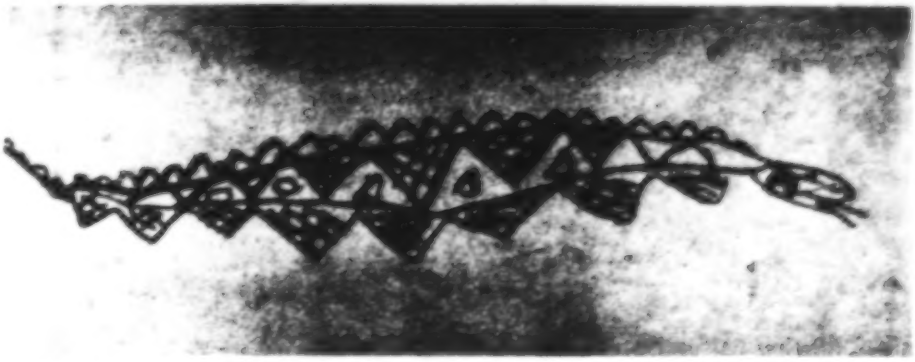
• 532
[796]

21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

/p. 138-F/



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• 532
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23. Snake *tsentsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natemä*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natemä* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned 765 inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a 532 knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in 727 the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of 778 the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kumai* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with [774] finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *nuisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight aperture which may remain.

765 A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
796 man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with
[554] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara.
[342] The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*numpeŋ*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
[796] the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[283] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[535] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764]

The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire pres-
554 tige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
765

34:Harner E-4,5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Rio Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 • 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

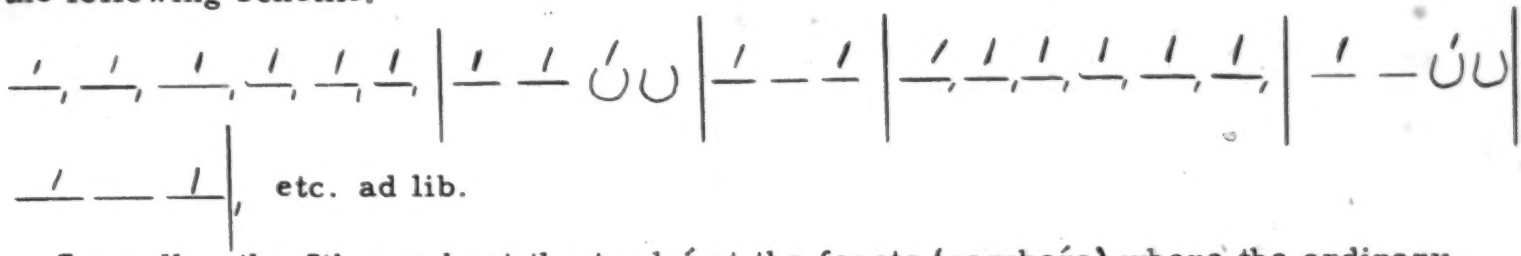
EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

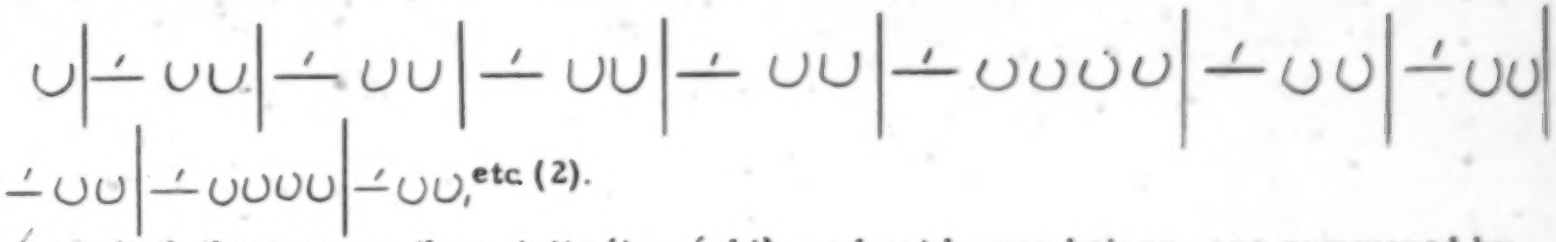
First, the tunduí is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics nateḿa or maikoa are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:



etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tunduí at the feasts (nambeŕa) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamańchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruŕu palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:



etc. (2).

In both these cases the spirits (iguańchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two

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"2. — in regard to its quantity = ∪∪ ; ∪∪ = ∪ ; ´ means that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--285-286 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 533 (1928-29)

"Besides this war dance, the Jibaros try to secure victory over the enemy by a kind of war song. This war song, which is called Anéndrata, is sung by the warriors in the house before they start on the expedition.

The Anéndrata runs as follows:

Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother,'
Méseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'
Winya úchiruna chíchahei, 'To my son also I have said:'
Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son,' [286]
Kakarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'
Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'
Wika miserchatinyu, 'I will not die!'
Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'
Kànárahei, kànárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'
Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)
Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

Yamai ṡchikahei, 'I have him already!'
Mányasa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'
Watski, shuarasha winiti, winiti, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'
Winyasha mandoáti, 'And may he take my life if he can!'
Winya mandoáma assa, 'If he kills me,'
Úchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged).'
Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'
Anéndrata has much the same magical significance as the war dance enéma, it being believed to give victory over the enemy."

1: Karsten--431 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
533 (1928-29)

"...the medicine-man tries to summon and favourably influence the spirits by imitating them in their outward appearance and by playing the sort of string instrument which is called turúmba in Quichua and tsayandúru in the Jibaro language. The latter is a simple bow of a special kind of wood with a cord of twisted chambira fibres. The Indian, when playing, touches the string with his mouth at one end of the bow, holding it in a horizontal position, and when twanging the string, is able to produce different tunes with it by certain movements of his lips. The tunes are very soft and perceptible only at a short distance, but are nevertheless believed to exert a mysterious influence upon the spirits whom the sorcerer addresses in playing the instrument.

In the same way as the Indians believe that they can summon the spirits and make them their friends by playing the 'musical bow', they believe that mysterious influence can be exerted upon them by beating the big drum tundúi. The condition in both cases, however, is that the Indian must be intoxicated by natéma or some other narcotic, for otherwise the demons will hardly appear. In dealing with the big 'signal' drum (p. 110 sq.) I have indicated the different ways in which the drum must be beaten on different occasions for the purpose of summoning the spirits. These occasions are the chonta feast and the natéma feast."

1: Karsten--466-467 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 763, 533 (1928-29)

"Wailing at Canelos is about the same as among the Jibaros. Similarly it is customary that visitors arriving at a house where a death has recently taken place are received wailing. The Canelos woman always wails singing, but since she sings violently sobbing, the melody is somewhat difficult to render. It is characteristic of this song that it always begins in a high and strong falsetto tone; then the voice gradually diminishes and the last tones are only heared[sic] as a low, distant murmur. The following is the usual mourning song of the Canelos woman:

Nyuca curilla,
Nyuca cusalla,
Imamant' saquishcani,
Imamant' hichuscani,
Imata tucushcani? [467]

In translation:

'My dear one,(1)
my dear little husband,
why have you left me,
why have you abandoned me?
What will it become of me?'"

"1. Curilla (a diminutive of curi, 'gold') literally means, 'My little gold.'"

1: Karsten--496 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533 (1928-29)

"From the specimens of Indian songs I have given in previous chapters and which are sung for instance in connection with agriculture, at the feast of the women, and on other occasions, it has appeared that we can really speak of a lyric poetry of the Indians. Some of the songs are pure prayers, others magical conjurations, others merely spontaneous expressions of sorrow or joy, etc. I was confronted with one of my most difficult tasks in trying to note down these songs. Of those sung at the feast of the women the Jibaros evidently possess a much larger store than would seem to appear from my description of that feast, but those cited by me are in any case the most important and in general representative of the lyric poetry of the Indians. To note down songs of this kind, it is first and foremost necessary to know the language of the Indians perfectly. But besides this, the Jibaro women in their poetry frequently contract words and phrases so as to make them almost unintelligible, especially since they are generally able to recite the verses only singing, which makes the pronunciation of the words still more indistinct. If afterwards I mentioned sundry words to them the meaning of which I had not been able to catch, the woman in most cases could not explain it to me, however correctly I might pronounce it."

1: Karsten--496-497 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533 (1928-29)

"The words and the melody which accompanies them is to the Indian one and the same thing. Both spontaneously proceed from the same sentiment and cannot be separated. In both prayers and conjurations proper this connection is so intimate that the whole song would fail of its effect unless it were recited in the right tune. The very rhythm is supposed to possess some mysterious effect which is regarded as being almost as important as the power inherent in the words. The weight which the Indians attach to the musical side of their poetry from this point of view is intelligible, but at the same time it makes [497] us understand how essentially the latter, precisely on account of its practical aim, differs from the poetry of civilized peoples."

C

1: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533 (1928-29)

"Many of the Jibaro prayers and incantations, as I have pointed out before, are the exclusive intellectual property of the women, being particularly sung in connection with agriculture or at the great feasts. The most important of the songs addressed to the Earth-mother have already been cited, but there is a special kind of lyric poetry to which I wish still to call attention. At the great feasts, as I have mentioned before, it is customary, that, after the day's main ceremonies have taken place, the women appear dancing solo at the drinking-bouts, accompanying themselves with chants and songs which are directed to certain animals, especially certain beautiful birds of the forest (See p. 355). Such incantations are also sung at the drinking-bouts on other occasions. Birds addressed in this way are, for instance, the tucan (Rhamphastus), called tsukánga, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea), called sumga, the great wild turkey (Crax elector), called máshu, and the pheasant (Penelope), called kúyu by the Jibaros. The birds are personified by the dancing woman and spoken to as if they were human beings. She gives them all sorts of pet names, calling herself the wife, mother, or sister of the particular bird addressed and praising its brilliant feather dress, its proud walk, etc. Songs of this category are probably comparatively numerous, but they are very simple and all much of the same kind. I shall give a couple of instances.

The cock-of-the-rock (sumga), one of the most beautiful birds of the forests of Western Amazonas, the Jibaro woman addresses in the following way:

Sumga noa assana,
sumga noachina,
tu nakúrahei:
Sumga aishmangshiru,
kapáka pahâwue,
wisha hahúchi,
sumga noa assa,
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Being the wife of the cock-of-the-rock,
being the little wife of the sumga,
I jokingly sing to you thus:
Cock-of-the-rock, my little husband,[498]
wearing your many-coloured dress of feathers,
graceful in your movements!
I know I am useless myself,
but still I rejoice,
for I am the wife of the sumga--
So I jokingly sing!'

1: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 533 (1928-29)

To the pheasant (kuyu) the woman sings:

Apu, apu, kuyu,
indeshipi kuyu,
mite, mite hamei,
winya kuyu uchirka,
chapursa nambikahei.
Wisha kuyu tukusmahei,
uhuchiruk hapik amue,
indeshipi kuyu--
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Great pheasant, great pheasant,
pheasant with the long hair and the big tail,
my little son, whom I have intoxicated with the beer!
I have made myself like the pheasant,
putting on me your long tail
and dressing myself in your brilliant feathers--
So I jokingly sing.'"

1: Karsten--499-501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533, 273 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the lyric poetry of the Indians I have yet to mention the incantations sung at one of the minor feasts, the chontaruru-feast. The fruit of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui in the Jibaro language, grows ripe in February and March and is particularly appreciated on account of the beer brewed from it. Besides this, the fruit offers the Indians a most nourishing food for about two months of the year.

The feast is arranged as soon as part of the fruit so impatiently awaited has ripened and beer can be brewed from it. The fruit is collected and carried home by the men, boiled in big clay pots in the same way as is the manioc, and then masticated and well mixed with saliva, whereupon the substance is allowed to ferment. The process of fermentation, which takes place at night, is 'hastened' by dancing, singing, and beating the big drum tundúi. Several big clay vessels (muitsa), the mouths of which are covered with banana leaves, are placed on the floor in the middle of the room. When darkness sets in, about six o'clock in the evening, all men and women arrange themselves in a ring round the clay vessels and start dancing and singing, in their incantations reviewing the whole 'history' of the chonta from the very moment the little sprout is planted in the earth by the men until the time which has now arrived when the tree is full-grown and its fruits have ripened. The dancing and chanting is continued until after midnight. Early in the following morning the drinking-feast begins. While the men drink and get intoxicated by the beer, they incessantly sing the following incantation in which they

address those quadrupeds and birds which in the animal kingdom most appreciate the chonta fruit, especially a parrot called tuishi, and another bird of the forest called kiruánchama, as well as the wild pig (pakki) which also eagerly eats the fruit that falls down from the chonta palms. They call these animals and birds poetically their 'brothers' and 'brothers-in-law', inviting them to take of the fruit which is now ripe and to prepare chontaruru-beer. Thus, the Indians fancy, the fruit will go on ripening and be abundant.

This incantation runs as follows:

Seiru kiruánchama,
amue ui nikápsata,
ui nikápsata!
Ui nereáwue, ui nereáwue, [500]
ui nereáwue!
Ui natinyu, ui natinyu.
Ityursanki nerecheindya,
nerecheindya, nerecheindya?

In translation:

'Parrot, my brother-in-law,
now come along and take of the chonta,

come and take of the chonta!
The chonta fruit is ripening, the chonta fruit is ripening!
Up to brew chonta-beer, up to brew chonta-beer!
Why does not the fruit quickly ripen,
Why does it not ripen?'

....

The men not only celebrate the chonta feast by chanting this incantation, but also by beating the big drum tundúi in the particular time that is customary at the Jibaro drinking-feasts and which has been referred to before (p. 111). By beating the drum in this way the Indians invite their ancestral spirits, who were great warriors and medicine-men and are now believed to live in the mountains and hills, to take part in the drinking-feast and to rejoice with their living descendants. These spirits, although in normal cases more feared than loved, now appear as the friends and allies of the Indians, being under the same [501] magical constraint as in the narcotic sleep produced by natéma or maikoa. From this point of view the great drinking-feasts of the Jibaros clearly assume a religious character."

1: Karsten--501-502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533 (1928-29)

"There is comparatively little to say about the music which accompanies the poetry of the Jibaros.

The rhythm in general is well marked, being emphasized by the accompanying instruments, by the movements of the dancers, by weapons brandished, as in the Enéma war-dance, by feet stamping the ground, etc. The melodic system is evidently based on the scale of seven intervals, as is our own music. This fact, as well as the generally slow and ceremonial time in which the songs are sung, makes it as a rule easy to catch and note down the melodies. The Indians only seem to know our major scale; I never heard them sing in the minor key. Their musical ear appears to be well developed, both men and women keeping to the tune remarkably well.

The melodies of the Jibaros, like those of the South American Indians [502] in general, are simple and as it were fragmentary, and the constant repetition of the same short musical motive forms the whole song. Professor E. M. v. Hornbostel has indicated as characteristic of the music of the American Indians the coordination of many similar musical units joined together 'in the same way as pearls are strung into a necklace'. He also makes another interesting observation, that the same feature appears in their ornamental art, where whole series of similar 'geometric' ornaments frequently follow one another, and he takes this to be characteristic of the whole Indian race.(1) Both

"1. KOCH Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. III. Ethnographie, p.416."

these observations are certainly true in regard to the Jibaros. To become convinced of this fact we need only consider the melodies above cited, or the ornamental designs applied to the clay vessels illustrating this work. I would add in this connection that the peculiarity of constantly repeating the same simple motive, perhaps with certain small variations, also appears in the ceremonial speeches made at their great feasts and on other occasions."

1: Karsten--502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533, 177, 151 (1928-29)

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

2: Stirling--92 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 533

"The Jivaros in common with most American Indians are fond of music, both vocal and instrumental. Dances and ceremonies are always accompanied by songs, the performers singing in unison. The songs run the entire gamut of human emotions---warlike songs, songs of triumph, mourning songs, love songs, and songs which represent ordinary prayers. Singing may or may not have instrumental accompaniment. The two types of drums in use have already been described."

2: Stirling--94 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 463, 533

"While all Jivaros sing and all Jivaro men are able to play upon the flutes, some are regarded as being much more talented than others, and these are more frequently called upon to perform."

13: Rivet--253 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 533

Dancing, music and singing are high in honor. I have already said that the Jíbaros lack grace. According to the missionaries, their music and their singing would be unbearable to the ear of a White, but it is necessary to take into account the performers' drunkenness during the course of the feasts. The proof of that is that one of my friends who lived in Gualaquiza for a long time, where he was known and loved by the savages, and who had occasion to pass an evening with one of them without drinking, gave an entirely different opinion: "In the middle of the entertainment", he wrote me, "I asked that the two wives of Santiago (so the Indian was called) let us hear some songs. Santiago agreed and even joined his voice with theirs. I hear even now the harmony of this song; it was so gentle and so melodious that I had them repeat it two or three times. I profited by this in order to put the words in my notebook; finally, I asked the Jíbaro the meaning of what I had written, and I acquired the conviction that they sang whatever came to their minds, without any order, in other words, that they improvised words to a familiar air."

Unfortunately, up to now no traveller has taken phonograph recordings among the Indians.

25: Vigna --43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 151, 533

The Jíbaro is very seldom out of tune in his songs, for he has a very keen ear. He uses a reed flute, and through a simple melody with an inflection of sadness he expresses his sentiments. Many times, sweethearts communicate their love by means of these melodies.

25: Vigna--48[2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 533, 764

The song that the Jîbaros use as an expression of sorrow, is intoned to the only musical motif that they know: the chant of the witch when he cures the sick. While crying, they evoke the figure of the deceased and the ancestors with so much love and such tender appellatives that they draw tears. During the inflection of the voice, in the weeping, they repeat rhythmically the vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

26: Brüning--73 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 533

When we returned from our trip we witnessed a phantastic scene in Huaracayo, in the house of our Curaca Laichape, who had accompanied us on our journey. Inside the house the men with their war decorations moved pairwise in a circle, each one playing the flute, and occasionally singing, too. All of them were slightly tipsy due to the masato. The women, likewise under the influence of masato, accompanied the men by their singing and exhorted them to drink more and more. Some were seated or lying on their beds or in their seats, overcome by too much masato. Since the brujo had given us up as a total loss, they now celebrated our happy return.

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going for away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[6] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the returning war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the preparing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the tsantsa feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> Be secure.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the avenging

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

533
539
726

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Song by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

595 The center of Jivaro life is the individual house, normally
551 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 1).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kempanaiti* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

/p. 41/ /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tsnaĉi*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusi* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824 [533] [539]

Don't suck the blood of my husband
And also don't suck the blood of my daughter.
When you want to suck blood,
Suck the blood of my enemies.
When my husband comes,
He will look very beautiful and very clear.
But when our enemies come,
They will come very pale
And in the form of demons.[4]
And you will know
Who will die,
Who will die.
And when they enter this garden,
They will have their blood sucked.
All, all I can call,
Even the plantain itself.
I am a woman of Nuguí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden. 824 [789] [861] [869]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
184 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *miatuá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female • 533 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to 854
come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 533 •
539

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and 853
the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the 862
weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued [231]
and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hanse-*
[273] *matā*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high
[273] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[373] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 533 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The [535] content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these 533 *hansematä* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a 539 man:

> Why are you so near to me?
> For they will come after us.
> This other one
> Who came very close
> Caused me to boil.
> It would be better if you
> Got farther away.
> And what is your name?
> I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.
>
> I asked her,
> "Where are you going?"
> She answered me, saying,
> "I go deep into the eastern forest."
> That is what she told me.
> By the way,
> Another truth is that a stone can talk!

533 While such *hansematä* songs have a courtship function 832 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in- 527 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities 527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre- 837 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly 273 a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Čuwi[5] tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Čuwi tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

1: Karsten--108-110 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 202, 534 (1928-29)

"The great signal drum (tunduí) of the Jibaros is among those objects which especially attract the attention of a visitor in a Indian house. It is made of a light kind of wood called shimúta and varies in length. The one brought home by me from the Aguarunas and now in the museum of Helsingfors measures 160 centimetres, including the handles, [109] and has a diameter of about 40 centimetres; the drum in the Gothenburg museum is a little smaller. The sound-holes are always of a serpent-like or curved form, and consist of four round holes connected with one another. The hollowing out of the trunk is tedious work and requires much skill and patience; it can only be done by means of fire, the burned [110] and carbonized parts of the wood being again and again scraped off with a snail's shell or an iron instrument until the cavity is sufficiently large. Since there is always the danger that the drum may not turn out sonorous enough, it is considered necessary that the Indian who makes it should diet for several days and observe other rules of abstinence. If, for instance, he drinks manioc-beer (nihamańchi) in the quantities normally consumed by a Jibaro Indian every day, the drum will be dull and not sonorous. His stomach must be empty, like an empty barrel. Similarly he must abstain from cohabiting with his wife during these days, for otherwise, it is believed, the drum will burst. When the drum is ready, all the grown-up men of the family assemble and a feast is arranged for the inauguration of the drum. Each man steps forward and beats the drum for a while in the slow time customary at the drinking of the narcotics natéma and maikoa."

1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

"The tunduí [JKM: signal drum] of the Jibaro Indians is not merely a signalling instrument in the ordinary sense of the word, but its greatest significance is religious: it is a means of communicating with the spiritual world. From this point of view I shall deal with this drum again in the chapters devoted to the religion of the Indians. Here I will only point out the interesting fact that the drum among other things is closely associated with the spirit (iguańchi) which appears in the shape of the great water boa or anaconda, and that the drum itself is supposed to be a representation of the great serpent. The very holes dug out of the drum, as I have said, form a snake-like figure and, moreover, the handles with which it is provided represent, respectively, the head and the tail of the dreaded reptile. Everybody who sees a real Jibaro drum in an ethnographic museum is able to note to what extent one of the handles is like a snake's head. [111]

I may add that these ideas are connected with the signalling drum among all Jibaro tribes and that the form of the drum is therefore everywhere the same. Of the drums in the museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, the one is from the Jibaros of the Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and the other from the Aguarunas in

Peru, that is, they are from the northernmost and southernmost Jibaro tribes respectively; but still they are alike in all details. (1) "

"1. In Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru, p.123, there is depicted a 'Jibaro Indian drum' which is without handles and with a sound-hole differing from that described by me above. I wish to point out, however, that this drum is not from the Jibaros, but probably from some of the Ucayali tribes. Since Farabee never visited the Jibaros his mistake is easy to understand."

1: Karsten--264 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 534, 722, 202 (1928-29)

"The big signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, also plays a part in the wars, although originally it seems to have been a purely religious instrument. At times when there is fear of an attack of enemies it is placed outside the house on the hill, and the beats may then be heard at a distance of several miles. The drum tundúi is beaten when the Jibaros drink the narcotics maikoa and natéma--in which case the object is to summon the spirits that inhabit these sacred drinks--also after a death, and lastly to give friends notice of an attack by enemies. In the latter case the signalling consists of a series of short and fast beats at a time which is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. When the friends in the other houses hear these beats they say: Pakinmawae, 'they are killing'. Hence this whole mode of signaling is called Pakinmawae. As soon as the inhabitants of a house get knowledge of or suspect the presence of enemies, and also during the attack, if there is time for it, they try by beating the tundúi to summon their friends for rescue, and the singalling may sometimes cause the enemy, fearing the arrival of help, to give up his evil intention and take flight."

1: Karsten--423-424 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 534, 177, 789 (1928-29)

"The most important of the religious instruments of the Jibaros is the big drum tundúi. We have already seen how this drum is used and the interesting religious ideas that are connected with it. The curious association of ideas which has induced the Jibaros to propitiate the 'demon of the mountain' with the instrument which is supposed to be an imitation of his visible representative, the great serpent, pangi, makes us understand that we are dealing with an old and genuinely Indian religious custom. The same can hardly be said about the other and smaller drum, called uchichi tambora by the Jibaros, which no doubt [424] is of European origin. The latter have obtained this drum from their more civilized tribesmen the Canelos Indians, who have developed the making of such drums into a whole industry. The drum is made with great skill and has skin at both ends, the one skin being obtained from a common night monkey, the other from the small capuchin monkey. Only one stick is used. The Canelos Indians use the drum at their drinking-feasts, marriage feasts, etc., two or three Indians constantly wandering about in the middle of the house accompanying with their drums the pairs who appear dancing. The Indians believe that by drumming and dancing they can, among other things, keep off evil spirits, but it is evident that among these half-civilized Indians such ceremonies are more and more losing their religious and magical significance and degenerating into mere amusements. The Jibaros too use the small

drum, accompanying the solo dances with it at their great feasts, the 'music' having the same significance as among the Canelos Indians.

The same may be said of the flutes, at any rate of those known under the name of piuma and pingúi. Both are made of a piece of cane, but the former, the piuma, is larger and has five holes, whereas the smaller has only two. They are used at the great feasts and add to the general din and noise. Their religious significance clearly appears, for instance, from a custom like that mentioned above (p. 226) with reference to the Achuares of the Pastaza. When a newborn child is taken into the house for the first time, the oldest man in the family walks round with the little one accompanied by the other men beating drums and playing on flutes, a ceremony which professedly has for its object to frighten away the evil spirits who are threatening the child. A third flute is by the Jibaros called tungúi and is made of the leg bone of the jaguar. This flute is played, among other things, when the inhabitants of a house, attacked by an enemy, are trying to escape from it into the forest. The flute-playing is accompanied by dancing and is believed to 'tire out the enemy' (p. 290). A flute made of the jaguar's bone is believed to have a special magical power."

2: Stirling--92 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 534

"In each house is a large signal drum, tunduli, made from a hollowed log about 5 feet long. With the drum is a short wooden beater padded on one end. As a rule, these drums are permitted to rest on the ground but the sound carries a much greater distance and has much more resonance when they are suspended by means of the wooden lugs at each end. The face of the drum has four diamond-shaped openings connected by slots. The drum is beaten on the tongue formed by the V-shaped slots connecting the two middle openings (fig. 3). (25)

There is also in each house a small dance drum made of a cylindrical piece of wood about 10 inches long and about 7 or 8 inches in diameter. A monkey-skin head is attached to each end by means of a tight-fitting hoop. This drum is beaten with a small bone or a straight stick. It is used in connection with singing and dancing (pl. 22, d). The large drum is also used for dances in the big ceremonies."

"25. Karsten says that the drum represents the sacred anaconda Pangi. The lugs are the head and tall, the openings the pattern on the snake's back.

2: Stirling--92-94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 534

"Bamboo flutes of various types are popular. These are used as a rule by young men in love, or for playing melodies when in a sad mood (pls. 17, d; 37, a-f). Trumpets are made from the shells of the giant land snail (pl. 37, g). These are used for signaling purposes and can scarcely be classed as true musical instruments. The Aguaruna make a primitive violin called quer-quer from cedar or balsa wood (pl. 37, h) which normally has two strings made of monkey intestines or of chambira fiber. It has a hollow sounding box at the large end, which is covered with a thin slab of wood fastened in place with wooden nails. Upon this is a fret held in place by two projecting wooden plugs. The strings are tuned by means of two [94] chonta-wood pegs, to which the strings are attached. The instrument is played by means of a small bow which has a string of rattan (pl. 37, i). The quer-quer is only played when the musician is alone in the house. It is used to recall war expeditions and memories of the dead. The music is always sad and the player weeps as he plays."

2: Stirling--94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 534

"The snail-shell belts (pl. 10) and leg ornaments worn by the women at dances might be classed as musical instruments, as the jingling sound they produce marks the cadence of the dance."

3: Simson--392 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 534

"The favourite amusement current seemed to be beating the drum, an instrument about eighteen inches long and twelve in diameter, scooped out of a solid log, and generally imported from the Napo, where the Canelos and Sarayacus go on foot to fetch them, thinking nothing of walking from Canelos or Sarayacu to Aguano and back, only to buy a drum. During the fetes before referred to, the three monotonous strokes, one long, two short, and a rest, are heard day and night; or a solitary Indian, decked in feathers, and followed by his faithful spouse, may be seen reeling from house to house tattooing on the instrument, which is suspended by a cord from his neck."

9: Bennett--661 (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 534

"The Jivaros like music to cheer their long hikes, and the pan-pipes of bamboo are favorite instruments. The one in this collection [KS: donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum] consists of twenty tubes arranged in a series of graded sizes which provide the variation in notes on their pentatonic scale."

12: Rivet--585-586 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 534

The opposing post is a sort of clothes-rack for the men: it is there that they put their lances, hang up their snares and all their utensils and accessories of the hunt. There are also some smaller stakes driven into the ground here and there, on which the Jíbaro man hangs his various possessions. Baskets which he has woven himself (changuina) hang from the rod, to which they are attached by lianas; his ceremonial clothes, the trinkets which constitute real wealth for him are carefully stored there. Near the men's door is likewise found the tunduli (fig. 11); this is a trunk of a tree similar to palo de balsa(Ochromia pscatoria) about 1^{m} 50 long [586] and 40 cm. in diameter, hollowed out from one end by the aid of hot stones. The end is then hermetically sealed with the aid of a big round piece of wood. The instrument, along one side of the cylinder, has a single opening of square form, or three or four circular openings, or perhaps two openings facing each other and resembling in form and position the sound-holes of a violin. The apparatus is placed horizontally between two posts, with the aid of tightly-stretched lianas attached to its extremities, where two ear-like projections serve for this purpose. Sometimes they put it in a vertical position, suspending it from a tree and fastening it below to a stake driven firmly into the ground (1). The sound is produced by hitting the cylinder hard near the openings with a stick of wood, one end of which is wrapped with cloth.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

The musical instruments in use among the Jíbaros are the tunduli which I have already described, the drum, the cuerno, the caracol, the flauta and the pingullu. The Aguarunas also have a violin with 3 strings (1).

The drum (fig. 8-8) is not the work of the Jíbaros; they acquire it by exchange from the Indians of the Napo who make a specialty of this manufacture. The barrel of the drum is hollowed out from a small log of cedro (Cedrela odorata) 175 mm. in diameter and 19 cm. long. The thickness of the walls does not exceed 1/2 cm. The skin used is that of the howling monkey, doubtless because the Indian imagines that the skin of this noisy animal ought to have a special sonority (2). The tension of the hide over the barrel is obtained almost as in European drums, by two narrow bands of wood joined together by strings. The apparatus is carried suspended from the neck by a cord and only a single drumstick is used.

The cuerno is a simple trumpet made with a deer horn; the caracol is made with a big shell; the flauta is a flûte traversiére [trans: a German flute], the pingullu a kind of flageolet or long wooden whistle, supplied with many holes, to permit the modulation of sounds.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 73.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire, etc., op. cit., page 58.

We are now acquainted with the Jíbaro from the physical point of view, his manner of dressing, his home, his food, his weapons and implements, his musical instruments; it is now necessary for us to take a look at his life.

13: Rivet--253 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 534

The drum plays an important role in the Jíbaro orchestras, and adds in giving the music a character of great monotony; in fact, the drumming, consisting of one long beat and two short ones, does not cease while the feast lasts (1).

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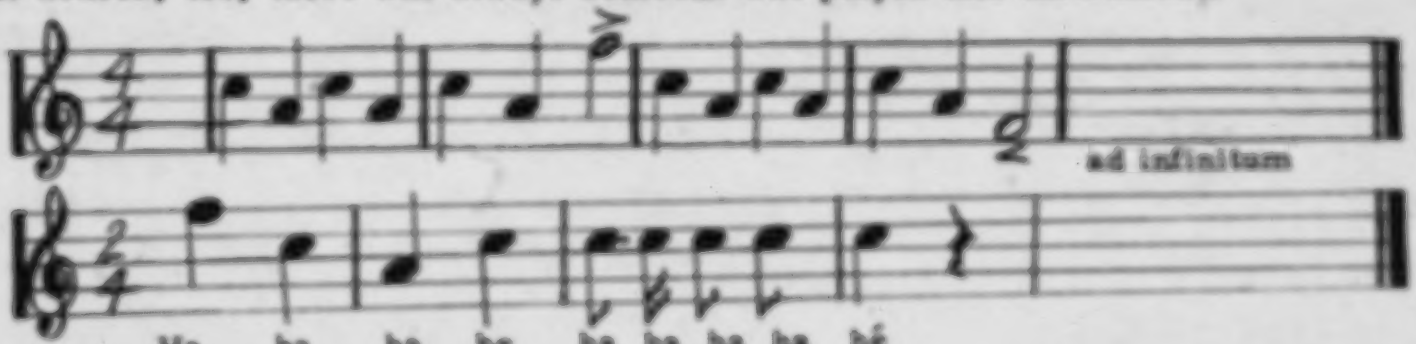
1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

26: Brüning--73 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 534

I have observed among the Aguarunas the following actual musical instruments: a large bamboo flute (pinguí), a small bone flute (tunguí), a small drum (tambóm). Bone rattles (mákits) may also be counted in this category.

The instrument most frequently used is the bamboo flute, which is about 45-50 cm. long and has a diameter of 3 cm. The air is blown in from the side. You can hear the sound of this instrument in the houses and on canoe voyages. It is one and the same melody everywhere. I have memorized it, and I am able to reproduce it here after 25 years. During our canoe voyage the Indian who was idle always played the flute, and in the houses, too, there was always someone who played this instrument.



Maitu huchahí tącu masahí.

26: Brüning--74 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 534

The small bone flute is approximately 12 cm. long. It is made of the bone of a doe and has three holes, two on top and one below. It is played from one end like the Quena flute. The doebone flute seems to be not very common, for I have seen it only once, in the hands of an old Curaca, who produced a lively melody on it.

I have also seen a small drum (tambón) with a diameter of about 20 cm. It is played with a stick, at the one end of which a piece of cotton is fastened. The bone rattle (mákits) must likewise be counted among the musical instruments: dried nutshells are tied together and attached to the ankles during the dance.

26: Brüning--74 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

A few words must be said about the túndui, the wireless telephone of the Aguarunas. It consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk, about 100-120 cm. long and of a thickness of 30-35 cm. At each end there is a handle, one of which is used to grab it, the other as a support on the ground, so that the instrument is free to vibrate. On top of the drum there are four holes in one direction. Originally, these holes may have been used to hollow out the trunk, in the end they help with the resonance. (See Illustration number 4.) They beat the instrument with a short stick which is wound with vegetarian wool at one end. The sound differs depending on whether the drum is hit from the side or at the top. The messages are conveyed, in the manner of our Morse system, by a combination of these two sound possibilities. If the air is quiet, one is able to hear the túndui at a distance of several kilometers. The message is transmitted from one place to the other by a process of interception and further transmission.

When we returned from our trip to Puerto Meléndez, our arrival was signalled with the help of the túndui from the houses along the bank to all the others so that when we arrived in Huaracayo, we found a large crowd assembled for our reception.

28: Tessman--356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 202, 534

They have a wooden signal drum (tundui). See Plate 59, Fig 1. It is a very functional instrument, sounding signals of warning and distress for a people that thrives on raids, war and murders. The drumstick is reproduced on Plate 59, Fig. 1a.

On festive occasions they use as musical instrument a double-skin drum (tambún), which has a short or an oblong shape, as shown on Plate 68 and on Plate 59, Fig. 4, respectively. They beat the drum with a bone or, though less frequently, with a piece of wood. The drumstick is attached to the drum by means of a string. During their dance festivals the Chiwaros wear rattles around their legs. They consist of plaited fiber strands; in short intervals thinner strings are braided into the fiber strands. The thin strings project with both ends to which the halves of fruit-shells are attached with knots, These shells rattle when they collide. See Plate 59, Fig. 5.

28: Tessman--356 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 534

The musical bow (tomángu) is kept in front of the mouth like a transverse flute; it is held at the end of the bow so that the string is turned away from the mouth. It is struck with a plectrum. According to Karsten the Makas Indians pluck the string with the fingers. The transverse flute (pinkui, Plate 59, Fig. 2) has two fingers holes at the end; it is blown with the nose or with the mouth. Another side-blown flute with four finger holes and a lump of wax "to prevent the hand from slipping" is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 7. An end-blown bone flute with two finger holes is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 16. A badly crafted reed-pipe with four thin tubes must be regarded a toy rather than a musical instrument. A guitar of very poor workmanship and having only two strings has probably been imported; I received several such specimens from the Santiago region.

29: Vité--16 [2] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 202, 534

While we were advancing through this region [KS: the junglé], at first confusedly and then very distinctly, we made out the echo of the beat of the "dúndulos", a kind of drum which the savages use to call to their neighbors with some fiesta in view.

335 cont.

better, forehead ba
of the teeth of mon
richly decorated b
which are fastened
produced during the
formed, during wh
of the trophy heads
aroused by dancing,
pitch that the weap
ness.

When the s
off, the house built
decay -- unless ah
undertakes the repa

336 A ho
after such a festiva
of moving and put
hopelessly ill peopl
small hut of branch
and they are left here

If a war exp
decision is to be m
these suggestions are
of the forest, intox
liquor, and then end
command of the g
Queen, from whic
to play an importa
And how could this
spectacle presented
upon the highest ri
continuously active
are spewed out wit
in the most magnif
the forest region a
the slope, rolling a

ehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made
h of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear
orated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of
fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is
during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is per-
uring which all the available zanzas, this is the name
hy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm
dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a
the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody serious-
ness.

hen the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept
ouse built for the festival is deserted and left to
nless after some time another family moves in and
the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as
a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience
and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying,
ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A
of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby,
are left to their fate.

a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important
to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and
estions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude
st, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous
d then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a
of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is
om which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems
important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians.
ould this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful
presented by the black, barren, and open cone set
ighest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is
ly active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes
out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night
st magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to
egion a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down
rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [413] [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- 412 ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [944] umbilicus of a new-born infant, and sometimes a hardwood [244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*tarači*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

142
291
302
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/p. 90-C/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 837
by the Jivaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the more serious Jivaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 831
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jivaro. Young men frequently play love songs 832
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [579]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

14:Marner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around massive beer drinking and fanmonte, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[275] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when
[535] a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his
[251] wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained fire is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently,
[278] and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respec-
[285] table beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[275] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[755] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
• 534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The women hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[395] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, coped torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
583 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
535
527

1: Karsten--193 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 585, 535 (1928-29)

"The tobacco feast proper lasts four days. It is preceded by certain ceremonies which have the character of preliminaries but are looked upon as being essential. Among these preliminaries the dance Wuimchi is the most important. It is a ring dance performed by the younger men and boys in which they move round one of the central pillars of the house, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, incessantly mentioning such animals and birds of the forest by name which the Jibaros mostly hunt, as well as details of the industrial arts incumbent on the men. This dance is performed every evening for several hours about eight days before the commencement of the feast, and is supposed to exert a favourable influence upon the household and the industrial art of the Indians. It is regarded as a necessary preliminary of all great feasts of the Indians..."

1: Karsten--196-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
§35 (1928-29)

"In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

1: Karsten--287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 789, 462, 535 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayambruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

"When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock, the general feast dance begins which is called Hantsémáta. All take part in it, both hosts and guests, man and women; first of all, however, the latter. The slayer himself goes round and invites the guests to take part in the dance speaking separately to each of them. The dance is conducted by an elderly Indian who previously gives tobacco water to the women. All who are going to take part in it are dressed in the proper way. The women, as usual, wear their rattles of snail shells round the waist. Some of the men put on additional ornaments for the dance--first of all a back ornament made of the bones of the bird tayu (Steatornis), called tayukúnchi, which is adorned with human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed birds of the forest with brilliant plumes.

The face and the uncovered part of the body is carefully painted with red ochre (Bixa orellana), animal figures and figures of snakes as well as geometric ornaments being the most common patterns. The older men prefer to paint themselves black in the face with genipa. Some younger men are seen painting themselves, previous to the dance, with tobacco juice, making with their fingers certain linear ornaments upon the face and breast--ornaments which, however, are hardly visible upon the brownish skin of the Indians. The body-painting with tobacco juice is supposed to be a good prophylactic for witchcraft.

The Hantsémáta, which literally means: 'The killing of the enemy's soul (hantsa).' is a ring dance. The dancers hold each other by the hands and circle around the three

1: Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

n elliptical figure, and
central pillars of the house, forming a large ring, or rather ast arrange themselves for
moving alternately to the right and to the left. The women firs of the slayer. Then [341]
the dance, and foremost among them are the wife and daughters during the dance is
follow the men, and foremost among them the slayer, who thuatsa hanging on his back
standing nearest to his wife and daughter. He carries the tsantand. At the dance the
during the whole time. Next to him the other men take their sua, hopping sideways,
Indians move about in the same way as in the dance Ihiámbrame women hold each other
moving first the one and then the other foot in quick time. Theeir rattles may sound
under the arms, jumping with both feet at once in order that the Indians change and dance
more loudly. Having moved round for a while to the right, thenied by a chant or con-
to the left for a while, and vice versa. The dance is accompans chant principally con-
juration, and this, too, is first performed by the women. Thiich is sung by the women
sists of an almost monotonous refrain, 'oá, oá, oa-á-áo, 'etc., wh a disagreeable, almost
in a deep and strong guttural voice, so that the whole song hase men also chant or shout,
dismal, howling effect. When the dance reaches its climax thestasy. Each time the
and the dancers seem sometimes almost to reach a state of ec the house, they stop for
men, during the dance, reach one of the doors at either end ofd and shouting in a loud
a moment, hop up and down on the spot, stamping on the groun

voice: 'Hysti, hysti, hysti, hysti!' At the same time the women hop on the spot, sounding their rattles, while the drums are beaten and the flutes played. This procedure is repeated for a long time. The dancers by this action are trying to keep off the spirit of the killed enemy, who, it is believed, is trying to enter through one of the doors to kill the victor.

During the dance certain words and phrases, adapted for the occasion, are also pronounced. Thus the name of the killed enemy is again and again mentioned, as are also the names of his relatives and the name of his native place. Similarly details of the war and of the battle, the lance with which the enemy was killed, or the knife with which his head was cut off, and even the canoe in which the victors went down, etc., are repeatedly mentioned. This dance, with short intervals, is continued until dawn. The men, however, do not take part in the dance the whole time, but sometimes leave the women alone. The latter, who are headed by the priestess, and among whom the wife and daughter of the slayer are the most active, first of all have to take part in the dance. The slayer himself also dances nearly the whole time, with the tsantsa hanging on his back. He is not allowed to sleep during the night.

Whereas even young girls of 8 or 10 years of age take part in the general dance, the half-grown boys seem to be excluded from it. These [342] have another task confided to them. When the older men and women arrange themselves for the dance, the boys

are placed within the ring, and when the dance commences they engage in a savage wrestling match, continually throwing each other to the ground, again rising, again wrestling, etc. This wrestling is continued for about an hour in the same violent manner, but is not repeated later during the night. As to the significance of this wrestling, the Indians only gave the explanation that it is 'part of the feast'. The boys, as a matter of fact, had previously been instructed by an older Indian. The wrestling is thus of a ceremonial nature, and forms part of the general conjurations.

The dance Hantsēmáta is continued without interruption until about 1 o'clock, when there is a short interval. The flesh of the swine slaughtered in the afternoon of the day before has now to be cooked. According to the ritual of the feast, as already mentioned, the flesh of the swine slaughtered at the feast can only be cooked at midnight. On several large fires, made in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed, which are filled with the flesh cut into pieces. During the preparations for the cooking, and while the flesh is being boiled, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued with more vigour than before, all men and women who are not tending the fires being engaged in it. Likewise some hens are killed and their flesh is boiled. The Indian who conducts the dance is seen dancing for a while with two or three recently killed hens tied round his waist. The dance is supposed to hurry on the cooking of the flesh, and probably also to exert a favourable influence upon the increase of the domestic animals in future. As soon as

the flesh is suffic sufficiently cooked, the pots are taken off the fires and lifted up on the shelves to be pre preserved until morning. It is not until then that the flesh can be eaten.

The dance is the is then continued without interruption until the morning, being performed particularly by the women. About half past 5, or a little before dawn, all the men and women have to tai by the women. About half past 5, or a little before dawn, all the men and around the centre to take part in it just as in the beginning. Having moved several times by the hands, and central pillars, all rush out from the house, continuing to hold each other the ceremonies os, and run down to the river, where they take the usual bath. With this bath nies of that night are finished."

13: Rivet--243-244 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 247, 535

There is also in Gualaquiza a flower feast, in which the Indians dance around one of the house-posts (on the men's side) ornamented with foliage; and Father Pozzi mentioned a feast, also with dancing, on the day when an Indian puts on for the first time the girdle made of the hair of enemies killed by his own hand (1).

These celebrations are extraordinarily noisy; the assistants shout and sing at the top of their voices, the frightened dogs bark, the tunduli resounds continuously, the sound of the drums, the flutes and the trumpets mingle in a cacophony unbearable to the ear of a European. The dance does not stop an instant; fatigued dancers are immediately replaced by others. The dance, according to an Ecuadorian who has been present at the feast of the flowers in Gualaquiza, consists of the following: sometimes men and women holding hands form around the decorated post a big circle which increases or decreases according to the rhythm of the music; sometimes a couple detaches itself and dances, but without interweaving: the man takes three steps forward and three back, while the woman facing him jumps up and down [244] with her feet together, jingling? rattling the maco which she wears on the shin. These chorographic motions are completely devoid of grace. This description proves that among the tribes of Gualaquiza, contrary to the rule, the two sexes take part in dancing. At Macas, I have already said that this happens only in the marriage ceremony.

1. Luigi Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell'Equatore. Bolletino della Societa geografica italiana. Rome, 15 vol., 1878, p. 97-102.

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ultimately, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "blowing" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa heads are also held using the shoulders head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nekás wakanú, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's breath. Breathing is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[9]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

100 copy

[illegible], tatooed heads (tsantsas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repair.

[illegible] A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous liana, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
• 535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [921]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jivaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tayamala*), and the women's 562
(*chonta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hanse-*
[273] *matá*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors
[251] to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high
[273] over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested
[752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[373] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527
533 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The
[535] content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these
533 *hansemata* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a
539 man:

> Why are you so near to me?
> For they will come after us.
> This other one
> Who came very close
> Caused me to boil.
> It would be better if you
> Got farther away.
> And what is your name?
> I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.
>
> I asked her,
> "Where are you going?"
> She answered me, saying,
> "I go deep into the eastern forest."
> That is what she told me.
> By the way,
> Another truth is that a stone can talk!

533 While such *hansemata* songs have a courtship function
832 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in-
527 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities
527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre-
837 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will
273 rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
[796] the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[283] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[535] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire pres-
554 tige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
765

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

765 554 571 796

an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

765 778 774 578 796 [619] [273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

"As an example of the type of episode which frequently produces serious trouble as a result of a visit by strangers, an incident occurring the following night is also recounted. At 4:30 in the morning we were awakened by a sudden uproar when Caneros took his place at the women's end of the house, facing the men, and began shouting in a rhythmic manner, stamping his feet and making warlike gestures with his lance, which he brandished in his right hand. Occasionally his head wife would put her head out from her cubicle and contribute a few words. Caneros continued in this manner for well over half an hour. When he had concluded, Yerenu, who appeared to have considerable influence in the household, took the floor in his place and orated in similar fashion, stepping back and forth as though going through a dance. He likewise talked for more than half an hour while various of the seated men interjected occasional remarks, creating a terrific uproar; not unlike the effect produced by an evangelist haranguing his congregation, punctuated with the Amens and Hallelujahs of his listeners.

About 7 in the morning the discourse died down and Tsamagashi, one of the curakas with us, said a few words. It developed that an old woman had taken sick during the night. It appeared that Tsamagashi was formerly a wishinu. Caneros was accusing him of having caused the old woman's sickness, and stated that unless she got well promptly he would declare war against Tsamagashi and his household. His wife occasionally joined in saying, 'Yes, we will dig up the lance!' Yerenu took up the talk in the same vein and others of Caneros' group put in a word now and then indicating that they would support.

Tsamagashi then replied that he was now an old man and had lost his power as a wishinu and denied being responsible for this sickness. He further volunteered the information that in his opinion, we, the whites, had been the cause of the illness. Caneros refused to accept this explanation and denied our responsibility.

After the excitement died down Tsamagashi and his wife, who had accompanied him, left for about an hour and then Tsamagashi returned alone. During the rest of the day the attitudes of Tsamagashi and Caneros gave no indication that anything unusual had transpired. [99]

Fortunately, the old woman felt much better and evidently no further action was taken. There is little doubt that had the woman's condition taken a turn for the worse, serious trouble would have developed."

2: Stirling--123 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 773, 537

"At the present time the Jivaros recognize a distinction between the sacred origin myth which they term Nuhiño and the many disconnected legends and tales which are not sacred in character. Most of the Indians interviewed by the writer professed ignorance of the origin myth, although they knew of its existence and mentioned two or three old men whom they stated would probably know it. After a considerable search, one of these men was located, Anguasha, on the Yaupe River, who recounted the tale.

The story was told dramatically with much gesturing, pantomime, and voice modulation, and with the display of considerable emotion. Anguasha stated that it had been many years since he had occasion to call the story to mind and he had to correct himself many times as it gradually came back under the spell of the candlelight and his own oratory. Frequently he paused to say that he wished Hisama were with him so that they might discuss certain points together, because he was not always sure of the proper continuity. A number of times he corrected himself on a previous statement, seeming very anxious that the details should be correct as well as he could remember them. Finally he announced that it gave him a pain in his heart, reminding him of older and more virile days, and requested that he might tell the rest alone with his old friend, Santiago, the interpreter, and with unlimited quantities of nijimanche to loosen his memory and his tongue. In its proper and complete form he said the story is much longer, all of the principal characters having many more adventures than the ones here recounted, but that the story as told gives the principal outline of the significant events of the myth.

It seems strange that a myth of this nature should become forgotten while the general culture of the Jivaros has changed so little, but Anguasha lamented and the other Indians agreed that, with the death of himself and one or two others, the sacred Nuhiño [KS: for text of myth see category 539--pp. 124-129] would be gone forever. Most of the Jivaro myths that have been recorded appear to be disconnected fragments which were once a part of this connected account."

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

I was born to die fighting. 538

Jivaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the 626
interior Jívaro as to what is correct, normative social behav- 183
ior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them.

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis 754
among the Jívaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic ill- 682
nesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and 626
poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed

"Before proceeding to work [JKM: planting manioc] the women sit down round the heap of the manioc stems, chanting first to the stems and afterwards to Nungüi herself, calling upon her to be present and to help them in the work:

'Don't touch the stems with hard hands,
slowly, with caution may you touch them.
Although we have cut them with the iron of the whites,
may they not take it amiss,
only to cut the pieces have we used the knife.
May it do no harm: may you grow well,
may you bear abundant fruit', etc.

Then follows the chant to Nungüi herself. Besides the heap of manioc stems and the shingi, there is a third sacred object. This is a small round stone red or brown in colour, which has clearly been found somewhere in the ground. The Jibaro women, however, pretend to have got it in some mysterious way. Nungüi herself has given it to a woman [128] in a dream, when she was intoxicated with the narcotic natéma, in order that she should have luck in agriculture. This wonderful stone is called nanéra and is regarded as the special symbol of Nungüi containing her soul and at the same time the soul of the manioc plant (tsanimba wakáni). The stone is therefore supposed to have the power of summoning Nungüi to help in the work, and consequently of making

the manioc grow well. The nantára is covered with an upturned gourd, and the women sit around it while chanting the song to Nungüi:

'Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we are going to sow.
Nungüi, come thou and help us,
come and help us!'
Art not thou, art not thou our mother,
are not we thy children?
Whom should we call upon?
We only behold wood and hills.
Thou art the only one who can help us,
us that are going to plant the fruit'.

"After the work [JKM: planting manioc] is finished, the old woman fixes the chonta pole (shingi) well into the ground at the end of the field where it is then left. The idea is that just as the shingi is firmly planted in the ground, so also the manioc which the women have planted will grow steadily and without disturbance. It still remains, however, for the women to chant to the shingi itself. Sitting round the pole they sing the following chant by which, at the same time, Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma are 'awakened' in order that they may take notice of the planting just finished and promote the growth of the crop.

This chant in the Jibaro language runs as follows:

Shingi wairu tu tahei,
'Lifting up the earth with the shingi we have
done the work (of planting),
tu aweiru shindyantamryá,
Thus we have digged in the earth to awaken thee.
tu tahei, ty tahei.
Thus we have done, thus we have done.
Nungüi noachi assana
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
hui tu tahei, tu tahei

thus here we have done.
Mamankutú untsuaheitá,
May thou multiply our crop of manioc,
shindyantamryá, shindyantamryá.
wake up, wake up!
Aishirú kutú, tsukahei vaityá,[130]
Dear husband (1), myself I am hungry,
aishirú kutú, tsukamá huahuá.
my husband, hungry is also my child.
Shindyantamryá,
Wake up, wake up,
wari kureitkurá.
quickly appear!""

"1. i.e., Shakaëma, the husband of Nungüi, whom the women invoke as their own husband."

"The Jibaros also try to promote the growth of the plantain by incantations, directed to Shakaëma, the husband of Nungüi. This, however, does not take place at planting, but some months later when the plantain has already grown large. Both the women and the men sing, sitting inside the plantation. The incantation has reference not only to the plantain, 'the son of the tumba', but also to the manioc, now half-grown; hence, besides Shakaëma, Nungüi is also mentioned in it.

The incantation, which is sung to the same melody as the last one, runs as follows:

Tumbá uchiru apuhkahei,
'The son of the tumba I have planted,
pingéra ahásahei.
nicely I have put the sprout in the earth.
Shakaëma aismanguchi, aishmangú,
Shakaëma, man in the earth,
aramú ityursan tsapaicheindyá, [132]
why don't you promote my plantation?
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
Why don't you make it grow, why don't you make it flourish?
Tumbāru, waiari, waiari,

My plantation of tumba (1), promptly make it grow,
winchúra, waiari, waiari;
my plantain, promptly, promptly make it develop!
pand'machiru, pand'machiru
My little plantain field,
ityursán tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, also, the woman, we sing:
wambagrura (1), waiari, waiari,
Our manioc sowing, quickly, quickly make it grow!
Shakaëma, aishmanguna, apusa,
To Shakaëma, the husband, as well, who planted the plantain.
pingera, tsapaitsi, tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow, make it flourish!

"1. The Jibaros here poetically speak of the tumba, the mythical ancestor of the plantain, as if they cultivated also that plant."

winchura (2), waiari, waiari.
My plantain field, quickly make it grow!
Araki, ityursan tsapaicheindya,
My sowing, why don't you promote it,
(i) tyursangi tsapaicheindya.
why don't you promote it?
Ivyarkamrusmá, ityursanginú
Having nicely cleared the ground,
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?'"

"2. wambagrúra and winchúra: poetical expressions for the manioc and plantain fields, instead of mamáru (mamanchíru) and pand'máru (pandmachíru)."

"When the whole work of sowing and planting is finished, the women perform certain ceremonies in the house, consisting of dancing and chanting, in order to make the new fields grow well and secure a good crop. During five successive nights, from sunset to dawn, they perform a ring dance called Ihiámbrama in the house of the principal woman (i. e., the woman who will make the feast), wearing festival dresses and rattles round the cincture, and singing incantations to Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma. These incantations are much the same as those sung before when sowing the plantation, and they are also sung later, at the great fertility feast itself, the Noa tsangu.

The following is an example of these incantations.

Kashi ningi
'At night united we sing,
Nungüi noa assana,
being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
Nungüi noachina:
to Nungüi, the woman, we sing:
mama untsuaheita,
Multiply the manioc,
inchi untsuaheita,
multiply the camote,

nussi untsuaheita,
multiply the earth-nuts,
kingi untsuaheita,
multiply the potatoes,
sangu untsuaheita,[134]
multiply the sangu,
ashi, ashi untsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Nungüi noa assan kutú,
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we imya untsumarahei.
we thus have called upon her.
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, the woman,
arutama nunganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungüi noana tu tihei:
to Nungüi, the woman, thus we have sung:
yurúmgachi úntsuaheita,

Promptly multiply thou our crops,
mamankutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of manioc,
inchikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of camote,
nussikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
sangu, sangu úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of sangu,
ashi úntsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Shakaëma aishmanguchi,
Shakaëma, the husband, as well,
amisha húi úntsuaheita.
may thou fructify the crops!
Amisha ni, kambungisa,
Thee also, who hast felled the trees,
ivyarsamunmá,
who hast cleared the ground,

imya untsumárahei:
thus we have called upon:
Mamankutú úntsuaheita,
Multiply our crop of manioc,
inchikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of camote, [135]
nussikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
ashi, ashi úntsuaheita.
everything, everything multiply'!"

1: Karsten--136 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
539 (1928-29)

". . . . In order to exorcise this danger [JKM: fear of rats damaging the manioc, plantain, and camote fields] and protect the crops the Jibaro women perform the following ceremony. They take the shell of a manioc fruit, which has been eaten by the rats, and put some ashes into it. Upon this shell they put the shell of a plantain, gnawed by rats, together with some ashes. Lastly, upon these shells they put a third shell of a camote, gnawed by the same rodents, the shell being likewise strewn with ashes. All three shells are Then placed in a piece of an old, broken clay pot (called hakáchi). The women now form a ring round the broken clay pot containing the three fruit shells and begin to dance, singing a sort of chant or incantation to expel the rats.

This incantation runs as follows:

Katipichi, pand'machiru,
'Little rat, my crop of plantain,
Katipichi, inchichiru
little rat, my crop of camote,
takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Mamanchiru takarseipya,
My little manioc crop, don't touch it,
takarseipya, takarseipya.

don't touch it, don't touch it!
Winya mamaru,
My manioc field,
winya pand'maru
my plantain field,
winya inchiru,
my camote field,
takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Yapamikipya,
Don't eat my crop at night,
Yapamikipya.
don't eat it at night!'"

"The songs sung [JKM: at the tobacco wedding feast] are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaëma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaëma, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,

"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungüi, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
multiply my crop of manioc,
multiply my crop of camote,
mulitply my crop of earth-nuts!' etc."

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See infra, p. 351)."

"Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamárma,
our manioc plantation is still young,
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young,
nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,

Yeita másanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyúka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,
the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!'

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs [203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine

of the tiger and get crooked legs!"(1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals."

"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

"The dialogue at the Enéma [JKM: dialogue between two warriors] is rather stereotyped, the words being always about the same and being repeated several times. The following is the Enéma conversation among the tribes of the Upano, Morona, and Pastaza:

Enemártahei, 'Let us speak loudly!'
Chichama hustai, 'Let us speak words!'
Wárita kunai, 'What are we going to say?'
Waru irúrtai, 'Let us quickly assemble!'
Tumáshi akerkatai, 'Let us avenge the blood-guilt!'
Kashini kanártai, 'To-morrow we will sleep far away.'
Waru nikápsatai, 'Let us quickly take our enemy!'
Waru, chíchamahúomo, 'Quickly, before he is told about it!'
Unta nu, 'So says the Old One (the chief):'
Waru wakítketai, uchitai, 'Let us go, to return quickly, youths!'
Húomokki, húomokki, 'Quickly, quickly!' [284]
Manyáhei, 'We have been fighting!'
Mahei, 'We have killed!'
Tumáshi ayambruamákahei, 'We have revenged the blood!'
Muka tsupiktai, 'Let us cut off the head (of the enemy)!'

Hukitai, 'Let us carry it with us!'

Enemártinyu (enemártahei) means 'to speak in a loud voice,' which is consistent with the fact that the Indians do not speak in an ordinary voice but shout while carrying out the Enéma conversation. Each phrase is strongly contracted in the pronunciation, so as to consist only of two to four syllables, which naturally makes the conversation entirely unintelligible to one who does not know the words. In return, the phrase thus contracted is repeated twice, corresponding to the movements of the body. Thus, for instance, the beginning of the conversation:

Chichama hustai,
Warita kunai,
Waru irurtai, etc.

assumes the form:

Chamurstai, chamursti,
Waritkunai, waritkuni,
Warurtai, warurti,

and so on."

1: Karsten--285-286 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
539 (1928-29)

"The Anéndrata [JKM: war song] runs as follows:
Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother,'
Méseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'
Winya úchiruna chichahei, 'To my son also I have said:'
Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son,' [286]
Kákarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'
Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'
Wika misérchatinyu, 'I will not die!'
Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'
Kànárahei, kànárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'
Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)
Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'
Yamai achikahei, 'I have him already!'
Mányasa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'
Watski, shuarasha winiti, winiti, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

Winyasha mandoáti, 'And may he take my life if he can!'
Winya mandoáma assa, 'If he kills me,'
Uchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged).'
Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'"

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

"The dance [JKM: Wuimchi, a ring dance] is accompanied by conjurations. The first conjuration especially refers to the game, the dancers enumerating all those quadrupeds and birds which are most hunted by the Jibaros. First of all, different kinds of monkeys are mentioned, which are much appreciated by the Indians on account of their flesh, their fur, and their teeth. The [322] tsantsa thus, by virtue of its supernatural power will, among other things, promote the hunting luck of the victor. From the last incantations it moreover appears that it will also exert a favourable influence upon the home industry of the Indians--weaving, basket raddling, etc.

The Wuimchi is begun with shrill whistles. Thereafter the dancers proceed to enunciate the respective names, moving round the pillar, each word being followed by a sonorous 'hej!'

The conjuration runs as follows:

Hej, hej, hej!
Yákuma a, hej! 'there is the howling monkey' (Yakuma, Myletes).
Kapándinyu a, hej! 'there is the red one'; (the howling monkey is red).
Chuo a, hej! 'there is the brown monkey' (chuo).
Washi a, hej! 'tjere is the black monkey' (washi).
Sepuro a, hej!' there is the long-haired monkey' (sepuro).
Tsiri a hej! 'there is the capuchin monkey' (tsiri).

Tsema a, hej! 'there is the gray monkey' (tséma).
Pakki a, hej! 'there is the wild hog' (pakki).
Kávashu a, hej! 'there is the green parrot' (kávashu).
Púsurshu a, hej! 'there is the long-tailed one' (the macaw).
Máshu a, hej! 'there is the paugi' (mashu).
Kuchi a, hej! 'there is the domestic swine' (kuchi).
Kúturama a, hej! 'there is swine's lard'.
Ayandasta a, hej! 'there is the women's clothing'.
Ikichi, a, hej! 'there is the girdle to confine the clothing with.'
Changina a, hej! 'there is the raddled basket,' etc.

This conjuration is continued for about one hour, the dancers meantime moving alternately to right and to left. Every time they stop to move in the opposite direction they give loud whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi, chi,' as if to keep up with these shouts the continuity of the conjuration.

Another conjuration is devoted to women and the fecundity of the women. The fruitfulness of the women, consequently, will be one more of the beneficial effects of the tsantsa.

This conjuration is as follows:
Hej! hej! hej!

Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kanutpia, hej! [323]
Kanutpia, hej!
Nihantsi suruchu kanutpia, hej!
Kanutpani hitia, hej!
Numbitinya, hej!
Nihīrseisaka, kahetpia, hej!
Noa, hej!
Noa hej!
Kahetpia, hej!
Nikasneiti, hej!
Eitgamue, hej!
Pingerati, hej!
Maketi, hej!

The word noa means 'woman'. Kanutpia, kahetpia, numbintinya, nihīrseisaka, are different expressions for the sexual act. Nihántsi surúchu='may the tsantsa grant it;' nikasneiti='may it be true'; eitgamue='so you will do;' pingerati='may it be nice;' maketi='it is enough'."

1: Karsten--324 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
539 (1928-29)

"Another conjuration of the same kind is the following chant:

Yawá nu ikyáma,
Yawá nu ikyáma,
Yawártaki takarseipya,
Wúimina chianga,
Huimya, huimya,
Wúimina chianga,
Wúimina chianga,
Umaná míchakia,
Wúimina michaki,
Umaná chiangá,
Umaná chiasua
Umaná chianga,
Núruna chásamana,
Táhita chiangana, etc.

In this chant it is particularly 'the tiger in the forest' (yawánu ikyáma) that is the object of the conjuration (yawártaki tákarseipya='tiger, don't touch us!' wúimina, míchakia--'go away, get cold!'), in order that he may not come and kill the Indians. Evidently it is believed that the tiger (jaguar) is another shape which the soul of the killed enemy may assume when trying to take revenge upon the victor."

1; Karsten--349-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
539 (1928-29)

"Among the refrains sung at the washing of the tsantsa I have noted down the following as being the most important:

Chimbuyirumbá --yamáyumbá,
'Take up the seat! --set down the seat!'
Shimbágasmé, 'May it not move' (may it be steady!')
Styugáhosé, 'Put the tobacco cautiously on the floor!'
Wakéketá, 'Unfold the leaves!'
Umbunatá, 'Blow tobacco smoke!'
Uráratá, 'Open the bundle'!
Chichutamá, 'Throw saliva upon it!'
Shimbanákachá, 'May it not get damaged'!
Yamámishá, 'Recently enveloped are the tobacco leaves'.
Mishákatei, 'Recently made is the head of the enemy which we are going to wash'!
Yamanhiri, 'Recently we have passed the threads through its mouth.'[350]
Mishahosé, 'Take up the tsantsa'!
Mishatákuná, 'Hold it up for the dance'!
oa-á--aó."

"This song runs as follows:

Ohahaheitimi, 'Let us sing and dance!'

Hímyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
sinseri nátsamáma.
Hímyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó. [355]
Tsingúmimáma,
oháhaheita,
untuhára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Úntuhára,
ivyéramáma,
wakimsihára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Shirimbi nóastaimi,
narángoá,
oháhaheita,
nayápiumau
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

In translation:
'Let us sing and dance!
May all of you come!
Arranged in a file may you come and dance! Arranged in a file may you come without feeling shame!

1: Karsten--354-355 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
539 (1928-29)

Well dressed,
having adjusted your tarachi,
having arranged your ornaments,
may you sing and dance!
Grasping one another by the hands
may you dance!
Like the swallow which, (sitting on a bough) is moving his body to and fro (as if he were dancing),
Like the hawk, which is making his circles in the air, may you sing and dance!'"

"The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámaru, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,
tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!

apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.
I am blowing, I am blowing!
avanketná, avanketná.
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body
like a hook),
ayámsatná, ayámsatná
in order that you may get relief!
and so forth."

"The cock-of-the-rock (sumga), one of the most beautiful birds of the forests of Western Amazonas, the Jibaro woman addresses in the following way:

Sumga noa assana,
sumga noachina,
tu nakúrahei:
Sumga aishmangshiru,
kapáka pahâwue,
wisha hahúchi,
sumga noa assa,
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Being the wife of the cock-of-the-rock,
being the little wife of the sumga,
I jokingly sing to you thus:
Cock-of-the-rock, my little husband, [498]
wearing your many-coloured dress of feathers,
graceful in your movements!
I know I am useless myself,
but still I rejoice,

for I am the wife of the sumga--
So I jokingly sing!"

To the pheasant (kuyu) the woman sings:

Apu, apu, kuyu,
indeshipi kuyu,
mite, mite hamei,
winya kuyu uchirka,
chapursa nambikahei,
Wisha kuyu tukúsmahei,
uhuchiruk hapik amue,
indeshipi kuyu--
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Great pheasant, great pheasant,
pheasant with the long hair and the big tail,
my little son, whom I have intoxicated with the beer!
I have made myself like the pheasant,
putting on me your long tail
and dressing myself in your brilliant feathers--
So I jokingly sing.'"

1: Karsten--513-516 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"In ancient times the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruit which they cultivate to-day, nor did they possess the art of hunting the animals and birds of the wood with lances and blowguns. [514]

In those days there lived a Jibaro woman whose name was Ungucha. She only had a field of tumba (1), but no other kind of plantation.

And Ungucha said to the tumba: 'Why should I plant and tend thee, useless tree, which dost not give me any fruit? Where can I get manioc, plantain, and other fruits to eat?'

One day Ungucha found some manioc shells on the river bank. She went down along the bank looking for the manioc and at last came to an open place where there were a number of large áha (plantations). Here Ungucha met the Jibaro woman Nungüi and

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"1. Tumba is a wild forest plant with large leaves which much resemble the leaves of the plantain, but it gives no edible fruit. The Jibaros say that the plantain is descended from the tumba and therefore call it 'the son of the tumba' (tumba uchiru)."

said to her: 'Give me manioc and plantain to eat.' Nungüi answered: 'That I cannot give you, but instead of food take this little girl who is my daughter.' Ungucha took the girl, went off, and made a shelter in which she placed the girl. Then she said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari múitsa a, What clay vessel (for manioc-beer) is there?' The girl repeated: wari múitsa a, and at once there appeared a large clay pot of the kind the Jibaros use for manioc-beer. Ungucha again said to the girl: wari nihamánchi a, 'What manioc-beer is there?' The girl repeated: wari nihamánchi a, and instantly the clay pot was filled with manioc substance for making beer. Ungucha again said: 'Repeat these words: wari michaka a, What mashed earth-nuts are there?' The girl repeated: wari michaka a, and instantly there was a clay pot filled with mashed earth-nuts.

Ungucha now took the daughter of Nungüi and went out in the forest outside the hut and said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari áha a, 'What fields are there?' The girl repeated: wari áha a, and at once there appeared before them large flourishing plantations of plantain, manioc, sweet potatoes, maize, sanahoria, beans, earth-nuts, etc., in short, all the different kinds of fruit and roots which the Jibaros cultivate to-day.

Ungucha again said to the girl: Repeat these words: wari kúndinyaka a, 'What game there is?' The girl repeated: wari kúndinyaka a, and at the same moment there was before them a great quantity of flesh of the different animals and birds that the Jibaros

nowadays hunt, flesh of the wild hog, of the paca, of the agouti, of all sorts of monkey, of the tucan, of the paugi, of the wild turkey, of the parrot, etc. And Ungucha began to name all these animals and birds which thus came to her, and [515] whenever she wanted a special kind of animal or bird she asked the girl to mention the name of that animal or bird.

She said, for instance:

Wari pakki a, 'Where is the peccary pig?'
Wari kayúka a, 'Where is the agouti' (a rodent)?
Wari yákuma a, 'Where is the red howling monkey?'
Wari washi a, 'Where is the black monkey?'
Wari kávashu a, 'Where is the green parrot?'
Wari máshu a, 'Where is the paugi?'
Wari kúyu a, 'Where is the wild turkey?'
and so on.

The flesh of all these animals and birds, however, always came to Ungucha in a ready prepared and dried state and the heads of them never came to her. And Ungucha said to the girl: 'Why do not you give me the heads, I want the heads also!' But the girl could not give her the heads. Ungucha got angry, took some ashes from the hearth, rubbed the eyes of the girl with them and said to the girl: 'Give me a head, I want a

head!' In the same moment the girl was veiled in dense smoke and disappeared into the interior of the earth. There the daughter of Nungüi has remained with her mother ever since. But since that time the Jibaros have known all those fruits and plants which they cultivate to-day, although they obtain them only with arduous work. Since the time of Nungüi they have also known those animals and birds of the forest which they still hunt.

According to another version the end of the myth, which tells us how the daughter of Nungüi disappeared, runs as follows:

Unguch had a son who sat in the house at the fire-place. This youth was bad, and he got angry because the daughter of Nungüi had come to the house. He said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari iguánchi a, What demons are there? Let us see whether you can summon them also.' The daughter of Nungüi repeated: wari iguánchi a, and instantly the demons appeared who are now tormenting mankind. Ungucha's son again said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari kaunchi a, What rotten things are there? I want to see whether you can summon such things also.' The girl repeated: wari kaunchi a, and instantly a disagreeable rotten smell was in the house.

Now the son of Ungucha said: 'We have in this house a bad girl who summons all sorts of evil things. Why should we keep her here? Let us turn her out from the house.' And he took ashes from the fire-[516]place and threw them upon the girl. The daughter of Nungüi began to weep and said: 'Why should I stay here? I will go back to my mother

under the earth.' And the girl went out to the plantation outside the house and here she suddenly disappeared under the earth in smoke.

Now the Jibaros would again have suffered from famine after the daughter of Nungüi had left them. But the fields were already made, the manioc sticks had been planted, and the seeds had been sown. The fruits thus grew by themselves in due time.

Note. In this myth we find a theme which frequently appears in primitive cultural myths, namely, divine goodness and the ingratitude of man. The Jibaro women still have a very vivid consciousness of their indebtedness to the great Earth-mother, the invisible donor of all good things. They speak of Nungüi as a divine being still really existing, and we already know the devout worship which is paid to her on certain occasions, especially in sowing the fields and at the 'feast of the women.'"

"I give this myth in the Jibaro language, with interlineal translation.

Yòuntsu unta hī atsúmasa whuétta shuāra eini tsukáppi
In primitive times, fire not existing, ancient Jibaros under the arms
tsuira hásma nu yúoma. Tákkea hī ríntinyu. Ni Tákkea noa
(the food) made tender, ate it. Takkea alone fire possessed. Takkea's wife
áhana wui, wakítka himbui weinikama. Tura,
going to the plantation and returning a humming-bird saw. Thereupon
hukīma, tánguchi nahána, hīna anáru huhúrtitsa.
she took him (home), tame to make him, at the fire placed him to dry him.
Huhúrma sīri hīna huáku ákasa
Having got dry, he shook his wings, took of the fire, having caught it
uhúki. Tura numa áka ikyúkma. Noa
with his tail. Thereupon in a tree, which caught fire, he left it. A woman,
áha wini tu weinika hukima. Hi ikyámsata,
returning from the plantation, seeing it thus, took it with her. 'Light the fire',
timya, yamai hī wéinikahei. Yurúma awita painikatârum
she said, 'now fire I have found. Place the pots (on the fire) to cook the food,
pīngera yúotinyu.
so that we may eat nicely.'[517]

Another Jibaro Indian related the same myth to me with more detail in the following way:

In ancient times the Jibaros did not know the use of fire. In those times, in preparing the food, they were in the habit of warming the flesh and making it tender by keeping it under the arms, and the manioc they made 'ripe' by keeping it under the chin. Eggs were boiled by burying them in the sand and exposing them to the sun.

The only one who possessed fire was a Jibaro by the name Takkea. He had learned to make fire by rubbing two pieces of wood against each other. But he was an enemy of the other Jibaros and did not like to give it to them, nor teach them how to make it. Many Jibaros (who in those times had the shape of animals and birds) came flying and tried to steal fire from the house of Takkea, but they were not able to do it. Takkea kept the door of his house a little open, and when the birds came he killed them, squeezing them to death between the door and the post, and ate them.

Lastly the humming-bird, himbui, said to the rest: 'All right, I will steal fire from Takkea's house. The humming-bird wet his wings and placed himself in the middle of the way, pretending to be unable to fly and trembling as if he felt cold. The wife of Takkea, returning from the fields, saw the humming-bird, and took him to her house with the intention of drying him and taming him. After a while the humming-bird, having got half dry, shook his wings and tried to raise himself for flight, but he could not.

Takkea's wife again took him and placed him beside the fire. Soon the humming-bird was perfectly dry and prepared himself to steal some fire. Since he could not carry away a whole fire-brand he took the fire with his tail, allowing the feathers to catch fire and flew away from the house. He flew up into a high tree with very dry bark, which the Jibaros call mukúna. The bark caught fire and the humming-bird carried away a little of this bark, taking it to a house. 'Here you have fire', he shouted to the rest, 'light your fire from it at once, all of you may take of it, now you will be able to cook your food nicely. You need no longer make your food ripe by keeping it under the arms.'

When Takkea saw that the humming-bird had fled with fire he got very angry and began to reproach his people. 'Why have you allowed that bird to enter the house and steal fire. From now on everybody will have fire and that is your fault.'

From that time onwards the Jibaros have possessed fire. They have [518] also learnt how to make fire afresh by rubbing two wooden pieces of the 'cotton tree' (urúchi numi) against each other.

Note. As I have pointed out before, this cotton tree is not identical with the cotton tree that the Jibaros cultivate at present. The urúchi numi which according to the myth was formerly used for producing fire was another tree, nowadays only known by name. Formerly the Jibaros also used the wood of another tree, called ipyáknumi, for the purpose."

1: Karsten--518-519 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"Salt was, in ancient times, a man named Whui. Whui went out seeking a place where he could settle down and live, singing: tui puhústai, tui puhústai, 'Where shall I settle, where shall I settle?' Lastly he came to the region where the river Curi-Curi unites its waters with those of the river Mangosiza. This was a place where Whui wanted to stay and he sang: Mangosizai, Curi-Curi, pangia, pangia puhústai, i.e., 'At Mangosiza, at Curi-Curi, there I will stay, (flying like a butterfly) with fluttering wings.' Ever since that time Whui has lived at Mangosiza, where there is still the salt spring. By Whui having urinated, a little of the salt has also been spread to certain other parts outside the Mangosiza. The salt is the urine of Whui.(1)

According to another myth the Jibaros discovered salt in the following way.

Very long ago, at a time when the Jibaros had already existed some time upon the earth, a Jibaro named Whui married a girl and lived with her in a house. Whui had much affection for his wife and brought her every day game and other gifts. One day

"1. The butterfly (wambishku) according to the idea of the Jibaros is a 'soul' (wakáni), and it is associated with the salt springs because butterflies have a great liking for salt water and are seen constantly flying over the spring. When boiling salt the Jibaros are in the habit of singing incantations to the butterflies."

he came from the forest with a small clay pot (yukúnda) full of salt, which he gave his wife. He brought her salt in this way several days, and he likewise began to present salt to his other relatives, but they did not know from where he brought it and how he prepared it. The only thing they knew was that he always took his way into the forest and returned late in the afternoon with the salt. [519]

A Jibaro woman who was curious to know from where he obtained the salt said to herself: 'I will go after him secretly to find out from where he takes the salt.' One day when Whui went to the forest she followed him without his knowing it. She saw him arrive at a shelter where he began to urinate into a clay pot which was placed at the fire, his wife standing close by looking at it and laughing. The woman wished to surprise him and suddenly rushed forth with an exclamation. 'Why do you go secretly in this way', she said to Whui, 'and do not let us others know how you prepare the salt?' Whui was ashamed because he had allowed himself to be surprised, and because a woman had seen him urinating. Ayu, ayu, máketi, máketi, he said 'it is all right, it is all right.' But he thought to himself: 'I will make an end of all my tribesmen, who will now get to know how I obtain the salt'. Thereupon Whui made a big feast and invited all his tribesmen from the whole neighbourhood to it. When all were assembled Whui closed the doors of the house so that no one was able to escape. Then, suddenly, the earth opened and all those who were in the house, the guests, Whui himself and his wife and

children, his swine, hens, and dogs, sank down into it. There all those people have lived ever since.

But those who, during early times, came there to seek salt and dug in the earth could hear, from the interior of it, the voices of those people that Whui had caused to fall into it, the voices of men and women conversing and laughing, of dogs barking, and of cocks crowing. Later, however, this subterranean dwelling-place was destroyed by people who sought salt, and to-day one no longer hears such voices from the interior of the earth. But the salt which the Jibaros still obtain from the salt spring and prepare by boiling the salt water is the urine of Whui, who buried himself there with the other Jibaros."

1: Karsten--519-520 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The sun, etsa, and the moon, nántu, were in ancient times people (Jibaros) and lived here on the earth in the same house, and had the same wife. The latter was a bird, the goat-sucker (Caprimulgus), called Aōho by the Jibaros. Sometimes the sun was with Aōho, sometimes the moon was with her. When the sun embraced Aōho he was very warm, and the woman liked it. On the other hand, when the moon embraced Aōho [520] he was very cold and Aōho did not like it. 'You are very cold', she said to the moon, 'I do not like you.' The sun made fun of the moon and said to him: 'Why are you so cold? I am very warm and therefore the woman likes me.' The moon got angry at this and went up to the sky (nayéimbi), climbing along a liana. At the same time he blew upon the sun so that he became eclipsed for a moment and was not visible. The woman, who believed that she had been left alone, said: 'Why should I remain here alone? I will also go up to the sky.' The woman consequently started to climb after the moon along the same liana. She carried with her a basket full of clay (núi), of the kind the Jibaro women use when they make their clay vessels. Aōho was already near the sky when the moon noticed that she followed him. 'Why do you follow me?' he said to the woman. 'I do not like to have you any longer'. The moon struck the liana so that it broke and the woman fell to the ground with the basket of clay which she carried. The clay was scattered, and wherever some of it fell, clay is still found.

Aōho thus remained on the earth and was changed into the bird bearing that name.

Her doleful voice is still heard at every new moon when she calls to her husband who abandoned her.

Later on the sun also went up to the sky climbing along another liana, but even there, the moon is obliged to flee continuously from the sun, running over the mountains and forests. They can never march together and never can they be reconciled. Hence the sun is only visible in the day, and the moon only appears at night.

If the sun and the moon, instead of quarrelling for possession of the woman, had been able to agree as to having her in common, then among the Jibaros also two men would now be able to have one woman in common. But since the sun and the moon were jealous of each other and engaged in controversy about the woman, the Jibaros are still jealous of one another and fight for possession of the women.

But the clay, of which the women make the clay vessels for the feasts has its origin in the woman Aōho, having emanated from her soul, and wherever this clay is now found it has been scattered by the woman Aōho, who was afterwards changed into the bird of that name.'

1: Karsten--521 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"In ancient times the moon lived on the earth, having the goatsucker Aōho, for his wife. But the moon and Aōho did not live well together and were always quarrelling. One day the moon said to Aōho: 'Prepare for me some pumpkin so that I can eat it when I return from work in the afternoon.' The moon went off and Aōho cooked the pumpkin, but having done so she ate the pieces herself and left the smallest and poorest for her husband. When the moon returned in the evening, Aōho brought him the pumpkin in a pininga. The moon, noting the meanness of his wife, said to her: 'Why do you bring me these useless pieces of pumpkin? Who has eaten the best pieces? You have certainly done it.' Aōho answered: 'I have not done it, look at my mouth, if I had eaten the pumpkin my lips would still be wet.' The moon said: 'Since you take care of me so badly, I go away up to the sky and leave you alone here.' And the moon began to climb up to the sky along a big liana. When Aōho saw that the moon had left her she decided to follow him, climbing along the same liana and carrying with her a basket with pumpkin to prepare it for her husband. When Aōho was already near the sky, the moon gave the liana a blow so that it broke and Aōho fell to the earth. When she fell, all the pumpkins which she had in the basket were spread on the ground and wherever a pumpkin fell it began to grow. Ever since that time the Jibaros have known and cultivated the pumpkin.

But Aōho still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird which has the same name, and

she still wails on account of the loss of her husband. At every new moon she calls to him, singing with a mournful voice: aíshiru, aíshiru, úruka winya hapáma, 'My husband, my husband, why have you abandoned me?'

Note. The goatsucker (Caprimulgus) is a bird which particularly attracts the attention of a traveller in the forests of Western Amazonas because of its peculiar, mournful song which is especially heard at night when the new moon appears. This song could be expected to strike the imagination of primitive peoples."

1: Karsten--522 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The goatsucker (sacha anga) in ancient times lived on the earth as a woman and had the moon, which in those days lived also on the earth and was a man, for her lover. The moon came on a visit to Anga every night and slept with her, but she did not know who he was, and the moon did not reveal it to her. In order to recognize him, Anga one night blackened the cheeks of the moon with huituc (Genipa americana). The moon tried to wash the black spots from his cheeks, but when he could not do it he was ashamed and left the earth and the woman for ever, climbing up to the sky along a long and broad liana. Even to-day the black spots are still visible on the moon's face, as everybody can see. But Anga, who was left alone, grieved bitterly at the loss of her lover. She still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird, the goatsucker, and at every new moon her wailing notes are heard, the same notes in which the Indian women lament over their dead husbands: Nyuca curilla, nyuca cusalla, imamant' hichúscani, imata tucúshcani, i.e. 'my little husband, my dear one, why have you abandoned me, what will become of me?'"

"The sun (etsa) in ancient times was a Jibaro Indian and a great hunter. He was the first who used the five kinds of arrow which the Jibaros still use for their blowguns, shooting with those made of the five different kinds of palm--ináyu, tindúki, kungúki, koágshi, and mamatsinsáka --of the wood of which they must be made to be strong and good.

The sun sent the fox (kuhánchama) to try the new arrows and said to him 'Go and shoot with the arrows at the black monkeys which eat so much fruit in the trees.' The fox went off and started to shoot at the monkeys with the different kinds of arrow. First he shot with an arrow made of the ináyu palm but missed, and the arrow flew far away to another part of the country. On the spot where it fell there grew later on an ináyu palm. But since the arrow went so far, the ináyu palm (Maximiliana regia) does not now grow in the land of the Jibaros; they are obliged to buy it from other Indians. The fox thereupon shot [523]with an arrow made of the tindúki palm, but missed again, the arrow flying over the monkeys. On the place where the arrow fell there grew a tindúki palm. Then the fox shot with a kungúki arrow, but again missed, and where the arrow fell there grew a kungúki palm. The fox then shot with an arrow made of the koágshi palm, but missed as before and on the spot where the arrow fell there grew a koágshi palm. Lastly the fox shot with a mamatsinsáka arrow, but even then he missed. The arrow flew high over the monkeys and fell to the ground so far from the land inhabited

by the Jibaros that they do not even know where it was, and at that place there grew later a mamatsinsáka palm; but this palm the Jibaros only know by name.

When the fox returned the sun asked him: 'Now, have you brought down any of the black monkeys which eat so much fruit?' 'No', answered the fox, lying to the sun, 'I have not seen any monkeys at all, they have not come to eat the fruit.' The sun, seeing that the fox told him lies, grasped him by the neck and poured some tobacco water into his mouth. The fox began to vomit and threw up a quantity of seeds which the monkeys had shaken down from the trees. The sun said to the fox: 'Because you have told me lies you will hereafter go starving like a woman who is alone in the kitchen (ekínturu). (1) If you had shot the monkeys with your arrows, even the women would have been able to bring down the animals of the wood with blowguns and poisoned arrows.'

If the fox, instead of missing the monkeys with the five arrows, had shot one monkey with each of them, the Jibaros would now be able, when they go out hunting, to bring down one animal with every arrow they shoot, and thus they would only lose a small number of arrows during their life time. But since the fox missed, the Jibaro men too are now bound to miss very frequently and lose many arrows, whereas they are able to shoot animals with only a few of them."

"1. That is, a woman who has no husband that brings her game and therefore is obliged to go hungry."

"According to one myth current among the Jibaros the stars originated in the following way.

In ancient times the sky (nayéimbi) was solid like the earth, with many stones. Here there lived a Jibaro woman named Atsúta. She was the first who possessed beans (mika) the different kinds of silique which [524] the Jibaros now know, the númbuima mika, the tingúkama mika, the purusangápa mika, and the surítika mika. Atsúka sowed these different kinds of bean in the sky. Later on all these beans were lighted. In this way, the woman Atsúka created the stars, which were originally the beans sowed by Atsúta.

According to another myth the stars were originally people (eintsu) like the sun and the moon. They originated in the following way.

A Jibaro woman married a jaguar and lived with him in a house. One day the jaguar said to the woman: 'Eat out the lice which I have in my head.' The woman began to look for the lice and took one louse from the head of her husband and put it in her mouth; but afterwards she spat it out in disgust. The jaguar, noting this, said to the woman: 'How is it that you dislike your husband in that way and do not like to eat out the lice from his head?' Having said this, the jaguar bit his wife to death and tore her body into pieces to eat it. The woman had been pregnant with two eggs, and when the jaguar did this, the eggs fell out. The mother of the jaguar was present and when she saw the eggs she picked them up, took a clay pot, and placed some cotton and the eggs in it. She kept

and tended the eggs, and after some time two small Jibaro boys were hatched from them, and the boys were stars. The stars grew larger and larger and the mother of the jaguar went on tending them, getting another and bigger clay pot for them. When the jaguar went out hunting in the forest, the mother took them out of the clay pot on the floor and gave them food. And when the jaguar returned from the forest she again put them into the pot, keeping the latter on the roof of the house. As the stars grew up they took care of themselves, being anxious that the jaguar should not see them, since they knew that he would kill them. They became youths, and still they stayed in the house of the jaguar. Always when the jaguar went to the forest they got down, had their meals, and talked with their grandmother, but when the jaguar returned home they went up to the roof, hiding themselves there in a recess.

One day when the jaguar had gone out hunting as usual the stars said to the mother of the jaguar: 'Tell the jaguar, when he returns from the forest, to cut for you two good chonta lances. It might happen that the jaguar demon (iguánchi yawá) comes from the forest while he is away and kills you.' The stars said this because they intended to kill the jaguar to avenge the death of their mother. When the jaguar returned home his mother did as the stars had asked her. The jaguar cut two lances of chonta and at once went out hunting again. Then the stars [525] got down and killed the mother of the jaguar with the lances. They cut her body in pieces, put the flesh into a pot, and boiled it well so that the jaguar might eat it on his return. Thereupon they fixed a pole in the

plantation near the house and blew upon it so as to make it speak to the jaguar with his mother's voice when he returned and asked for her. The jaguar soon came home from the forest and shouted: nukúa hau, nukúa hau, 'Where are you, mother? Come at once for I am in a hurry and must presently go back to the forest; I have caught neither hogs nor anything else; I am hungry and returned home only to eat and will go out hunting again at once.' Then the pole answered from the plantation with the voice of the jaguar's mother: 'You can eat in the house I am here in the plantation collecting some manioc. There is meat for you in the house, you need only eat it.' The jaguar entered the house and ate the meat, the very flesh of his mother who had been cooked in the pot, and again went out into the forest. When he returned, however, he did not come alone but brought with him all the other kinds of jaguar and tiger cats which live in the forest. There was the soacha, the great black jaguar, the shia-shia, the ordinary spotted jaguar, the hapayawára, or leopard, the yambínga, yantána, yawára, and other kinds of felidae. All these were assembled in the house, and the stars decided to kill them all at once when they went away again. Now the house of the tigers was situated close to a precipice over which there was only one way, a bridge made by the tigers consisting of tree trunks. It was not possible to enter the house from any other side. As soon as the tigers went off the two stars placed themselves at both sides of the precipice over which the bridge led, each armed with his lance. In the middle of the bridge on its

underside they made a cutting, so that the bridge would easily break under a great weight. In the evening all the tigers returned from the forest. At the head came the black jaguar, soácha, and at the end the yambínga, the two most powerful of all tigers, guarding the rest. The tigers stepped on to the bridge: when they were in the middle of it, one of the stars threw his lance at the soácha who came first and precipitated him into the abyss; the other star did the same to the yambínga who came last. At the same time the bridge broke and the rest of the tigers also fell into the precipice and perished. The only one who was able to save himself was the leopard, hapayawára; being extremely agile he managed, taking an enormous jump, to reach the edge of the precipice and disappeared into the forest.

The other star looked for a place where he could join his brother [526] and both went into the house. There they sat down to meditate on the situation. 'It is not possible for us to live in peace in this country', they said, 'for the leopard has escaped, and one day he will take revenge for the death of the rest and kill us; it is better that we seek another country where we can live safely.' The stars went and collected a number of arrows of the cané growing on the bank of the river called wachi. They brought these pieces of cane into the house and the one said to the other: 'with the aid of these we will ascend to the sky'. One of the stars was bigger than the other and was named Yanguái;(1) the other and smaller star was named Ya. Ya first threw an arrow at the

"1. The star Venus."

sky; the arrow however did not reach it but fell down on to the earth. Then Yanguái, who was bigger, threw an arrow which reached the sky and stuck in it. Thereupon he threw another arrow into the hole at the lower end of the first one, so that it was fixed there; into the second they shot a third, into third a fourth, and so on, until a long line had been formed which reached from the sky down to the earth. 'Now we have a line', said the stars, 'but it is very weak, it will probably break if we try to climb up to the sky along it.' Then the stars touched the arrows with their fingers at those points where they fitted into one another, blowing and spitting upon them, and in this way a strong, compact band was formed of the different arrows. The stars climbed up to the sky along this band and remained there. This band is still by called [sic] by the Jibaros étsa néika, i.e. 'the liana of the sun'.(2)

From these two stars, Yanguái and Ya, the rest of the numerous stars which now exist in the heavens originated. In ancient times the stars, which were like people, frequently descended from the heavens to the earth along the band étsa néika, and similarly people from here sometimes ascended to the sky, by the same means. It is owing to this that we still know the story related above; if there had not been this

"2. The scientific name of this liana, which resembles a rope-ladder, is Caulotretus."

communication between the heavens and the earth we should not know how the stars originated. Later on, however, the moon destroyed the band étsa néika, which in consequence no longer exists and it is therefore not possible in our days to ascend to the sky from the earth.

Note. This myth is of interest, among other things, as showing to what extent the mind of the Jibaros is penetrated by the idea of retaliation, and the treacherous way in which they go to work to annihilate their enemies."

1: Karsten--527-532 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The first victory feast of the Jibaros.

[KS: For the Jivaro text of this myth with interlineal translation see the original work, pp. 527-530. The English translation is given on the following sheets.]

In ancient times, it is related, there was another kind of people than nowadays. In those times all animals and birds were like men (shuāra) the jaguar, (shia-shia), was like a Jibaro, the sloth (uyúshi) was like a Jibaro, all monkeys, the black monkey (washi), the red howling monkey (yakúma), the brown monkey (chuo), the capuchin monkey (tsiri) were like Jibaros; all birds were men; the paugi (mashu), the trumpeter bird (chiva), the mago (chui), the umbrella-bird (ungúmi), the bird yukúru, the bird wikeáko, the bird chukáchi, the bird shíki were like Jibaros; all fish were people; the wambi, the kánga, the sheat-fish napi, were like Jibaros; the crab (uríki) was like a Jibaro, the snail (tsúntsu) was like a Jibaro. In a lake the great serpent (pangi) also lay outstretched. The serpent made an end of (killed) many people. Therefore the whole people was assembled, all being angry. The wikeáko said to the yukúru: 'What shall we do? Why shall the whole people be made an end of, why shall so many women be made widows? May we assemble quickly, may we kill the serpent, may we kill him.' The chukáchi spoke: Yukúru, are not you really a brave man? Make a breach in the lake shore (an outlet for its waters), dig it, dig it! As soon as the water of the lake has flowed away we will kill the serpent, we will certainly kill him.' 'All right', said the yukúru, 'but at this moment we shall not be able to dig through the shore of the lake, but another day we will make the water flow out [531] from it. Then we will kill the serpent when he leaves.' Thereafter (another day) they all assembled and made a breach in the lake shore. 'Now we have dug through the shore' (they said), 'now the water will flow off; after, when the

serpent tries to go out, kill him, kill him, do not let him escape!'

In the lake there were also a number of fish and the crab (uríki). Since the water of the lake had been made to flow out the fish and the crab were also obliged to leave. Then the bird shiki speared the crab (uríki), and the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) killed the fish kánga and 'skinned' his head. The bird mashu shouted to the bird wikeáko: 'Spear the wámbi also, spear him, do not let him escape!' 'The other one (the wikeáko) was not able to spear him because he slipped. The bird chui really speared the wámbi, but the wámbi escaped, having drawn out the lance. Much blood flowed; hence the fish wámbi has still a red tail and red fins.

Then the serpent also left the lake, being very angry. 'Now he comes, now he comes', all shouted. 'Chiva, spear him you, spear him you!' But the chiva fell from fear. Then all fell upon him (the serpent) and killed him. The yukúru shouted to the mashu: 'Why do you stay there afraid? Be a man and cut off his head!' The mashu seized a machete and cut off the head of the serpent. Then all shouted: 'Take off his scalp, skin his head, skin it! Now we will assemble, all of us, we will make a feast, the widows may make nice manioc-beer, much, much, much! Now we may dance, now we may rejoice, for we have killed the serpent!'

Thereupon all the widows assembled in the house. Then a woman said to the yukúru: 'You marry me, you marry me; are not you the man who killed the serpent who made

an end of my husband's life?' 'Cha, the yukúru said, 'I do not think I have killed him alone; all of us killed him in company. I do not think it is my duty to marry you. May the mashu decide, he is the host, let him decide!'

The wikeáko sang:

'I also have killed,
I also have killed,
Now, now, now, I rejoice,
I rejoice, I rejoice!'

All were feasting, all were dancing, the women the children, all danced.

All the widows, intoxicated by the beer, sang:

'We have killed the serpent, [532]
we have killed the serpent,
him who made an end of so many people eating them,
now we rejoice, now we rejoice!'

All the beer was consumed because so many people had assembled.

'Now we have consumed all the beer', (they said), 'now we may leave after we have feasted and danced. May we go home and sleep.'

All went off.

Thereupon the language of all these people was altered. The language of the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) was this: hum, hum, hum. The language (cry) of the paugi (mashu) was

this: histi, histi, histi. The language of the black monkey (washi) became this: óa-oa, oa-á-aó. These languages were not understood. The washi went away with one language, the mashu went away with another language, the ungúmi went away with a third language. Thereafter many of them were provided with wings, and many of them became fishes. The washi, the yakúma, the tsiri were made like people. So they are all now.

Everything was ended.

Note. This myth gives us a vivid picture of a battle between Jibaro Indians and also throws light over certain details of the great victory-feast. As we find, it is customary among the Jibaros that a warrior marries the widow of the man whose death he has avenged, and the woman then plays the most important part at the great feast in which the victory is celebrated. --As to the language which the animals assumed after the great feast, it is of interest to note that the men at the feast still shout histi, histi, histi as did formerly the bird paugi (mashu), whereas the women, when dancing, incessantly repeat the refrain: óa-á-aó, oa-á-aó, as formerly the black monkey sang."

"The Jibaros were about to make a great feast and had sent two youths to the forest to hunt. The youths travelled three days into the forest and camped there in the shade of a big tree. On the following day they started hunting; they shot a number of peccary pigs, monkeys, and birds. They brought the animals and birds to the camp, where they dried the flesh at the fire, and then placed it on a frame made of boughs to keep it there. On the following day they again went out hunting. When they returned to the shelter in the afternoon they found [533]that the whole of the meat they had placed on the frame had been stolen. 'Who has stolen our food while we have been absent?', the youths asked one another. But they could not find the thief. The youths dried the flesh which they had caught that day and placed it on the frame as before. When they returned in the afternoon they found that the meat had again been stolen. 'Who can it be that does us this harm', they again said to each other, 'and always steals our meat while we are in the forest?' But they could not give any answer. 'All right', said one of the youths, 'you go to-morrow alone into the forest and I will stay here to see who it is that steals our meat while we are absent.' They did as they youth proposed, and the one remained in the neighbourhood of the shelter while the other went hunting.

After a while the Jibaro who had stayed in the shelter heard a strange noise from within the big tree at the root of which they had made the shelter. He hid himself behind another tree and saw how the great serpent (pangi) came from the hollow stem of

the tree, crawled to the frame where the meat was and ate it, whereupon he again entered the hollow tree. 'I have seen the thief,' he said to the other Jibaro youth, 'it is the serpent who lives in the big tree that always comes out to eat our meat while we are in the forest.' 'All right', said the other youth, 'we will go out and collect much fuel and place it round the tree, and if the quantity we collect to-day is not enough, we will collect more to-morrow. Then we will make a fire round the tree and burn the serpent.' The youths proceeded in this way and made a big fire close to the tree. The serpent which was within it began hissing dreadfully and came out from the trunk, threw himself to the ground, twisted himself round the stem and was burned. 'Now we have burned the serpent!', the youths exclaimed. A smell of burned flesh arose.' 'Shall we try the flesh of the serpent?' asked one of the youths. 'No, how could we try the flesh of the serpent', answered the other, 'it is very bad'.

Having said this the youth went into the forest for a moment. When he came back his comrade said to him: 'Now I have tasted of the flesh of the serpent.' 'Why have you tasted it?', answered the other, 'perhaps you will die, for you have eaten the flesh of the pangi who is an evil demon.' I was hungry', the other said, 'therefore I ate of the flesh'. In the same moment the Jibaro youth who had tried the flesh of the serpent felt a consuming thirst and drank all the water which was at hand. 'Where shall I get more water to drink', he asked, 'for a terrible thirst torments me?' They both went to a

small pool in the neighbourhood. [534] The youth started to drink water, he swallowed and swallowed, but he could not allay his thirst. 'I shall burst from the water I drink', he said, 'and be wholly changed into a lake because I have eaten the flesh of the pangi'. The youth drinking the water was first changed into a frog, then into a small alligator, and lastly into a water serpent which grew larger and larger, and at the same time the water in the pool increased more and more and became a lake. The other Jibaro youth got frightened and tried to draw him out of the lake but he could not. He went away from the lake for a moment, and when he returned the snake had been changed into a monstrous serpent, a pangi, and the lake had swollen into a very big lake which threatened to inundate the earth. The Jibaro who had been transformed into a serpent said to his comrade: 'Leave me quickly to save your own life. I have been made a serpent and I shall probably not spare you but swallow you. Go quickly to our people and relate to them everything that has happened: tell them that the water will rise more and more and will inundate the whole earth, and that they may save themselves by mounting quickly the highest hills and climbing up into the highest trees growing there; unless they do so, they will die in the water which will cover the whole earth. As to yourself, take your tsappa (gourd) and put it in your shigra (bag of chambira fibres) and then climb the highest hill. If the water should cover the hill also, climb into the highest palm growing there to save yourself.'

The other Jibaro youth did as his comrade had told him. He went home and told the

other Jibaros what had happened and advised them how to save themselves, but they did not believe him and said: 'What nonsense is the man talking, probably he has killed his comrade.' Then the youth went alone, carrying with him his tsappa in the shigra. When the water began to cover the earth he mounted a high hill, and when the hill was covered he climbed up in a high palm which grew on the hill. All the rest of the Jibaros, who had not troubled to save themselves, were drowned. The youth who had mounted the hill was the only one who was saved. He remained on the hill and in the palm for many days until at last the waters began to sink. In order to find out whether the water had receded and the earth had dried up he threw down a seed from the palm. As soon as he heard the seed fall on the ground the youth got down from the palm. 'Where is my comrade and the rest of my people who have perished?', he said to himself. He saw that some vultures alighted in the valley between the hills and understood that the [535] bodies of those who had perished in the deluge were there. He went in search of his comrade who had been transformed into a serpent, and at last he found him in a small pool of water, the serpent now being also quite small. The youth said: 'This is my comrade, how could I leave him here alone?' He placed the serpent in the gourd which he had brought with him in his bag, took him to a bigger pool and left him there. But the serpent grew more and more. When the pool was no longer big enough for him, he took him to a lagoon and put him there. Later on, when the serpent had grown still

bigger, he took him to a lake, but as he was too big to be carried, he took a vine and tied it round his neck and dragged him to the lake. There the vine suddenly broke and the serpent disappeared under the water. The Jibaro had a dog who started to swim in the water, and the serpent swallowed him. Now he dared no longer approach the lake to look for the serpent. But in a dream the serpent said to the youth: 'Do not come near me any longer, for I am bound to eat you as I have eaten the dog.' There the serpent remained and increased, and from that lake he has spread to all other lakes where the great serpent now exists."

"THE NUHINO OR 'EARTH STORY' OF THE JIVAROS

In the beginning there were two parents, Kumpara, (35) the Creator, and Chingoso, his wife. They had a son, Etsa, the Sun. One day when Etsa was sleeping, Kumpara took a piece of mud and, placing it in his mouth, blew it on Etsa, with the result that it became a daughter, Nantu, the Moon. Nantu was created in this fashion in order that Etsa might make her his wife, which he could not do were she a blood sister.

There was a bird, Auhu, (36) the goatsucker, who was active only in the nighttime. When the Moon appeared he became enamored of her and attempted to have an affair but his advances were not received by Nantu.

After a time Etsa likewise became enamored of Nantu, having a strong desire to have children. Although he paid ardent court to her, Nantu was coy and kept away from him. One day Etsa was painting his face with achiote to make himself attractive and, while he was doing so, Nantu took advantage of his preoccupation and disappeared by shooting up to the sky. Nantu, upon arriving at the sky, painted herself black with ona (witau) so that her body would become the night. She also painted her face, these being the markings on the surface of the Moon. Then Nantu followed a steep trail upward, climbing and climbing like a jaguar over the curving vault of the sky.

"35. Doubtless a corruption of 'Compadre.'

36. Also called Aishiru."

Auhu, seeing his loved one climbing thus above him and sensing that Nantu was escaping from Etsa, decided to try his luck again at courting. There was a vine hanging down from the sky and Auhu began to climb this in order to reach the object of his desire. Nantu, seeing him, cut the vine, which fell and became entangled in all the trees of the jungle where one may see it now. Auhu, foiled in his pursuit, fell with it, and once more sulked among his trees.

Now when Etsa discovered that Nantu had eluded him, he was very angry and immediately decided to go in pursuit. At first he knew no means of reaching her, but finally he caught two parrots, Awamasa, and two parakeets. On each wrist he fastened a parrot and on each knee a parakeet, saying to them: 'Let us look for Nantu.' The birds flew upward with him, carrying him to the sky, where he finally caught up with Nantu and a violent quarrel ensued. During the altercation Etsa became more and more angry and struck Nantu. When this happens the Sun eclipses the Moon [sic]. Nantu retaliated and struck Etsa; this is the Moon eclipsing the Sun. As a result of this exchange of blows, Nantu was subdued and began to cry, Etsa saying: 'Now you see how much bigger and stronger I am [125] than you and all you can do is weep.' Now whenever the face of the Moon is red it is an indication that it is going to rain.

Following this quarrel, Nantu went off by herself to prove that she could produce a son unaided. She gathered some dirt and, blowing upon it, created a son, which she called Nuhi. Being lonely, she devoted her affection to this son. Auhu, seeing this, became

jealous and, approaching stealthily, broke this son, modeled of clay, and Nuhi died, becoming the earth.

Nantu, lonely and now thoroughly subdued, received the advances of Etsa. They were married on the River Kanusa. Here a son was born to them, Uñushi, the sloth, who was the first Jivaro. Being so old, he now moves very slowly. The waxing Moon indicates the period of pregnancy; it wanes as it gives birth. The mating of the Sun and the Moon takes place on earth when they have both descended from the sky. The earth was used as a place for Uñushi and his descendants to live and also as a mating place for Etsa and Nantu. Uñushi was put into the forest, which was to be his home henceforth.

Nantu and Etsa then constructed a canoe of caoba wood and in it went out into the river where a second son was born. This was Apopa, the manatee. He was immediately placed in the water and told hereafter he was to live in the river and that whenever Uñushi should encounter danger on the water he was to come to his assistance.

Following this, a third son was born to them in the mountains. This was Huangañi, the peccary. He was born during a tempest to the accompaniment of rain and thunder, for which reason the peccaries always move about during storms, following the rain as the storm moves along; a fact of which the Jivaros take advantage in hunting.

Shortly after this, Etsa and Nantu were in an open space in the forest when a daughter was born. This was Nijamanche, the manioc plant. She was destined to be for all time

the friend and intimate companion of the Jivaros.

Some time elapsed and no more children were born to Etsa and Nantu. Then it was that Chingaso gave them two eggs which they were told to place on a sand bar by the side of the river. This they did, but upon returning next day found that the two eggs had disappeared. While they were puzzling over this fact, Tingishapi, the cricket, came out of the ground and tried to speak to them. He was so small that they did not notice him, so to attract attention to himself he bit them on the feet. They picked him up and said: 'Who are you?' The cricket replied: 'I am Tingishapi. I am one of your family. I have come to tell you that Untujo, the egret, has flown away with the two eggs which you left here.' Etsa immediately set [126] out in pursuit of Untujo and finally caught up with him. Untujo, when caught, dropped one of the eggs, which fell and was broken. The other one Etsa recovered and returned to Nantu.

Remembering how they had almost missed seeing Tingishapi, Etsa instructed him not to move around during the daytime because then many people would be walking about and he would likely get stepped on. He was told that he should henceforth, live in the houses of the Jivaros as a guardian. All of this transpired. However, in addition to the desire to guard the house, when night comes on he feels the desire to bite something so that he eats the clothes of the Jivaros.

The egg which had been recovered from Untujo was the color of the sun and, tending

it carefully, they produced from it a woman, Mika. (37) Then they brought Mika to the River Kanusa, where Uñushi was sleeping, in order that Mika could become his wife. (38)

They were married and then instructed by Etsa and Nantu as to what their respective duties should be as man and wife. Uñushi was to do the clearing of the forest where their home was to be built and was to build the house in which they were to live, after being told the manner in which it was to be constructed. Mika was to attend to the planting and care of the manioc, to the preparation of food, and to general household duties. It developed, however, that Uñushi was very lazy by nature, with the result that most of the disagreeable work was passed on to Mika, so that now the biggest share of Jivaro work is done by the women. After establishing their household, Uñushi and Mika got into a canoe and started to go down the river. During the voyage, a son was born in the canoe. This was Ahimbi, the water serpent.

After the birth of Mika, Chingaso gave many eggs to Nantu from which were produced the birds and animals inhabiting the forests and mountains; these were to be the friends of the Jivaros and were to furnish them with food.

Now, however, Uñushi and Mika were away from their home terrritory and they needed food. At this juncture two little birds flew to the canoe, calling to them to follow, so

"37. Mika is the name of the red bowls in which chicha is stored and served.

38. Here again it is interesting to note that Mika is produced from an egg, apparently in order to prevent an incestuous marriage."

they left the canoe and went ashore. The two birds preceded them, entering a hollow tree, which immediately was transformed into the chonta palm, laden with ripe fruit. Gathering the fruit, they cooked it and, after satisfying their hunger, they returned to the beach where they had left their canoe. There was a surging of waters and out of the river came Pangi, and anaconda. Crawling onto the gravel bar, he broke with his tail a large rock from which he fashioned a stone axe for [127] them, showing them the method of its fabrication. With this, Ahimbi cut down a tree, Awamo (the cedro), and from it fashioned a canoe. He was of an adventurous disposition and wanted to shift for himself and see the world. Getting into his canoe, he left his parents and set out on a long trip.

Far down the river he met a white man, Apachi, who was traveling in an iron canoe. He showed Ahimbi iron and various mechanical contrivances, saying: 'These are my things. You don't know them so I will show them to you.' In order to show Ahimbi, Apachi constructed a large boat of iron, saying: 'Now you know what these things are, but they are not for you. On the water you are to use canoes and balsas.' Saying which, Apachi left. During a long period of time Ahimbi traveled and had many adventures, but finally decided to return to his parents.

On his way back, in the evening, he encountered Mika traveling alone. He asked her the whereabouts of Uñushi. Mika replied that she did not know; she had not seen him for some time, because he had wandered off and become lost in the forest.

When night came on Ahimbi told his mother that he would like to sleep with her. This he did but overslept in the morning, so that when Etsa came at dawn he was still with Mika. Etsa was angry and awoke them, grasping them both by the hair, saying: 'Why are you two together this way?' Ahimbi replied: 'We are doing nothing; it has been a long time sinceI have seen my mother. I am so pleased to be with her again that I merely wanted to be close to her.' Not deceived by this tale, Etsa ordered them to leave immediately.

They went away together, after which several children were born to them as they wandered looking for a place to reestablish themselves, but all of the birds and animals who had previously fed them were so much offended by this unnatural union that they refused their help. When they wished to sleep in the cave of Ÿumbingi, the jaguar, their former friend drove them out and has been an enemy of man ever since.

Finally, Uñushi learned what had happened and, much enraged, brooded upon the idea of taking revenge. When Nantu came down to visit her offspring, Uñushi accused her of having consented with Etsa that Mika should go away with a man other than her husband and have children by him. Refusing to listen to her denial, and being much enraged, he fell upon her with his chonta lance and beat her violently, finally throwing her into a hole and covering her over with earth.

It so happened that the dove witnessed this episode and told Auhu what had happened. He also told him to put on fine beetle-wing ear ornaments and to paint his face beautifully

with achiote; then to [128] go to the river where he would find a large land snail. This Auhu did, and still following the instructions of the dove, made a trumpet of the snail shell. With this, he entered the hollow trunk of a fallen chonta palm where he blew upon the snail-shell trumpet. At this call, Nantu very suddenly burst out of the hole where she had been buried, passing through the hollow chonta palm, knocking Auhu violently out of it, and heading straight for the sky again. (39) Auhu cried: 'Come back! Come back!' in his most entreating tones, but Nantu was so anxious to return to her place in the sky that she did not even look back, let alone pause to thank Auhu for enabling her to escape. Thus once more, having had an opportunity to gain the favor of his loved one and again having had his hopes dashed to earth, Auhu resumed his melancholy condition. For this reason he sings only on moonlit nights his mournful cry, 'Aishiru, Aishiru', meaning 'Beloved.'

When Nantu had made good her escape she told what had transpired. The sons of Mika and Ahimbi, hearing the tale, immediately sought out Uñushi and cut off his head, making a tsantsa of it.

When Mika found out what had happened she beat her sons born of Ahimbi and killed

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"39. In relating this episode the Jivaro have in mind the action of a dart going through a blowgun."

them, saying that they had killed her husband. After this had taken place Ahimbi fought with Mika because she had killed his sons. (40) They fought so violently that a great tempest was brought about. Huge black clouds came up, rolled along by a terrific wind; torrential rains descended with great fury; lightning flashed and terrific peals of thunder reechoed through the sky.

At the height of the hurricane there came a tremendous clap of thunder and out of the blackest cloud there flashed to earth a mighty bolt of lightning which struck the ground and at the spot there leaped up immediately a powerful Jivaro armed with lance and shield. This was Masata, the embodiment of war.

He viewed the fighting with great enthusiasm, enjoying it so much that when he saw signs of the struggle slackening, he encouraged both sides, going among the many children of Ahimbi, Uñushi, and Mika, urging them to fight one another and assuring each faction that they were in the right. So successful was his propaganda that they all separated into their various factions, this being the origin of the different Jivaro groups.

After this split had been completed Masata visited each group, secretly telling each that they were right and that those who possessed any manhood would go out and kill their enemies, and that he who killed the most would become powerful and would be a great Curaka. [129] Some were partisans of Mika, some of Ahimbi, and some of Uñushi. 'Go

"40. This sequence of events is the origin of the custom of blood revenge."

out and avenge yourselves and you will become a strong Curaka', said Masata. This was the beginning of war.

When Etsa and Nantu looked down and saw the turmoil that had been created they were much displeased. They descended to earth and sought out Ahimbi, accusing him of being responsible for all of the trouble because of his conduct with Mika. Seizing him, they brought him to the Pongo Manseriche. Here Etsa took the trunk of a hollow chonta palm and thrust Ahimbi in it. Then Etsa, blowing upon the chonta tube after the fashion of a blowgun, turned it slowly while so doing. As he did so, Ahimbi slowly came forth from the other end in the form of Pangi, the boa. After he had emerged completely from the chonta log, Etsa bound him up and placed him under the waters of the Pongo Manseriche. The boiling, turbulent waters of this narrow gorge are brought about by Ahimbi's titanic efforts to free himself from his bonds.

After this punishment had befallen him Ahimbi desired that his sons should have peace, so he thrashed his tail and sprayed water into the air, forming the rainbow, as a sign to Etsa to be compassionate and release his bonds in order that he might restore peace among the warring factions. Masata, however, saw the rainbow and ingeniously placed clouds and rain in the way so that Ahimbi's signal would not be seen by Etsa, and thus bring about an end to the fighting. Whenever Ahimbi attempts his signal, he has always been thwarted thus far by Masata, who has obscured his rainbow with rain and mists.

Having successfully prevented this threat of peace, Masata once more started visiting each of the tribes, hurling out his slogan, 'Make war! Make war!' Chingaso, however, feeling sorry for the plight of Ahimbi and desiring to see peace brought about, went down to the Pongo Manseriche in a canoe with the intention of releasing him. Ahimbi, however, thrashing about in his rage, did not recognize her. He overturned her canoe and ate her, thus ending his best opportunity for freedom.

Thus ends the Nuhiño of the Jivaros."

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 539, 727

"On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador...

TRANSLATION

To the Secretary of the Spanish Legation, Quito.

Ecuador, Macas, 2nd Dec. 1860.

Sir, ---I received your letter of the 15th of August, in which you request information about the idol head of the Jívaros; how I obtained it, and how it had been prepared by them. What I now communicate to you, is the result of more than two years research.

A Jívaro of the Tambos tribe was baptized, when he undertook the commission to procure one of these idols; however, the first year he was unsuccessful. The following year he put the following plan into execution. He made a Jívaro believe that his idol wished to travel a little, for being in a sort of imprisonment, it would do nothing for its owner, suggesting that the idol should be handed over to him so as to make a trial. The baptised Indian brought it to me, returning with many presents to the owner, who then went on a hunting expedition, which turned out well. The fame of such success may facilitate the journeying of more of these idols.

After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims [the skull and its contents of course being removed--W.B.], a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process.

When the head is prepared, the tundui or war drum is sounded; this calls the tribe together for the feast of triumph, which has to be celebrated before nine days have passed since the fight, otherwise the spirits of those (of their party) who had fallen would not be satisfied, neither could the head be deified. On the tenth day the feast begins; the Jívaro who has an idol head suspends it with those of others on an upright pole in the centre of a habitation, the idol head of the feast having a prominent position. The invited are dressed in all their finery, the females especially. They seat themselves far or near from the idols according to their rank in the tribe. [113]

When they have feasted, the priest takes the head of the victim, and holding it up by a string, makes a long speech, eulogizing the feats of arms the owner of the head had done in his lifetime, the valour he showed at his death, the fame of his ancestors, that it was worthy of adoration, etc., etc., concluding with certain gesticulations. After a brief silence the priest utters a piercing cry, when all rise on their feet, making a loud noise.

The head is again tied to the pole, when they all take their seats, excepting the victor; he remains near the head armed with a lance, and abuses the head roundly, to which the head is made to reply in similar terms, the anger increasing on both sides to its utmost extent; the priest being the spokesman for the head or chancha, who concludes

his part shouting in the name of the head, 'Coward! when I was in life thou didst not dare to insult me thus, thou didst tremble at the sound of my name, coward! Some brother of mine will revenge me.' The Jívaro has been unable to support this speech against his bravery, and raising his lance he strikes and wounds the head of his enemy in the face; after which he sews the mouth up, and thus condemns his idol to eternal silence. From this moment the idol is speechless, excepting as an oracle, questions being put to it when the inquirer is under the spell of some strong narcotic.

Now commences the dance. The victor suspends the idol (on a pole) in the open air, and the female he most esteems follows him to perform this act. This is the greatest honour that can be conferred on a Jivaro. She holds on to the waist of the victor, all the men joining in a similar manner, forming a chain. The women dance apart. Each plays upon some musical instrument or other, wildly singing the song of triumph. They go on dancing round the interior of the habitation, with short intermissions, for two, three, or more days.

The Jívaro who may have given the victim the second wound, after a year of severe fasting, repeats the scenes of the first feast (excepting the first part of the ceremony); and if three or more have assisted, they have successively their feasts.

It sometimes happens that, being hard pressed by the enemy, they have not the time or opportunity to cut off the head of a fallen foe; in this case, the ceremony is performed upon the head of a sow, which is adored as if it were an idol head.

When the fruits of the earth are not abundant, and their stock of domestic animals does not rapidly increase, the women commence the feast of supplication, in which they alone dance, holding on by each other, the old priest or capito carrying the idol. If the head does not work a miracle, the hair is shaved off, and the head thrown into the woods.

The preceding is what has appeared to me the most interesting [114] of the savage customs of the infidels inhabiting our eastern Cordilleras. I may, however, add that, of those they kill in battle, they do not make idols of all, but only of such who have shown themselves most brave; from these they tear out the heart, and the extracted brains they eat. This custom is common among the tribes of the Tumbas, Mendes, Pastaza, Jurumbaini, Tutamagosa, Chiguavida, Achmiles, Guambinima, Guambisa, Huamboga, etc., as well as the inhabitants lower down; also by those on the Morona, with this difference, that those of the Morona are really cannibals.

(Signed) José Felix Barriero.
General Secretariat of the Provincial Government,
Quito, 2nd January, 1861.

The above signature and rubric are those of the present political chief of Macas.

(Signed) R. de Anambi.

Spanish Legation to Ecuador.

The above signature and rubric are authentic, and as used by the Secretary-General of the Government of Ecuador.

The Chargé d' Affairs of H. M. C. M.

(Signed) C. de Sanquericio y Ayua.

The preceding has been translated by the undersigned.

Wm. Bollaert.

London, January 15th, 1862.

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 539

"Some Observations on the Jívaros (Jébero, Jívira), from Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, etc. By W. Bollaert. pp. 96. Translated from Villavicencio's Geografia del Ecuador. London: Trübner.

This great nation is found between the rivers Chinchipe and Pastasa; it is composed of numerous and large tribes, taking the names of the rivers on which they live, as Moronas, Pautes, Zamoras, Gualaquisas, Upanos, Pindos, Pastassas, Agapicos, Achuales, Cotapassas, etc. All these speak the Jívaro language, which is clear, energetic, and harmonious, and easy to learn. The Incas of Peru tried in vain to conquer them; the Spaniards succeeded in reducing them, founding cities in their country; but a rising on one day in 1599 destroyed the work of many years. Since then some attempts have been made to subdue them, but without success. They are active and muscular, have black eyes, small, and very animated; they show a bold front, are bent nosed, thin lipped, and have teeth as white as ivory. Many of them are whitish and bearded: it is believed this whiteness comes from the Spanish women they stole when they rebelled in 1599. They use the lance with great dexterity, and manage the shield well.

Although the Jívaros are of so unbending a character, some of the tribes approach the conquered settlements, entering into relations with them, as has occurred in

Canelos, with some of the Jívaros of the Pastassa, and they have even learnt the Quitu language. Other tribes have crossed the Cordillera, and have entered the towns, seeking peace and trade, inviting them to open roads.

Mr. Markham, in Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, p. 166, Hakluyt Soc., 1859, states that the Jívaros take a strong emetic every morning in the shape of an infusion of the leaves of the guayusa (sometimes called the tea-plant), for the sake of getting rid of all undigested food, going to the chase with an empty stomach.

In 1855, some Jívaros are reported to have destroyed the ancient town of San Borja, and the villages of Santa Teresa and Santiago. See Samuel Fritz's Map, 1707. Velasco, Historia de Quito, iii, p. 152; Villavicencio; and Heraldo de Lima, 1855."

"Conspiracy of the Jívaros. From Velasco's Historia de Quito, iii, p.152, etc. Translated by W. B.

In 1599, the same year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jívaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jívaros would not, and were about resolving to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of the river Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary; and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jívaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy; the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all the Spaniards in that region on a

certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began [117] to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learnt that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant twenty-five leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the

morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jívaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Jívaros Moronas intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huamboya (sixteen leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone towards Riobambo.

When the Jívaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro, the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12,000. Sevilla had 25,000 inhabitants; one quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jívaros nearly destroyed the neighbouring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force into the Indian

country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jívaros as far as the river Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings; some of the Jívaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the other into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barcas, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jívaros lay in ambush, and de-[118]stroyed the whole of the expedition. After six months, those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned back to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He applied to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.

Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four.

The Bishop of Quito then suggested to the Jesuits to go as missionaries amongst the Jívaros; so in 1633 two of the order embarked with some Indians on the Paute, for

Logroño, which was found only after much search; the ruins of the city had been covered with vegetation in the space of thirty-two years. The Jesuits now alone journeyed through the wilderness in search of the Jívaros, when one of them died. The other, after two years wandering, arrived at Jaen, his body full of wounds, and nearly naked."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again. 776 787

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[14] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa. 727 774

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: [789] [648]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

[533] [539]

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose. [439] [789]

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam [718]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

533
• 539
726

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Sung by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

595 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally
351 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).
342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kampanakä* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

 /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipī*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*taračī*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusï* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824

Don't suck the blood of my husband [533]
And also don't suck the blood of my daughter. [539]
When you want to suck blood,
Suck the blood of my enemies.
When my husband comes,
He will look very beautiful and very clear.
But when our enemies come,
They will come very pale
And in the form of demons.[4]
And you will know
Who will die,
Who will die.
And when they enter this garden,
They will have their blood sucked.
All, all I can call,
Even the plantain itself.
I am a woman of Nunuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden. 824 [789] [861] [869]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

533
• 534

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilometers).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of irregular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

131 161 361

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the *niawá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

194 103

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick 854 it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 533 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to 854
come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 533
539

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and 853
the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the 862
weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued [231]
and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The
533 content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an
[535] ironic humor. The following are two examples of these
533 *hansematä* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a
539 man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

533 While such *hansematä* songs have a courtship function
832 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in-
527 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others.
As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may
become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities
527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre-
837 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly
273 a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will
rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the
opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found [761]
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*. 765 789

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: 727 776 796 [648] [539]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose. 765 439 789 789

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As 774 778 765 727 796

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

he alerts his *tsentsak* by whistling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing. A shaman's curing songs tend to be self-encouraging exhortations such as the following:

I, I, I, I, I,
I, I, I, I.
I am like Tsuŋi.[14]
I am like Tsuŋi.
When I drink *natemä*
All my body becomes cold.
And I easily suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds,
And thus I have power.
I drank *natemä*.
I drank enough to have power.
All my body is cold.
Therefore I have power to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

There is a very large body of water.
Thus I am like a great body of water.
I have a crown, but of gold,
Brilliant.[15]
How beautiful it appears
When I drink *natemä*.
Therefore it is easy to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds.
Therefore I cure easily.
I have the *tsentsak* of *natemä*.
I am seated, but I am very cold
And there are many breezes.[16]
I, I, I, I.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755
539
778

My *tsentsak* are like birds
And the wings and bodies are dreams.
With these I am now ready.
My *tsentsak* are sitting all over me[17]
And as I become cold
I shall have power.
I can easily suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am like some *paŋü* of the Río Napo.[18]
Therefore I have power to suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

Wait, wait a moment.
Now I am going to become dizzy.
I will see when I am intoxicated.

When he is ready to suck, the shaman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak*, it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak*. He then "vomits" out this object and dis-

755
778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
551 (1928-29)

". . . . the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with this belief. [JKM: Jibaros believe plants are endowed with human thoughts and feelings] The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be men, others--and in fact the majority of them--are said to be women."

1: Karsten--124 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
551 (1928-29)

"Consistently with this idea [JKM: Jibaros believe plants are endowed with human thoughts and feelings, as well as sex] we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Maŕna (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nuśsi (earth-nut), Ipyaku (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paandama (plantain), Uŕ (chonta palm), and Maíkoa."

1: Karsten--226 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 551 (1928-29)

"As instances of Jibaro names the following may be mentioned. For men: Jawára (Tiger), Pangi (the great anaconda, Eunectes murinus), Tsungi (a mythical water monster, said to be 'the brother' of the Pangi), Yákuma (the red Howling Monkey), Kunámbi (Squirrel), Ambúsha (Owl), Ungúmi (Umbrella-bird), Máshu (Paugi, Crax elector), Etsa (Sun), Yangámi (Big Star), Cuishi (Ear), Nauicha (Foot), Maikoa (the narcotic plant Datura arborea). For women: Mama (Manioc), Inchi (Comote), Mika (Bean), Nússi (Earth-nut), Ipyáku (Bixa orellana), Sua (genipa), Chiki (a root of magic power), Núngai (Earth), Nungüi (the Earth-mother), Yánua (Star), Intsa (River)."

12: Rivet--604 [3] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 551

The Jíbaros take their names either from the animal kingdom, (1) the vegetable kingdom, or sometimes mountains and rivers (2). We shall make as detailed a study of those we have been able to collect at the same time as the study of the language in a later memoir.

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 161.

20: Dyott--158-159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 551

"Indians have very strange notions when it comes to applying names to each other. I have just given those of Kuashu's family, and if I now aver that those were not their names at all, it may sound a trifle confusing. Yet, as a matter of fact, that is the truth. It must be explained that Indians only call each other by nicknames which are characteristic of, or have some association with, the individual. A man guards his real name as a profound secret, and it is never divulged to anyone. According to him, he would be completely at the mercy of his enemies should they get to know it, for they would then be able to direct the evil spirits to harm him. Assume for a moment that a man is called 'Hapa,' which is quite a common name and signifies 'deer.' You can imagine how impossible it would be for anyone to describe him to the evil spirits. [159] The latter would certainly want more precise information before working their spells, for there are many deer in the forest and many individuals bearing the same nickname. This would result in so much confusion amongst the evil spirits that any man merely known by such a nickname would be quite safe from their machinations."

20: Dyott--159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 101, 551

"The whole question of names is one of tremendous interest, and the Jivaros differ from every other Indian tribe with whom I am familiar in the Amazon country in one most important respect: they group themselves with other tribes under a distinct tribal name--the name of Shuaro. Tribes outside this group frequently label their neighbours with nicknames, but it never occurs to them to band together under a distinct name of their own. The tribes known to the whites as Jivaros, Huambisas, Antipas and Aguarunas, are all Shuaros, and recognize themselves as such."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *nulem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick 854 it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 533 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

2: Stirling--73 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 552

"Apparently the term uñushi, the ceremonial name for the sloth, is properly used for trophies of this sort. When on the Chinganasa River, we inquired at one of the jivarías if they had naki tsantsas. Naki being the regular Jivaro word for sloth, the Indians corrected us, saying not to call them that but to refer to them as uñushis. This same distinction between common and ceremonial names is encountered in numerous instances. Thus the common name for lance is nangi, while the chonta war lance charged with tsarutama is referred to as shingi. Ordinary pottery vessels are called by various names according to their use, but the ceremonial nijimanche vessels are called mika. The common name for the goatsucker is auhu, whereas, when mentioned in his mythological connections, he is referred to as aishiru."

28: Tessman--363 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 552

Names refer to animals (for instance, intšamo, i. e., bat), to mountains, to the sun; only a few names are said to refer to plants.

1: Karsten--226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"When the delivery has taken place without complications and the woman is recovering, she is taken into the house where she remains in complete inactivity without going out. On the third day after the birth the oldest man or woman in the family gives the child a name which has before been borne by some member of the same family and which generally is the name of an animal, bird, or plant, animal and bird names being most common for men, plant names most common for women. Animals and plants are believed to be animated by human souls (wakáni) some of which are of the male, some of the female sex, and male and female human children are named accordingly."

1: Karsten--226-227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 828, 852 (1928-29)

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jibaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black. The genipa fruit yields the black dye with which the Indians paint their body on certain ceremonial occasions and, mixed with the solution prepared of the piripiri root, it is [227] supposed to strengthen the hair. In the case of a newborn child it is believed, in general, to strengthen its constitution and to protect it against evil influences."

1: Karsten--227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 304, 852 (1928-29)

"On the same occasion [JKM: when the child is named] the old man or woman pierces the ear-lobes of the child with a thorn and a small stick is inserted into the hole so as to prevent the wound from closing. Later the holes are more and more extended for the insertion of the ear-tubes when the boy or girl is received among the full-grown persons. Female children have also the nether lip perforated, but this operation is not done until the girl is 6 to 8 years old."

1: Karsten--227 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro tribes of the Pastaza (the Achuares) have the following custom at the birth of the first son, called iweri. The woman, as usual, is taken out from the house to be delivered in the manioc plantation, where she remains for three days. On the fourth day she returns to the house and the newborn child is also taken there, not through the door, however, but through a hole made especially for this purpose above in the roof of the house. The father himself hands his firstborn son through this hole, the child being received inside the house by the grandfather, or the oldest member of the family. The old man, holding the little one in his arms, puts himself at the head of the male members of the family assembled there, and all start to walk round in the house chanting, beating drums, and playing on flutes. Then the old man gives the child a name borne before by some important member of the family. When the mother goes for the first time to the manioc plantation to fetch the manioc, carrying her babe on her back, she is followed there by all the men, who carry lances and other weapons. This is done with a view to protecting the newborn child and the mother against the demons (iguánchi) and evil sorcerers who might harm them on the way. This only takes place the first

time they leave the house, which is regarded as a critical moment, especially for the child. (1)"

"1. Among the Kandoashis, a tribe on the nether Pastaza closely related to the Jibaros, the woman, after having been delivered in the plantain or manioc plantation, is immediately taken back to the house. Here three large clay pots, containing warm water, are held ready at the fire. The woman sits down and washes her whole body with the water in these clay pots. She remains sitting at the fireplace without doing work for three days. After the lapse of the three days she can go to the plantations and she also begins to look after her husband who is passing his time under the mosquito-net in complete inactivity, only chanting a special incantation on behalf of his newborn child and fasting strictly. This mode of life is continued by him for a whole month. A real 'couvade' thus exists among the Kandoashis."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 844
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 846
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tsentsemã* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucin- [774]
ogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival.
If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

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2: Stirling--39 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 554

"The power of the curaka [KS: head of the household] is purely advisory and is confined to warfare. He had no authority to order men against their will for any purpose, even that of fighting. The curaka has no special insignia denoting rank and has no special privileges, other than the prestige which his position gives him. He holds his position only as long as he retains his personal influence with the group. Realinements of household groups are frequent as leaders lose prestige or die."

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 756, 554

"The wishinu has many duties apart from his function as curing doctor. In fact, while this may be considered the most important of his occupations, it comprises considerably less than half of his duties. When a young man wishes a particular woman to become enamored of him he calls upon the wishinu to prepare a love potion, which requires the mixture of several articles containing the requisite tsarutama and which can be prepared only by the wishinu. He [121] also has control over the great body of nature spirits. He is able, when necessary, to contact Piribri, the rain spirit, in order to produce storms and floods or to stop them as the case may be. In order to call Piribri he blows smoke in the direction of the spirit's dwelling place, using the proper songs, much in the same fashion as he calls upon the disease spirits. Likewise, if he wishes to call on Pangi in order to overturn the canoe of some enemy or to control the river in any way, he can do so. All sudden storms or floods are attributed to the activity of some enemy wishinu. The wishinu is also called upon to determine action in many tribal matters; for example, when a curaka dies the wishinu is called upon to take natima in order that it will be revealed to him who the successor should be. The wishinu also plays an important indirect function in the conduct of warfare. If a man dies in his group, he takes natima and by this means determines which rival wishinu sent the fatal illness. This, of course, applies only to death brought about by the disease spirits and not to deaths from natural causes. Occasionally a Jivaro desires to join some tribal unit other than his own. In this case his eligibility is determined by the wishinu of the new group.

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 756, 554

Because of the lack of real political organization among the Jivaros, the wishinu, on account of his ability to control supernatural forces, is the most influential individual of his group. Frequently a wishinu is also a curaka, but this is not typically the case."

26: Brüning--71 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 436, 554

While the blowgun is their hunting weapon, the spear is their war weapon. At the same time, the spear is part of the etiquette, for a man would never leave the house without it, even if he would visit only his nextdoor neighbor. It is the weapon that signifies masculine dignity.

Spears with iron points were generally in use when I visited the Indians. The point (see Figure 7) has a socket at the bottom. The shaft is fastened into the socket with the help of resin. The spear or lance has a length of 2 1/2 - 3 1/2 meters. They are said to obtain the iron points by way of barter from the Indians along the upper Senepa. The points are said to come from Ecuador. The spear with the iron point is called nánki by the Indians. Formerly spears were used shaped out of the wood of the chonta palm, and they still occur in isolated instances. The shape of their point is the same as the iron one, but its cross-section shows a somewhat concave outline. Shaft and point are made out of one piece. These chonta lances are called angös.

Figure 7.

Iron Spear Point

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natema* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *new* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
● [554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[721] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[269] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 956 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
962 until the ninth year of occupancy.

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 961 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling
462 owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
• 559 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakawa*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
585 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man
[558] who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of maize; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

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585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 574 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuŋuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

595 224 833 [82]

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which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untä*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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554 While the concept of the *untā* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untā* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *untā*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jívaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untā*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[8] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [714] [292]

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and ag-
• 554 gressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his
[865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it,
[562] with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such
[581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his
554 neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset,
626 a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *uasa* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst
721 personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 776 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 554 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to [431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shot- [177] guns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspä*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 776 554 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods. 756 776 554

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual. 756 184 648 554

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3). 756 554

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret 756 [162] [463] [562] [554]

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• 554
756
[648]

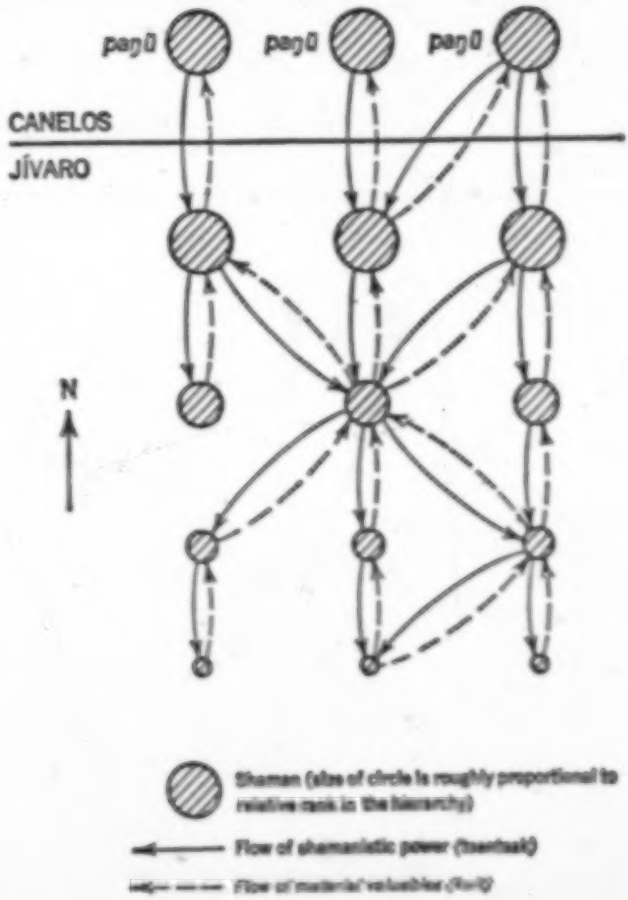

FIGURE 3

Schematic diagram of inter-tribal shamanistic hierarchies

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *awigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *awigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *awigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *awigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jívaroans

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *uwa* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
• 554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *uwa*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *uwa* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untä*. There may be two war chiefs if the neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the ex-
• [554] pedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[789] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
602 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
628 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another
726 expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight aperture which may remain.

765 A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
796 man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with
[554] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara.
[342] The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*numpey*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
[796] the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[283] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[595] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764]

The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire pres-
554 tige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

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[721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wainći*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

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[535]
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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*nuisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *nuisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *nuisak*, while it is resident in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 765 796 774 778 554 624 562 765 796 727 619 571 181 533 535 539

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *tswa*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *nhi*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *tswa*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Cuwi[9] tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Cuwi tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily.
> And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jivaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the abolition of inter-tribal warfare, Jivaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jivaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsumak* available. 179 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

1: Karsten--422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 154, 555 (1928-29)

"That the Indian medicine-men are not conscious impostors but exert their powers in good faith, appears from a close study of their psychology and of their way of operating. They simply share the superstitions prevailing among their people at large, even though they may be said to embody them in a special way. The medicine-men themselves are to a great extent the victims of self-deception and self-suggestion. Among the savage Jibaros, as we have seen, there is considerable danger coupled with this profession. Just as a sorcerer who is suspected of having killed another Indian by witchcraft himself runs the risk of being killed by the enraged relatives of the victim, so a medicine-man, who fails to cure the patient confided to him, is likely to be punished for his lack of skill. If the patient dies instead of recovering, the relatives argue that the doctor has used his skill to his destruction and not to his health, and may accordingly wreak vengeance upon him. That in spite of this danger there are people who voluntarily devote themselves to the medical art and sorcery is due to the power and influence always connected with this profession."

2: Stirling--50 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 555, 181

"It is certainly true that at the present time the most important thing in life to a Jivaro is war. His greatest aspiration is to become renowned as a fighter. His reputation increases in proportion to the number of heads he has succeeded in securing during his career. Warfare consists of raids conducted by one group or alliance upon another, and, while of very frequent occurrence, they are sporadic in nature."

2: Stirling--102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
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"Another elaborate ornament worn by the men is the 'tayocunchi.' This is an elaborate back ornament made from hundreds of femurs of the tayo bird, which is found only in certain caves in the Jivaro country. The possession of such an ornament marks the owner as a brave man, as it requires courage to enter the caves which are the dwelling places of jaguars (or jaguar spirits) in order to obtain the birds."

4: Up de Graff--193-194 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 301, 555

"They are singularly free from the love of personal adornment which is a characteristic of nearly all savage and semi-savage people. Indeed there is only one orna[194]-ment which they wear, a small tuft of toucan or stork feathers fastened to the lobe of the ear. Furthermore these are worn but infrequently, that is to say for battle or on the occasion of great festivals; finally, the wearing of these feathers is a sure sign of the owner's prowess in the hunt, for to kill either bird with their only means of bringing down game, the blow-gun, is proof of great skill and strength; the toucan always lives among the topmost branches of tall trees and the stork is equally shy; we could never approach within 500 yards of the latter."

4: Up de Graff--282-283 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"What the scalp is to the North American Indian, the battle-standard to the civilized warrior, the heads are to the Jívaro. But the comparison is only true up to a point. For whereas the glory of the battle-standard and the scalp is undying, that of the Jívaro heads endures only to the end of the great Festival of Rejoicing with which they are honoured on the return of the war-party to their homes.

During the absence of the warriors their women have made ready vast quantities of giamanchi. This preparation contains just enough alcohol to inebriate when taken in enormous quantities, as the savages do on these occasions. Unlike civilized intoxicants its only action is stupefying. The tom-toms are brought out, and men and women throw themselves into the business of dancing and drinking themselves to sleep. The rhythmic beats of the drums resound through the woods for many a long hour. Only the soporific effect of the liquor suffices to bring the orgy to an end.

Afterwards the heads are shorn of their hair, which [283] is converted into permanent trophies in the form of belts to be worn round the loin-cloths of their distinguished owners in battle or at the feast. The possession of such a trophy singles a man out for special regard. But the heads themselves have now lost their value, as surely as pearls which have died. It is curious that the fanatical jealousy with which they are guarded up to the time of the festival should give place to that complete indifference which allows them to be thrown to the children as playthings and finally lost in river or swamp."

12: Rivet--601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 868, 555

The Jíbaro hardly works at home two hours per day at the most. A skilled hunter and fisher, he passes his life outside. All his pride consists of being renowned for his dexterity and agility. All his efforts tend to maintain these precious qualities. From the age of seven on, the child practices handling the blowgun; to teach him the use of the throwing instrument, his parents make him little javelins from the stalk of the paja toquilla (Carludovica palmata). The little boys are lined up in two rows, a hoop of tree bark is thrown between them and each one tries to put his weapon through the center of the hoop. Thanks to this education, the Jíbaros can accomplish astonishing feats. A missionary saw them hit a target the size of a 5-franc piece with a lance at a distance of 20 meters (1)

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1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain, etc...., op. cit., page 143.

12: Rivet--611-612 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 555

Among the Jívaro there are no real social groups nor the least embryo of government. Each Indian is absolute master of his own affairs, acts individually and depends on no one. He associates with his neighbors only for feasts, big hunts, big fishing parties, and war; these temporary associations leave him his complete personal liberty of action.

In other words, the tribe is only a group of allied and [612] often related families ready when necessary to give each other aid and assistance. The chief of this group is the one who by his endurance, his skill, his intelligence, his courage and also by luck imposes himself on the individuals of the neighborhood. His authority rests only on a tacit assent, carries no exterior emblem or sign, and in no case is transmitted by heredity to his descendants. His role is limited to the coordination of individual efforts in special circumstances. In times of peace he has no longer any special attributes. Occasionally, a peril or a common hate make allies of neighboring tribes, but these alliances are only temporary.

One other important cause acts in the same way. For the Jívaro there is no natural death (1). All sickness, all death are considered as the result of an evil spell laid by an enemy using a sorcerer as an intermediary. Each tribe possesses its sorcerer or huishinu, and, since the one who is able to cause illness ought to be equally capable of curing it, this individual is also the doctor: in Jíbaro, the same word describes the two functions. These huishinu have considerable influence and power over the life of the savages. They are feared and surrounded by the attentions of all, they are loaded with presents, but their situation is not free from dangers; [240] of all the individuals in a tribe, the sorcerer is the most exposed to a tragic death, either by neighboring people who accuse him of having caused the death of one of their number by witchcraft, or by his own tribe, if he is suspected because the children have a sickness which he does not know or cannot cure even if it is in his own family. The renown of certain huishinu sometimes extends beyond the limits of the group to which they belong, and there is no hesitation in bringing them to the death bed of a person of distinction, eight to ten days' journey away (2). It seems that this function is not the privilege of certain families:

1. Suicide is exceptional. A single traveller points out its frequence among the Aguaruna women. In two months, two committed suicide in the tribe where he was staying. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 82.

2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 147.

rather, the most intelligent individuals are attracted by the advantage of the profession, and gradually acquire prestige by their skillfullness and astuteness, in the little circle of people among whom they live.

20: Dyott--157 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 555, 142

"We watched Kuashu as he sat talking to his sons. He was an unusually muscular fellow, in spite of his forty-five years of age. His hair was turning grey, and elaborate ornaments indicated that he was a personage of some importance. He had been a great warrior in his time, and was still full of physical vigour: we could see as much from the very emphatic way he had of speaking."

20: Dyott--188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"The Jivaro, so Kuashu told us, preserves the head of his adversary in order that he may acquire strength and prosperity as the just reward of his efforts, and the greater the tenacity of life displayed by the vanquished, the greater the virtue which the victor reaps from his conquest. It is precisely the same with ourselves--the more ferocious the beast, the more daring the deed. The Jivaro tells with pride of the conflict, entering into all its gory details, and then produces the head as indisputable proof of his prowess. We, on our part, point to the head of a tiger, relate the story of the hunt and glory in the combat; our self-satisfaction being in proportion to the difficulties of the chase and the risks run. This is likewise true of the Indian. He never preserves the head of an Aguti, neither do we consider a rabbit's furry scalp worth bragging about."

21: Davar--359 (2) (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"I refer to the custom among the 'Jivaro' Indians of making a ghastly trophy out of the heads of their decapitated enemy, by treating it to a process which causes the head to shrink to less than one-third of its original size. The martial ambition of the Jivaro Indian is not satisfied with merely slaying his enemy and recording his victory by adding a feather to his cap. He goes a step further and wants to preserve a concrete record of his victory in the shape of the shrunken head of his unfortunate victim."

30: Franco--142 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 555, 766

The warrior who has the greater number of trophies acquires the title 'Cocarama'. Cinctures for adornment in war and in the fiestas only are made with the hair of the tzhantzhas; and the owner never presents it or trusts it to anyone. His relatives bury him with the cincture when there is a lack of tzhantzhas; they do not keep the cincture, in this case, as a sacred remembrance of the valorous relative.

12: Rivet--589-590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 556

The inventory of personal property of the Jíbaro shows us that he [590] is generally very poor: if an individual possesses three changes of clothing, he is considered rich in his tribe.

12: Rivet--590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
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The number of dogs that an Indian possesses enters into the estimation of his fortune in the same way as the number of his clothes, his pigs---and his wives.

25: Vigna--44 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 556, 593

It is easy to see that the wealth of the Jíbaro consists in the number of his women. The affection of the latter for their children is intense and touching. This is not always true of their affection for the husband. Instances in which the woman hates her husband and causes his death by poison are nor rare. The women are very clever in the handling of poisons. Many times the men themselves do not know the poisonous herbs, tubers or reeds as well as the women. There are cases in which the women have prepared a poisonous drink of which the effects appeared only some weeks or months after! They have sometimes hidden the fatal substance in their fingernails, and, mixing it with chicha have offered it to the stranger, acquaintance, or husband, thereby procuring the rapid or slow death of their victim; the rage, cunning and malevolence of the Jíbaro woman is beyond belief.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 bewitching shamans (*uwisuh*, or *yahumi wasilin*: bad shaman) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*pewer wasilin*: good shaman) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

[556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables.

[465] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a distant patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[431] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
591 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiki*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [592] tion, and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
954 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
956 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
• 556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jívaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jívaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jívaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

that they are not on a hostile mission of wealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peacefully, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

1: Karsten--91 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562 (1928-29)

"Collars consisting of jaguars' teeth are especially worn by old warriors and they are believed to impart to the wearer something of the strength and ferocity of this wild beast. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are also generally worn only by men, since it is considered proper that a man should decorate himself only with the teeth of such animals as he has killed himself. For the same reason ornaments consisting of plumes of birds are limited to the men."

1: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562 (1928-29)

"The house has always two doors, one at each end of the house, the one being used by the men, the other by the women. A Jibaro house, it should be noticed, consists of two departments, of which one is intended for the women and children and called ekinturu, the other for the men and for guests and called tangamasha. The quarter intended for the women is at once recognized by certain special arrangements. All round the walls in a Jibaro house there are low banks of split bamboo, called peaka, which serve as seats during the day and as sleeping places at night. These bunks or sleeping racks in the men's department are without edges or sides, but in the women's department each of them is fenced round with split bamboo, or in some cases only banana leaves, thus forming partitions closed in on three sides, somewhat resembling horse-boxes. For each of the wives in the house there is such a box: here the small children are kept as well as the dogs, the latter always tied up since, extremely savage and angry as they are, they would otherwise not hesitate to attack visitors."

1: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562, 574 (1928-29)

"No guest is expected to enter the house except through the door leading to the men's department, nor can he, without special permission, enter the interior of the house or the women's department. Only a guest who is well known to the Indians, or has lived for some days in the house, can enter there or occasionally use the backdoor also."

1: Karsten--95-96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562 (1928-29)

"Whereas the married men sleep in the ekinturu, the full-grown sons and other unmarried men always spend their night in the tangamasha, where each has his sleeping rack and [96] where occasional visitors may also take possession of a peaka for the night. The women are generally in the ekinturu, cooking food at one of the fires on the floor or doing other domestic tasks, and as a rule they set foot in the men's department only to offer manioc-beer to their husbands or to guests, or to bring them food."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 562 (1928-29)

"The cruelty with which the deceived Jibaro husband treats his unfaithful wife is all the more noteworthy as otherwise the social position of the Jibaro woman is by no means that of an oppressed slave, as we shall presently see. She has much to say even in matters which do not directly concern her own domain within the household. But in a case of adultery only brute force and the law of the desert is valid. The Jibaro Indian treats his unfaithful wife simply in the same way as he treats his enemy to whom no mercy is shown."

1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236] cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

1: Karsten--237[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562 (1928-29)

"We now have to say a few words respecting the education of the boys, to which the Jibaros attach even more importance than to that of the girls. If one asks a Jibaro father what the education of his boy aims at, he will in most cases answer: 'That he may become a real man and a brave and skilful warrior'. Of this the young boys are constantly reminded in the speeches which the father at certain periods addresses to them every day, and which have special reference to the revenge they must take on the enemies of the family.

The art of warfare and all manly exercises in general, the ability to throw the lance, to bring down the animals and birds of the forest with blowgun and poisoned arrows, etc., the Jibaro boy acquires by associating with his father and other older men, his constant endeavour being to imitate the full-grown men and to do what he sees they do. When the boy is six or seven years old his father makes or buys for him a small blowgun with which he assiduously practises shooting, using unpoisoned arrows. With such arrows the boy easily shoots small birds which he immediately prepares and eats. Only after he has passed through the initiation and is received among the full-grown men is he allowed to use the arrow-poison."

1: Karsten--248 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 562 (1928-29)

"Women have no particular greeting ceremonies when they come or go. Still at the great feasts I noticed that parting women took leave of the hostess by fanning her gently on the arms and shoulders with a big leaf, at the same time blowing and spitting on these parts of her body. The hostess returned these expressions of affection which, I was told, are customary at leave-taking among the Jibaro women."

1: Karsten--253-255 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

"Some words may be added as to the position of the women. Those few writers who have touched upon the social position of the Jibaro woman have described it in that biassed and erroneous way which has been the rule especially among missionaries when they have dealt with the position of women in savage societies: she is nothing but an oppressed slave, without rights, and hardly regarded as a personality at all. (1) The truth is that the married Jibaro woman is not only completely independent within her own sphere of activity, but exercises a remarkable social influence and authority even in matters which mainly concern the husband. It is interesting to state in this respect that a family-father never sells fruit or other articles of food without the consent of his

"1. It is difficult to give a more incorrect idea of the position of the Jibaro woman than Rivet gives in the following words: 'Méprisées par leurs mari elles ne sont que des esclaves destinées à le servir, à préparer le chicha et les aliments, à filer et à tisser le coton, à cultiver le chacra qui entoure la maison.' (Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 59). The ignorance of the customs of the Jibaros upon which this statement is based may be inferred even from the fact that spinning and weaving ('filer et tisser') are occupations exclusively incumbent on the men. A similar erroneous account is given by Vacas Galindo in Nankijukima, p. 121 sq., who was probably Rivet's authority."

wife. There are, I think, few civilized societies where the man so unfailingly asks his wife's advice, even in unimportant matters, as among these savages. It occurred very frequently during my travels in the forest that I paid visits to the Jibaro houses to buy manioc or bananas, and received from the 'autocrat' of the house the answer: 'I must first ask [254] my wife.' Frequently the wife happened to be absent for the moment and then the answer was: 'Wait a while until my wife arrives.' I saw that there was a store of manioc and bananas in the house, and it would have been an easy thing for the man to give me immediately what I wanted to buy; yet he compelled me to wait for a long while, perhaps for hours, only to be able to ask his wife's permission to make the insignificant bargain. Still one can understand this consideration for the housewife when articles of food are in question. Since the wife is the keeper of the food and is responsible for the existence of a store sufficient for the needs of the family, it is natural that she should also be allowed to decide how much of it can be given to strangers. But her influence seems to be about the same in other matters. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when I tried to find an Indian to go with me on a certain journey, I frequently received the same answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.' On one occasion a middle-aged Indian at Canelos had already given me a half-promise to accompany me on a long journey by canoe. The definite arrangement depended on the assent of his

wife. When later he asked her, however, she made objections, the result being that the Indian finally declined to enter into my service. When a thing, however insignificant, was to be bartered, the women always wished to have a voice--and their decision was generally final. It might seem natural that the men alone should have the right to decide, for instance, respecting feather ornaments and other ornaments which they themselves make and only they use, things which in fact are always regarded as strictly personal property. Still even when trying to barter for such ornaments I frequently received the usual answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.'

Such instances unquestionably make the theoretical 'autocracy' of the Jibaro husband appear in a somewhat curious light.

It would therefore be a great mistake to infer, from the cruelty with which adultery is often punished, that the Jibaro women are generally badly treated by their husbands; the very reverse is the rule. Of the relations between husband and wife in the Jibaro family it may be proper to say that it is regulated according to the principle: 'The man governs, but the woman holds sway.' That the Jibaro woman is by no means a slave to her husband but is able, when the situation requires, to maintain her independence, appears for instance from the following incident which I witnessed on my last journey among the Indians. The wife of my old friend Angoasha, Yanua by name, had gone out to the [255] fields to fetch fruit with the younger women. When they returned late in the

evening they were received with reproaches by Angoasha because he and the other men were running short of manioc-beer and the women had not arrived in time to brew any more. But Yanua who had been working hard the whole day was not disposed to accept any blame which in her opinion was wholly unjustified.

'Brew manioc-beer for yourself', she called out in indignation. 'Who would clean the fields and who would carry home the manioc, the sweet potatoes, and the earth-nuts if we women did not do it?'

'Why must the women always brew the manioc-beer?' asked one of the younger women. 'The men themselves may do it; then they will not be dependent on us'.

Angoasha answered nothing, probably because he realized that the objection was justified."

1: Karsten--255-256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 562, 593 (1928-29)

"That conjugal love and affection also exist among savages like the Jibaros, I was frequently able to confirm myself. Thus even young girls of 8 or 10 years seemed to be most tenderly attached to their husbands or fiancés, who were many years older than themselves. When I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians they sometimes took their wives with them, especially to carry the fermented manioc substance, indispensable on all their journeys. On these occasions I had an opportunity to witness how my Indian baggage-bearers took care of their wives on the way, helping them to wade across the rapid streams and to climb the steep hills.

It may perhaps still be objected that the division of labour is unfavourable to the Jibaro woman, the heaviest work being incumbent on her. Precisely this assumption must be termed erroneous, as ought to be sufficiently clear from my previous statements. Thus the heaviest work in agriculture is no doubt the rough work, the felling of the giant trees and the removing of the trunks, as well as the clearing of the ground. This work, which requires great bodily strength, is always--among the Jibaros as among other Indians in Western Amazonas--performed by the men. Agriculture in the proper sense of the word, the sowing and planting, the clearing of the land, etc., is work that must be done by the women. The latter have also to carry home the fruits they cultivate--though not the plantain which is cultivated by the men--and it must be admitted that the baskets containing manioc are frequently very heavy. The big trunks and other kinds of material required for the constructing of houses, on the other hand,

are always brought by the men. [256] like the heavy logs of chonta wood used as fuel in the houses. As a general rule it may be stated that the heaviest work in the Indian society is done by the men, whereas occupations requiring less physical strength or more adapted for the weaker sex are incumbent on the women. But whatever the division of labour may be, it has nothing to do with the 'egotism' of the men and their desire to oppress the weaker members of the community.

The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of bloodguiltiness, e. g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance.

The high esteem which the Jibaro woman enjoys cannot, however, be properly understood unless we realize that it has, so to speak, its foundation in the Indians' view of the world. When describing the 'feast of the women' I mentioned the mysterious influence

a family-mother is believed to exert upon all those departments of life where she is active, an influence which is increased by artificial means. Only a woman can act upon the female spirit of the manioc plant so as to make it produce an abundant crop; cultivated by a man it would yield but a meagre harvest. Only under a woman's care will the swine and the fowls increase and thrive, and the hunting-dogs become able to trace the game. With no education by a prudent and skilful mother, the sons and daughters would hardly grow up brave men and intelligent family-mothers. The man who does not own a good wife, properly initiated during the 'feast of the women', will soon find himself deprived of the necessaries of life, nay, will see his whole household ruined, however well he may have been provided in the beginning with fields and domestic animals. Hence the extraordinary importance and the great social influence of the Jibaro woman."

1: Karsten--425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 562, 787 (1928-29)

"Under this general heading it seems to me convenient to treat of certain customs of the Indians which are clearly of a religious or magical nature and are regularly practised when the Indians have to enter into relations with the spiritual world. Everybody is not prepared to take part in religious ceremonies; children for example are excluded until they have passed through the initiations. Fullgrown women, on the other hand, as we have seen, take part in many of them, and there are even religious rites which can only be peformed by the women, because only they possess the 'inner' qualifications necessary for success. But when ordinary conjurations of evil spirits are in question, the men, and particularly old men, are both physically and mentally far in advance of the women."

2: Stirling--100-102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 562

"Three principal types of feather crown are worn by Jivaro men. One called 'taguaza' consists of a disk-like brim formed by lashing together with cotton thread several concentric hoops of rattan. The outer circumference is decorated with bright-colored feathers, usually the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan, and with green beetle wings (pl. 32). Another showy crown consists of a woven hoop of vegetable fiber which fits the head and to which are thickly attacked the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan (pls. 4, a; 5, a). The third type of crown consists of a band of monkey skin [102] with the black fur attached, about 2 inches high, worn as a hoop about the head. Women do not wear feather crowns of this nature."

2: Stirling--102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"Numerous types of collars, necklaces, and body ornaments, consisting of seeds, shells, teeth, bird bones, and at present beads and buttons, are worn. One conspicuous ornament worn somewhat after the fashion of a Sam Brown belt consists of numerous strings of small black seeds held together at intervals by transverse cotton strings worn in such fashion that it crosses both shoulders and encircles the waist. It requires almost a year of work to manufacture one of these ornaments which the Jivaros call 'nupish.' It is worn at the big fiestas and occasionally when a Jivaro wants to make an impression on a visit (pl. 6, a). Necklaces consisting of many strands of this same seed are also worn, as are similar necklaces of glass beads (pls. 4, b, c; 5, a, c). Collars woven of chambira fiber or made of bark completely covered with shells or buttons are a favorite ornament of the men (pl. 5, b). Another elaborate ornament worn by the men is the 'tayocunchi.' This is an elaborate back ornament made from hundreds of femurs of the tayo bird, which is found only in certain caves in the Jivaro country. The possession of such an ornament marks the owner as a brave man, as it requires courage to enter the caves which are the dwelling places of jaguars (or jaguar spirits) in order to obtain the birds. These ornaments are further embellished by the addition of bright-colored feathers and beetle wings. The most elaborate type of ear ornament consists of long hangings of iridescent green beetle wings which depend over the shoulders and terminate in tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. These are called 'kuishi' (pl. 15, a)."

2: Stirling--102 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"While the women do not wear as elaborate ornaments as the men, they are fond of bead or seed necklaces or collars. A characteristic ornament of the women is the dance girdle, made by attaching to a cotton tape numerous triangular segments cut from the shells of the giant land snail which jingle like sleigh bells as the wearer walks or dances. This girdle is called 'unda acacho' (pl. 10)."

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro -1
116, 562, 151

"Amongst all Indians 'Women's Rights' are at a very low stage of advancement; but amongst the Canelos probably more so than others. As with many tribes, the young male grows up very independent; and as soon as he can run about, rapidly acquires all the habits and vices of his elders. His day is chiefly spent in lolling round about the village, or further in the woods, with his blow gun, which he learns to use from childhood to the destruction of all the small birds. He also learns to fish and follow game, and soon becomes an adept in woodcraft, recognising at a glance the slightest trace of a track of man or animal, the nature of the thicket before him and the trees above him; and, when still a boy, every tree and spot for miles around his home is familiar to him. Besides this, he acquires that knowledge, almost instinctive in the Indian, of locality and direction, so difficult to understand, but which undoubtedly is instilled into the mind by the almost unconscious observation primarily of the position of the heavenly bodies, the direction of prevailing winds as frequently illustrated in the [391] growth of mosses and lichens, and the bend of trees, the general currents of the smallest streams, and the closest appreciation of many minor sources of enlightenment which would escape the notice of any but the most practised woodsman. It is truly marvellous to witness the knowledge an Indian displays (especially the Záparos) in detecting the presence of animals and tracking them, without even following on their trail half the time, when the unsophisticated can neither see nor hear anything to indicate that game has been or actually is near at hand. For an Indian, the slightest sound, rustle, or a glimpse of the

3: Simson--390-391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro-2
116, 562, 151

tip of a feather indicates to him at once all the particulars and species of a bird that may be hidden in the dense wood at the top of a tree through the heavy foliage of which it seems impossible to discern anything."

3: Simson--391 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 584, 562

"The wife [KS: the Canelo] selected, she is bestowed upon the happy swain by her father; and all the bridegroom is required by custom to do, either then or previously, is to clear the ground necessary for a plantain and yuca plantation. This practically almost ends his destiny so far as work and the care of his family is concerned; and on the days he has not a special fit of laziness at home or jollification in the village, such as a wedding, death, the cleaning and weeding of a plaza, the arrival of friends from or departure to the Marañon for the purchase of salt and poison, each of which occasions constitutes a drinking bout of at least three days and nights, he merely strolls into the woods to seek game, which in the neighbourhood of the villages is generally rather scarce. He consequently returns usually unladen; but if successful, upon entering the house, throws his sport with disdain to the ground and himself into the hammock, and haughtily receives the attentions of his wife and the 'chicha' proffered for his refreshment. Every time a stranger enters a house, he is barely seated before each one of the women separately offers him a calabash of chicha."

3: Simson--391-392 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 562

"The poor woman [KS: the Canelo] leads a hard life; for apart from the arduous duties falling to the lot of all natural mothers, she has [392] to plant the 'chacra,' clean it and gather the fruit--a harder toil than may be imagined--make the chicha constantly, cook, cut and carry the firewood, provide her own dress and ornaments, and whenever her husband is drunk follow behind him like a dog by day and go before him by night fanning a firebrand to and fro to light his path, with the general duty of aiding him to rise each time the ground may come into contact with his lordly head, and assisting him in any other manner that may offer. The precedence is given to the wife by night, so that any venomous snake or other vermin lurking in the path may attack her first and not her affectionate husband, and to illustrate to him more clearly the steps he should choose.

When these Indians came, almost daily, bringing in large bunches of plantains, etc., the man always walked first with his lance in his hand and feathers on his head, whilst the wife followed meekly behind, laden like a pack-horse with the fruits, and often a child on her hip besides, and another dragging at her heels. I once suggested to some of the men that they should provide their women with some ornaments and clothing, but they evidently took my remarks to be pleasantry."

10: Anthony--150 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 562

"The lot of the Jivaro woman is not a happy one as she is destined to do the greater part of the work and is the storm center for most of the strife. On the other hand, the men impressed me as being good-natured toward the women and spoke kindly to them. I believe, therefore, that in all minor matters the women receive some consideration."

Such are their many objects of ornamentation in which elegance equals originality. For the most part, they are common to both sexes, but used more by men than women. In Jíbaro country, the woman, considered as a slave without wishes or desires, knows nothing of elegance; the brave and strong male has preserved all his primitive privileges, and his omnipotence is more exaggerated by the isolation in which the various divisions of each tribe live.

12: Rivet--584 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
562

There are also two doors placed at the extremities of the long axis of the ellipse, measuring about 2 meters high and 50 cm. wide. Sometimes, as an aid to defense, they are still more narrow. One of these doors is reserved for the women, the other for the men and this rule is never violated save for some very serious reason. We see there the first manifestation of the separation of the sexes, so accentuated in Jíbaro country.

12: Rivet--605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562

The status of these latter [KS: women who are captured in war] is entirely inferior. Despised by the husband, they are only slaves destined to serve him, to prepare the chicha and the food, to spin and to weave the cotton, to cultivate the chacra which surrounds the house. They also take care of the domestic animals, collect the firewood, gather in the harvest and make the household pottery. On the trail, during the day the woman walks behind her husband. At night, she goes ahead of him to frighten off snakes and show him the road. (1) In every case it is she who carries the burden. Vacas Galindo reports that a young Indian whom he had asked to carry a small package for him laid it down before entering the house of his relatives because, he explained, only women did that kind of thing. (2) Perhaps we should see in this custom not the manifestation of the sense of superiority of the male, much as the necessity he finds himself under of being always ready to defend himself and his own.

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 392.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. op. cit., page 125.

12: Rivet--605 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 562, 152

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know any Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparos. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--608 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562, 833

Even in the interior arrangement of the house, there is a real separation of the sexes among the Jíbaros, not as clear as among certain peoples, but nonetheless evident. In consequence, the Indians never have intercourse in the dwelling, but always outside, in the cultivated field which surrounds the house.

20: Dyott--156-157 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 342

"Some writers claim that the Jivaros sub-divide their houses into special quarters for men and women, but I have never come across this. I have frequently noted a sleeping rack to be roughly fenced about, affording a slight measure of privacy to the pair who occupied it; but as to bringing about a general separation of the sexes, I cannot recall ever having seen it done."

20: Dyott--185-186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 775

"Why do women dig yuca and the men fell trees? were questions Johnston asked me. He laboured under the common misapprehension that the women were slaves, and did the hardest work; but I had to explain otherwise. The Jivaros carry their sense of the personal, not only to animals, but also to trees and inanimate objects. In their eyes all things are animated by human spirits, male or female. The yuca has a female soul, hence it is proper for the women to cultivate it. Clay is feminine, therefore women must fashion the simple pottery which they use. Women must also handle the vessels when it comes to cooking. Most trees are men, hence men must chop them down. Cotton is of the male gender, so men must spin thread and make their own 'itipis' and also the 'tarachi,' or garments worn by the women. It is the sex distinction which is all important. Man and woman's work is as distinct as night from day, and the duties of one never overlap those of the other. There is not even a question of comparison between the two. A man is a man, and a woman a woman. That is their final argument."

25: Vigna--38 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 157

The woman is a slave. She has no control over the education of the children who from an early age become their own masters and are free to direct their own liberty. Because of the enormous distance between family and family, and the difficult and dangerous journeys, the Jíbaro is an egocentric type par excellence.

In practice, the Jíbaro does not readily abandon a present possession, even the most low and abject, which he may obtain hic et nunc, for a future good promised verbally. Also, he does not easily forget an injury or a punishment threatened for the future, which in any contingency he does not generally take into account.

25: Vigna--43 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 302, 152

The Jîbaro woman does not paint her face, except on rare occasions and in a grotesque form. This is not done in an artistic manner as in the case of the man for whom the color, besides having an esthetic value, is a means of warding off witchcraft. The Jîbaro woman ordinarily does not care for her person, but goes about disheveled and slovenly. She pierces her lower lip and introduces into it a small reed. In general, the Jîbaro woman is very sullen and more savage than the man. Her laugh is very loud and uncontrolled (sonora y desmañada).

26: Brüning--70 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292, 562

Married women are distinguished by a narrow band which they wear over the muscle of the upper arm. I failed to indicate in my notes whether it is the right or the left arm. Since this band (patáko) is placed over the arm of very young persons and since it may not be removed, as time goes on the flesh grows over it and sometimes covers it. A widow in Huavico took off her band in my presence and dedicated it to me: it is 12 mm. wide and 21 cm. long.

28: Tessman--350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 562

Stools, tšimpúi, of the shape shown on Plate 59, Fig. 12 are chiefly used by men; the stools for women are lower. The various shapes of women's stools are shown on Plate 59, Figs. 11 and 14.

28: Tessman--357 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 562, 756, 789

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called anantentšo or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nuŋuf, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakanI*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekás* wakanI, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

Arutam wakanI is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "WakanI" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanI [789] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, [154] including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [628] intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [852] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [798] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco [796] water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 780 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[16]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 175 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [562] [797] 175 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was 175 648

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutanä*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [721]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tayamasā*), and the women's 562
(*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of tempo- [855]
rary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

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773 they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro
231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent
• 562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[224] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

782 Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

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701 554 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his [865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such [562] [581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 554 626 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untü* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 721 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods. 756 776 554

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual. 756 184 648 554

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3). 756 554

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jivaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret 756 [162] [463] [562] [554]

/text continues on p. 124/

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tion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 775
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] •
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "tse, tse, tse," continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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789 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[951] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but more important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
778 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
721 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
794 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
• [562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *nuisak* emits power, but it
778 is believed that the *nuisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *nuisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *nuisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huarä* intra-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *nuisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
• 562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
[674] which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
untsuri huwa. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

• 562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
423 and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

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578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *nôá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Cuwi[3] tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Cuwi tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

5: Reyes and Teran--122 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 563

"The whites in the Oriente are almost entirely from the [GCB: Ecuadorian] altiplano and have come into the forest still searching, like their remote ancestors, the chimerical El Dorado. From Archidona to Macas, according to Sinclair and Wasson, there are not more than 600 whites, and these are largely concentrated in the latter settlement. Of the original Spanish colonists, there is clearly not a single descendent left."

20: Dyott--190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 142, 563

"Johnston commented on the fact that Kuashu had evidences of quite a strong growth of hair on his chin. I had told him that, surprising as it might be, none of these forest dwellers ever grow beards. He therefore wanted some explanation for the phenomena exhibited by Kuashu's face.

In the sixteenth century, when a few Spanish settlements flourished in what is now called the Ecuadorean Oriente, the Indians resented the slavery imposed upon them by the Spanish invaders, and finally united in a combined effort to rid themselves of their common foe, who seemed to be endangering their existence. A wholesale revolt against the whites ensued, and several villages were completely annihilated. This, as I have already stated, was the fate that befell Sevilla de Oro, and the Spanish women living there were taken prisoners and carried off into the forest wilderness, where they became the mothers of subsequent Jivaro children. This infusion of Spanish blood shows itself in the bearded faces which are occasionally met with in this area."

34:Harner E-4, 5(1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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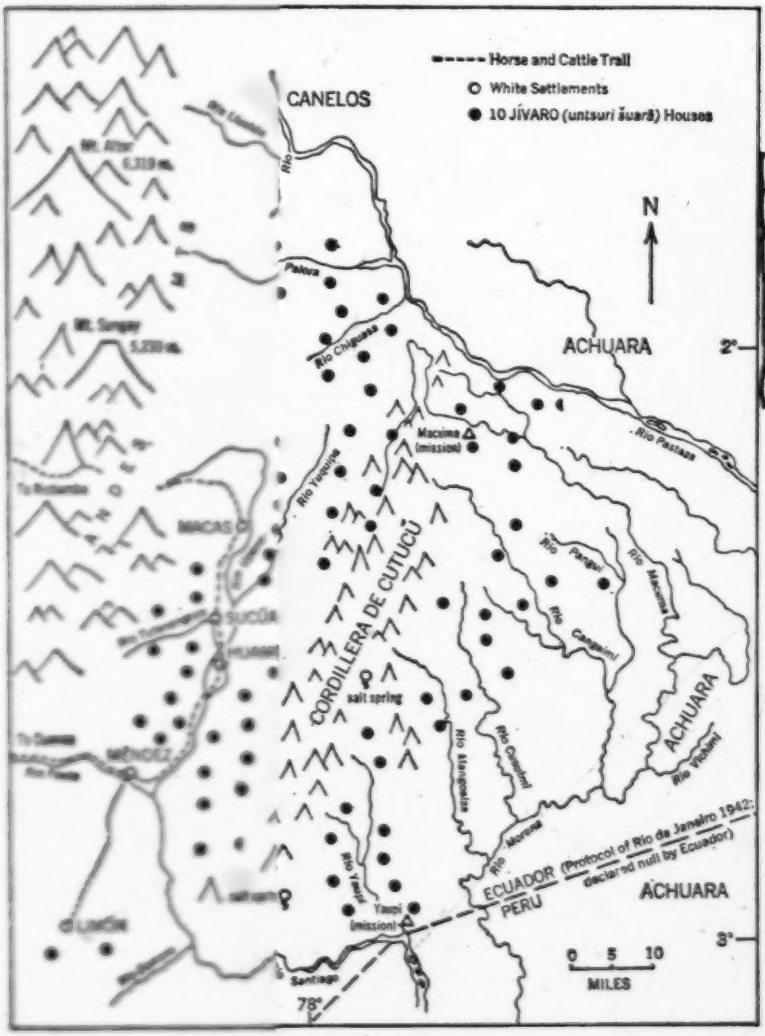

MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
• [563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguasa region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will
• undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
563 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
648 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the 429
Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This
basic cultural difference makes successful communication and 563
adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two
groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, 182
which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano 563
Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with
the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white 657
colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some 797
of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down 648
a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of [433] Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them [423] to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The [101] Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief [186] daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new head- [207] quarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huarā*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only 182
spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the mis- 797
sionaries, since there has not been a branch of the govern-
ment concerned specifically with the protection of the rights 648
of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not 657
necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the
many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

1: Karsten--251 [2] (1916-18) 1935 SD9 Jivaro SD9
116, 565, 621 (1928-29)

"Since there exists no society in the strict sense of the word apart from the family, it is natural that social classes, distinctions between fich and poor, etc, are also non-existent, like the distinction between rulers and ruled. If we may speak of a 'government', it is a purely patriarchal one, the head of the family and the owner of the house being at the same time the 'chief' of this small community, theoretically even with absolute power. It is of particular interest to see how he exercises this power in practice."

More recently, Saffray reports similar details from the Indians of Choco, who live in Colombia along the Atrato. Two of these tribes, the Cunas and the Caimanes, still spoke in 1869 the Cueba language, "the most widespread language from Veragua to Guayaquil at the time of the discovery." "In olden times," Saffray says, "when a chief died, they put his body on a wicker framework above a slow fire until it was completely desiccated...For commoners, they kept only the head, de-boned and dried in such a manner that, the flesh being molded in a uniform fashion, there remained a perfect reproduction of the original reduced to almost one-sixth of the original size." (1) The drawing that accompanies Saffray's account permits no doubt that the mummies made by the Indians of Choco and the tsantsas of the Jívaros are identical. At the end of the 18th century, the same costumes were still in use among the natives of the Pompa del Sacramento near the river Huallaga (2).

1. Dr. Saffray, Voyage à la Nouvelle Grenade, 1869. (Le Tour du Monde, T. XXVI, 1873, 2 sem., pp. 102, 103, 111.)

2. PP. Manuel Sobreviela et Narcisso y Barcelo. Voyages au Perou faits dans les années 1791 to 1794. French translation by P. F. Henry. Paris, 1809, in-8°, page 175.

13: Rivet--249 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727, 565

The meaning of these trophies is thus rather complex. Among the Aguarunas, the possession of a tsantsa is indispensable to admission into the warrior class and the possession of wives (1). This requirement of initiation seems peculiar to this tribe. No where else does one find classes among the Jíbaros. However, according to Father Prieto, the Indians of Gualaquiza designate under the name Cocarama those among them who have distinguished themselves by the number of enemies killed (2). Perhaps there was then a true warrior class, as among the Aguarunas.

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1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 63.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.

1: Karsten--183-184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 571, 592, 611, 621 (1928-29)

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organization is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

31: Danielsson--83-84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 121, 571

"As often has been pointed out, the advance of sociology depends principally on the development of objective techniques of determining social interaction in human populations and on the formulation of universal laws for describing this interaction. The principal obstacle to the development of these new techniques and to the formulation of general laws is the difficulty of undertaking experiments. This difficulty is, of course, chiefly one of ethical attitude. Sociological experiments are not yet in public opinion regarded as naturally permissible as experiments in the natural sciences. This attitude is a real and considerable difficulty. The idea underlying the present study is that while we are waiting for a change of public opinion sociometric studies among primitive peoples (the term 'primitive' here of course meaning 'not having a written language') might in some cases give us a substitute for experiments, or in any case that studies of this type might contribute to the basic work on sociological theory and method.

The characteristics to be sought among primitive peoples which would be favorable for the sociological researcher with the mentioned point of view in mind are the following:

1. Relative isolation from other primitive tribes and from other cultural groups, thus limiting the number of disturbing influences.

2. Small number of individuals, permitting not only a sampling, but a complete canvass.

31; Danielsson--83-84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro 2
116, 121, 571

3. A simple social structure, at least in comparison with the civilized [84] societies ('those having a written language'). The structure is generally simpler among prinitive peoples of course principally due to the fact that indirect communication, in spaceand time, is very limited. As a consequence, in a primitive society basic sociologica patterns underlying all human behavior could more easily be found.

As a primitive people, the Jibaro Indians from Western Amazonas, chosen for he present study, seem to fulfill these requirements."

31: Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for describing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

31: Danielsson--89 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"The present study is of the 'atomic' type.(4) Each individual is regarded as a unit integrated in a system, in the same way as the atoms form certain patterns in the so-called material world. The interaction between these units is in our case described in terms of attraction and repulsion.

The field-work was made easy by the fact that the Jibaros are extremely aware of and outspoken about their relations to each other. The continuous wars and fights have sharpened their feelings of friendship and hostility. As an example of this can be mentioned the not uncommon habit of the family head of beginning the day with a loud and fierce recitation of the names of enemies, so that the family members may not forget them. Repulsions, which sometimes have been difficult to record in our civilized societies, turned out to be even easier to get than the attractions."

"4. The point of departure is to be found in the works of J.L. Moreno and George A. Lundberg, as presented in such publications as for instance: J.L. Moreno: Who Shall Survive? Beacon House, N.Y., 1934; and 'Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences', Sociometry, Vol.1, 1937; Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939. 'Social Attraction Patterns in a Village', Sociometry, no.3-4, 1938, and 'The Growth of the Social Sciences', The American Journal of Sociology, no.6, 1945."

31: Danielsson--90-91 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 128, 571

"The cohesion within each group is shown in Table III. It is strikingly high. In all the geographical groups some few individuals have a central position chosen by the majority. Few or no choices are made by individuals from outside their own geographical group and few choices go to outsiders. The centripetal tendency is pronounced. The cohesion is computed by the following formula:

$$\frac{\frac{\frac{Ca + Ci}{I}}{\frac{Co}{0}}}{} + \frac{O(Ca + Ci)}{ICo}$$

[91]

where the letters indicate:

I = Number of individuals in in-group
0 = Number of individuals in out-group who receive choices from the in-group
Ci = Number of choices coming in
Co = Number of choices going out
Ca = Number of choices among the members of the in-group"

" TABLE III
Cohesion Within Each Geographical Group

Group	Choices per capita per members of in-group
Patuca	21.00
Yurupaza	9.50
Yaupi	10.66

This centripetal tendency is graphically demonstrated in the Charts II, IV and VI. If we for instance take Chart VI, the I (the number of individuals in the in-group) is 3 (IIa, VI6D, and V123D), 0=16, * Ci=26, Co=16, and Ca=6. The result according to the formula:

$$\frac{16(6+26)}{3 \times 16} = \frac{512}{48} = 10.67$$

* Not indicated on the graph.

"In Charts II-VII [KS: see pp. 94-99] some dominant groupings are shown. For the sake of lucidity the relations between all the marginal individuals are not shown. Only for the central constellations with which we are primarily concerned is the complete web of in-and out-going choices charted.(6) [92]

In Chart II, the attraction pattern, Patuca, the central figure V120E, chosen by everybody, is a ceremony man. Priests in the proper sense of the word do not exist among the Jibaros, but there is always a special performer of the rites during the important feasts, the victory feast, the tobacco feast, etc. The term whusa is used for the ceremony man which means 'old man'. As indicated in the chart (three circles) V120E is also the oldest one in this geographical group, having lived three generations.

"6. Each Arabic figure refers to one person. The Roman figures indicate membership of family house, and the capital letters indicate relationship by birth. The number of the circles for each individual indicates the age, one for each generation of descendants that he has lived (as the Jibaros have no system for computing the age comparable to ours). Attraction and repulsion are indicated in the following way: after George A. Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939, page 352, which follows closely Moreno's original instructions in Who Shall Survive?, p.114-16, Beacon House, 1934."

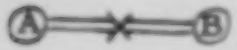
In Chart III, the repulsion pattern, Patuca, the individual V17D, has an equally central position. He is a sorcerer, with which word is meant a person trained in the magic arts, possessing the power of harming and curing people.(7) The great strength that he possesses is indicated by the fact that although he is repelled by all the individuals 1-16, he is in his turn indifferent. He regards them as inferior and harmless, as they do not have his knowledge of the magic arts.

In Chart IV, the attraction pattern, Yurupaza, the individual IV15C, is the chief in war, and 119C the ceremony man. At the time of the study a war is being waged against the Yaupis and IV15C, who is the most experienced one, has been appointed. In Chart V, the repulsion pattern, Yurupaza, a typical conflict situation, due to violation of traditional rights, is depicted. The family groups I and V are enemies of the two brothers III, 10D and III, 11D, and the hostility is mutual. The reason seemed to be a quarrel over the fishing rights in the river. (As can be seen on Map II family house III is situated between family houses I and V along the river). The difference between this repulsion pattern and that on Chart III, where the cause is sorcery, should be noticed. In Chart III the relations are repulsion-indifference, in Chart V repulsion-repulsion.

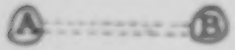
"7. The sorcerer is not always a professional man. The term medicine-man is generally used for a professional sorcerer."

31: Danielsson--91-100 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-3
116, 571

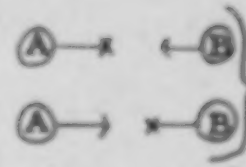
Mutual attraction



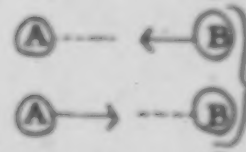
Mutual repulsion



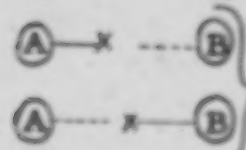
Mutual indifference



Attraction-Repulsion



Attraction-Indifference



Indifference-Repulsion

[100]*

* [KS: Pages 93 through 99 contain charts.]

In Chart VI, the attraction pattern, Yaupi, the clevage into two groups is very apparent and corresponding to the geographical locations. Individuals 2-12 all chose IIA, and individuals 13-22 all chose V16D. Those central persons are both chiefs in war. They chose each other, thus uniting the two groups, and individual V123D, the ceremony man. The latter is evidently chosen because of the support from the two key-persons, who are the 'power behind the throne.' (A separate inquiry indicated that the majority wanted IV14C as ceremony man.) The reason why two chiefs in war were appointed, was that the Yaupis were waging two wars at the same time, one against the Yurupazas and another against a group further down the Santiago river (not included in the present study). IIA was a specialist on war against the former group and V16D on war against the latter group. In Chart VII, the repulsion pattern, Yaupi, the key-persons have interchanged their positions, which indicates that they both are practising black magic towards their respective out-groups."

31: Danielsson--94
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro

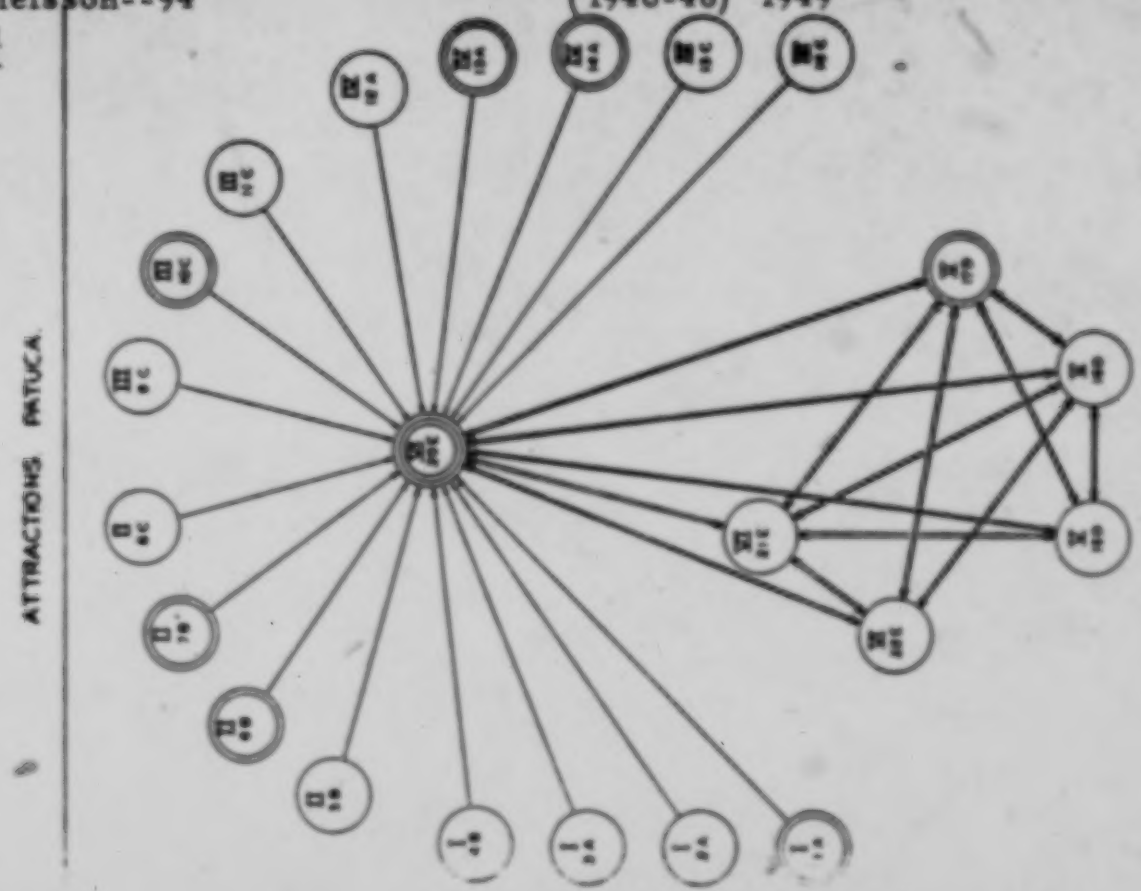
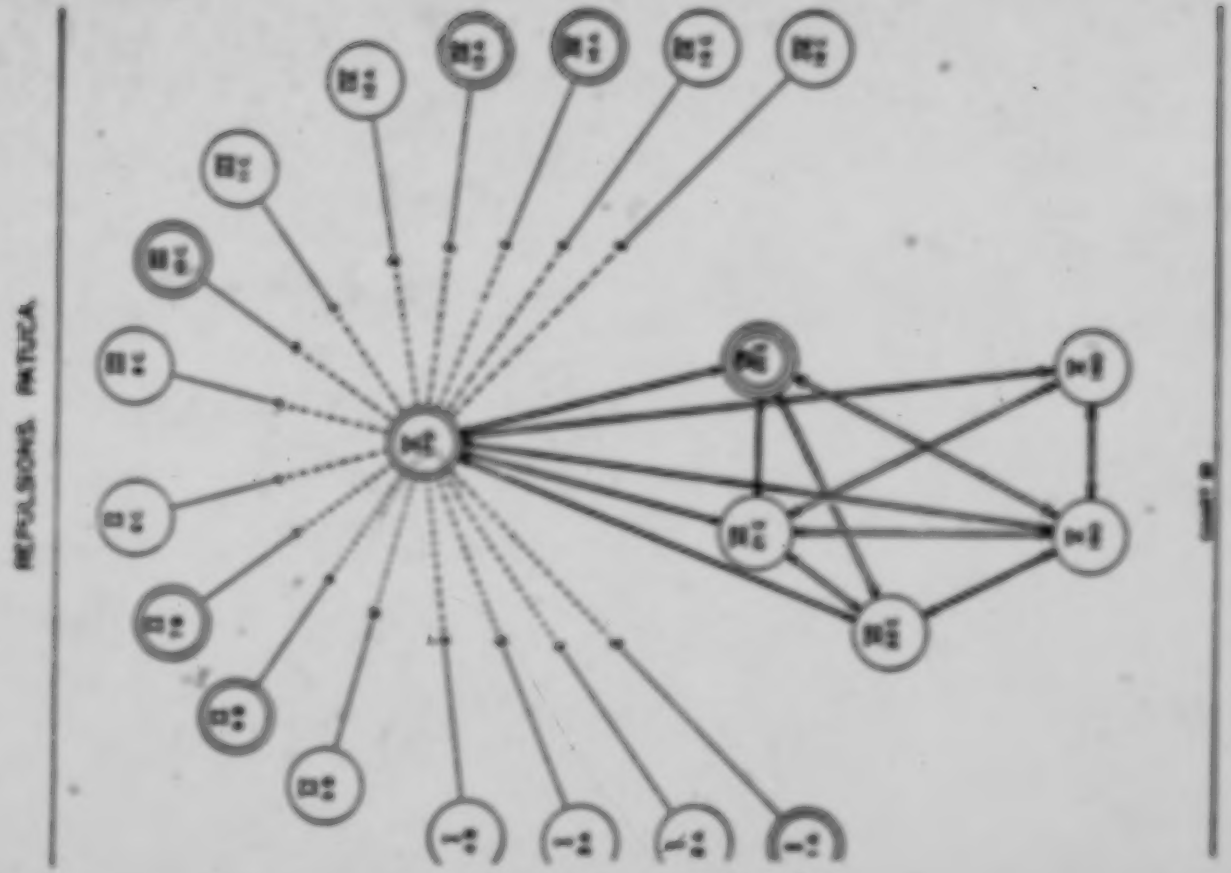


CHART 8

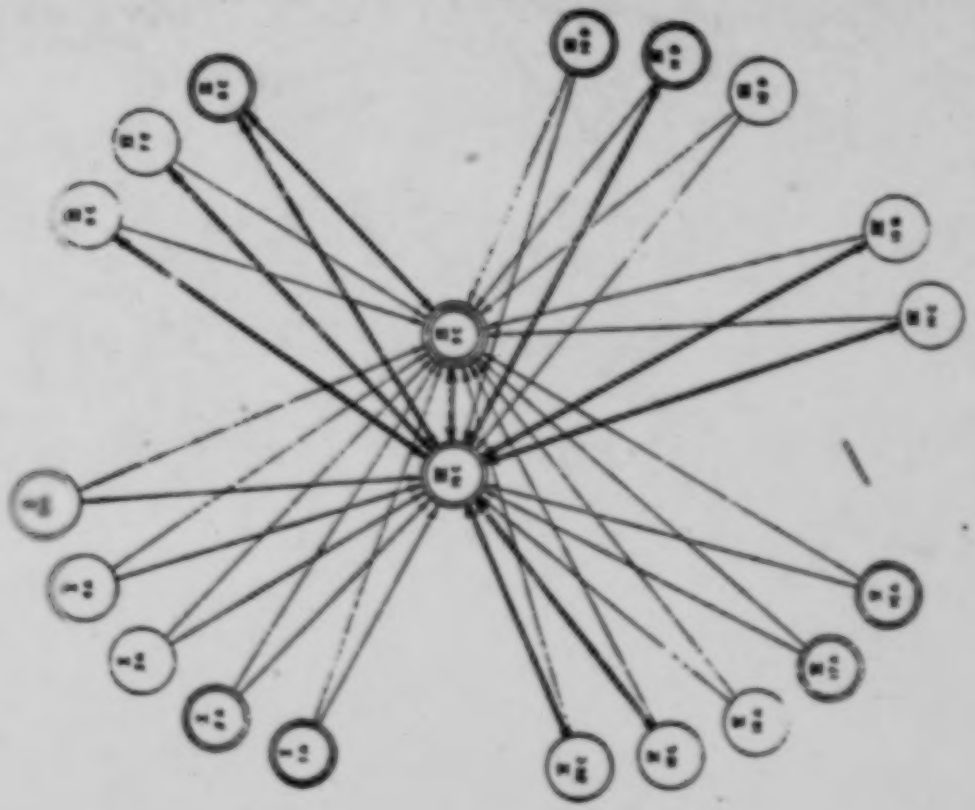
31: Danielsson--95 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



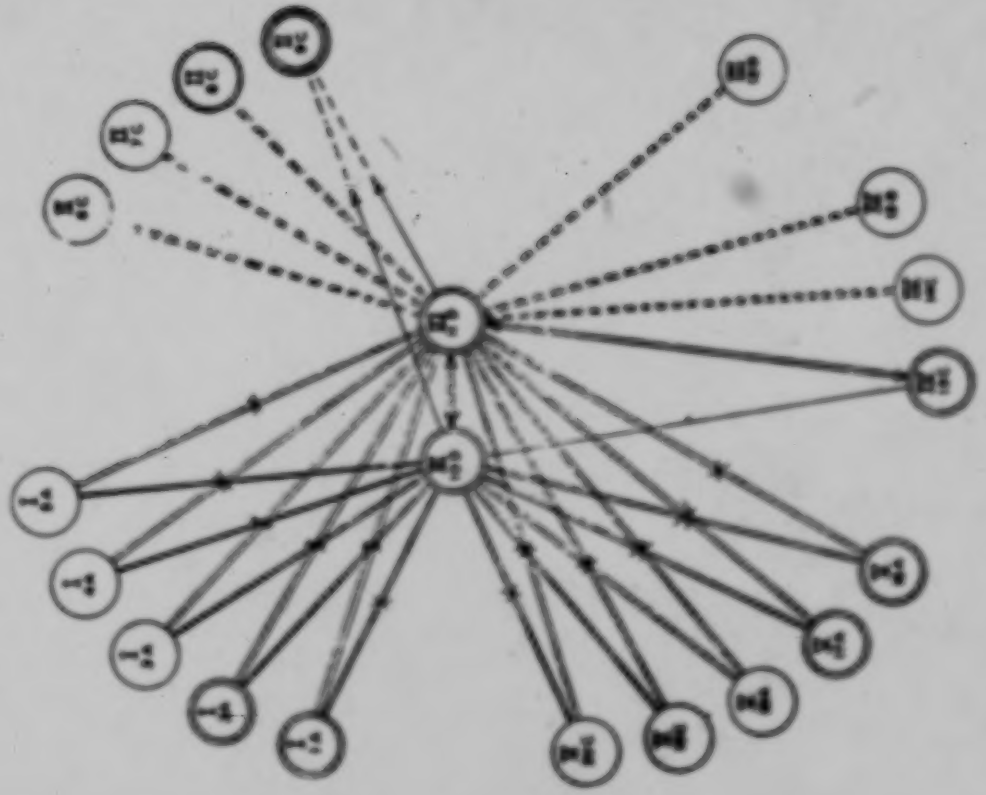
31: Danielsson--96
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

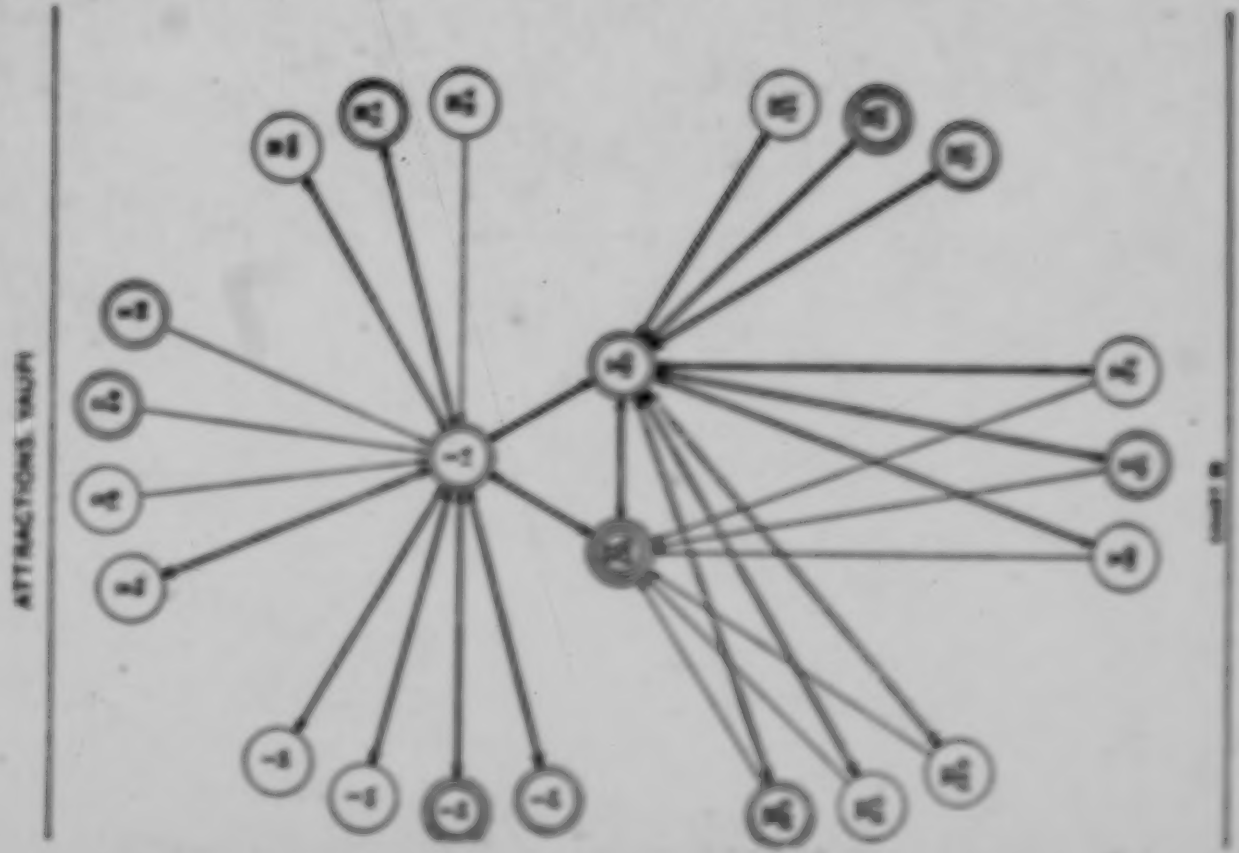
Jivaro



31: Danielsson--97 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



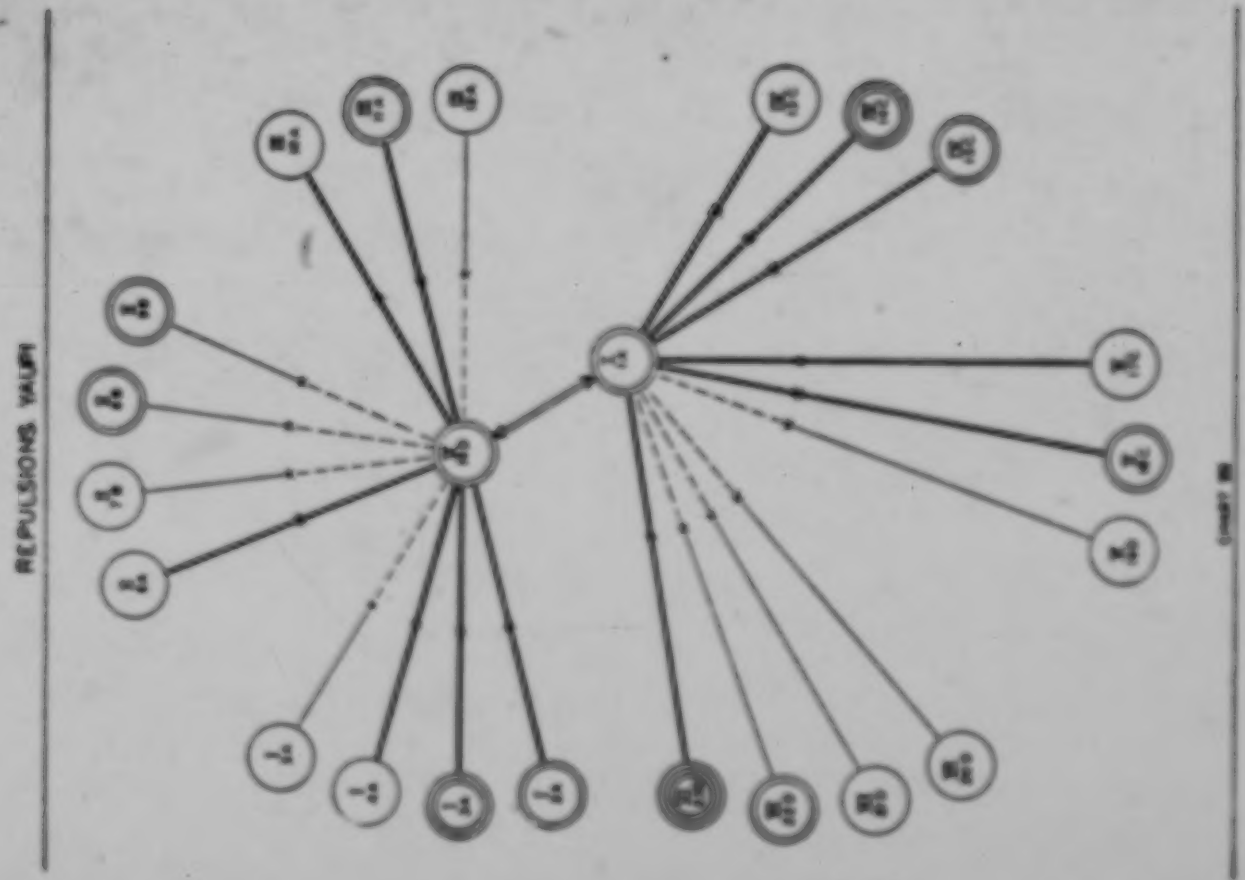
31; Danielsson--98 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



31: Danielsson--99
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro



31: Danielsson--100 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571

"Let us now ask: What theoretical significance do these charts have, if any? I think the best answer would be: They seem to offer a possibility of operational definitions of conceptions for a long time dealt with in vague conceptual terms only. It seems obvious that such words as chief in war, ceremony man, and sorcerer can be defined from the positions in the charts (or from the figures in the tables). Definitions of the proposed types would be the following ones for instance:

1. Chief in war = an individual receiving more than 50% of the total number of possible choices and being at least of an age of two generations. (E.g. IV15C in chart IV, IIA and V16D in chart VI).

2. Ceremony man = an individual, receiving more than 50% of the total number of possible choices and being at least of an age of three generations or regarded as being among the 25% oldest individuals. (E.g. V120E in chart II, II9C in chart IV and V123D in chart VI.)

3. Sorcerer = an individual, exposed to more than 50% of the total number of possible repulsion choices and in his turn demonstrating at least 25% indifferent responses. (E.g. V17D in chart III and IIA and V16D in chart VII.)

We are of course here only trying to point out the possibility of a special type of definitions. The figures and percentages indicated as suggestions correspond to the conditions in the three geographical groups studied, but if used more generally, they have naturally to be changed and refined by further research."

31: Danielsson--101 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571

"The limitation of the study to the verbally expressed attractions and repulsions of the male adults in the area indicated, was deliberately chosen as it made it possible to cover the greatest number of geographical groups in the time at my disposal. This limitation, however, immediately raises some questions about the relation of the chosen group to other groups and to other factors, as for instance:

a) What is the correlation between verbal and nonverbal behavior?

b) What is the correlation between (a) attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and (b) patterns of other kinds?

c) What is the correlation between the answers of the men and the women?

d) What is the correlation between repulsions and geographical space?"

TABLE IV

Total Number of Visits of Tribe Members During Two Weeks in Patuca

Family paying the visit		Family receiving the visit					
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	Men	x	14	19	22	0	23
	Women	x	27	12	38	0	58
II	Men	17	x	14	23	0	27
	Women	5	x	24	39	0	31
III	Men	12	17	x	14	0	21
	Women	19	21	x	18	0	23
IV	Men	21	18	27	x	0	26
	Women	52	37	41	x	0	58
V	Men	0	0	0	0	x	31
	Women	0	0	0	2	x	28
VI	Men	7	5	2	8	17	x
	Women	12	8	9	3	19	x

The unit is one individual visit.

31: Danielsson--101-102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116. 571

"The reliability of the verbal expressions as an index for non-verbal behaviors has of course to be checked separately in each case. This was done among the Patucas. The result is shown by a comparison between Table V, where all visits during two weeks are listed, and Table VII where the oral testimonials from the same group are listed. The overlapping is almost complete. The houses of which the members are indicated as enemies are not visited. Table IV gives at the same time a good measure of the degree of friendship. Family V1 for instance of which the member V120E [102] has a central position in the attraction pattern on Chart II is paid the highest number of visits.(8)

"8. See, Charles B. Loomis: 'Sociometries and the Study of New Rural Communities', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

31: Danielsson--102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602, 582

"In our so-called civilized societies the correlations between the attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and the more formal patterns, such as familial relationships, economic status, occupation, club membership, etc., have to be taken into consideration. In the Jibaro society there are no formal patterns except the familial pattern. How the Jibaros designate familial relationship is shown on Chart I. The Jibaro family is patripotestal. The children use, for instance, the same word, aparu, for their biological father as well as for their paternal uncles. No parallel exists to this on the mother's side. The parents use the same word, nauanda, both for the daughters and the daughters-in-law. For the son-in-law, however, another term, aweru, is used than for the son, uchi. A marriage between cousins on the father's side or between a paternal uncle and his niece is regarded as incest, but on the mother's side marriages of these types are regarded as natural."

"As could be expected the blood relationship is highly correlated with attraction.(9) Table V shows the interaction within each family house, in all the three geographical groups, computed after the same formula used on page eleven:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

TABLE V

Interaction Within Each Family House

Patuca family no.	Percentage	Yurupaza family no.	Percentage	Yaupi family no.	Percentage
I	100.00%	I	100.00%	I	100.00%
II	66.66%	II	100.00%	II	92.22%
III	100.00%	III	100.00%	III	100.00%
IV	100.00%	IV	33.33%	IV	100.00%
V	100.00%	V	100.00%	V	100.00%
VI	100.00%			VI	100.00%

"9. Irwin T. Sanders: 'Sociometric Work with a Bulgarian Woodcutting Group', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

In all the groups not showing a 100% interaction (Patuca II, Yurupaza IV, Yaupi II) the reason seemed to be a recent incorporation into the family group of a son-in-law (among the Jibaros the son-in-law frequently [103] moves over to the house of the father-in-law). In these cases (II8C among B-members in Patuca II, IV13B among C-members in Yurupaza IV, and 116A among B-members in Yaupi II) (see Charts II, IV and VI) the arrival of the new-comer is resented by some of the old members of the family house."

"Table VI shows the interaction between all persons related by birth, computed by the same formula as in the last case.

TABLE VI

Interaction Between Persons Related by Birth

Patuca relationship	Percentage	Yurupaza relationship	Percentage	Yaupi relationship	Percentage
A	100.00%	A	92.88%	A	93.05%
B	100.00%	B	100.00%	B	100.00%
C	90.00%	C	85.71%	C	90.50%
D	100.00%	D	100.00%	D	83.33%
E	100.00%				

The figures seem to be somewhat lower than in the previous case, but any definite conclusions are of course impossible to draw from such limited material. (It should be noted that the letters repeated for each geographical group have no reference to one another. Thus the members from the A-group in Patuca are not related to the members of the A-groups in Yurupaza or Yaupi)."

"The overlapping of the answers of the male and female adults was studied in one geographical group, the Patucas. The result is shown in Table VII. As seen, the correspondence is almost perfect. Whether this holds true for all the geographical groups, and whether the women to women patterns correspond with those for men, only further research can demonstrate. It seems, however, likely that the men's opinion in the present matter to a large extent determine the women's also in other groups. This is supposed not because of a complete submission of the women--which is far from true--but because of the strict division of labor and interests between the sexes. Formation of alliances and actions against enemies are part of the 'politics' and as such belong exclusively to the masculine sphere.

Eventually an attempt was made to determine the relation between repulsions and geographical space. As already has been pointed out [Part I, pp. 6-7], great hostility exists between the different geographical groups. In order to ascertain the degree of hostility all male individuals of the three previous groups (Patuca, Yurupaxa, Yaupi) and of another Jibaro group, otherwise not dealt with in this study, the Huambisas, living farther down the Santiago River, were interviewed about their feelings toward the [105]members of their respective out-groups. The number and percentage of individuals in each group answering that all the members of the other geographical

groups were enemies are indicated in Table VIII, column I. The figures for those who answered that one or more individuals from the other groups were friends are given in column II in the same table."

31: Danielsson--105 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"As could be suspected there is a positive correlation between the degree of hostility and the geographical space. It seems likely that a correlation as indicated in Table IX could be found in the whole Jibaro country.

TABLE IX

Correlation Between Hostility and Geographical Space

Geographical groups	Approximate distance	Hostility in percentage (as in Table VIII)
Yurupaza-Huambiza	50 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yurupaza	50 miles	100%
Patuca-Huambiza	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Patuca	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yaupi	30 miles	100%
Yaupi-Huambiza	30 miles	95.83%
Yaupi-Yurupaza	25 miles	91.66%
Patuca-Yaupi	25 miles	91.3%
Yurupaza-Yaupi	25 miles	90.90%
Yaupi-Patuca	25 miles	83.33%
Patuca-Yurupaza	15 miles	82.60%
Yurupaza-Patuca	15 miles	81.81%

TABLE VII

Correspondence Between Male and Female Verbal Responses in Patuca

Expressed by family		Expressed towards family I Friendship	I Hostility	I Indifference	II Friendship	II Hostility	II Indifference	III Friendship	III Hostility	III Indifference	IV Friendship	IV Hostility	IV Indifference	V Friendship	V Hostility	V Indifference	VI Friendship	VI Hostility	VI Indifference
I	4 men	x	x	x	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0
	14 women	x	x	x	14	0	0	14	0	0	14	0	0	0	14	0	14	0	0
II	5 men	5	0	0	x	x	x	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	0
	10 women	10	0	0	x	x	x	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	0	10	0	0
III	3 men	3	0	0	3	0	0	x	x	x	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0
	7 women	7	0	0	7	0	0	x	x	x	7	0	0	0	7	0	7	0	0
IV	5 men	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	x	x	x	0	5	0	5	0	0
	20 women	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	x	x	x	0	20	0	20	0	0
V	3 men	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	1	x	x	x	3	0	0
	8 women	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	x	x	x	8	0	0
VI	3 men	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	x	x	x
	6 women	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	x	x	x

The unit is one individual response.

Editorial note: Observe how this matrix (Table VII) of interfamily choices by sexes presents more rigorously the finding of hostility to the sorcerer shown in Chart III. Chart III isolates the interperson hostility; Table VII shows the resulting interfamily hostility and shows its extreme degree relative to all hostile interrelations among all the families.

TABLE VIII

Feelings of Hostility and Friendship Between the Different Geographical Groups

Feelings of the male individual from		toward the groups of Patuca: all are enemies I	Patuca: one or more are friends II	Yurupaxa I	Yurupaxa II	Yaupi I	Yaupi II	Huambiza I	Huambiza II
Patuca	(23)	x	x	19	4	21	2	23	0
		x	x	82.6%	17.4%	91.3%	8.7%	100%	0%
Yurupaxa	(22)	18	4	x	x	20	2	22	0
		81.81%	18.19%	x	x	90.9%	9.1%	100%	0%
Yaupi	(24)	20	4	22	2	x	x	23	1
		83.33%	16.67%	91.66%	8.34%	x	x	95.83%	4.17%
Huambiza	(31*)	31	0	31	0	31	0	x	x
		100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	x	x

* The actual number during our short stay. A party was out shooting.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunken- 273
ness develops, men may get into arguments over normally 527
repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior [837]
with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even [578]
hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus col- [837]
lapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" 273
which is social as well as biochemical, when the various 527
participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's 571
events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men 554
who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce 527
large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their 571
neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as 577
shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untä*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the [578]
house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jivaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *amigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *amigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *amigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *amigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

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These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

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574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
[796] the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[283] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[595] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764]

The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire pres-
554 tige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsaincli*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

765 778 774 578 796 [619] [273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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578 765 *tsamea*, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is 796 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by [774] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been [778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl- [554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al- [624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a [562] basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the 765 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to 796 the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* 727 feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill- [619] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, [571] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a [181] common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho- [533] ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered [535] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song: [539]

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Čuwi[5] tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Čuwi tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being 411
obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an 178
especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411
of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438
for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439
of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had
been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [441]
Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [249]
ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [313]
Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to
develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara [278]
products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it
profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317]
of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the
east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412]
der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237]
tier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278]
the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178
been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441
in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184
formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675
tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for 178
firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh- 571
borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have
trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411]
settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiči*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [572] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure 178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of 601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of 576 a men's term of reference (*arwe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the 754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially 756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during 181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend 556 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jívaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jívaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jívaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular
kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance
to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [572]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
• 572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *amigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *amigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *amigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *amigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cucucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white-Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *amiči*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigü*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[6] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
431 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowgun, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kwir*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
441 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives
574 a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his
[431] guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

14:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*kwampi*)

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jivaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jivaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *asuigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

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The *asuigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

441 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading
• 572 partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amiči*)
593 in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsuči*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight
[602] with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner
628 involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus,
721 when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading
[572] partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiči*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [572] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara
576 terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

1: Karsten--44-45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574, 609 (1928-29)

"...we were instructed by the guide as to how we had to behave on our arrival. When approaching the first house we were warned not to speak loudly or to make any noise, since the attention of the Indians might be aroused too soon; they might run away or find time to take other measures. As soon as the first plantain and manioc plantations became visible one of my Indian companions made a loud signal with a cow's horn which he had brought with him for this very purpose. In this way our arrival was announced and the Indians would understand that friends and not enemies were approaching. Such a precaution is always considered necessary when one visits the savage Jibaro Indians. Thereupon we hastened our steps and a few moments later reached the house, the inhabitants of which were outside to meet us. We were received with the usual suspicion and curiosity and of course had to answer the usual questions as to the object of our visit, who that strange light-haired apachi (white man) was whom the Indians had brought, how long we intended to stay, and so forth. The women and children particularly displayed fear and suspicion, but at the same time curiosity drew them irresistibly to the spot where we were. They became calmer when I opened my boxes and presented a beautiful necklace of glass beads to each of the women as well as small mirrors and needles to the children. The owner of the house received [45] a forest knife and I easily obtained his permission to stay in the house a few days.

Later on I shall describe the detailed greeting ceremonies which take place when a

guest is received in a Jibaro house. A small speech must always be delivered to the host on behalf of the arriving party, and one of my Indian companions, Shaua by name, himself of Jibaro origin, undertook this duty. 'We have arrived, my brother', he said, 'as companions of this white man and carrying his luggage. We come to you as friends and not as enemies, to see how you live and to exchange things with you. Disease and evil we do not bring with us. We want to stay with you a few days in peace', and so forth. The host answered this speech with some words in the same vein. Shaua and his comrades were all the more anxious to express their friendly feeling to our hosts as only with hesitation had they consented to visit these old hereditary enemies of the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574, 609 (1928-29)

"The rubber collector who had accompanied us to the Indians was, as I have said, almost the only white man with whom these savages had been in contact. As usual he had paid the Indians for their services with trousers, shirts, linen, etc., in consequence of which the native dress of these Indians showed more traces of European influence than I had expected. This influence, however, was absolutely limited to the dress. What I was able to establish during this visit to the distant Achuares was the great uniformity of the Jibaro culture. There are of course minor differences. Thus the dialect spoken by these Jibaros differs to a certain extent from the one spoken by the Upano tribes and the Huambizas. The Achuares seldom have swine and at their great victory feast there is no ceremony answering to 'the slaughtering of the swine' among the Upano Indians. Contrary to what is the case among the latter, who prefer to buy their arrow poison from other tribes, the Achuares are themselves skilled poison makers, and they likewise make their blowguns with which they even carry on a trade. Like the rest of their fellow-tribesmen they weave their loin-clothes, but their method of dyeing the stuff differs from that practised by the Upanos. Their pottery shows many interesting peculiarities, both in form and in the way of painting it, as will be shown later on. But their general mode of life, their social organization and, as far as I was able to ascertain, their intellectual culture is exactly the same as that of other Jibaro tribes, in spite of the relative isolation in which the Achuares live and probably have lived for many decades, perhaps for centuries."

1: Karsten--61 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
727, 574 (1928-29)

"The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring

1: Karsten--61 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
727, 574 (1928-29)

houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report."

1: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
562, 574 (1928-29)

"No guest is expected to enter the house except through the door leading to the men's department, nor can he, without special permission, enter the interior of the house or the women's department. Only a guest who is well known to the Indians, or has lived for some days in the house, can enter there or occasionally use the backdoor also."

1: Karsten--222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 574 (1928-29)

"I have stated before that jealousy is not particularly characteristic of the Jibaro women who are the co-wives of the same man, which may in part be due to the fact that in many cases they are sisters or near relatives. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the Jibaro men, who generally are very jealous of their wives. The jealousy of the Jibaro men forms part of their general suspiciousness and treacherous character. They can never trust a visiting guest who, even when he seemingly comes as a friend, may nevertheless nourish evil designs, trying to bewitch the women with the evil eye or to seduce them with his love charms. If the Jibaro Indian has found, or believes he has found, his suspicions confirmed, he is terrible in his revenge, and this revenge turns not only against the supposed seducer but also easily against his own wife."

1: Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

"There is hardly a day that the Indians do not receive guests of some kind. In fact, the reception and entertainment of guests fills a good deal of their time and forms a side of their social life which especially attracts the attention of a white visitor. There is a certain difference in the reception, according as the visitors are known to the inhabitants of the house or are complete strangers, but in either case certain ceremonies are considered absolutely necessary. Strangers must announce their arrival by a loud signal when they approach the house, in the way I had to do myself for instance when I visited the Achuares.

If the visitors are friends of the owner of the house or at least known to him, they can enter without further notice. Generally three or more come together; seldom does an Indian pay a visit alone. The guests always come armed with lances, guns, or rifles, and the arms are always taken into the house. When staying in a strange house the Jibaro Indian [246] is never separated from his weapons. This is considered perfectly

natural by the hosts and does not arouse any particular attention. (1)

As soon as the visitors enter, each of them pronounces the word: Winyáhei, 'I have arrived', whereupon they remain standing motionless at the door in a row. Then generally some of the younger boys step forward and hand a small seat (chimbúi) to each of them. They now sit down at the door with their lances stretched out, but do not utter a word. The host of the house at first pays little attention to the guests, but calls out to the women to bring them manioc-beer and starts to arrange his dress. He plaits his long hair in the usual three pigtails, puts on his ear-tubes, paints his face, and puts on

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"1. It is surprising to find, in G. M. Dyott's book On the Trail of the Unknown (p.180) the following passage: 'On one of my expeditions a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare.' Everybody who has travelled among the Jibaros knows that this statement is the very reverse of the truth. According to local custom it is perfectly natural that all weapons should be taken inside, and I myself and my companions always took our rifles and guns into the Jibaro houses we visited."

a new itípi. Then he seizes his lance, steps up to the guests, takes a seat and sits down in front of them, saying the one word Winīti, i. e. 'may you come'. This for the guests is the 'word of release'. They now start to speak, one at a time, as they are addressed by the host. The speaker explains the aim of his visit, adding that besides this he wanted to see his friends, how they live, whether they are healthy and all right, etc. As long as the guest speaks it is not considered proper for the host to interrupt him except by certain grunts representing assent or approbation, and with confirming words like ita (yes)--ah--um--turáma ('so you have done')--ah--níkasneiti ('it is true') --máketi ('quite so'), etc. After the guest has finished, it is the host's turn to answer him, the guest only listening and interrupting, as his host had done, by the usual grunts of assent. This conversation lasts for five to ten minutes and must be carried out with each guest separately. Only after the last guest has been greeted in this way and had an opportunity to speak, can all of them leave the door and freely move about the men's department.

The most curious thing in this greeting ceremony, however, is the tone in which the men speak and the way in which the whole conversation is carried on. It is not the ordinary conversational tone; the Indian who is speaking for the moment shouts loudly, and the words follow [247] each other so quickly that to a person who is not well acquainted with the Jibaro language it is extremely difficult to understand what they are saying. During the conversation the host and the guest regard each other with stern

looks just as if they were angry or excited, while they speak they hold the hand to the mouth, and after every fourth or fifth word they spit on the ground, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A listener unacquainted with the customs of the Indians might believe that two madmen are conversing. It may be more to the point however to liken them to two lions, doing their best to arouse mutual respect. The guests drink manioc-beer the whole time they are conversing, it being offered them by two or three women who move continually between the men's ante-room and the 'kitchen' with their piningas."

1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

2: Stirling--91 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 252, 574

"The women cook in the houses by placing the pots over one of the several fires, the pots generally resting on the ends of the burning logs. The women and girls when in the house constantly chew manioc which they spit in large juicy mouthfuls into one of the big jars placed in front of them for that purpose. Whenever a man enters the house he is at once served with nijimanche by the women and of course it is always offered to a guest who must drink it or else risk offending his host."

2: Stirling--96 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 721

"Because of their continuous state of warfare, the Jivaros are suspicious of strangers and there is a certain amount of ceremony involved in visiting a distant jivaría. It is customary for a visiting party to give notice of its approach by shouting or firing guns when a short distance away. In the case of a fairly large party, an emissary is usually sent in advance to announce the arrival, partly in order to avoid surprise and partly that the host and his group may have time to assemble, dress themselves properly, and make preparations for feeding the visitors. The etiquette upon such a visit consumes a considerable length of time and the foreign visitor must be prepared to lose almost a full day because of the attendant ceremonies when visiting a new jivaría with a party."

2: Stirling--96 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302, 574

"The writer had numerous experiences of this sort and, as a typical example, a visit to the jivaría of the curaka, Caneros, on the upper Yaupe River is here related. Our party, with 60 Jivaros from the Upano, after breaking a trail across the intervening mountain range, arrived within a quarter of a mile of the clearing surrounding the jivaría of Caneros. Early in the day a messenger had been sent in advance to announce our coming. Upon reaching this point, all of our Indians gathered in a group before entering the clearing. Here they engaged in a great deal of conversation, bathed themselves in a small stream, carefully combed their hair and painted faces. They took out from their bags all of the personal adornments which they had carried with them; feather headdresses, ear tubes, necklaces, etc. When ready, the entire party proceeded in close formation to file quietly through the clearing and into the jivaría.

Caneros, who had been expecting us, was seated on his official stool in the middle of the house facing the door by which we entered. He was rather a young man, tall, well muscled, and fine looking. He sat very straight and did not move or say a word as our men filed in and seated themselves in rows along the walls on each side of the door. By his side sat a man stained entirely black with sua and wearing a monkey fur headdress. This visitation was more than an ordinary event, as with our 60 carriers were four curakas from the Upano: Utita, Tuki, Tsamagashi, and Ambusha."

"While our men were getting themselves quietly seated there was great activity in the women's end of the house, where the wives of Caneros' household were preparing the nijimanche. Lining the walls in the middle of the house were seated Caneros' men, all with their faces and bodies elaborately painted with achiote and sua. The women of the house too were dressed in their best, with woven colored hair fillets decorated with red and yellow toucan feathers.[97] Most of them had their arms painted with achiote or sua in various geometric patterns. We noticed that the women affected a different style of face painting than that of the men. The females used light, narrow, parallel lines with dots, usually smeared on without much care.

Finally, Caneros' head wife approached him, apparently to tell him that all was ready, whereupon Caneros gave a short command to the women and they carried five huge earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and placed them in a row about 12 feet in front of the door. This having been done, Caneros spoke again and each of our four curakas sent a man to drink, whereupon with earthenware bowls and calabashes our men came up to the jars and began to drink in an orderly and quiet way, never crowding around the jars, until all had drunk heartily and the jars were empty. Our visiting curakas were among the last to drink. The women then refilled two of the jars and the drinking continued. During all of this time no word was spoken. Five minutes or more of silence followed and then Caneros arose and, beginning at the left, asked each of our men individually if he were satisfied, the visitor answering 'Ayu!' (Good!). When he had finished the round, he re-

turned to his seat.

As though this were a signal, the men began to talk, and a babble of conversation started which lasted until after midnight. Caneros' men moved around talking to our party, but all of our men retained their seats along the wall near the entrance. Later in the evening the women served them with food, consisting of boiled and roasted manioc."

2: Stirling--97-98 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 521, 195

"The remainder of the night our men slept in this same section of the house and during most of the following day they retained their places along the wall of the Jivaría in comparative quiet. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, or 24 hours after our arrival, Caneros pulled his seat in front of Ambusha and began a vigorous ceremonial conversation, very loud, and delivered in a sort of syncopated rhythm, beating time with his feet and gesturing with his arms, while Ambusha replied in similar vein, each of them punctuating the talk with ejaculations of 'Casa', 'Casa', (So that's it!), 'Ho', 'Ha', (Good! Fine!), 'Tsa', 'Tsa', 'Tsa', (No, no, no!), 'Tcah', 'Tcah', (I don't know). The substance of the conversation concerned the events that had happened on the trip and other events of interest that had taken place since the speakers had last met.

After about half an hour Caneros moved his seat in front of Utita and went through the same performance, then with Tuki, and finally with Tsamagashi. Meanwhile, the remainder of the men sat quietly by the walls, apparently indifferent to what was being said. During [98] these curious conversations, the fist is closed lightly and the palm of the hand turned toward the face. While talking, the knuckles are placed against the mouth. As they talk they spit vigorously and frequently between the fingers. The conversation is also punctuated with tongue clicks and smacking of the lips. This continued until evening, various other pairs now teaming off in the same manner so that the noise of talking was much greater than on the previous day."

2: Stirling--98-99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 537, 754

"As an example of the type of episode which frequently produces serious trouble as a result of a visit by strangers, an incident occurring the following night is also recounted. At 4:30 in the morning we were awakened by a sudden uproar when Caneros took his place at the women's end of the house, facing the men, and began shouting in a rhythmic manner, stamping his feet and making warlike gestures with his lance, which he brandished in his right hand. Occasionally his head wife would put her head out from her cubicle and contribute a few words. Caneros continued in this manner for well over half an hour. When he had concluded, Yerenu, who appeared to have considerable influence in the household, took the floor in his place and orated in similar fashion, stepping back and forth as though going through a dance. He likewise talked for more than half an hour while various of the seated men interjected occasional remarks, creating a terrific uproar; not unlike the effect produced by an evangelist haranguing his congregation, punctuated with the Amens and Hallelujahs of his listeners.

About 7 in the morning the discourse died down and Tsamagashi, one of the curakas with us, said a few words. It developed that an old woman had taken sick during the night. It appeared that Tsamagashi was formerly a wishinu. Caneros was accusing him of having caused the old woman's sickness, and stated that unless she got well promptly he would declare war against Tsamagashi and his household. His wife occasionally joined in saying, 'Yes, we will dig up the lance!' Yerenu took up the talk in the same vein and others of Caneros' group put in a word now and then indicating that they would support.

Tsamagashi then replied that he was now an old man and had lost his power as a wishinu and denied being responsible for this sickness. He further volunteered the information that in his opinion, we, the whites, had been the cause of the illness. Caneros refused to accept this explanation and denied our responsibility.

After the excitement died down Tsamagashi and his wife, who had accompanied him, left for about an hour and then Tsamagashi returned alone. During the rest of the day the attitudes of Tsamagashi and Caneros gave no indication that anything unusual had transpired. [99]

Fortunately, the old woman felt much better and evidently no further action was taken. There is little doubt that had the woman's condition taken a turn for the worse, serious trouble would have developed."

3: Simson--386 [4] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 574

"The Jívaros are hospitable; but are, like most others of their race (and perhaps ours too), very fond of giving little so that they may receive more. However, a traveller, immediately he arrives, is always offered refreshment in the shape of boiled yuca, plantain, or whatever may be cooking, and the never-failing 'chica,' which stands about in every house in very large earthen pots of the 'lotah' shape."

4: Up de Graff--196-197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 152, 574

"To take up the tale; we had not to wait more than an hour for the arrival of the chief, a fat, sleek, cunning-looking old thief, who greeted me as his Christian brother and produced a small piece of paper, carefully protected from the elements by a palm leaf, on which was written in ink the name 'Lázaro.' He professed to have been baptized by a Jesuit priest at Macas (where we were destined to go ourselves within a few months). The holy water certainly never penetrated his skin, for to the end of his days he was a shameless rascal, no better than the rest of his kind.

His arrival saved the situation, however, for he spoke Inca (known among the Jívaros as 'the white man's language,' curiously enough, the reason being that it is spoken at all the points of contact between the savage tribes and the outposts of civilization). We always imagined that he owed his chieftainship to the fact that he had lived with the priests, and, later, answered the call of the wild, returning with a wider knowledge of the world than any of his fellows possessed.

He was full of interest concerning our movements. Where had we come from? What were we looking for? Where were we going? Had we any companions, and, if so, where were they? We were subjected to a brisk catechism. Well, we told him we were looking for gold, that we were going up the Santiago (known among the Indians as the Pauta), that we had a camp just below the Pongo, and, above all things, that our camp was one vast treasure-house of presents, such as those we had had the pleasure of giving to his subjects. Indeed, it was a source of great sorrow to us that, owing to the bad going in

the Pongo, we should be unable to bring them up... a pity, for they were certainly a very fine col[197]lection.... No, no efforts of ours could overcome the difficulties of navigation in the cañon, with so many heavy dugouts laden with merchandise destined to enrich his people... Yes, a great pity, for we had brought them up from many moons distance expressly for this purpose, having heard of them from other and lesser peoples who trembled at their name.

Pressed to stay with him as the guests of the tribe before returning, we accepted, lamenting once more that we should be unable to give them some small recompense for their generous hospitality, as our stores were irremediably shut off by the Pongo.

After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

4: Up de Graff--198-199 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
115, 574, 262

"Arrived at the island, with a dozen Jívaros to build a house, start a fire, and unship our kit, we were treated to a most efficient exhibition of camp-pitching. In an hour a fine palm shelter was constructed with a thick thatched roof and a fire was roaring outside with our few stores landed and stacked. We had supper of roast yuca, roast corn on the cob, roast plantains, with peanuts and wild honey for dessert. [199]

The last named dish must have been the ambrosia of the gods; it is delicious beyond description; the peanuts are not cooked, but dried in the sun just enough to remove the raw taste and the honey is pure white and of a fragrance finer than the finest perfume.

That meal was a feast, for we had passed through lean days, as will be remembered."

4: Up de Graff--199 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 574

"After supper we settled down to rest. Such was the confidence which we had been able to establish in those few hours that the savages slept peacefully round the fire all night unarmed. Game and I endeavoured to do guard duty in turns, a Herculean task after so exhausting a week.

Resting, nursing our feet, eating, chatting, and waiting, we passed four days on that island. Our feet were skinning over again, helped by the freedom from the constant soaking to which they had been subjected."

4: Up de Graff--199-200 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 431

"Bit by bit the leaven of our carefully chosen words was seen to be working in the minds of the Indians. From time to time the chief would bring up the subject of those presents, with childish inquiries as to the size [200] of the hand-mirrors and the colours of the beads. Had we made him a direct proposition to come down-stream with us, it is very likely that his natural caution would have persuaded him that we were preparing a trap. We were in a quandary that third night of our stay with him, for the next day we should have had to go back to camp in any event, having arranged with the others to return within fifteen days at all costs if alive and free. We were debating as to whether we should openly propose to 'Lázaro' that he should accompany us with a party of canoe-men, when we saw him putting off in his canoe to come over to the island.

He landed, came straight over to where we were sitting by the fire and sat down. A few minutes' talk brought him to the real purpose of his visit.

Why could not the difficulty about getting the presents through the Pongo be overcome by him going down with us with some of his expert river-men and helping us?

We jumped to our feet. What fools we had been never to think of that way out!... How brilliant an idea had occurred to him!.... Why, at one blow he had solved the whole problem, and his tribe would reap the benefit of his astuteness. Most certainly! We had never thought of such a thing, but would avail ourselves of his offer. When should we start? The sooner the better, after all: on the morrow?....Right. We would waste no time.

4: Up de Graff--199-200 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 574, 431

And, although it was never sure whether we should reach the Pongo with any Antipas until we were actually under way and, what is more, out of sight of the hutments on the bank, it is a matter of history that we did. For next day, without any fuss or ceremony, we bought a sound dugout for one carisa of poison, and pushed off with eight canoemen, led by the medicine man Pitacunca en route for Borja and our friends."

12: Rivet--605 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 562, 152

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know any Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparos. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--612 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574

The relations between the members of the tribe are constant and even daily. One of the principal occupations of the Jívaro is to visit his neighbors. These visits have a very special character and one might say are regulated according to an almost invariable protocol. Before he arrives, the visitor stops at the edge of a river, bathes, combs his hair, paints his face and chest, puts on a fresh itipi, puts the tendem on his head, and announces his arrival by blowing into a horn or shell which makes a loud noise (1), so that the friend may be aware of the intentions of the new arrival and have time to get dressed himself.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 79.

12: Rivet--612-613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 521

The Jívaro enters the house saying, "Uinahe" ("I have come"), to which the host answers simply, "Uiñita" ("Come"). Then he sits down on a bench near the door without adding a word. This coldness on the part of the visitor and indifference on the part of the host are the rule. It is not until the latter, properly dressed, is seated opposite the new arrival and has asked him why he has come and where he is going and where he has come from, that the conversation commences; a strange colloquy of extraordinary animation, vivacity and volubility; each one in his turn taking the floor and hurriedly pouring out what he has to say in a loud and sonorous voice. "All the body goes into action, hands and feet moving, the chest heaving, eyes flashing fire, forehead burning, and the hair violently thrown back from the head falling on naked shoulders." (1) One would think that a violent dispute had broken out between the two friends, but they are simply talking; while one speaks, the other approves, confirms, gets excited, and shows by his various comments [613] the interest he takes in the speaker's recital. At the end of half an hour of this tiring conversation that foreigners, even those most used to the Jívaro language, cannot follow or understand, the tone becomes more natural and more calm, and the Indian does not disdain the joking that refreshes and brings a smile to the lips of these wild savages. This is the moment when each woman offers to the visitor a pininga of chicha. If the host has only one wife, she must offer three bowls of drink.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 8.

12: Rivet--612-613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 574, 521

It has been noted that the Jívaro always talks thus in groups of two, and that the chief of the tribe, for example, does not communicate his instructions in a collective way but speaks individually to each member of the tribe (2), when he wants to assemble them in case of war or for any expedition, hunting or fishing, or for a feast. In short, the Jívaro captains use nothing but dialogue and never harangue their soldiers.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 84.

12: Rivet--613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 202, 621

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 387. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

18: Hermessen--443-444 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 273, 574

"From the former [KS: the yucca] the intoxicating liquor chicha was made. The method of its elaboration is not nice. The peeled or scraped tuber, after being boiled, is masticated by the women and set aside to ferment. For drinking, some of the unsavory mess is put into a shallow [444] receptacle full of water and worked and stirred with the fingers until the whole is well assimilated. The coarser fiber, as it comes to the surface is picked out, and the 'cup,' generally a calabash about a foot in diameter, is then ready to be passed round. To avoid giving offence, I had to take, or feign to take, a sip upon many occasions.

Great quantities of chicha are imbibed at Jíbaro feasts, a unique feature of which is that the host entertains vicariously, some other member of the house being appointed to represent him, while he wanders in Elysian fields under the influence of a narcotic made from a vine called ayahuasca (Inca, 'dead man's vine'; Banisteria caapi, Spruce). (23)"

"23. Op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 423-425."

"Very curious are the ceremonial conversations (or perhaps, more correctly, monologues) which these Indians exchange, as a preliminary to any natural talk, whenever and wherever they meet. The speaker never looks at the individual addressed but allows his eyes to wander all around with an odd air of nonchalance; while the other accents the oration, as it were, by the constant utterance of deep-throated grunts or short, sharp, rapidly repeated ejaculations, translatable, according to one authority, (26) by the Spanish expressions sí, no, bueno, como no, así es. And every now and then the hearer expectorates in a manner suggestive of contempt, disgust, or defiance, or indulges in that peculiar clicking of the tongue habitual, it would seem, to all Amazonian tribes, whatever the action may denote. (27) The voice in these effusions is always pitched very low, so that

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"26. The Rev. Father Enrique Vacas Galindo, O. P., in his work 'Nankijukima,' published at Ambato, Ecuador, in 1895. The title is the name of a Jíbaro chief of whom the author writes.

27. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 94; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 249."

it acquires a ventral timbre, and the hand, with fingers bent in toward the palm, is frequently held in front of the mouth, presumably for acoustic effect. As the harangue proceeds it gathers in strength and vehemence of delivery like the crescendo of a swiftly oncoming storm, while apt emotional gestures and pose lend to the performance a fitting dramatic touch. Then the other holds forth in like manner, and, if several be present, each one has his turn. I listened to many of these extraordinary and really impressive declamations, but never succeeded in learning anything as to their subject or import. . . .

A considerable time was thus consumed at the house which we were now visiting. The drinking of chicha followed, and after a decent interval, during which I distributed some presents of gunpowder and shot, small mirrors, beads, and other trifles, we took our departure."

"Our first Jivaro visitor called when I was away from camp exploring the jungle. Johnston did his best to entertain him, and on my return I found the pair seated out in the open, laughing and waving their arms about like a couple of lunatics.

'What is it all about?' I asked.

'Lord only knows, I don't,' replied Johnston. 'The old boy has got something on his mind, and all I have been trying to do is to hold his interest until you could get back to photograph him. He is an interesting type; look at those strings of iridescent beetle wings hanging from his ears. They show off wonderfully against that tawny hide of his.'

The stranger certainly was a fine specimen. He wore the regulation short loin-cloth secured about the waist by a fibre-like cord; a band of monkey's fur adorned with tucan's feathers, encircled his forehead, and over one shoulder a fur bag and a cow's horn were slung.

After considerable chatter, I managed to gather that the man's name was Kuashu, and he was anxious to know if we had any bananas. On learning that we had a good stock, he asked if he might call his family over to help dispose of them. His relations, he went on to tell us, were fishing down river and would be glad of a little food. [147] We promptly extended the hospitality of our house, and told Kuashu to summon his friends to the feast forthwith, which he did by blowing a long blast on his horn.

Hardly had the echoes died away over the forest, when we saw a number of figures coming across the gravel bar. To our surprise, instead of a party numbering five or

six, Kuashu's family developed into a small army of men, women and children, who consumed bananas in a way that hardly seemed possible. We certainly didn't grudge them the food, but we did marvel at their capacity for disposing of it.

The whole pow-wow went off most successfully from every angle. We took photographs, and in return made sundry presents of beads, matches and other trifles. Strips of motion picture film were regarded with particular admiration, and several of the men adorned their heads with a loop of it. I have always wondered why this material is so popular amongst primitive people; wherever I have travelled on the globe, it proves an article of special interest and strips of it are invariably donned as ornaments for the head.

Our meeting with Kuashu had one important result. He invited us in our turn to pay him a visit, a sort of week-end affair. He lived some distance away, and before he left us, we had agreed to call when next the moon was full, providing he would send one of his tribesmen to guide our footsteps."

"With the advent of the full moon, Kuashu sent over a couple of guides, and we went to pay him the promised visit. His house was quite a long distance away, something like eight hours on foot, over a slender trail that ran south along the west bank of the Upano. We crossed six small streams on the way there, which are known to the Indians as Jurumbai, Pausa, Timbaimi, Cachi Yacu, Metzangaimi, and Sungaimi. About fifteen minutes before reaching our destination, we veered around to the east over some swampy ground. Here every vestige of trail ceased, but our guides, without faltering, kept on as if following the main road leading to a big city.

When least expecting it, we suddenly came upon Kuashu's abode in a secluded section of the forest. It was built on rising ground, with juca and bananas growing plentifully all about it. Strategically, the place was well-chosen. A hillock surrounded with boggy land is about as immune from attack as anything could be. Marauding bands of Indians would find it difficult to approach such a place by day unless familiar with the lie of the land; at night it would be next to impossible to avoid detection.

In construction, the house was typical of many we had seen in the Jivaro country, oval in shape, with walls built up of hard wood poles driven vertically into the ground so close together that it was impossible to squeeze a hand in between them. The high roof thatched with palm leaves gave it the appearance of a big hayrick planted down in the heart of the jungle. [152]

20: Dyott--151-152 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 574

We were ushered through a narrow doorway at one end of the establishment. All was dark inside, save for what little light filtered through the cracks in the walls, and the air was laden with the pungent smell of stale smoke. The women-folk brought up low stools for us to squat on, and in the usual hospitable manner, set food before us. We, in our turn, distributed a few trinkets amongst the members of the household, which served to put us on a friendly footing with everybody."

20: Dyott--173-174 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 202, 595, 574

"The house from which the sounds [KS: drum message] emanated belonged to a man, Kun-gupi by name, who was one of Kuashu's fathers-in-law. Seven months previously each of these men had felt the need of adding a new wife to his establishment--a little young blood to make up for the grey hairs of the older women, so they had solved the problem by swapping daughters and it was in this manner that the young and handsome Inza had become Kuashu's bride. [174]

As we drew near the edge of Kun-gupi's clearing, we announced our arrival in true Indian style by shouting lustily. Our call was promptly taken up, and several young braves came running down the path to greet us. Each carried his spear, more out of habit than anything else, though experience has taught them that such habits are worth cultivating. We were piloted through a dense banana patch, over countless obstructions, to a rather small house, planted on the hillside. One by one we squeezed in through the narrow door-way and there, in its cool interior, found ourselves as if in a bee-hive. It was simply swarming with brown figures and a constant buzz of conversation came from all quarters. We were offered stools to sit upon, and the usual niji-manchi was forthcoming; but when a large pin-inga (bowl) of the white liquid was passed over in our direction, both Johnson and myself waved it aside, as the method of preparing it was yet too fresh in our memory."

"The confused jumble of voices about us made it quite impossible to grasp what was happening, but slowly we caught a few odd phrases which told us that this was no ordinary drinking bout, as we had supposed, but an impromptu gathering, assembled to discuss a startling piece of news--Kun-gupi's brother, who lived on the other side of the river, had come to an untimely end.

It was generally known that this man had been troubled with evil spirits for some weeks past, but at noon to-day, he had unexpectedly drawn his last breath while seated quietly on his rack. It was obvious that he had died a natural death, but Indians attribute every misfortune to the agency of some demon working under the direction of a personal agency. In this case, there was a good deal of discussion as to who the responsible party might be. Someone must have been to blame and a reasonable explanation had to be given. With Indians an explanation must [175] always be forthcoming for everything that happens, and their line of reasoning is often just about as sensible as our modern way of making plain the wonders of nature, which are still incomprehensible to our finite minds. The dead man had had no recognized enemies in the district, otherwise they would have been the first to be suspected. Failure to fix the blame on some fellow tribesman would cause attention to be focused on a stranger, and this is where Johnston and myself came in. Under such conditions, it would not need very much to implicate us in the affair, especially if we had been guilty of some indiscreet act such as photographing the man against his will."

25: Vigna-45-46 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 521, 574

The social obligations of the Jívaros are curious. On visits of courtesy or friendship, the visitor, even though he may be the father of the owner of the house, waits in silence near the door, until his host finishes his tasks, his conversation with another, his meal or his toilet. When the host deems it opportune, he addresses the visitor. The latter, on the alert and with his hand near his mouth, spitting on the floor at intervals, does not give greetings; he only tells him that he has come. And he repeats each expression two, three and even four times. The host accompanies with monosyllables of approbation, or by repeating the last word. After the speech, the host repeats the same speech with some comments; thus, the [46] conversation sometimes lasts whole hours. When there are many visitors, while one speaks, the others keep silent and remain in a file along the wall of the house, awaiting their turn for conversation with the host. One can imagine the thankless task which is imposed upon the latter when he is visited by many friends. Many times they become hoarse and aphonic from so much talking. Only at the end of the conversation does the master of the house order one of his women to serve chicha to the visitor; the cups of chicha are offered again and again until the guest says: enough. It is a dangerous thing to refuse chicha.

26: Brüning--50 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574

Generally speaking, I found the Indians hospitable and generous. Whenever we entered one of their houses at mealtime, we were instantly invited to partake of their food, even if it was evident that they themselves did not have too much. However, they expect to find this type of courtesy in others. The Indians would take it as an insult if one would refuse a drink which they offer. A person who has refused a drink once may never expect to receive another offer of either drink or food. Later on I shall have an occasion to deal with this subject more thoroughly. I found the Indians honest, and this is also the opinion of the white men who live among them, though the whites are only too inclined to speak ill of the Indians.

26: Brüning--54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574, 103

I paid my first visit to two houses, close together in S. Antonio on the Muchingis River. The name S. Antonio was given to this settlement in honor of its Curaca Antonio by one of the most important rubber collectors, who lived in Nazaret, which is some 800 meters distant from the mouth of the Muchingis River. I do not know how the Indians themselves call "S. Antonio." I regard this random changing of place names a great nuisance. The same rubber collector had in most instances given new names to almost all the Indian settlements along the upper Marañón, and he had chosen the names from the names of his own family and had prefixed them with a San. This is also customary in other regions of Peru. You will not find the name of the Muchingis River on any map or elsewhere. This river is called Imaza or Chuchunga on Raimondi's map (number seven). Another of its names is Cliriaco, which means: Cold Water. I prefer the name Muchingis since, as the very same rubber collector informed me, it is used by the Indians who live along its banks.

26: Brüning--54-55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 273

From Nazaret the canoe brings you in one hour up the river to the village S. Antonio, situated, like Nazaret, on the left bank of the river. When we arrived, a number of women were busy collecting maní in baskets and carrying them into the house. (This maní had been spread out in the sun for drying purposes.) Between the women children were playing. The Curaca Antonio lost no time in presenting himself. He was dressed in a khaki suit, trimmed with golden galloons and metal buttons. He seemed to be quite proud of his suit, though this hangover from civilization was rather dirty and shabby. He had received it as a present from the rubber collector in Nazaret. Instantly he invited us to enter one of the houses, where he placed himself on one of the low seats motioning to us that we should do so likewise. He called on the women to serve us Masato. One after the other of these women came with their drinking cups, and one had to accept each one of them, though it requires the stomach of an Indian to carry out these rites of politeness. We reciprocated by giving him needles, sewing yarn, and small round mirrors. The house was very tidy and clean. I counted eight beds. In the course of time male Indians arrived, all eager to drink Masato. We also visited the other house which was still open on the sides (Illustration number 2).

Soon many Indians appeared, decorated with the ornaments of war, most of them armed with Winchester repeating rifles, and all of them drunk, which did not prevent them from drinking more Masato. I was accompanied by employees of the rubber collector, and

they told me that these drunken Indians had come from an assembly where they had made a brew from the narcotic liana [55] called Ayahuasca (a Quichua word) by the whites and Náktém by the Indians. They had made the brew in order to get enlightened as to the feasibility of a certain raiding expedition. It may very well have been the decision with regard to the revolt against the whites which happened in 1904. In spite of their drunkenness all of these Indians behaved properly, they even appeared very amiable.

26: Brüning--55 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro-1
116, 574

When we first visited the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracayo we found there, with the exception of an old and almost blind Indian, only women and children. Our unexpected visit made evidently no impression upon the inhabitants of the house. We moved freely about the big house, and nobody paid any attention to us. Most of the women were seated on their beds, talked to their children or were just plain idle. Others were busy preparing the meal, and one was engaged in the making of pottery. She had in front of her a large lump of blueish clay which was extremely pliant. She took a piece and formed it into a long sausage by rolling it between her hands. She applied the sausage to the rim of the pot and fastened it there by kneading it. In this manner she added one roll after the other until the pot was finished. Unfortunately, I have no information as to how this earthenware is baked, but I have seen many containers, especially drinking bowls, glazed with a brown laquer.

We had stayed in the house for a short while, when the men appeared, one after the other. One of them had killed with his blowgun a number of small, many colored birds, which he began to skin right away in order to use their skin as decoration. He cut off the legs, took out the skull, but left the beaks. It seems that drying is all that these skins need. The skinned body of the bird was put, without further ado, upon a pointed stick, and after a short roasting over the fire it was consumed by the Indian.

Aside from the usual utensils we found in this house the grave of one of the five wives of the Curaca Laichape: she had hanged herself after her sense of honor had been

outraged. The grave was marked by an earthen mound (height: 70 cm.) which had the dimensions of a body. It was close to the wall of the house. I cannot explain the presence of this grave inside the house, for, in general, I have been told by the whites, the Indians give up their house after a person has died and was buried therein.

The Curaca Laichape was clad with shirt, trousers, and cap. He spoke a little Spanish. Later on he accompanied us to the Puerto Meléndez. He had taken along two of his relatives as boatsmen. The three proved to be very trustworthy and docile people.

/330 cont./ Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
574 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jívaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lance; and lately 41 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon stead-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[729] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

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[235]
[574]
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[574]
[415]
[855]
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[415]
[273]

KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crombar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crombar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutupi*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*timpui*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
956 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
961 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting
conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game
requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the
neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwell-
ing may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause
for abandonment.

Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
342 building work technically could be done by the dwelling
462 owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger
crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen
male neighbors to help him.

Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
342 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a
554 man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capa-
ble of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy
attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size
and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication
of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
• 574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday
needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for housing
visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance.
Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [721]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tanamašā*), and the women's 562
(*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

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241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
585 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its
[554] number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

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sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons; of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exclusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Aracease species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

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• 574 273 462 512 [252] [283]

serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a [224] large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring [252] him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

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and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat. 273 462 512 594

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a copal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar: 273 462 512 313 [241]

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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of insects and fruits ruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered f ed foods.

Insects particularly larly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. ns. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms
are cut open to coll collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs
(*wakimsi*, *čawčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields
larvae of a large mo moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs
of the butterfly *tsampirulä* are removed from hanging vines.
Leaf-eating ants (*a* (*aiyayü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsam-*
pumsi) also are col collected.

The various speci pecies of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. od. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and
other palms (*hinak* *inak*, *kuakal*, *ampakai*, *tirintä*) are chopped
down with machete hetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakai, these palm palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [273]
kuakal) also supply ply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are be e both eaten boiled and made into beer. Fre-
quently young tend tender leaves are collected from other plants
(*wasai*, *malmal*, *ipü* *ipü*, *wayat*), but no wild roots are dug up for
food. Generally, the , the only tool used in all these gathering ac-
tivities is the machete.

Virtually all fam families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
wander relatively fr ly freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
stay roaming in the the garden, a low rail fence may be built
around it to keep ep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to
threaten the garden rden, because of the long distances between
houses and the sm small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks cks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed vi d visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncommon case es where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *tsa* *tsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

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262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
• 574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *nirui*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[789] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the birch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
[439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

> For me it is very easy
> To spin yarn,
> For I am a man-spider.
> I am a man-spider.
> Therefore I am adept.
>
> My hand is like the hand
> Of a spider.
> Because of this
> I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*iripi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*uraĉi*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
•574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

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177
home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less fre- 291
quently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special 292
wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained ma- 594
chine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from 291
bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and 287
is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuṇui

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a 776
system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named 241
Nuṇui. Whether Nuṇui is best viewed as a class of crop fairies 824
or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[9] On the one hand, the Jivaro usually speak of Nuṇui in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuṇui will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuṇui, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuṇui to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based [782]
upon a knowledge of Nuṇui's two main demands from the Jivaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuṇui, who is about three feet high [787]
very fat, and dressed in a black *tawâ*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 574 272 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host, and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuyui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore 595 224 most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting 833 trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, [92] away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

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601 602 598 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kená yuli*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*ackás zai*) it would not be right."

578 601 609 579 628 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true-branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

967 578 628

601

[illegible] (facing page)

* Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuiá, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sui*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *suse* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *suse*, and lives peacefully, the *suse* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *suse*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *suse*, then the father or brother of this *suse* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *suse* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hewemmi*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group [273] [535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his [251] wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, [273] and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

• 574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respec- [235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand. [273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested [752] and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for 534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the 535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin 527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around [395] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night 533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance 535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
527

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

923
that they are not on a hostile mission of wealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [275]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaraw* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaraw* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [798]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaraw* who is an enemy for killing assistance 925
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 926
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

94:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Several cases were encountered in which men gave their 956
daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary [585]
bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because
the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the sha-
mans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given [431]
gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual
visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not
specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually [431]
not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking
for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, [574]
and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-
shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans hire neighbors to help in land clearing more 956
often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly recip- 476
rocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him
to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their
desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be
a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with
the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure es- 956
clusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man
presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such
a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically,
it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gun-
powder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete
or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing [776]
shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and
supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit
servants called *tsunsuk* (see pp. 154-66). The exchange of
shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuir*)
makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with
normal trading partners (see pp. 126-31). However, the
relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

34;Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

441 beside his pile facing the other. Each says, "Take these
441 things," and they embrace. The two men's wives then go
572 through the same ritual, and finally, both men and their wives all embrace each other.

441 In this first exchange of goods between *amigri*, and also
442 in subsequent exchanges, usually several large baskets of
[438] goods are involved. A typical inventory of goods given
[439] by the man coming from the east consists of feather ornaments, beads, blowguns, blowgun dart poison, a hunting dog, and a home-woven kilt. The other man, with white man's goods from the west, presents black powder, shot, percussion caps, a machete, knives, and a shotgun.

Following the first exchange, the host says to the other, "I will bring you valuables (*kusi*). You do the same for me." His visitor in turn, says, "When I send word to you, then you come to visit me." Such word, when it is transmitted later, usually is carried by some other visitor between the neighborhoods of the two *amigri*. When the former host
441 (often accompanied by a wife) returns the visit, he receives
• 574 a most hospitable reception. In fact, trading partners tend to try to outdo one another in their generosity. If one man fed the other much chicken during his earlier visit, his friend may then feel it necessary to kill a pig to supply his guest with even a greater quantity of choice meat. If he
[431] has no pig to kill, then at least he insists that his guest and his wife take half of the household's chickens back with them when they return home. The giving of half of one's easily transportable valuables to one's *amigri* is a characteristic feature of the trading partnership.

438 *Amigri* are expected to exchange equal amounts of goods
439 with each other, at least over a period of several months,
442 if not in a single transaction. There are standard recognized

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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• 574
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[415]
[273]

16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

765
When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers 727
return to their separate homes and begin to make prepara- 796
tions for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will 244
host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food 574
are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally
has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to
plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these [231]
two celebrations, named *nunuak*, normally takes place no
sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing
and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as
for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting.
Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a [342]
new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often
two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men 727
who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long 796
distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or 805
ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic 824
system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able 765
to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests 224
at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might 574
be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each
hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same
stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for
the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully
ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration.
The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk
to those invited guests living at some distance so that they,
too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a 574
month later, by the third feast (*napin*). This is the largest of 796
all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. 765
He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the [127]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

•574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
765 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods.
796 Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[796] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings
[283] during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[595] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]
[764]

The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
796 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
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554
765

L: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests part each of them has to address the host in a short speech, the essence of which is always the same and has been related before in connection with the Indian feasts. Generally they address other members of the family too, and other persons staying in the house, with a word answering to our 'Good bye'. This word is Weáhei, 'I go', to which is generalby [sic] added the word Puhústa, 'May you sit down', 'May you stay here in peace'."

1: Karsten--248 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 562 (1928-29)

"Women have no particular greeting ceremonies when they come or go. Still at the great feasts I noticed that parting women took leave of the hostess by fanning her gently on the arms and shoulders with a big leaf, at the same time blowing and spitting on these parts of her body. The hostess returned these expressions of affection which, I was told, are customary at leave-taking among the Jibaro women."

"Ceremonial gr greetings also take place when two parties of Jibaro Indians suddenly meet on the trail i l in the virgin forest, even when they are well known to each other. On the other hand, if if the Indians are totally unknown to one another the greeting ceremony assumes the form m called Enéma. The Enéma is properly a war dance and is especially a preparation for r war, so this peculiar ceremony will be described in detail in connection with the wars of th the Indians. The Enéma greeting ceremony differs from the war dance Enéma especially ly as regards the words uttered, though in the former case, too, there is always a menace e behind the words and movements. For each party there is the possibility that the other o one is travelling with hostile intentions and the very aim of the 'greeting' is to find out whet hether this is so. Assuming as haughty and arrogant an attitude as possible and facing e each other with fierce looks, the Indians in turn and with a thundering voice call out cer ertain questions to one another, accompanying these with threatening movements of the he lances. The conversation is generally carried out much in the following manner:

Amuesha ya?, ?, 'Who are you?'
Wetei (Andiche heiti), 'I am (my name is) Andiche'.
Aminyu wikahe hei, 'I am coming to see you',
Chamurstai--c--chamursti, (movements with the lance).
Waritkunai --w--waritkuni, etc. (movements with the lance).

Úruka irúndra wikéima, 'Why do you go united (in a party)?'
Mésechasi, 'Is it in order to make war?'
Tsa, tsa, méseta wikáchahei, 'No, no, we are not going for war',
Pingichichama wikahei, 'We are coming to speak nicely (with you)',
Wari sumáktinyu, 'To buy something',
Mésetaka nakítahei, 'We do not like to make war',
Wáriki, wáriki, wikáhei, 'We go only for things (to barter)';
Wínya eíntsu ístinyu, 'To see our own people';
Seasa itahei, 'We bring arrow-poison (to sell)';
Nanki itahei, 'We bring lances (to sell)', etc.
Seasa, akáru sumáktinyu, 'to buy arrow-poison, guns', etc.
Maketi, 'It is all right'. [249]

The conversation having gone on in this way for a while and the peaceful intentions of the strangers having been manifested, the Indians can enter the house and sit down to have manioc-beer, or, if they met in the forest, both parties continue their march."

I: Karsten--335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-I
116, 727, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests enter the house [JKM: for the first day of the victory feast] they are received by the hosts--the father, brothers, or some of the slayer--with a ceremonial greeting. The men generally enter three or four at a time. Each of them utters a loud: 'Winyáhei,' 'I come,' whereupon all arrange themselves in a row close to the door, with their lances stretched forth, and remain motionless until they are spoken to by the hosts. Some of the boys in the house step forward and hand a small round chair (kutánga) to each of the guests, who now take a seat, but still without uttering a word, and holding their lances between their knees. The hosts, having arranged their dress and painted their faces, take their seats, each sitting in front of the guest to whom he is going to speak, and only utter the word winiti, 'may you come.' This is the signal to the guest that he may start speaking. He mentions that he has been invited to the feast, that he has accepted the invitation and arrived to honour the victor, etc. The conversation mostly turns on the feast, the preparations made for it, the number of swine bred for the same, the number of guests invited, etc. The host and the guest speak in turns not in the ordinary conversational tone but shouting. Each conversation lasts for about 10 minutes, and each guest has to be spoken to separately by some one of the hosts. During the conversation manioc-beer is repeatedly served to the guests by the women in the house. Each guest has to empty at least three dishes (pininga) of this drink. After this ceremonial reception the guests may step forth from the door and move about in the house

1: Karsten--335
116, 727, 576

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

at liberty; and other guests arriving are received in the same manner.

Only the men are received in this ceremonial way. The women, following their husbands, fathers, or brothers, enter without any form of salutation and are not particularly spoken to by the hosts."

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 361, 576, 721

"We noticed a sheltered creek on the left bank which had not been visible before. A few strokes more and it was in view. On the hillside above, some two hundred yards from the bank, a bright yellow patch among the dark-green forest, stood a Jívaro shack. [188]

The sight of that hut on the hillside was as good to us as water to a man dying in the Sahara. We felt a new strength, and the word 'fear' had no meaning for us. All we thought of at that moment was that there lay our goal, a few hundred yards ahead. Of the difficulties and dangers which lay in our path, not one thought crossed our minds. To push ahead was all that mattered.

And then we saw human life. Four Antipas, long-haired and stark naked, were crossing the stream ahead of us in a dugout. Indifferent as to the effect it might have on them, we gave a yell, in which was voiced all the pent-up joy which was in our hearts at meeting our own kind after the weary search which lay behind us. If we had stopped to think a moment, we should gave realized that a whoop such as we let fly could carry but one message to a Jívaro--war.Those four in that dugout did not even stop to turn their craft. They stood up, faced about, and paddled hard astern for their lives, throwing the water eight full feet into the air, and racing for the left bank where (as they thought) safety lay. No sooner had they landed than the Boom-boom, Boom-boom of the call to arms came floating across the water to us, to be taken up in fifty settlements all round the country. Clearly it was to be war. Little we cared, however--not because we were particularly brave, but rather particularly hungry. And after all, [189] approaching on the water and

armed with Winchesters, we had little to fear from spears. Following the flying dugout, we came upon some twenty more pulled up on the beach, and we made our way to the landing-place and hauled ashore. Then broke out a storm of war-whooping and howling which beggars description. The object, of course, was to impress us with the idea that we were faced by innumerable warriors. There was nothing, or almost nothing, to be seen of the savages, sheltered as they were behind the thick palisades of split palms which surrounded their huts and which could be guaranteed to stop even a bullet from our rifles."

4: Up de Graff--190-191 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 431, 576

"We had been careful to bring with us an assortment of trade-goods--a few beads, some small round looking-glasses, and (most successful of all) a supply of their own particular brand of poison. This latter we carried in sections of bamboo cane, about an inch in diameter and six inches long. The poison is poured in after removing one of the knots or partitions which grow at regular intervals, and the cup thus formed, when full, is closed with a palm leaf tied down with a strip of bark; the latter is put on green, and when it dries it automatically tightens up, sealing this natural receptacle as securely as a jam-pot

Once they began to take an interest in the presents, things went swimmingly. Little by little the howling of the tribe in the huts behind the undergrowth had died away, open hostility gave place to confidence, more and more savages slipped down to the canoe to see what we had, urged thereto by their companions who had already done so, and little by little friendly relations were established. Finally, their curiosity, nursed by the evident delight of their men-folk at the treatment they were receiving at our hands, overcame the women of the settlement. Down they came to the bank, each one bearing an enormous gourd full of giamanchi, first in one and twos [191] and then in one great stampede. The etiquette in connection with the welcoming of guests, be they friends or strangers, is rigid and extremely burdensome to one whose stomach is not accustomed to receiving unlimited gallons of liquid. A rough estimate proves that there must have been presented to us in all some 600 gallons of giamanchi, all of which we were expected to

drink if possible. If not, we were at any rate bound to taste each one of the gourds which were brought down to the river by the some 300 wives of the numerous warriors who were assembled on that beach. For refusal to accept food at the hands of any one of the women, who represent their lords in this ceremony, is sure to incur grave displeasure. After the tenth drink or so Game, who was of a distinctly independent turn of mind, began to protest to me in no uncertain terms that he would 'see himself dead before he would touch another drop.' I implored him at any rate to go through the motions of imbibing, to which he eventually allowed himself to be persuaded. And so we solemnly raised every one of those nauseating receptacles to our lips, and were at peace with the Antipas."

"Pitacunca, [KS: medicine man and navigator] having landed, shot one glance at the camp and its inhabitants, and turned on his heel. Followed by the rest of the savages, he walked to a spot some twenty yards away, sat down with his back to all of us, and set up a dismal wailing chant in a minor key. His every action was imitated by the others, who joined in the chorus, and sent that dirge floating across the Marañon. Never a word had any of them spoken since they had caught sight of our outfit. They seemed to be stunned [231] by the sight of so many apaches (white people) and so much kit, as if the folly of having entrusted themselves to these unknown white creatures was suddenly brought home to them. No other reason occurs to me for so much yowling. It seemed as if they would never stop and we did not care to interrupt them, until finally Jack, whose first introduction to the Antipas cannot be said to have been inducive to a happy understanding, enquired in plain English whether they didn't see their way to changing the tune. The tune never was changed, but at the end of half an hour or so it died a natural death.

Little by little the Jívaros drifted over and seated themselves by the camp fire. Finally Jack and Ed. roused them from the trance into which they had fallen, the former doing a double-shuffle in the bottom of the Exploradora to the accompaniment of the latter's banjo. The savages were greatly inpressed, both by the unrivalled quality of the music and the dancer's skill! To complete their recovery, we presented them with the most glaring specimens of the shirts we carried for barter--they were striped

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 609, 576

indiscriminately with orange, black, red, yellow and green, and were known among us as 'Hallelujahs.' "

Strangers or visitors may not sit on the cután. [KS: Wooden seat used by head of the house.] Before sitting on one of the beds, they must wait, standing near the entrance, to talk with the owner. It is a sign of distinction for a visitor to be offered the "cután" by his host.

26: Brüning--75 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 505, 576

With reference to canoe voyages I should mention the following: As soon as a settlement is in sight, the Indians put ashore in order to wash and comb themselves and to paint their faces. Then they proceed, and when they pass a settlement, they hit the edge of the canoe with their paddles and give a long oration with a loud voice. They do this until the settlement is out of sight.

Bordesholm, January 1928.

Hans H. Brüning.

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro
steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm
trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lance; and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

34:Harner E-4, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 605 met, they fought. Finally, Alapá gave his sister to Tukupi. Thereafter, when Alapá beat Tukupi's sister, Tukupi beat Alapá's sister.

Tukupi said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupi and Alapa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other 602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest 606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her. 576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even [832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for [578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

723
that they are not on a hostile mission of wealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [279]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakwam* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakwam* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *wuatam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakwam* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition [593]
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[3]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiči*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [572] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara
576 terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 592, 577 (1928-29)

"Social sympathy and the feeling of solidarity is quite strong within the family and the sub-tribe, the members of which are united by the blood-tie. For instance the close relation between two brothers, and the duties arising therefrom, has already appeared from the custom of levirate, and will be further illustrated in connection with the institution of blood-revenge. Still, even within the family conflicts sometimes arise, it may be on account of the women or the dread of witchcraft, and in a few cases may lead to bloody tragedies. Fights may also arise at the drinking-feasts. In general, social sympathy has not developed among them those extreme forms which it assumes among the more primitive Chaco Indians, where it has led to a sort of practical communism or socialism, at least as regards food; but the Jibaros, supporting life with ease with their own work, are not dependent on one another to the same extent. We have seen for instance that great hospitality is shown to such strangers as are regarded as friends; but this hospitality is not, so to speak, a natural virtue, but a matter of etiquette, or more strictly speaking, a custom forming part and parcel of Indian 'diplomacy'. Ownership is strictly respected; everybody in the house, not only the family-father but also the wives and the children, have their private property--mostly consisting of ornaments of some kind--over which they have full control. Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at

variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

1: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of blood-guiltiness, e. g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance."

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775, 152, 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc.--we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

2: Stirling--115 [4]
116, 756, 577

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"Not only is the wishinu respected for the power which he wields, but he is likely also to be the wealthiest man of his group, because of the high prices which he charges for his services in curing. He may also draw pay for sending sickness for someone who desires revenge upon another person. There can be no doubt that the wishinu believes in his powers. He is thoroughly conscientious as a practitioner and spends many long sleepless nights working with his patients. He is regulated by a code of ethics whereby he will respond to a call however inconvenient it may be for him to do so. This conscientiousness may be partly determined by the fact that the wishinu is held personally responsible in the event his patient dies, and being so responsible, is liable to either compensation or blood revenge. As a curing doctor, it is the task of the wishinu to identify the particular spirit which has invaded his patient and then, through his knowledge of the method of controlling this spirit, to call it forth."

13: Rivet--253-254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 577

The moral ideas of the Jíbaro are clearly evident from what we have said of his life, his customs, and his beliefs. His morality, primarily utilitarian, resembles Christian morals as little as possible. The Jívaro is neither good nor bad. One cannot speak of right, of honesty, with regard to these Indians, who recognize only the law of the strongest. Stealing by main force is a popular practice among them, (1), they consider assassination as a glorious act and treachery as a proof of skill and intelligence, in their eyes success justifies all crimes, and among them renown and respect are acquired, not by [254] the most honest, not even by the bravest, but by the most skillful and the most powerful.

To live freely, and allow no injury without vengeance: such is the double moral rule that directs all actions in the life of the savages.

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1. However, stealing outside of war would be frowned upon. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jíbaros, etc...op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 63.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.* 774 787 [825]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells means that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dreamfriend is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your arutam. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or injury. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him. 774 778 [579] [761] [157] [191]

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer. 774 [152] [721] [564]

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls repeatedly 726 774 [521]

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly traversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 533 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untä*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[3]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

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There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

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1: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--452 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
578 (1928-29)

"When the Indians try to produce rain by magical means they nearly always do so merely out of wickedness, that is, to cause their fellow tribesmen harm or annoyance, especially when they are travelling on the river. When in 1917 I came from my long river expedition down to the Achuares on the middle Pastaza, I was surprised by heavy rains which lasted for weeks, caused the Bobonaza to swell, and made the ascension of the river extremely trying for my Indian crew. When at last we approached Canelos, one of my Indians said that he would make the rains to continue 'so that other travellers would have the same difficulties as we had had'."

"It was not till the afternoon was well advanced that we began to get the drift of a plot that was being hatched by these half-naked figures squatting around the fire. Johnston and myself regarded the scene with interest. Kuashu and his sons were talking at a terrific rate. Napi was no better; he was continually interjecting his views. It made little difference to him whether he was spoken to or not, he just went on talking. The position in a nutshell was this. One of Napi's travelling companions from the South, was a son of the man who had murdered Kuashu's brother. While we had sat lazily by the river after lunch, Mihanda and We-suma had been out spying on this fellow's movements, and they had learned that the day after to-morrow he was returning home by himself. The question to be decided by Kuashu and his family was--should they or should they not take this unusual opportunity of avenging the uncle's death? The only way to settle the issue was to drink natema or ayahuasca, as it is sometimes called, so that advice might be given by the spirits of Aru-tama (the old people).

After the natema had boiled for about an hour, the pot was taken off the fire, the liquid decanted into another jar and the residue thrown away. A certain amount of ritual attended the drinking of the brown fluid. The chief characters, Mihanda and We-suma, stood in front of the temporary shelf on which two bowls of the magic drink were placed. They held their spears in one hand and after a war chant, in which they evoked the good graces of the spirits, they swallowed off the contents at one gulp. The first

reaction of the narcotic was to produce violent nausea and [179] both men went outside to vomit up all they had drunk. Three times this was done and on each occasion Himbikti refilled the bowls to their brim. In an exhausted state the two brothers eventually staggered out of the house and went off to some shelter they had prepared in the forest, where during the long watches of the night, the spirits would appear to them in their dreams, advising them as to the best course to pursue.

Kuashu did not take part in the ceremony; both he and Napi drank copiously of nijamanchi instead. Bowl upon bowl of it was served until the pair were thoroughly intoxicated. Johnston and myself hardly knew what was the right thing for us to do under the circumstances. We could not participate in the festivities very well, so we sat on our camp beds and did nothing. My companion felt as if it was incumbent upon us to do something, even if only to talk and shout; but one makes fewer mistakes by keeping quiet. 'When in doubt do nothing,' is an important axiom when dealing with savage people. Many a man has lost his life through doing something he should have had sense enough to avoid. Safety lies in watching others closely and taking your cue from them. If you can't imitate them, then remain passive and you will be all right, but under no curcumstances is it wise to attempt civilized tactics or you may have cause to repent it".

28: Tessman--356 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 526, 578

According to Karsten wrestling is one of the program points of a victory celebration. According to my own information wrestling is a way of deciding an argument between two Aguaruna men. The two antagonists grab each other with folded hands behind the head, and each one tires to throw the other to the ground. Whoever succeeds in this is the victor, and this settles the dispute.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jívaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jívaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jívaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jívaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jívaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (***nugui***) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jívaro soul beliefs

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 met, they fought. Finally, Ašaŋä gave his sister to Tukupī.
605 Thereafter, when Ašaŋä beat Tukupī's sister, Tukupī beat Ašaŋä's sister.

Tukupī said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupī and Ašaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the house-
602 hold. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest
606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her.
576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even
[832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for
[578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

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601 DaHu, BrDaHu, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *awe* N (*aweči* N; *awetá* N; *antepá* O) *Awe* has replaced *antepā*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makuči*)

SoWi, SiSoWi, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nahatī* O(*naháturu* O; *makú; aweči* N; *awetá* N) *Nahatī* is beginning to be replaced by *awe*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Hu *aeš* (*áeširu*)

Co-wives are normally referred to by the *kai* term.

602 578 601 The utilization of these "true" and "branch" modifiers may be somewhat clarified by a few examples. According to the kinship rules, *ego* is expected to side with a true relative in a dispute with a branch relative of the same elementary category. However, *ego* must often decide at the time which of the two disputants is the "true" one and therefore deserving of his aid. No matter whose side *ego* decides to join, the abandoned party may be expected to accuse him of not living up to his kinship obligations. If *ego* does not join either party in the dispute, then both tend to level that accusation at him.

Similarly, another relative may manipulate the terminology when *ego* requests help from him. *Ego* may request aid from a parallel cousin, for example, saying, "You are my true 'brother' (*nekás yači*) and therefore you must help me in my dispute against this man who is only your branch 'brother-in-law' (*kaná sai*)." If the parallel cousin does not wish to accede to the request, he replies, "I wish I could help you, but

/text continues on p. 103/

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601
602 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kmá*
578 *yaĉi*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

578 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this
601 manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to
609 save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may
574 subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his
628 relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being
867 ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not
578 surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or
628 more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

601

FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuiá, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekés*] *sui*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *suse* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *suse*, and lives peacefully, the *suse* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *suse*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *suse*, then the father or brother of this *suse* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *suse* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

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578 965 867 628 721 [778] [829] [605] When you are living well, then, with all your *tsi* and *yoñ*, if someone comes and kills your *tsi*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you [515] have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yoñ*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

886 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunken- 273
ness develops, men may get into arguments over normally 527
repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior [839]
with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even [578]
hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most
parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather
calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking
and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus col- [839]
lapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an
unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" 273
which is social as well as biochemical, when the various 527
participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's 571
events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried
leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes.
While the early part of the prior evening's party may have
given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later
activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after"
whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the
parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men 554
who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce 527
large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their 571
neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as 577
shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grand-
children; and who are generally of an amiable, honest,
and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are
not their enemies. A man who has most of these charac-
teristics is referred to by the term *untá*, which means "big"
or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the [578]
house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and
respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as
arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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723
that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular
kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance
to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [572]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens. 423

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jívaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jívaro life. 578 628 682

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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765 554 571 796

an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

765 778 774 578 796 [619] [273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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578 765 796 774 778 554 624 562 765 796 727 619 571 181 533 535 539

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Cuwi[3] tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Cuwi tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 461 517 439 changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western [592] [512] [412] and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

[286] [291] [281] [224] The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this 591 change are not clear except that some informants said that in-[851] laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the [578] old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary [583] matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's [411] father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of 411 steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the [721] Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The [439] new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
• 578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,830 *untsuri šuarä* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

1: Karsten--62 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
123, 579 (1928-29)

"From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaĕma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house."

26: Brüning--55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 273, 579

We have been informed of occasional brawls between drunken Indians. In the foreground of Illustration 2 one can see one of these noble warriors standing next to a member of our expedition and holding a drinking cup to his mouth. The small woman is submissively waiting until her master has emptied the cup so that she can fill it again.

2: Stirling--109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 581

"Just because a man may usually purchase any woman he likes, it cannot be assumed that romantic love is lacking in the live of the Jivaros. As a general rule, a man does not care to have a wife who does not reciprocate his affection. When he sees an eligible woman who stirs his emotions, particularly if he be a young man, he begins a rather elaborate campaign of courtship in order to gain the affection of the woman. When a man is in love he quite naturally desires to put on his best appearance; therefore he always keeps himself well painted and decorated. He is very particular about his hair and dress."

2: Stirling--110-111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 581

"It frequently happens, however, that a wife is purchased without a word being said to her. This is usually the case when an older man acquires a young wife. There are two prime requisites that make a man attractive to a woman, or, for that matter, respected generally in the community. One is that he be a good warrior, and the other that he be a good hunter. The symbol of his ability as a warrior is the number of tsantsas he has made. The symbol of his ability as a hunter are the bones of the tayo birds which he has killed. One bone is taken from each wing and these are worn as ornaments. The tayo frequent a few caves where they are hunted with the aid of torches. Because of the fact that the hunter is likely to encounter a jaguar, it requires a brave man to obtain a large number of these bones. Such items are a considerable asset to a man in gaining the regard of a woman. Desirable traits in a woman are that she be a good worker, have a good disposition, and be free from nagging. [111] When tobacco is blown up a woman's nostrils and she is able to retain it, this is regarded as an omen that she will have strong children."

3: Simson--391 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 224, 581

Once a proficient hunter [KS: the Canelo] and possessor of good poison, of which fact the community is made aware by the number of toucans' tails with which he adorns his person--this bird being one of the most difficult to kill as it is nearly always seen at the tops of the highest trees and is one of the toughest preys to the Tecuna poison--he finds no difficulty in successfully making his advances to any young squaw to whom he may have taken a fancy. In reality there is little romance in the Indian maiden's preference for the greatest hunter: her 'penchant' for him lies in the hard probability that he, above others, will be more likely to provide her with an abundance of animal food."

20: Dyott--184 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 581

"Amongst the women, Nambira was the leading spirit. She seemed more or less to direct operations, and incidentally thrust most of the work on Secouta, who was Mihanda's wife. That was quite natural, because Secouta was the stranger in Kuashu's household. Had Mihanda, for any reason, gone to his wife's house and settled amongst her people, then he would have been made to do the bulk of the work amongst the men of her family.

Nambira was as strong as an ox--that was her chief charm. Good looks count for little amongst the jungle folk, whereas sturdy build and ability to work are the greatest assets a woman can have. If you went hunting for a wife amongst the Jivaros and picked a young, nice-looking girl, you would be considered decidedly lacking in judgment. It would be just as if, in England, you married a woman on the strength of having seen her photograph. The original might turn out to be very different from the portrait. So with an Indian girl--she might develop into a useless woman. The young Jivaro can't afford to take such chances when he takes his first plunge. His number-one wife must be a sure bet, and generally the son profits by the extensive knowledge which his father has amassed on the subject of matrimony. It is only when a man is well on in years and needs young blood in the family, that he can run the risk of adding a girl wife to his ménage."

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
(237) shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and ag-
554 gressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his
[865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it,
[562] with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such
[581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his
554 neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset,
626 a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untā* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst
721 personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

1: Karsten--184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 721, 186 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different Jibaro tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

1: Karsten--185 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 611 (1928-29)

"A consequence of the endogamic rules is that the persons who marry among the Jibaros are generally relatives. As a matter of fact, it was looked upon as the duty of a Jibaro man to marry his daughter to a youth who claimed her by virtue of his relationship. Custom prescribes that a near male relative shall be preferred to a more distant one. A family father is of course anxious to marry his daughter to the young man he likes best and of whose qualities he has a high opinion, and it is natural that for this reason he is not always inclined to give her to one of his nearest relatives. In such cases there may be complaint on the part of the man thus neglected. 'I am your nearest kin', he may say, 'and still you give your daughter to So-and-So who is a more distant relative.' Still there are degrees of kinship within which marriages are forbidden. Cousins on the male side cannot marry; they are looked upon as brother and sister and marriage between them would be regarded as incest. On the other hand, there is no prohibition to marriages between children of a brother and sister or of two sisters. On the contrary, such marriages are looked upon as perfectly natural. Similarly, although a paternal uncle may never marry his niece, he is not prohibited from marrying his sister's daughter. The Jibaros,...are a strictly paternal people: they reckon descent only in the male line, women being wholly left out of account."

1: Karsten--185-186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 835, 684 (1928-29)

"Incest and any illicit sexual intercourse is regarded with the greatest horror and severely punished by cruel ill-treatment, sometimes even by both parties being put to death. One case of this kind came under my notice when a young Jibaro Indian eloped with his father's sister. All the male relatives of the family were pursuing the couple, and they assured me that if they got hold of them they would kill them. The Indians declared to me that such a marriage was a 'very bad thing'. [186] On further inquiry I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 836, 582 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros premature sexual intercourse is prohibited to a youth until he has passed through the initiation for manhood and become what is called a tsémbrama. If a boy has intercourse with a woman before that time, it is believed, he will soon die. Generally a Jibaro youth marries when he [sic] 18 to 20 years old."

1: Karsten--224 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 842, 163 (1928-29)

"After the 'tobacco feast' the conjugal life of the Jibaro couple generally begins, in some cases--that is to say, when the girl is not very young--even immediately after betrothal. As a rule, however, the Jibaro woman does not become a mother until she is 16 or 17 years old; at any rate I have not among these Indians seen younger mothers. --The Canelos woman generally marries at a more mature age."

12: Rivet--607-608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 582

In spite of the precocity of the unions, it is rare for a Jíbaro woman to become a mother before the age of thirteen or fourteen years.

Marriage may occur with any degree of kinship except the degrees in the direct line or the first collateral degree.

The Indians seem little concerned with harmonizing the age of the [608] spouses, and one often sees men of thirty to forty marrying little girls of six to twelve.

25. Vigna--43-44 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 582

They [KS: betrothed couple] must always belong to near or distant kinship or to the same tribe. The daughters of one tribe never marry with young boys or men of other tribes, especially [44] unknown tribes. In the recounting of their relatives and tribes, the Jíbaros are very skilful and have a tenacious memory; for them, it is a question of life and death.

26: Brüning--70 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 582

The age for marriage does not seem to be definitely set. In one case I saw a girl at the most 10 years old married to an old Indian. The little girl, conscious of her dignity, acted like an old woman in the house. But copulation is said to be ruled out at this early age.

31: Danielsson--102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602, 582

"In our so-called civilized societies the correlations between the attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and the more formal patterns, such as familial relationships, economic status, occupation, club membership, etc., have to be taken into consideration. In the Jibaro society there are no formal patterns except the familial pattern. How the Jibaros designate familial relationship is shown on Chart I. The Jibaro family is patripotestal. The children use, for instance, the same word, aparu, for their biological father as well as for their paternal uncles. No parallel exists to this on the mother's side. The parents use the same word, nauanda, both for the daughters and the daughters-in-law. For the son-in-law, however, another term, aweru, is used than for the son, uchi. A marriage between cousins on the father's side or between a paternal uncle and his niece is regarded as incest, but on the mother's side marriages of these types are regarded as natural."

/333 cont./

000 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[727] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm
[462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

● 582 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention.
583 That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

628 Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair
[579] style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense
[302] of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is
[202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-
• [582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[824] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[276]
[787]

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice [591] temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

• 582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*wahe*) from either parent's side [591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 582 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jivaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iśi* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wabe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

Tukupi and Alanji are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupi had an unmarried sister, Nampirii. Alanji asked Tukupi for her (the father of Tukupi and Nampirii was dead). Tukupi gave her to Alanji, and Alanji and Nampirii became husband and wife. But then Alanji did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupi. Also Alanji frequently beat Nampirii when he got drunk.

So Tukupi went to the house of Alanji. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."

They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupi left. Thereafter, whenever they

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuši, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sui*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

586 If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
837 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
• 582 cousin (*wabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse
835 with his daughter, one of the girl's *wabe* (male cross-cousin
[605] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists.
[586] Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 583, 628 (1928-29)

"....capture of women in general, within the sub-tribes, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Jibaro communities. The same may be said of elopements with another man's wife, an unlawful form of marriage which may give rise to lengthy and sanguinary feuds between the families."

1: Karsten--87 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 591, 583 (1928-29)

"It is customary among the Jibaros that after his marriage a man takes up his residence with the parents of his wife. The work he performs for his parents-in-law is at the same time looked upon as a compensation for his wife, since a bride-price is never paid among the Jibaros. The son-in-law as a rule continues living with his wife's parents until one or two children have been born. When the family grows, and especially if the man wants to take one more wife, he moves from his parents-in-law and settles with his family in a new house in the neighbourhood of theirs. However, as I have said, it frequently happens that the second wife is a younger sister of the first one, in which case the man continues to live with his parents-in-law."

2: Stirling--108 [5] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 583

"Marriage among the Jivaros is by a form of purchase. When a man sees an unmarried girl or a widow whom he wishes to take as a wife he speaks to her father or brother and, unless they particularly object to the suitor, a price is agreed upon and he takes the woman away. There is no ceremony attached to the transaction and no ceremony of marriage. A woman does not have the right to refuse a man if her father or brother have accepted payment for her. Very frequently immature girls of 8 or 9 years of age are purchased as wives. They are at once considered as being wives and go to their husband's household to live. Sexual intercourse does not take place, however, until puberty. In other respects, the young girl functions as a wife, attending to her household duties along with any other wives her husband might have."

10: Anthony--147 [5] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 583

"When a daughter reaches the marriageable age, twelve to fourteen years, she is given to a man who is friendly to the father. There is no price set on the girl and the transaction involves merely the good will of the two men. The girl herself is not consulted. This method of gaining a wife is, however, rather a slow process for the ambitious Jivaro who is striving to acquire a large household in a region where women are at a premium and every girl of marriageable age is much sought for. A more efficacious method, provided all goes well, is to wage war upon some neighbor or against a family of an adjacent tribe and to confiscate, as the spoils of victory, the widows of such a man. By a carefully planned stroke of this kind the Jivaro may gain several wives at once."

12: Rivet--606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 883, 152, 583

A young man can stay under the paternal roof as long as he wishes, his mother serving him in the same way as she does his father. This period is for him a time of unrestraint and sometimes of crime. He dares all, making love without scruple to all the women that he meets, and his lack of conscience goes so far, according to certain travellers, as to kill his sister's husband so as to be able to give the young widow to a friend of his own choice. In other words, in certain tribes, particularly at Gualaquiza, it is not the father but the brother who gives his sister in marriage and with no other formality than his acquiesence, the fiance takes away the one he has chosen.

/333 cont./

595 357 [727] practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm [262] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

582 583 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

629 [270] [302] Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless hardness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is laboriously traversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is [202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

54:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and
[589] three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter,
[591] the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*ayur*),
851 who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first
606 child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and
591 his family dwell in a new house nearby.

• 583 Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when
591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-
[411] in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service.
[595] This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of cousins of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

593 The man is formally head of the household and also in-
462 formally seems generally to dominate his family. He is re-
[592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's homemade garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law
[606] is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident
606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iśi* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wahe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

Tukupī and Aiaṇā are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Aiaṇā asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirā was dead). Tukupī gave her to Aiaṇā, and Aiaṇā and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Aiaṇā did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Aiaṇā frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.

So Tukupī went to the house of Aiaṇā. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."

They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9 .

Several cases were encountered in which men gave their daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly reciprocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure exclusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*) makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien tribe's region, strict silence is maintained and scouts are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, snake back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hostiles. The main body of men follows the scouts, but simply keeps to the trail itself. 726

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the scouts remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs lean-to's and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 A.M., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 2 or 3 A.M., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the scout outpost, the scouts are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former scouts go back down the trail to sleep in the lean-to's where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the scouts find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is attacked, but sometimes two may be assaulted simultaneously, [411] and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. 727 A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he 583 is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy.

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambisa attacked his house in the Río Yaupi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
• 583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsayram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *limlipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[776] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *pasi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 461 517 439 [592] [512] [412] [286] [291] [281] [224] changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 591 [851] [578] [589] [411] birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 411 [721] turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, [439] however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

1: Karsten--187-190 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 584 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro youth generally selects his future wife while she is still a child, 5 to 10 years old. Child-betrothals even at a still earlier age, or [188] shortly after the girl is born, occur, the matter being arranged between the parents of the girl and the suitor or his parents. This custom has evidently originated in the desire of the young man or his parents to secure a wife for him in time, since there is on the whole a great demand for women in the Jibaro tribe. Such an arrangement of marriage is of course facilitated by the fact that both families are as a rule closely related, and that the suitor has a certain right to claim the girl on account of his relationship. The father of the young man may procure a wife for his son by negotiating with her parents, or the son may himself appear as a suitor. When I visited the victory-feast at Rio Chiguaza, the head of the house, a Jibaro named Shakaëma, told me that he had just procured a wife for his young son, the victor and principal person of the feast. As we shall see it is considered necessary that the victor should be married on account of the important part that his wife plays at the feast. Shakaëma told me that he had taken natéma for the purpose and seen, in the dream produced by the narcotic, the girl who would be the best wife for his son. It is more common, however, that the young man himself appears as a suitor. When visiting an Indian named Angoasha on the Rio Upano I had an opportunity to witness a proposal of marriage. Angoasha was preparing a 'tobacco feast' for one of his married daughters and some of the guests had already

arrived. Among these was a nephew of Angoasha, a young man, called Huanga. Later on it appeared that Huanga had arrived at Angoasha's house with the intention of courting his daughter, a young girl of 9 or 10 years. The proposal was made early in the morning when Angoasha was sitting at the fire, preparing his tobacco water as usual. A third person sitting by the fire and taking part in the conversation was Angoasha's son-in-law Mucuimbi. Angoasha's first answer seemed to be an absolute refusal. In the morning when I awoke I heard him emphatically repeating again and again the word tsa, tsa, tsa (No!, No!, No!), whereas the two younger men were eagerly speaking, contradicting the old man. Mucuimbi incessantly and with the same emphasis exclaimed: soásta, soásta, soásta (Give her to him! Give her to him!). It soon became clear to me that the old Angoasha was unwilling to marry his daughter to Huanga who, on the other hand, had an ally in Angoasha's son-in-law.

'You are still too young to marry', Angoasha continued, 'how can I know whether you are able to work and to feed your wife? And perhaps you will not stay in my house but leave us with your wife [189] and build another house for your family? I am old and so is my wife. We want a son-in-law who is able to work for us. Can you clear the ground and make plantations? Can you bring down birds and monkeys with your blowgun? Can you catch fish with varvasco poison?

Now a female voice mingled in the conversation. It was the mother of the girl, who from the women's quarter had listened to the dispute of the men and wished to have a word in the matter. She seemed to take her husband's part.

'You are still a child', she said, 'you are not able to work and to feed a wife. And perhaps you will treat her badly and beat her, or abandon her for the sake of some other woman.'

The conversation, which may be said to be typical, was continued in this way for a couple of hours, until at last Angoasha seemed vanquished. Besides, it seemed to be a point of etiquette that the parents should not, when treating with the suitor, yield at once or appear too anxious to have their daughter married, and their first refusal may in fact have been more apparent than real.

However this may have been, even the mother yielded at last and ended by giving her future son-in-law some well-meant motherly advice.

'Treat your wife well,' she said, 'and take care of her, and don't abandon her for the sake of some other woman. May you help her in her work, may you shoot birds of the forest for her with your blowgun and catch fish for her in the river.'

The person who seemed to have least to say in this arrangement was the young bride herself, as was natural taking into consideration that she was yet a child. Still, both in this and in other cases which came under my notice the girls betrothed appeared to

be contented with their lot. Early in the morning the young couple went out to the sand-bank on the river and remained away the whole day. This is a general custom among the Jibaros in similar cases. The fiancé now had to show the practical capability which his desired parents-in-law had questioned. He had to catch small fish with varvasco poison in the rivulet, to collect palm cabbage by felling young tarapoto palms with edible tops, and to show his dexterity in managing the blowgun. Late in the afternoon the young ones returned home, and now the fiancée in her turn had to show her ability to perform the duties of a future family mother. At a special fire in the house she prepared the food brought home, fish, game, and palm cabbage, which she thereupon ate [190] with her young fiancé. She prepared manioc-beer in a dish and brought it to him, and, likewise performing the functions of a hostess, she offered it to arriving guests, like the other women of the house.

The betrothal being thus arranged, the young girl's education for her coming duties can properly begin, and it is supervised by her future husband who continues to stay in the house as a member of the family, working like the sons and the other sons-in-law. When the girl has her first menstruation a new important epoch in her life begins. Certain minor ceremonies, which will be described later on, take place. The most important thing, however, is that from this time the preparations for the great feast begin which the Jibaros call 'the tobacco feast of the women' (Noa tsangu) and which has the character of a nuptial feast."

1: Karsten--208 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 584, 177 (1928-29)

"The customs observed at marriage by the Indians of Canelos essentially differ from those of the Jibaros proper. The former have on this point been influenced by the mountain Indians, as is also the case with the Napo Indians, whereas the latter have kept up usages which have been followed within the Jibaro nation since times immemorial. As to the Canelos Indians, we have to remember that they are now nominally Christians and that their marriages as a rule sooner or later receive ecclesiastical confirmation. The practices described below, however, are in the main genuinely Indian and of considerable interest."

I: Karsten-- 208 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 584 (1928-29)

"At Canelos it is the parents of the young marriage candidate that have to ask the parents of the girl for her hand on behalf of their son. Early in the morning, while it is still dark, they repair to the house of the girl's parents to negotiate about the matter. As is frequently the case among the Indians, the mother of the girl has just as much to say as the father when the daughter is given away in marriage, sometimes even more. Similarly the brothers and sisters of the girl must give their consent before the matter is settled. If all have given their consent, the young man is informed; he waits upon his future parents-in-law, and kisses their hands and feet, and the betrothal is sealed with a drinking-feast."

2: Stirling--109-110 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 584

"When he begins his courtship he pays a visit to the house where the girl of his choice lives, always taking care to invent some other reason to account for his presence there or else making the visit seem quite accidental. When he enters the house, according to custom he is served mesato by each of the women in turn. When his particular woman steps up with her bowl of nijimanche for him he acts very serious and gruff. He takes the bowl roughly from her and, after drinking, returns it with the same violence. Following the chicha drinking, again according to custom, the women begin serving him food. When the woman of his choice brings him manioc or sweetpotatoes he takes it from her without looking at her, examines the food, breaks off a piece and hurls it on the ground. If there was any doubt in her mind before, this assures her that the man is in love. Generally this is all that is accomplished on the first visit.

As a rule, before his second visit, he allows an interval of 3 days to elapse, on the theory that during this time the girl will have a chance to think about him and his actions and to wonder if she created enough of an impression for him to return. His preparations for the second visit are considerably more elaborate.

First he goes to the river and calls upon Tsungi, the mythical water monster, to aid him in his affair. He sings songs especially composed for the occasion. Tsungi is supposed to exert a particular control over love affairs. In the forest he has probably already collected leaves of the plant called muspa, which he dries and from which he makes a powder. The Jivaros believe that when the otter wishes to catch fish he rubs his paws

on this plant and on his face. [110] The lover goes through the same procedure when he collects the leaves. The muspa powder is mixed with achiote and yaona, a sweet-smelling herb. This combination is then mixed with a little grease and placed in a small bamboo tube. Sometimes the preparation is purchased from the wishinu. This preparation is called semica.

On his second visit he also brings with him the fangs of an anaconda or a boa; these are supposed to bring good luck to a woman. Other little gifts as well are prepared, such as nuts, from which she can make amulets, vanilla beans, yaona plants wrapped in cotton, combs, and similar trinkets. The teeth of the manatee are supposed to be effective in fostering a love affair and are regarded particularly as being good luck charms for women.

When he enters the house on his second visit he contrives, if possible, to rub some of the semica on the palms of her hands and on her breasts. If the man had succeeded in making any sort of impression on his first visit, the woman is likely to act with more affection toward him on this occasion. She may even go so far as to encourage him by inquiring as to why he had not returned before and expressing interest in his doings. The girl's acceptance of his present is her way of indicating that she reciprocates his affection. All that now remains is for the suitor to make satisfactory purchase arrangments with her father.

There is generally a show of reluctance on the part of the girl's male relative. They

drive as good a bargain as they are able and express a real or feigned dislike of the idea of the girl leaving home. In pressing his plea the suitor usually employs a friend as spokesman and the debate that ensues is somewhat in the nature of a stereotyped ceremony. While the girl's mother theoretically has nothing to say, actually she takes an active part in the argument."

3: Simson--391 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 584, 562

"The wife [KS: the Canelo] selected, she is bestowed upon the happy swain by her father; and all the bridegroom is required by custom to do, either then or previously, is to clear the ground necessary for a plantain and yuca plantation. This practically almost ends his destiny so far as work and the care of his family is concerned; and on the days he has not a special fit of laziness at home or jollification in the village, such as a wedding, death, the cleaning and weeding of a plaza, the arrival of friends from or departure to the Marañon for the purchase of salt and poison, each of which occasions constitutes a drinking bout of at least three days and nights, he merely strolls into the woods to seek game, which in the neighbourhood of the villages is generally rather scarce. He consequently returns usually unladen; but if successful, upon entering the house, throws his sport with disdain to the ground and himself into the hammock, and haughtily receives the attentions of his wife and the 'chicha' proffered for his refreshment. Every time a stranger enters a house, he is barely seated before each one of the women separately offers him a calabash of chicha."

12: Rivet--607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 584

The young girl is never consulted in her choice of a husband. Besides, very often, they marry her off at an age when she would be incapable of having an opinion. Actually, she is sometimes promised to her future husband at the age of six years, sometimes even younger. In this case, she is brought up in his house and to his taste by his other wives, until she is old enough to be their companion in misery. On the subject of the age of marriage, there exists, at least among the tribes around Macas, a curious custom; when a daughter is born, the parents plant three or four chontaruru plants around the house, which they care for with great interest; when these palms begin to bear fruit, i.e., at the end of seven years, the child is ready to marry.

25: Vigna--43 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 584

During their betrothal they are usually exceedingly sparing in external manifestations or affectionate words. The presents of the lover to his sweetheart consist of necklaces of glass beads or seeds, combs, cinctures, ornaments or cloth for her dress. The lover is generally recognized by a ring made of beadwork which he wears on one or all of the fingers of his hand. Frequently, when only a few years of age, the little girl already has a future husband chosen by her parents. The latter give their daughters to relatives, friends, or to valiant youths.

28: Tessman--361-362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 833, 595

Women are married off while they are still children, sometimes at the age of four, often before they are born, sometimes, however, at a later date. If the wife is still a child, then she will be brought up by her [362] husband, who will widen her vulva with the finger until at the age of twelve she is ready for coitus.

A Chiwaro has from one to four wives.

28: Teeeman--362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 762

A woman is never asked whether she wants to marry a man or not; in most instances she is much too young anyway. The future husband, who has selected her, arranges the thing with the father or the brother of the girl. This explains why women hang themselves when they are forced to live with a man who may treat them badly or for whom they do not care. If the girl's family agrees to the marriage, the son-in-law-to-be goes on a one-week hunting expedition and collects game, which he turns over to his parents-in-law. The latter prepare a great feast, and the bride is handed over. The husband has no other obligations. Older girls who are not yet married are never virgins, and virginity is not expected anyway.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a pre-puberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] noon afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

545 594 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 575 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore 595 224 933 [92] more willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

34:Harner K-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(wife) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during 936
which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl becomes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to 936
their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she 594
sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young 937
married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so [719]
common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tsumanti* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tsumanti*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

1: Karsten--191-192 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 784 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the 'tobacco feast' require as a rule two or three years. This is due to the fact that they mainly consist in breeding domestic animals, swine and hens, and in making new plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruit. The small pigs must grow big and fat, and the fields must be fully developed, fruitful, and in a flourishing state before the feast can take place.

During the two years of preparation the girl has to diet, being subject to certain restrictions in regard to her food. The rules of diet are the following:--she must not drink manioc-beer (nihamánchi), she is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, i.e. the flesh of the most important domestic animals, she must likewise abstain from eating the flesh of the wild hog (unta pakki), of any kind of monkey, and of those big birds of the forest which the Jibaros mostly hunt. On the other hand, she is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi), the rodent agouti (kayuka), and quite small birds of the kind the Jibaros hunt with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows. Of large fish she can eat the one called by the Jibaros wámbi, a white fish with a red tail and fins, but is forbidden to eat the smaller white fish kánga (in Spanish bocachico), the most common fish in the South American rivers. She is also allowed to eat sardines (chumakai) and certain other small fish called sháchma. With regard to vegetables, her food consists mainly of cooked and mashed manioc, called nauma, of beans and maize, and of a dish prepared of the leaves of a wild plant which the Jibaros call épo.

Not only the young woman herself, but also her future husband must observe the above rules of diet because of the intimate relation which exists between husband and wife.

The swine and the chickens are the principal domestic animals upon which the spirit of tobacco, conjured during the coming feast, will exercise its favourable influence, making them numerous and fat. [192] Precisely because the power of the tobacco is in a mysterious way active in the swine and the chickens, the woman must, during the critical period, abstain from eating the flesh of these animals, lest the tobacco should prove harmful to her. In infringing these rules of diet, therefore, she would expose herself to danger, and the tobacco might prove useless, or rather harmful, even with regard to the animals, so that, instead of increasing, they would pine away and die. The flesh of the wild hog the woman is forbidden to eat because of its great similarity to the domestic swine. Since during the period in question she is supposed to be in a delicate condition, she must wholly avoid eating all animals in which--according to the idea of the Indians--evil spirits could possibly be incarnate, such as monkeys and many big birds of the forest. On the other hand, she may eat all animals regarding which no superstitious ideas are held, such as the peccary and the agouti and, among fish, the sardine.

The prohibition of the fish kánga to the woman is due to causes connected with the

mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to their tradition, all animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes have in ancient times been men, that is, Jibaros. In that remote antiquity they also used to wage war upon each other, to make reduced trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, and to hold victory feasts, just as the Jibaros do still. Then in a fight the fish kánga was killed by one of his enemies, who was later changed into a bird, the umbrella-bird, ungúmi who made a trophy of his head. Therefore the mouth of the fish kánga is still very much like the reduced mouth of a human trophy (tsantsa), and this is the reason why a woman preparing for a tobacco feast must abstain from eating that fish. She would otherwise come into intimate contact with the angry spirit of a killed Indian.

First of all, however, the tobacco spirit will exert a favourable influence upon the crops, making the plantations grow rapidly and bear fruit abundantly (áha pamboártinyu). The rules of diet mentioned above have also special reference to the agricultural preparations for the feast. If the woman infringes these rules, if she does not fast carefully, the whole tobacco feast will prove a failure; the spirit of the plant will not promote the growth of the fields and make them fruitful, but will bring about the very contrary result. Every Jibaro woman who prepares for a tobacco feast is therefore anxious to observe, as strictly as possible, the rules in regard to fasting which custom prescribes for her."

Karsten--193 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 585, 535 (1928-29)

"The tobacco feast proper lasts four days. It is preceded by certain ceremonies which have the character of preliminaries but are looked upon as being essential. Among these preliminaries the dance Wuimchi is the most important.. It is a ring dance performed by the younger men and boys in which they move round one of the central pillars of the house, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, incessantly mentioning such animals and birds of the forest by name which the Jibaros mostly hunt, as well as details of the industrial arts incumbent on the men. This dance is performed every evening for several hours about eight days before the commencement of the feast, and is supposed to exert a favourable influence upon the household and the industrial art of the Indians. It is regarded as a necessary preliminary of all great feasts of the Indians..."

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"Another preliminary [WPM: to the tobacco feast] is the ceremony called Nauma, i.e. the chewing of the manioc root for the purpose of brewing manioc-beer, a ceremony that takes place three days before the feast proper begins. Early in the morning all the women of the house, headed by the girl in whose honour the feast is to be held, march out to the manioc fields in the neighbourhood with their baskets (changina) to fetch the great quantity of manioc roots necessary for the purpose. When the women have arrived at the field, the young bride first receives some juice of tobacco from an old woman. The first manioc root is pulled up and placed in the basket by the girl, her hand being held by the older woman. Thereupon all the women proceed to fill their baskets with manioc roots and carry them home.

Here the ceremony takes place which is called by the Indians Nauma, i.e. the ceremonial chewing of the manioc, in which women from different houses in the neighbourhood are invited to take part. First the roots are peeled and boiled in big clay pots placed on different fires in the house. When the manioc is soft, the pots are removed from the fires and the roots mashed, as is done with potatoes. The pots are arranged in a circle on the floor, some empty ones being placed in the middle. The women now sit down on the floor, each in front of a clay pot of manioc, and the chewing of the fruit begins. Each woman fills her mouth with the mashed fruit and masticates it for a long while with great care, over and over again, more or less like a ruminating cow. She

does not stop until the masticated substance is in a liquid state; then she stoops down towards the empty pot in front of her and [194] spits the white liquid into it. When the pots are more or less half full of this fluid, unmasticated mashed manioc is added until the vessels are full, and the whole mass is stirred. The mouths of the clay vessels are carefully covered with banana leaves and they are then placed in a particular place in the women's department close to two of the pillars supporting the house. Here the fermentation will take place, that wonderful process which to the Indian mind is supernatural and sacred, and is ascribed to the soul animating the manioc plant. In order that the fermentation may proceed quickly and without disturbing influences, the women finally sit round the clay pots covered with palm leaves and sing a sort of prayer or incantation to the spirit of the manioc plant.

Not only ordinary manioc-beer is brewed for a feast, but also a special manioc-beer and a kind of manioc-wine, both prepared from roasted manioc. While the pots were boiling in the house, the men had been roasting manioc roots outside, the roots being placed over a big fire on a frame made of tree branches and called pingána. A number of the biggest roots have been selected for the purpose and of these again two particularly well developed have been chosen, to be laid on the roasting frame by the young girl with the assistance of the priestess. Thereupon other roots are added without ceremony. As

soon as the roots are sufficiently roasted, they are placed on big banana leaves and taken into the house. Here two baskets (changina) are ceremonially filled with the roasted manioc roots by the girl, whose hands are constantly held by the priestess. The first two manioc roots, however, are prepared in a special way before being laid in the baskets. The bride, whose hands are held by the priestess, cuts up the root with a knife and puts into it a little salt, which she bites off from a bigger piece and puts into the manioc with a little saliva, a little bark from the stem of the manioc plant, and a little mould which has formed upon some old roasted pieces of manioc enveloped in leaves and kept for the particular purpose of preparing manioc-wine. Some more of the roasted manioc roots are treated in the same way, the rest being placed in the baskets as they are. When the baskets are full, they are covered with certain big leaves and hung up at the same pillars in the house where the clay pots containing ordinary manioc-beer are. They are left there for three days, in order that they may 'ripen' and become impregnated with the power of the salt and the other things put into the manioc roots. I was able to establish for [195] myself that this way of preparing them was by no means merely an empty ceremony, or due to superstition. When some days later I tasted one of the roasted manioc roots I found it had a peculiar sweetish flavour, and the Indians assured me that the wine to be prepared from these roots would be particularly strong.

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

The preparation both of the manioc-beer and the wine is continued on the first day of the feast, three days later, . . ."

1: Karsten--195-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"I shall now describe shortly the ceremonies which take place on each of the four days devoted to the feast.

....the young bride is, at the principal ceremonies performed at the feast, regularly assisted by an old experienced woman, who acts so to say as a priestess and in this capacity is called whuéa. Besides this there is an old man who has to assist at certain ceremonies and thus in a way acts as a priest. The young girl in whose honour the feast is held is called tsángrama. A sister of hers and another young female relative also take part in the principal ceremonies, and the tsángrama, her sister, and the third young woman are often mentioned in connection with one another.

The first day of a great feast is always called Utsándowai, i.e. 'The opening of the feast'. It begins early in the morning with the solemn entrance of the guests into the house. All guests invited to the feast have arrived on the day before, but they have passed the night in provisional shelters outside the house. Having arranged their dress and their ornaments and renewed their facial paintings, they enter the house headed by the old man who acts as priest at the feast. Once in the house, they arrange themselves in two rows from the door towards the centre and sit down on small seats (kutánga) placed there for the purpose. They are welcomed in the usual way with manioc-beer (nihamánchi), which is offered to them ceremonially by the women. In the middle of the room, close to the first central pillar, a number of big clay pots (muitsa) have been

placed; they contain food, pork and chicken. In front of these four women take their stand; the first of these is the principal person of the feast, the young bride, the second her sister, and the rest near female relations of hers. Each of them has a clay dish (pininga) filled with manioc-beer in her hands. The men now have to step forward to drink a little from the clay dish of each woman. The future husband of the young girl takes them there in their proper turns, beginning with the eldest guest and finishing with [196] the youngest; lastly he himself drinks. When this is done, the men start to eat. Some banana leaves are spread on the floor in front of the clay pots containing food, and upon these a number of clay dishes are placed. The dishes are filled with meat and boiled manioc and are thereafter distributed among the men, who also partake of the manioc-beer which is being constantly carried round by the women. While the eating and drinking is going on, some Indians beat the drums incessantly, as is customary at the Indian feasts.

The drinking-bout is continued the whole forenoon, the men retaining their seats. On the space between them various parties of women appear dancing. The dance--which is called Ihiámbrama--is started by the bride, her sister, and the priestess, whom three other women have joined. The women stand, three in each row, against each other moving alternately towards and from each other at a slow pace and making steps which

cannot exactly be described in words. Two Indians, who also move to and fro on the floor, accompany their dance by beating drums or playing flutes. The women, having danced for a while, are relieved by others, but the number of women appearing varies. Later on only four, three, or two appear at a time, and sometimes a woman is seen dancing solo, always accompanied by some men beating the drums. The dance and the drumming is thus continued for several hours.

In the afternoon the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine is continued in so far as the roasted roots hung up in the two baskets are chewed, i.e. a new Nauma ceremony takes place. Of the masticated fruit a part is separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing the special manioc-beer referred to above, whereas of the rest of the masticated fruit the manioc-wine is prepared by the essence of the masticated substance being distilled. Since the procedure thereby will be minutely described in connection with the great victory feast, I shall not dwell on this detail here, and the same may be said of the manioc-beer which is brewed by using a special ferment of chewed manioc substance prepared earlier. The special manioc-beer prepared from roasted manioc roots is drunk on the third and fourth day of the feast after the principal ceremonies, whereas the manioc-wine, sangucha shiki, is drunk at the end of the feast before the guests depart.

In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed

round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

1: Karsten--197-200 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276 (1928-29)

"The second day of the feast is assigned for the ceremony which is called 'the drinking of the chiki medicine' (chiki umártinyu). Chiki is the root of a plant with the same name, specially cultivated by the Jibaros, to which magical properties are ascribed. Early in the morning three clay dishes (pininga) are placed in a row on the floor, one for the bride, another for her sister, and a third for another female relative of the bride. At the most important ceremonies taking place on this and the following days of the feast these three women appear together, and they are assisted by the priestess (whuéa). A cooking pot is half-filled with water, placed on the fire by the bride whose hands, as usual, are held by the priestess. Into this pot the following things are placed, in the same ceremonial way, by the women: 1) a small piece of manioc; 2) a small piece of camote or sweet potato; 3) a piece of the chiki root; and 4) two tobacco leaves. The water in the pot is not allowed to boil, but is only warmed. When it is luke-warm the tobacco leaves are taken out and the liquid is poured into the three piningas by the bride whose hands are held by the priestess. The latter thereupon passes one of the piningas to the bride, who drinks up its whole contents and immediately runs outside to throw it up; the chiki medicine, it should be understood, has the effect of a vomitory which is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman and favourably prepare her for the dreams. Thereupon the priestess in the same way allows the second and the third woman to empty the contents of their piningas, and they likewise

at once go outside to throw it up. The women are now considered to be properly prepared for the taking of the tobacco medicine itself, which is called savinya. During this and the following day, or until the feast is ended, both the bride and the other two women have to fast more strictly than before, their only food being a little boiled and mashed manioc. When they eat they take care not to touch the food with their fingers, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

After the drinking of chiki is finished, the guests are entertained with manioc-beer. A great number of piningas are placed in two parallel rows and filled with manioc-beer prepared from the roasted manioc roots and offered to the guests by the women. With this drinking-bout the morning's ceremonies are finished. [198]

Early in the evening the priestess prepares the tobacco medicine called savinya. From a bundle of tobacco which has been kept in a special place in the house she takes some leaves, chews them carefully, mixing the chewed mass well with saliva, and lastly spits it out into a small clay pot (nattipya), specially made for the purpose. When she has obtained a sufficient quantity of this strong medicine, which is thick like syrup, she covers the clay pot with a cover made of clay, which at the same time serves as a cup from which the women have to take the medicine reached them by the priestess. The small clay pot, with its cover, is first placed in a basket (changina) which is hung up at one of the pillars of the house until the tobacco medicine is needed.

Late in the evening the bride and the two other women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outside in the neighbourhood of the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pass the night, each woman in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there and gives them the savinya medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong medicine, taken on an empty stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams to which the Jibaros ascribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', Nungüi herself and the other spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They will see the swine and the hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by flourishing plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will be produced more easily when they sleep alone in the plantations. Early in the morning the old woman goes to the shelters to look after the women and again gives them tobacco juice, whereupon all return to the house.

Now the ceremonies of the third day begin, which essentially consist in the women receiving savinya in repeated doses and songs being sung to the Earth-mother. The bride sits down on a seat opposite the priestess, the two other women taking seats beside the former. The hair of the bride is tied up by her fiancé by means of a band, and her head and shoulders are wet with water 'because earlier, in the plantation, she had been vomiting'. The priestess now gives her juice of tobacco and similarly portions of it to the two other women. Thereupon the songs to the Earth-mother Nungüi

begin, which are led by the priestess, sometimes assisted by another old woman. These songs are continued, with small intervals, for several hours, being led by the priestess who first recites them without singing, so that the younger women may learn them, whereupon all women sing them. Between [199] the songs the three women repeatedly receive juice of tobacco from the hand of the old woman. Sometimes she even rubs their fingers with the juice and blows upon them; then the songs are again continued.

The songs sung are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaëma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees

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"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaĕma, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,
send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungüi, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
multiply my crop of manioc,

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See infra, p. 351)."

multiply my crop of camote,
multiply my crop of earth-nuts!' etc. [200]

These are the main themes of the incantations, somewhat varied in different songs, but always essentially the same. Similarly the melodies to which they are sung are the same as those mentioned before. The incantations are chiefly interrupted for the sake of giving the women repeated savinya doses. The women are not allowed to take anything but this medicine during the whole day; thus, it is believed, they will be favourably prepared for the dreams in the following night. In the evening the priestess, as usual, takes the three women to the shelters in the fields outside the house, whither they are accompanied by other men and women. The priestess, before she leaves them, again gives them tobacco juice. The women now sleep in the shelter till about 3 o'clock in the morning, when the priestess again takes them to the house. At this hour the important ceremony occurs which is called 'the slaughter of the swine' (cuchi matinyu), and which forms part of all great feasts. The ceremonial slaughter of the swine will be described in detail in connection with the great victory feast.

Until the slaughter of the swine takes place the night has been spent in dancing the dances Wuimchi and Ihiámbrama, just as in the night before."

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungüi and her 'husband', as above (p. 135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamárma,

our manioc plantation is still young,
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young,
nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kahtámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya,
Sátama rúna,
Yeita másanatimi,
kashiki piútnungmateiti,
káyuka itérmangeiti,
pakki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!"

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

"You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!" (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

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"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on

her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of piningas, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at

the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other

women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking

of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

1: Karsten--206-207 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276, 774 (1928-29)

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilies [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

1: Karsten--208-209 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the nuptials begin at once, and these take place eight days later after a considerable supply of provisions has been procured by hunting and fishing, great quantities of manioc-beer have been brewed, and new clay vessels have been made by the women. The nuptial-feast itself is considered absolutely indispensable, for, if the traditional marriage ceremonies are not arranged, it is believed the young husband will soon die. This belief is due to the idea, deeply rooted in the minds ot the Indians, that the contracting of marriage is an extremely critical occasion because of the evil spirits which are then on the alert to spoil human welfare and happiness. [209]

The nuptials are mainly celebrated with eating and drinking, making music and dancing. The 'music' is performed partly by means of drums, partly by means of a primitive wooden instrument called sigi-sigi. The latter is a small table of chonta wood about 30 cm. in length and 5 cm. in breadth with incisions made on one-side at regular intervals so that, when the instrument is worked upon with a chonta stick which is rapidly passed from one end to the other and back, a rattling sound is produced. The dance again is of that ceremonial kind which is customary among the Indians on such occasions: one man and one woman appear at a time dancing solo, directed by the Indian conducting the ceremonies. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the woman alternately moving to and from each other in a slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum and the sigi-sigi instrument. This solo dance and the

drinking-bout are continued the whole day and are supposed to have the effect of keeping off supernatural influences and promoting the happiness of the young couple.

The ceremonies at the nuptial festivity are led by a 'bestman', elected by the parents of the fiancé, and his wife. The leader, who is as a rule an elderly man and frequently a medicine-man, goes about the room the whole day playing the instrument sigi-sigi and inviting the guests to dance solo in their proper turns. His wife is sitting among the women at the other end of the room; she has a piece of linen about one yard and a half in length. When the leader wishes some one of the men to dance he puts his own hat on his head; this for his wife is a sign to put the piece of linen on the shoulders of the wife of that guest. Both now rise and dance solo for a while, accompanied by the leader playing sigi-sigi. Then the guest again restores the hat to the leader, who puts in [sic] on the head of another guest, and the latter in his turn has to dance solo for a while with his wife, who has been invited to dance by the leader's wife with the piece of linen, and so on. In this way the whole day, a good deal of the following night, as well as the following day, is spent in dancing, eating and drinking."

1: Karsten--209-211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 754, 845 (1928-29)

"The ceremonies practised on the wedding-night itself are of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians custom forbids the bridegroom to spend the first night with his bride. That night is spent by him not only in another room but even in another house. The practice is due to fear of evil, supernatural powers. If the bridegroom spends the first night with his young wife, it is believed he will soon die, and his wife too is exposed to supernatural dangers. The Indians of Canelos know a sort [210] of jus primae noctis, but the 'right' in question is not claimed by the medicine-man or chief but by the evil demon, called supai, and the bridegroom, fearing the revenge of the demon, voluntarily cedes the right to him. However, the following night is also critical, since it is believed that the demon wants to continue having the woman and is jealous of her husband. The first nuptial embrace, which takes place in the presence of the whole assembly invited to the feast, is therefore, at any rate in some cases, arranged in the following way. The bride is placed in the bed which is made of split bamboo. On her bosom two bananas are placed in such a way that they easily fall down at her movements. These bananas represent the first children to which the woman will give birth and which, it is feared, may possibly be twins owing to the interest taken in the woman by the supai. The bananas are therefore called palánda huahua, i.e. 'the banana babes'. Under the bed a little boy is placed. When the young couple embrace each other the bananas fall to the ground, one after the other, and the boy hidden under

the bed at once catches them crying out, 'Now the babe arrived '! Then he comes forth and presents the first banana to the assembly, the other one being thrown away. A man steps forward and offers himself as comparu (god-father) of the newborn child. He receives the banana which is carefully wrapped in a cloth, and gives it a name. The 'banana babe' is afterwards placed above on the roof of the house, where it is kept until the real firstborn child arrives. Then the same Indian presents himself to be the godfather of the child, and the same name is given to it as was before given to the banana.

In order to understand this curious custom we have first of all to take into consideration that the Canelos Indians have a superstitious dread of twins, owing to reasons which will presently be explained more fully. By thus dramatically representing the very thing they fear may happen, namely, that the bride shall first bring forth twins, where the supai or demon is the father of the second child, the Indians hope to prevent that ominous eventuality. The incident has in mimicry been anticipated in the arrangement with the two bananas and will not therefore take place in reality. The fact that the first nuptial embrace is public in the way we have seen, is due to the idea that thus the evil spirit may be prevented from harming the couple.

The ceremony at the wedding-night is not always the one just described, when two bananas are used to represent twins. In some cases the Canelos Indians by the

ceremony in question only aim at neutra-[211]lizing in general, the possible harmful effects proceeding from the demon, and to secure a happy first delivery. Instead of using two bananas, they only use a manioc root which is wrapped in a piece of linen and placed on the bride's bosom, just as is in [sic] done other cases with the bananas. The rest of the ceremony is the same, a boy being hidden under the bed, who has to catch the manioc and present is [sic] as the 'first-born babe', and so forth.

It is not only the first nights that are believed to be critical for the newly-married pair. Generally the demon is supposed to continue molesting the young woman for some time, visiting her at night in dreams and trying to have intercourse with her even though she sleeps with her husband. In the morning the woman tells her husband that the supai has molested her in a dream. The husband summons a medicine-man, who first drinks the narcotic aya huasca to ascertain the true nature and origin of the importunate demon. Thereupon he prepares a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called pétun cara, and gives the decoction to the woman to drink. This medicine is supposed to kill the demon and thus to rid the woman of his nightly visits.

The decoction of the vine shigshi huasca or the rind pétun cara is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have

been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition.

For the husband himself there is, owing to the jealousy of the demon, the constant danger that he may die on the spot on having intercourse with his wife, and this is particularly supposed to be the case if the woman is young and pretty. Sometimes the danger is not believed to be wholly over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.

As I have stated before the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

2: Stirling--111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 585, 462

"Marriage takes place immediately following the purchase arrangements and the woman takes up her duties in the man's residence, where they do not differ much from the duties to which she has been accustomed at home. The work of clearing the chacras and the work of housebuilding is done by the men. The women plant and tend the crops. The men do the hunting and fishing, while the women cook and attend to the household duties. The house is divided into two halves, each of which has its own door; one for the men and one for the women. In one half are the beds of the men and the section in which they remain while in the house. In the other half the women live and tend to their household functions."

12: Rivet--606-607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 585

At Macas, the prospective husband makes his demand to the father and the father imposes on him the condition of going into the forest to hunt for five or six days. At the end of this time, the fiance returns loaded down with smoked meat which he presents to the young girl. If the father considers that he passed the test well, he accepts him for a son-in-law and even, if he is young, [607] robust and especially clever, he does not hesitate to give him two or three daughters. He immediately ties on to the arms of the newly-wed couple a band of coffee-colored cotton as wide as a finger, woven by the wife herself. The fiance pierces a little hole between his wife's lip and chin, through which she puts as an ornament a pompom of brilliant feathers, and then offers her a tarachi and some other feminine ornaments. The couple paint themselves and dress themselves up as well as they can. An old man of the tribe "who undertakes the office of priest" (?) (1) gives them a decoction of tobacco to drink, and the celebration continues as a dance, with singing and drinking during two or three days. It is, at least for this tribe, the only occasion where one sees the Jíbaro dancing in couples. According to certain Indian informants the fiance opens the vagina of his wife with the aid of bones prepared for this use, in order to make her more capable of intercourse.

Before marrying, the young man must always clear a piece of land, plant manioc and bananas, and construct and furnish a house; after that his only obligation is to get clothes for his wife and to furnish the necessary game.

Ordinarily, it is only at the end of several years that he chooses other companions.

1. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, op. cit. page 122.

13: Rivet--242[2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 585, 796

The women's feast takes place when the manioc or bananas planted by the newly-married couple are ripe. It is to make the new wife industrious and zealous. The old man opens the ceremony by preparing the chicha according to the accustomed manner before the young wife, while giving her many bits of advice: "It is thus that you should serve your husband; never permit him to be thirsty; you will give it to him to drink even if he does not ask you for it, etc." Then begins the drinking and the dance which lasts three days.

25: Vigna--44 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 585

When the young man asks the hand of the girl to whom he is already betrothed, the parents of the girl generally require the suitor to perform certain labors or to accomplish certain feats. The marriage ceremony is simple; the chief or oldest member of the tribe generally assists. As soon as they are married, they go off to hunt and remain in the mountain several days; they do not carry anything with them except fire. Only after the husband has demonstrated that he can establish a home and that he respects his wife, will he be able to carry her away from the home of his in-laws.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

545 574 273 361 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 575 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuṭuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

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1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common panishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

12: Rivet--608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 586

The husband has the right not only to repudiate his wife, but even to kill her, sometimes without the slightest motive; sometimes when she has grown too old and cannot work any longer, he turns her out of his house, with no thought of the long time she has served him (1). This omnipotence becomes particularly odious when the unfortunate woman, instead of belonging to a friendly or related family, has been captured from an enemy tribe in the course of a war expedition.

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. 6th map, page 57.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 837
by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 831
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs 832
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [594]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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of the *tawaspā* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

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Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

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In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

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Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

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A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
• 586 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close
837 relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*wabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse
[605] with his daughter, one of the girl's *wabe* (male cross-cousin
[586] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists. Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 826 (1928-29)

"Levirate prevails among the Jibaros, custom prescribing that a man shall marry the widow of his brother. Only if the husband has left no brother is the woman allowed to marry a man of another family. If the widow unlawfully marries or has sexual intercourse with another, the consequence, according to the belief of the Indians, may be the birth of a deaf and dumb or monstrous child (nētsi, pasúna), and the man who married the woman is likely to die soon afterwards. This is due to the belief that the spirit of the dead husband, who is jealous of the wife he left behind, will not cede her to any other man than his brother, who forms with himself as it were one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. The custom of levirate among the Jibaros is thus due partly to superstitious reasons and partly to the close relationship which is supposed to exist between two brothers.

A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

1: Karsten--212-213 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 783 (1928-29)

"If a woman becomes a widow she cannot marry again at will but is bound by certain restrictions. First and foremost, owing to the close relationship assumed between brothers, she is believed naturally to belong to the eldest brother of her deceased husband, who is bound to marry her. If he had no brothers she may marry another man, generally in some way related to her former husband, but not at once. The prohibition of her remarriage when or with whom she likes is due to the superstitious ideas mentioned in the last chapter. Generally the widow has to wait for one year before she can marry again, or until the hair of her head which at the death of her husband was cut short, has again grown long. Besides this, she has to pass through a certain purificatory ceremony with fire. The widow has to sit down on a seat, her head is covered with a cloth, and a termite nest is set on fire, the smoke of which she has to receive in her face until she is nearly suffocated. This smoking ceremony is believed to purify her from the taboo attaching to her after the death of her husband and she can now remarry. If the woman marries before the year has elapsed, or does not pass through the purification ceremony just mentioned, the consequence may be that the new [213] husband will soon die and that the child she gives birth to will be a monster. The demon operating in this case is again the spirit or soul of the dead husband, who jealously watches his former wife. Among the Jibaros therefore untimely marriages of widows are as strictly prohibited as marriages between near relatives."

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly, [sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu,

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

2: Stirling--114 [6] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 587

"The levirate prevails among the Jivaros. When a man dies the brother who is closest to him has the right to claim his widow. It is not compulsory for him to take her as a wife, although usually he does so. Custom dictates, however, that in the event he does not take her as a wife, she nevertheless lives in his house and becomes a member of his household until someone else marries her. It is not necessarily the oldest brother upon whom these duties fall."

28: Tessman--361 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 768, 587

The estate is not destroyed, but passed on to the heirs. The estate is rather evenly distributed among the sons and brothers of the father, and other relatives may get something, too, if they wish. Even the wife is passed on as part of the estate: she goes to the older brother of her deceased husband, and she lives with him as early as one to two weeks after her husband's death.

28: Tessman--362 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 587

According to Karsten (Contributions etc. pp. 75 ff.) the brother of the deceased marries the widow; only if there is no brother, the widow has a free choece with regard to her second marriage.

12:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK*

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (tsantsa), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of iwanfi or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (kakowfi). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (papi) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwanfi kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwanfi fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 216
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsanu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasakii*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*iči*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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latter believed by the Jívaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587] of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

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while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *iwanči*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makanči*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*panji*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411]
the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752]
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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense
[628] and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
685 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
428 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor
593 mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things
[587] to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common.
685 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
674
727

1: Karsten--212 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 589 (1928-29)

"Neither among the Jibaros nor among the Canelos Indians have I known persons who have been obliged to remain unmarried their whole life. In regard to the women such a state of things is almost out of the question for the very reason that the Jibaros are polygynists and that there is, on the whole, a scarcity of women in their communities. But even bachelors are practically unknown, and a man who never obtained a woman would be ridiculed by all. The Jibaros, as we have seen, in the first place want to marry girls of their own sub-tribe, but in case of need they procure young girls from other Jibaro tribes, sometimes even stealing them from enemy tribes vanquished in war and taking them home."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed [589] mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, [591] the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), [851] who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first [606] child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and [591] his family dwell in a new house nearby.

583 Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when 591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father- [411] in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. [595] This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

593 The man is formally head of the household and also in- 462 formally seems generally to dominate his family. He is re- [592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending [606] the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident 606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 591, 583 (1928-29)

"It is customary among the Jibaros that after his marriage a man takes up his residence with the parents of his wife. The work he performs for his parents-in-law is at the same time looked upon as a compensation for his wife, since a bride-price is never paid among the Jibaros. The son-in-law as a rule continues living with his wife's parents until one or two children have been born. When the family grows, and especially if the man wants to take one more wife, he moves from his parents-in-law and settles with his family in a new house in the neighbourhood of theirs. However, as I have said, it frequently happens that the second wife is a younger sister of the first one, in which case the man continues to live with his parents-in-law."

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [721]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsamtsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jivaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tayamasā*), and the women's 562
(*ēkenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice [591] temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

582 The only kinswomen with whom marriage is formally [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*wabe*) from either parent's side [591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny 582 creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jivaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iśi* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*waśe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupi and Alenji are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupi had an unmarried sister, Nampirik. Alenji asked Tukupi for her (the father of Tukupi and Nampirik was dead). Tukupi gave her to Alenji, and Alenji and Nampirik became husband and wife. But then Alenji *did not* want to give *his own* sister to Tukupi. Also Alenji frequently beat Nampirik when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupi went to the house of Alenji. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupi left. Thereafter, whenever they

14:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 496 592 tal garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

178 461 517 439 [592] [512] [412] 286 291 281 224

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

178 591 [851] 379 583 [411]

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

178 411 [721] [499]

1: Karsten--183-184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 571, 592, 611, 621 (1928-29)

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organization is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 592, 577 (1928-29)

"Social sympathy and the feeling of solidarity is quite strong within the family and the sub-tribe, the members of which are united by the blood-tie. For instance the close relation between two brothers, and the duties arising therefrom, has already appeared from the custom of levirate, and will be further illustrated in connection with the institution of blood-revenge. Still, even within the family conflicts sometimes arise, it may be on account of the women or the dread of witchcraft, and in a few cases may lead to bloody tragedies. Fights may also arise at the drinking-feasts. In general, social sympathy has not developed among them those extreme forms which it assumes among the more primitive Chaco Indians, where it has led to a sort of practical communism or socialism, at least as regards food; but the Jibaros, supporting life with ease with their own work, are not dependent on one another to the same extent. We have seen for instance that great hospitality is shown to such strangers as are regarded as friends; but this hospitality is not, so to speak, a natural virtue, but a matter of etiquette, or more strictly speaking, a custom forming part and parcel of Indian 'diplomacy'. Ownership is strictly respected; everybody in the house, not only the family-father but also the wives and the children, have their private property--mostly consisting of ornaments of some kind--over which they have full control. Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at

variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

1: Karsten- 267
116, 592, 622, 701

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Among the Jibaros as we have seen each family father is theoretically absolute ruler over his house people, and in times of peace there is no recognized common chief even within the tribe, and still less any exercising authority over several tribes. The Jibaros have not even a proper name for a chief. The word capitu, which is sometimes used, is borrowed from the Spanish and is used principally to denote a white man of importance. It is only in times of war that a chieftainship exists; that is to say, during those great wars of extermination which are carried out against other Jibaro tribes. Such a temporary chief of war is generally only called únta, 'the old one', because the chiefs are nearly always old, experienced men who have killed many enemies and captured many heads. The small blood-feuds within the tribe, on the other hand, have a more private character and as a rule are not fought out under the leadership of a common chief."

2: Stirling--38-39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 592, 624

"At the present time the political organization of the Jivaros is at best a very flexible thing and is simple both in theory and in practice. The Jivaro-speaking peoples are divided into scores of so-called tribes. These tribal divisions, however, are merely artificial denominations given by the whites to groups more or less isolated in certain geographical units such as rivers or divides. Tribes in this sense have no existence in the minds of the Indians themselves.

The simplest unit of organization is the patrilineal family group living under a single roof. Such a household is quite independent and self-sufficient, being subservient to no one. The head of the [39] household is usually the oldest man in it, known by the Spanish term 'capito.' Where there are a number of houses in the same general vicinity these may recognize a common war leader known by the Quechua term 'curaka.' It is significant that there is apparently no word in the Jivaro language indicating the equivalent of our idea of a chief."

10: Anthony--147 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 592, 621

"The Jivaros are a tribe of warriors and hunters, and devote but little attention to the cultivation of the soil. They live in small, scattered communities located on the rivers, and raise a little cotton and such things as yuca or cassava. Although they recognize a captain or chief, his authority appears to be largely nominal. He exerts but little influence upon the members of the tribe. As a result the communities are controlled by the heads of the families and the system may, perhaps, be best described as patriarchal. The father of a family is a responsible member of the community and his relatives aid him in offensive compaigns or rally to his defense."

26: Brüning--52 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 342, 592

The houses are always very spacious since they have to serve more than one family. According to one of my informants, such a house is inhabited by up to 50 persons. As a rule it is the Curaca, as the chief, with his children and their wives and husbands. And since a Curaca may have up to ten wives, the great number of dwellers can be explained without difficulty. The aforementioned house of the Curaca Laichape had a width of 10 meters and a length of 15 meters. 20 - 30 persons lived in this house.

26: Brüning--70 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 592

The chieftain, his wives and children, constitute a house community. The whites refer to the master of the household with the quichua word kuraka, i.e., chieftain. The Indians used the same term in their conversations with us. I have not been able to find out whether they had an Aguaruna word for it, but one should think so. I noticed two cases in which the son-in-law lived in the tambo of his father-in-law, but I would not be able to say that this is the rule.

31: Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for describing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

31: Danielsson--86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 592, 162

"Each house-group is made up of various men and their wives and children. A usual combination is: the head of the family, some of his brothers and sons and some sons-in-law, each one with his wives and children. That the Jibaros practise polygamy seems to be easily explained by the fact that the continual wars and fights have greatly reduced the male population. The sex ratio for the adult population, for instance, for the groups studied is 69 men to 168 women. (See Table I)."

"As could be expected the blood relationship is highly correlated with attraction.(9) Table V shows the interaction within each family house, in all the three geographical groups, computed after the same formula used on page eleven:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

TABLE V

Interaction Within Each Family House

Patuca family no.	Percentage	Yurupaza family no.	Percentage	Taupi family no.	Percentage
I	100.00%	I	100.00%	I	100.00%
II	66.66%	II	100.00%	II	92.22%
III	100.00%	III	100.00%	III	100.00%
IV	100.00%	IV	33.33%	IV	100.00%
V	100.00%	V	100.00%	V	100.00%
VI	100.00%			VI	100.00%

"9. Irwin T. Sanders: 'Sociometric Work with a Bulgarian Woodcutting Group', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

31: Danielsson--102-103 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 571, 602, 592

In all the groups not showing a 100% interaction (Patuca II, Yurupaza IV, Yaupi II) the reason seemed to be a recent incorporation into the family group of a son-in-law (among the Jibaros the son-in-law frequently [103] moves over to the house of the father-in-law). In these cases (II8C among B-members in Patuca II, IV13B among C-members in Yurupaza IV, and 116A among B-members in Yaupi II) (see Charts II, IV and VI) the arrival of the new-comer is resented by some of the old members of the family house."

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro
steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms. the
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm-
trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs. low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jivaro 101
on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the 103
name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, 184
e.g., *wirui huwá* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same
speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jivaro
household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group
is the *kayaiw huwá* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting
another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even
broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huwá*
(numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who
speak his dialect, in other words, the Jivaro tribe, but even
its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the
haziness of definition of community and an absence of uni-
lineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete
social unit visible in Jivaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jivaro households are very close-knit economic and 361
social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society 592
as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants,
is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next, but
sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within
three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when
they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one
being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his
son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very
permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the
neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local
wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one 592
595

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and
[589] three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household,
[591] also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter,
951 the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*ruar*),
606 who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first
591 child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

583 Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when
591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-
[411] in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service.
[595] This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

593 The man is formally head of the household and also in-
462 formally seems generally to dominate his family. He is re-
[592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending
[606] the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident
606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[8]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592 ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

178 461 517 439 [592] [512] [412] [286]

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

[291] [281] [224] 178 591 [851] [578] [583] [411]

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

178 411 [721] [439]

"Some words may be added as to the position of the women. Those few writers who have touched upon the social position of the Jibaro woman have described it in that biassed and erroneous way which has been the rule especially among missionaries when they have dealt with the position of women in savage societies: she is nothing but an oppressed slave, without rights, and hardly regarded as a personality at all.(1) The truth is that the married Jibaro woman is not only completely independent within her own sphere of activity, but exercises a remarkable social influence and authority even in matters which mainly concern the husband. It is interesting to state in this respect that a family-father never sells fruit or other articles of food without the consent of his

"1. It is difficult to give a more incorrect idea of the position of the Jibaro woman than Rivet gives in the following words: 'Méprisées par leurs mari elles ne sont que des esclaves destinées à le servir, à préparer le chicha et les aliments, à filer et à tisser le coton, à cultiver le chacra qui entoure la maison.' (Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 59). The ignorance of the customs of the Jibaros upon which this statement is based may be inferred even from the fact that spinning and weaving ('filer et tisser') are occupations exclusively incumbent on the men. A similar erroneous account is given by Vacas Galindo in Nankijukima, p. 121 sq., who was probably Rivet's authority."

wife. There are, I think, few civilized societies where the man so unfailingly asks his wife's advice, even in unimportant matters, as among these savages. It occurred very frequently during my travels in the forest that I paid visits to the Jibaro houses to buy manioc or bananas, and received from the 'autocrat' of the house the answer: 'I must first ask [254] my wife.' Frequently the wife happened to be absent for the moment and then the answer was: 'Wait a while until my wife arrives.' I saw that there was a store of manioc and bananas in the house, and it would have been an easy thing for the man to give me immediately what I wanted to buy; yet he compelled me to wait for a long while, perhaps for hours, only to be able to ask his wife's permission to make the insignificant bargain. Still one can understand this consideration for the housewife when articles of food are in question. Since the wife is the keeper of the food and is responsible for the existence of a store sufficient for the needs of the family, it is natural that she should also be allowed to decide how much of it can be given to strangers. But her influence seems to be about the same in other matters. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when I tried to find an Indian to go with me on a certain journey, I frequently received the same answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.' On one occasion a middle-aged Indian at Canelos had already given me a half-promise to accompany me on a long journey by canoe. The definite arrangement depended on the assent of his

wife. When later he asked her, however, she made objections, the result being that the Indian finally declined to enter into my service. When a thing, however insignificant, was to be bartered, the women always wished to have a voice--and their decision was generally final. It might seem natural that the men alone should have the right to decide, for instance, respecting feather ornaments and other ornaments which they themselves make and only they use, things which in fact are always regarded as strictly personal property. Still even when trying to barter for such ornaments I frequently received the usual answer: 'I must first ask the advice of my wife.'

Such instances unquestionably make the theoretical 'autocracy' of the Jibaro husband appear in a somewhat curious light.

It would therefore be a great mistake to infer, from the cruelty with which adultery is often punished, that the Jibaro women are generally badly treated by their husbands; the very reverse is the rule. Of the relations between husband and wife in the Jibaro family it may be proper to say that it is regulated according to the principle: 'The man governs, but the woman holds sway.' That the Jibaro woman is by no means a slave to her husband but is able, when the situation requires, to maintain her independence, appears for instance from the following incident which I witnessed on my last journey among the Indians. The wife of my old friend Angoasha, Yanua by name, had gone out to the [255] fields to fetch fruit with the younger women. When they returned late in the

evening they were received with reproaches by Angoasha because he and the other men were running short of manioc-beer and the women had not arrived in time to brew any more. But Yanua who had been working hard the whole day was not disposed to accept any blame which in her opinion was wholly unjustified.

'Brew manioc-beer for yourself', she called out in indignation. 'Who would clean the fields and who would carry home the manioc, the sweet potatoes, and the earth-nuts if ~~we women~~ did not do it?'

'Why must the women always brew the manioc-beer?' asked one of the younger women. 'The men themselves may do it; then they will not be dependent on us'.

Angoasha answered nothing, probably because he realized that the objection was justified."

"That conjugal love and affection also exist among savages like the Jibaros, I was frequently able to confirm myself. Thus even young girls of 8 or 10 years seemed to be most tenderly attached to their husbands or fiancés, who were many years older than themselves. When I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians they sometimes took their wives with them, especially to carry the fermented manioc substance, indispensable on all their journeys. On these occasions I had an opportunity to witness how my Indian baggage-bearers took care of their wives on the way, helping them to wade across the rapid streams and to climb the steep hills.

It may perhaps still be objected that the division of labour is unfavourable to the Jibaro woman, the heaviest work being incumbent on her. Precisely this assumption must be termed erroneous, as ought to be sufficiently clear from my previous statements. Thus the heaviest work in agriculture is no doubt the rough work, the felling of the giant trees and the removing of the trunks, as well as the clearing of the ground. This work, which requires great bodily strength, is always--among the Jibaros as among other Indians in Western Amazonas--performed by the men. Agriculture in the proper sense of the word, the sowing and planting, the clearing of the land, etc., is work that must be done by the women. The latter have also to carry home the fruits they cultivate--though not the plantain which is cultivated by the men--and it must be admitted that the baskets containing manioc are frequently very heavy. The big trunks and other kinds of material required for the constructing of houses, on the other hand,

are always brought by the men, [256] like the heavy logs of chonta wood used as fuel in the houses. As a general rule it may be stated that the heaviest work in the Indian society is done by the men, whereas occupations requiring less physical strength or more adapted for the weaker sex are incumbent on the women. But whatever the division of labour may be, it has nothing to do with the 'egotism' of the men and their desire to oppress the weaker members of the community.

The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of bloodguiltiness, e. g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance.

The high esteem which the Jibaro woman enjoys cannot, however, be properly understood unless we realize that it has, so to speak, its foundation in the Indians' view of the world. When describing the 'feast of the women' I mentioned the mysterious influence

a family-mother is believed to exert upon all those departments of life where she is active, an influence which is increased by artificial means. Only a woman can act upon the female spirit of the manioc plant so as to make it produce an abundant crop; cultivated by a man it would yield but a meagre harvest. Only under a woman's care will the swine and the fowls increase and thrive, and the hunting-dogs become able to trace the game. With no education by a prudent and skilful mother, the sons and daughters would hardly grow up brave men and intelligent family-mothers. The man who does not own a good wife, properly initiated during the 'feast of the women', will soon find himself deprived of the necessaries of life, nay, will see his whole household ruined, however well he may have been provided in the beginning with fields and domestic animals. Hence the extraordinary importance and the great social influence of the Jibaro woman."

1; Karsten--271 (1916-18). 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

20: Dyott--186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 593

"The woman's influence in the home is much greater than is generally supposed. Both individually and collectively, women wield considerable power, and woe betide the man who deliberately abuses them, for he will let himself in for a world of trouble. In our homes, a single woman can make things pretty disagreeable if she wants to, but imagine what chance of peace an Indian might have with five or six women arrayed against him! In one part of the Amazon country, a wife, if neglected by her husband, sometimes resorts to rather a unique method of 'getting even.' She prepares a peculiar concoction which is served surreptitiously in her husband's food. It has the peculiar property of turning him into a drivelling imbecile. Custom permits her to marry another man if her husband becomes a lunatic, so she takes advantage of the opportunity, and her first husband trails along after the newly married pair like a dog, waiting on them hand and foot.

One seldom sees any outward sign of affection. There is neither kissing nor lovemaking, yet jealousy sometimes drives a woman to desperate deeds. It would be difficult to conceive anyone who was susceptible to the latter emotion entirely omitting the outward signs of love."

25. Vigna--44 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 593

The husband is absolute master of his wife. If he finds that she is unfaithful, he will punish her harshly and severely, inflicting wounds with the machete in her head or body.

25: Vigna--44 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 556, 593

It is easy to see that the wealth of the Jíbaro consists in the number of his women. The affection of the latter for their children is intense and touching. This is not always true of their affection for the husband. Instances in which the woman hates her husband and causes his death by poison are nor rare. The women are very clever in the handling of poisons. Many times the men themselves do not know the poisonous herbs, tubers or reeds as well as the women. There are cases in which the women have prepared a poisonous drink of which the effects appeared only some weeks or months after! They have sometimes hidden the fatal substance in their fingernails, and, mixing it with chicha have offered it to the stranger, acquaintance, or husband, thereby procuring the rapid or slow death of their victim; the rage, cunning and malevolence of the Jíbaro woman is beyond belief.

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
157 men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
[648] to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and
[589] three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter,
[591] the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*),
[851] who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first
[606] child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and
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591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-
[411] in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service.
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[592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending
[606] the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident
606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 296
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsanu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasakii*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ici*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice [591] temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*wahe*) from either parent's side of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a [591] marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny 582 creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jívaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of

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wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iči* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wahe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupī and Ašaŋā are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Ašaŋā asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirā was dead). Tukupī gave her to Ašaŋā, and Ašaŋā and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Ašaŋā did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Ašaŋā frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupī went to the house of Ašaŋā. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

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593 met, they fought. Finally, Ašaŋā gave his sister to Tukupī.
605 Thereafter, when Ašaŋā beat Tukupī's sister, Tukupī beat Ašaŋā's sister.

Tukupī said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupī and Ašaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other
602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest
606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her.
576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even
[832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for
[578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daugheer, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *ani*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [572]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition [593]
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceeding the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual [593] for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tawaspā*)

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jívaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jívaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

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441 572 593 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amiči*) in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsuči*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety. [602]

441 628 721 [572] The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus, when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
[431] accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
754 sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
562 is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
278 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] [602] [605] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] [435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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of the *tawaspa* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

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Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

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In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

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[837]

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

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A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation. Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sexual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-cousin (*wahe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wahe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *wahe* (male cross-cousin and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists. Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

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684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense
[628] and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
685 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
428 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor
593 mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things
[587] to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common.
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684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

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578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untä*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untä* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes silently when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s). [593]

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *amuay*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jívaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jívaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

9. *Muisak* may alternatively be pronounced *muiska*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [766]

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. [114]

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderosian et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *kakaram*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 24). [787]

16. The breezes are caused by his *tsentsak* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jívaro (see pp. 119–20).

CHAPTER V

1. Danielsson (1949, p. 92) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yurupaza neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay. [177]

1: Karsten--186-187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 595 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are polygamous. The first wives are however in many cases sisters, since a Jibaro readily gives his other daughters to a son-in-law whom he likes. Still it is of comparatively rare occurrence that a Jibaro man has more than two or three wives. Only old chiefs who have taken part in many wars in which they have captured young girls and brought them home may have four or even more wives. It may therefore happen that such old chiefs have wives who are several tens of years younger than themselves. As to the reasons for keeping many wives, I once received the following answer from a Jibaro when I asked him about the matter: 'I have a big house and I want many wives to keep it. One of my wives has to go out to the fields where she works nearly the whole day. In the meantime I want another to take care of the house, of the children, and of the domestic animals, and to serve manioc-beer to guests who arrive. Sometimes someone of my wives is ill or with child and then I want another to perform her work. It is otherwise with us than with white people.' This answer gives us to understand that it is in part purely practical considerations which lead an Indian to keep many wives; they in a way replace female servants which these Indians do not keep. But it cannot be denied that another motive for polygyny is also at work among these Indians, namely, the man's taste for variety. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians--who are however in the main monogamous --more than one man explained to me that he desired a fresh wife simply because the first one had

grown old and he was tired of her. Further, the Jibaro Indian generally wants a large progeny, and when he marries many and young women he has of course hopes of getting many children.

As to the women who are wives of the same man, I never noticed any jealousy or hostility between them; they seem to regard it as a [187] perfectly natural thing that a man shall have various wives, each of whom performs her share of the common work. A Jibaro woman calls each of her co-wives by the name kai, which seems to denote a particular kind of relationship."

1: Karsten--211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
595 (1928-29)

"...the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

1: Karsten--222-223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 595 (1928-29)

"If the Jibaro man treats his wife well and does not neglect his duties towards her, she is as a rule faithful and a model housewife. It is otherwise when she finds herself neglected by her husband, as not seldom happens. The Jibaros not only live in polygyny, but it may happen that an elderly man, especially an old chief, procures several young wives, even quite young girls captured from enemy tribes, towards whom he cannot duly perform his marital duties. It is no uncommon thing that such young, neglected wives engage in sexual relations with other men, [223] in spite of the risk that they incur thereby. Intelligent as the Jibaro woman is, she may display extraordinary acuteness in deceiving her husband."

2: Stirling--108-109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 595

"Because of the prevalence of the custom of head hunting, the women outnumber the men considerably, as marriageable women are rarely killed in the head-hunting raids. As a result, polygamy is an inevitable consequence. José Grande, an old chief on the upper Upano River, has 11 wives and 5 or 6 wives not uncommon for an influential man.

It is not to be supposed that the lot of women is an unhappy one because of these facts. Most women appear to have a real affection for their husbands and the young girl wives appear to be as much attached as a rule to their husbands as to their own parents. [109] Jealousy between wives is apparently a very rare trait. Almost always a household of women get along very well together and the various wives of a man become very fond of one another. A typical marital group in the case of older men consists of three wives--- one, an older woman of approximately the husband's age; another, a young wife of 16 to 20 years of age; and the third, an immature girl."

3: Simson--386-387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 595, 152, 837

"Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe--and, I am authoritatively informed, also the [387] other hordes observe the same practice--is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy. "

4: Up de Graff--282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 595

"I will add a few remarks concerning the ultimate fate of the trophies whose early history I have told.

The Jívaros never take adult male prisoners, but the women and children who are caught in the periodical raids are given the same standing in the victorious tribe as those who are born into it. Polygamy is forced on the Jívaro peoples by the constant drain on the male population caused by the incessant inter-tribal warfare. But for polygamy they would soon become extinct."

10: Anthony--147 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 595

"The Jivaro looks down upon the white man, who has only one wife, because among the Indians the measure of a man's valor is the number of his wives. Polygamy is regularly practised and a man may have four or five wives or even as many as eight. This custom is the cause of the greater part of the fighting and killing that takes place in the Jivaro territory."

12: Rivet--604-605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 595, 721

The Indians can marry as many women as they want to, but practice, although some do possess as many as eight (certain chiefs particularly), most of them are content with two or three, generally one old one, the wife by the first marriage, and one or two younger ones, not so much because of the [605] difficulty of providing for the needs of many companions, but because of their rarity. In fact we shall see later that many wars have no other end than to procure women.

20: Dyott--158 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 595

"Kuashu had surrounded himself with a trio of wives, Nambira, Nakaimbi and Inza. The last mentioned was a young girl of pleasing appearance, and evidently a recent acquisition to his household, for she was well decorated with beads and feathers. She had no children, but the future promised well. The four children of the house belonged to the two older women. Three of these children were boys, already referred to as Mihanda, We-suma and Himbikti, and the fourth, a young girl, and quite a jolly little thing, was called Chingasso. There was yet another woman--an old creature that nobody seemed to pay much heed to. She was the one surviving widow of Kuashu's brother who had been killed. According to Jivaro custom, the wives of a dead man are taken over by his nearest male relation. Sometimes this may be equivalent to quite a big fortune, but in this case, Kuashu had only acquired a useless package of worn-out human machinery."

20: Dyott--173-174 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 202, 595, 574

"The house from which the sounds [KS: drum message] emanated belonged to a man, Kun-gupi by name, who was one of Kuashu's fathers-in-law. Seven months previously each of these men had felt the need of adding a new wife to his establishment--a little young blood to make up for the grey hairs of the older women, so they had solved the problem by swapping daughters and it was in this manner that the young and handsome Inza had become Kuashu's bride. [174]

As we drew near the edge of Kun-gupi's clearing, we announced our arrival in true Indian style by shouting lustily. Our call was promptly taken up, and several young braves came running down the path to greet us. Each carried his spear, more out of habit than anything else, though experience has taught them that such habits are worth cultivating. We were piloted through a dense banana patch, over countless obstructions, to a rather small house, planted on the hillside. One by one we squeezed in through the narrow door-way and there, in its cool interior, found ourselves as if in a bee-hive. It was simply swarming with brown figures and a constant buzz of conversation came from all quarters. We were offered stools to sit upon, and the usual niji-manchi was forthcoming; but when a large pin-inga (bowl) of the white liquid was passed over in our direction, both Johnson and myself waved it aside, as the method of preparing it was yet too fresh in our memory."

25: Vigna--44 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 595

Generally, the Jíbaro does not content himself with one woman. The monogamous are rare. His next wives will be the sisters or cousins of the woman. Many times men have three, four and even five wives. Each one of them cares for her own garden, birds, hogs, bowls, hearth, bed, and children. The latter many times merit less attention than the pack of dogs which serve for hunting and are tied to the bed. It does not matter that the dogs make an infernal noise with their barking when anyone enters; the dog is indispensable to the Jíbaros.

26: Brüning--70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 595

The Aguaruna Indians have the system of polygamy. I have heard of chieftains that had up to ten wives. Their number seems to depend on the man's ability to support them. One of the Indians in our crew was very nearsighted: we were told he had only one wife since he could not do much hunting on account of his bad eyes.

28: Tessman--361-362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 833, 595.

Women are married off while they are still children, sometimes at the age of four, often before they are born, sometimes, however, at a later date. If the wife is still a child, then she will be brought up by her [362] husband, who will widen her vulva with the finger until at the age of twelve she is ready for coitus.

A Chiwaro has from one to four wives.

29: Vité--15-16 (1934) 1935
116, 595, 462

The majority [KS: of the Jíbaros] are polygamous, probabl
constituted as to make it unnecessary for the man, who is the
work. The women themselves endeavor to be many in a fami
work which covers everything from the cultivation of a small
in the hunt, in which they play the role of dogs, discovering a
frightening it with cries and noises up the spot occupied by th
forest. The latter then strikes it with an easy blow of his lar
himself whatsoever to pick it up, because it must be carried
They are very jealous [16] and very devoted to their children.
with our caresses and kiss.

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

/333 cont./

000 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[727] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm
[462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

582 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention.
583 That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

628 Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair
[579] style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense
[302] of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is
[202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

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539
726

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Sung by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

• 595 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally
351 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).
342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kampanakä* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

 /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[855]
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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaŋä*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma.*

• 595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [721]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tanamaša*), and the women's 562
(*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

season,[1] and a diversified crop inventory all contribute to 24
making a continual supply of agricultural products possible throughout the year.

Crops grown for their tubers or corms include, besides sweet manioc, two varieties of sweet potato, *papa china* (from Spanish) [taro?], and three other members of the Araceae family (*sanu*, *tuka*, *wančup*), the carrot-like *maya* (arracacha?), and peanuts. Of these, manioc is grown in by far the largest quantity, and is the chief source of starch. The most important non-tuberous food plants are plantains and "white" maize. Other crops grown in relatively small quantities are squash, red peppers, tomatoes, onions, the "gold" banana (*guineo de oro* in Spanish), pineapple, papaya, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton. *Tsapan* (for heavy [222]
cordage), various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs, especially *Banisteriopsis* species and *Datura arborea*, are both cultivated in the garden and collected wild in the forest.

Gardens are abandoned after three plantings of manioc, in 241
other words, after about three to five years, because of the growing amount of labor required to clear the ever increasing numbers of weeds. New garden clearings are made nearby in virgin timber except when the actual household is being moved, in which case the gardens are planted at the new house location. This practice of shifting gardens, the so-called "slash-and-burn" or swidden technique, is made possible by the plentiful supply of land. The Jívaro recognize this method, despite the necessity of making new clearings, as involving less effort than attempting to cope with the weeds at the old site.

If a man clears the forest without the aid of neighbors, he 241
tends to make small clearings at different times, while the 595
rarer communal effort results in one large clearing. Whether [476]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
• 595 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its
[554] number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
[606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jívaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *niawá šuarä* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jívaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kayaim šuarä* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri šuarä* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jívaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jívaro society. 101 103 184

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jívaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply. 361 592

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one 592 595

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 574 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuŋuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

595 224 833 [82]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *mua tsanu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakū*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ičī*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice [591] temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*wabe*) from either parent's side [591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny 582 creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jivaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of

"2. Family, relationship, etc.

Father, apáru.
Mother, nukúa, nukúru.
Son, uchi.
Daughter, nauánda.
Brother's brother, yatsúru.
Sister's brother, umáru.
Brother's sister, umáru.
Sister's sister, kaéru.
Father's brother, apáru (=father).
Mother's brother, ichiru.
Father's sister, nukúa (=mother).
Brother-in-law, (a man to his sister's husband) seiru.
Brother-in-law, (a woman to her sister's husband), umáru (=brother).
Sister-in-law (a man to his wife's sister), umáru (=sister).
Sister-in-law (a woman to her brother's wife), yuáru.
Two men married to two sisters call each other: umbātima.
The wives of two brothers call each other: kaéru (=sister).
Father-in-law, whéaru.

Mother-in-law, tsátsaru.
Son-in-law, awéru.
Daughter-in-law, nauánda (= daughter).
Stepson, chikichi úchi.
First cousin, yatsúru, umáru (= brother, sister).
Forefathers, apáchiru.
Sucking babe, uchichi. [563]
People, eintsu.
Family, winya eintsu (= my own people).
Man, aishmangu.
Woman, noa.
Boy, uchi.
Girl, nauánda.
Old man, ashánda, unta.
Old woman, ashánda.
Youth, yamátskama.
Husband, aishiru.
Wife, winya noa.
Christian (white man), apachi.

1: Karsten--562-563 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 601 (1928-29)

Indian (Jibaro), shuāra.
Chief, kapitu (Sp.), unta (= old man).
Medicine-man, sorcerer, wishinyu.
Priest, (old man who assists at the feasts), whuéa.
Host, heindinyu.
Guest, irára.
Friend, amichi (Sp.).
Enemy, (winya) shuara.
Killer (warrior), mangértoama.
Single man, nātsa, (= noa tsa, 'without woman').
Widow, widower, wáhe."

6: Flornoy--333-334 (1936) 1937 Jivaro-1
116, 192, 601

The system of notation is that recommended by the Institute of Ethnology. (1) [334]

French-Jívaro or Šuor Vocabulary

...[all except kinship terms omitted]

father	apāro
mother	nokūro
son	kuciri
daughter	nawandri
brother	yaţura
uncle	iči
aunt	nūkua
father-in-law	liči or iči
mother-in-law	nūkua
brother-in-law	sa'i
sister-in-law	ue iri
son-in-law	aue (uncertain)
daughter-in-law	nūati (")

1. As regards the letter k, it should be read k' as in 'car' and k as in 'cour.'

6: Flornoy-333-334 (1936) 1937 Jivaro-2
116, 192, 601

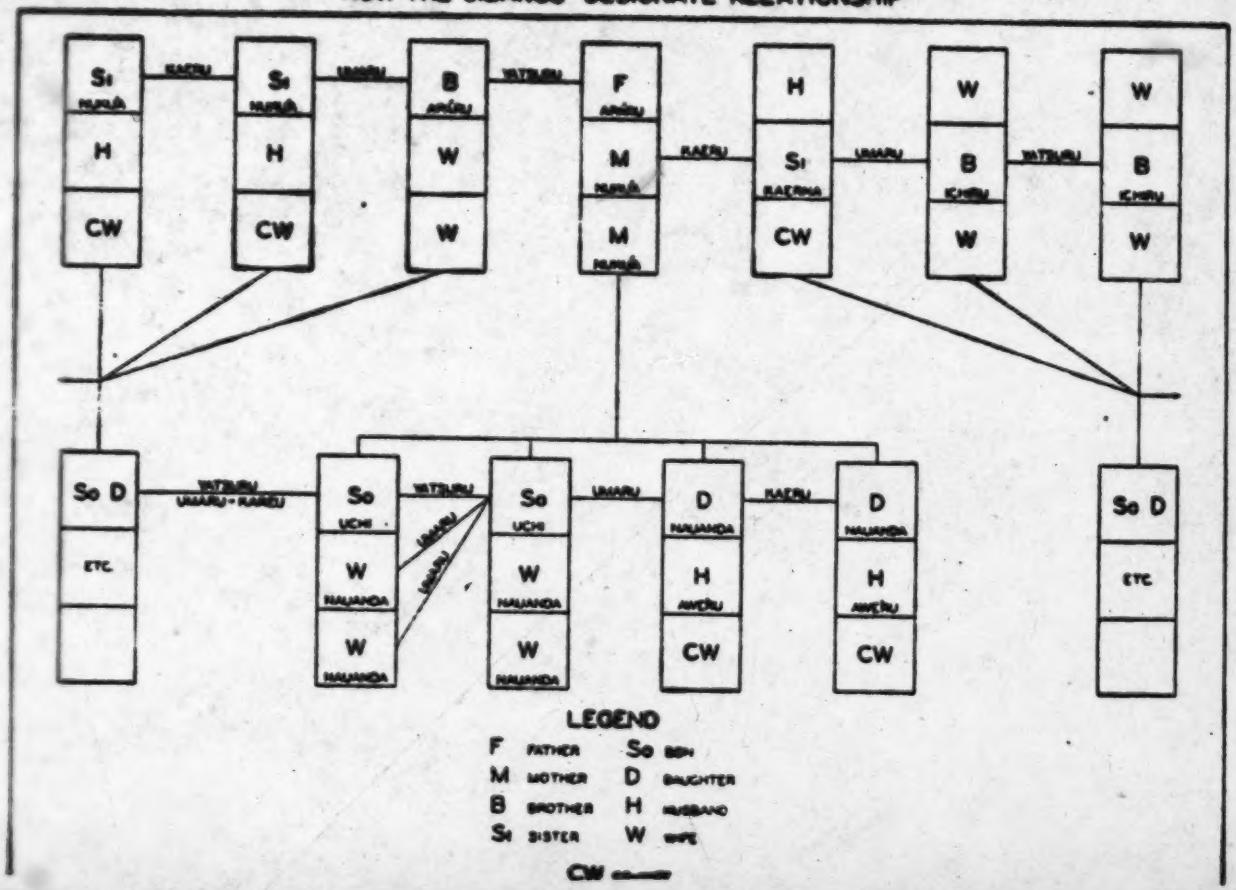
grandfather	pọwa
grandmother	nukuri
grandson	tirangiru
granddaughter	
nephew	aowitiru
niece	aowir

31: Danielsson--93
116, 601

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro

HOW THE JIBAROS DESIGNATE RELATIONSHIP



34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iči* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wahe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupī and Ašaŋā are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Ašaŋā asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirā was dead). Tukupī gave her to Ašaŋā, and Ašaŋā and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Ašaŋā did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Ašaŋā frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupī went to the house of Ašaŋā. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

membership in some sort of corporate unit, as is commonly 602
found in unilineal descent societies. The Jívaro thus possess the most insecure of the basic types of kinship systems, and lack clearly defined descent groups which can protect their members from outside enemies and which can settle disputes among relatives.

The Jívaro version of the kindred seems even more insecure than most for the individual, for in disputes any serious reckoning of kinship is a source of considerable confusion, involving disagreements over degree of relatedness, even in the case of a single person. In any serious discussion of kin obliga- 601
tions among the Jívaro, all single-word, or elementary, kin terms of reference have added to them the modifier "true" (*nekás*) or "branch" (*kaná*) to pin down degrees of relationship (see Table 1 and Figure 2 for the elementary kinship terms). In the case of any specific relative, these modifying [602]
terms can often be substituted for one another, depending upon the degree of closeness of relationship which the speaker wishes to recognize in a given situation. The only kin 602
always defined as "true" relatives are a person's biological grandparents, parents, siblings, children, cross-cousins, and fathers of his cross-cousins. The only relatives who are always assigned to the "branch" category are affinal kin who, prior to marrying, were not considered by *ego* to be relatives of any degree. Since definition of degree of kinship is thus commonly manipulated at will, a person is often uncertain as to how his relatives will define their obligations and rights in any given dispute. The use of these "true" and "branch" modifiers almost doubles the varieties of relationship distinguished, so that many of the relatives in the kindred are unlikely to be defined as precisely the same, even by two siblings, in any particular crisis.

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TABLE I

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KINSHIP: ELEMENTARY TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TERMS OF ADDRESS

Key to abbreviations

Br	brother	Gs	grandson
Da	daughter	Hu	husband
Fa	father	Mo	mother
Gc	grandchild	Si	sister
Gd	granddaughter	So	son
Gp	grandparent	Wi	wife

The abbreviations also represent the possessive form; thus, MoBrDaSo is mother's brother's daughter's son.

[178]

O	a formerly more common term
N	a recently innovated term
A	a term recently borrowed from the Achuara

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MALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

FaFa, MoFa *apači* also GpBr (*apači* O; *apáčiru* O; *apačiči* N)

FaMo, MoMo *nukuči* also GpSi (*nukučí* O; *nukučiči* N)

Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu *apa* (*apawa; apačī; apawači; apa* N A)

Mo, MoSi, MoBrWi, FaSi, FaBrWi *nuku* (*nukuači; nukuá*); if *ego* marries a daughter of MoBrWi, FaSi, or FaBrWi, *tsatsa* (*nukuá*) is substituted for *nuku* with regard to the bride's mother.

FaSiHu, MoBr, WiFa *iči* (*iči*)

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *yači yatsuči*—younger to older brother; *umpá*—older to younger)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *umai* (*makú; umači* N; *umaimi* O; *umaimiči* O; *umáčiru*)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu, WiBr *sai* (*saikma*)

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BrWi, FaSiDa, FaBrSoWi, MoBrDa, MoSiSoWi *wabe* (*umači*) 601

So, BrSo, FaBrSoSo, FaSiDaSo, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, MoSiSoSo, MoBrDaSo, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *uči* (*umpá; sukí* O; *aišmanči* O; *aišmanjá* O; *aišmanjru* O)

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, SiSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makuči*)

DaHu, BrDaHu, SiSo, FaBrDaSo, FaSiSoSo, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiDaSo, MoBrSoSo, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu *awe* (*aweči; awetá*)

SoWi, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *awe* (*aweči; awetá*)

Gs, Gd, Gc *tiranj* (*tiranj; tiranči*)

Wi *ekentu; mua* (*ekenturu* O). First wife: *tarimta*. Second wife: *učíč mua*. Third wife: *yamaí muatčmu*.

FEMALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

Terms are the same as for male speaking, except for the following:

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *umaí* (*umači* N; *umaimi* O; *umaímiči* O; *umáčiru*)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *kai* (*kaičiru, kaiči*—younger to older sister; *makú*—older to younger)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu *wabe* (*umači*)

BrWi, FaSiDa, FaBrSoWi, MoBrDa, MoSiSoWi *yua* (*yuači; yuamči; yuačiru*)

So, BrSo, FaBrSoSo, FaSiDaSo, MoSiSoSo, MoBrDaSo, SiSo, FaBrDaSo, FaSiSoSo, MoSiDaSo, MoBrSoSo *uči* (*aešmanjá; áešmanjru*)

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 601 DaHu, BrDaHu, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *awe* N (*aweći* N; *awetá* N; *antepá* O) *Awe* has replaced *antepā*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makuči*)

SoWi, SiSoWi, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nahatī* O(*naháturu* O; *makú; aweći* N; *awetá* N) *Nahatī* is beginning to be replaced by *awe*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Hu *aeī* (*áeliru*)

Co-wives are normally referred to by the *kai* term.

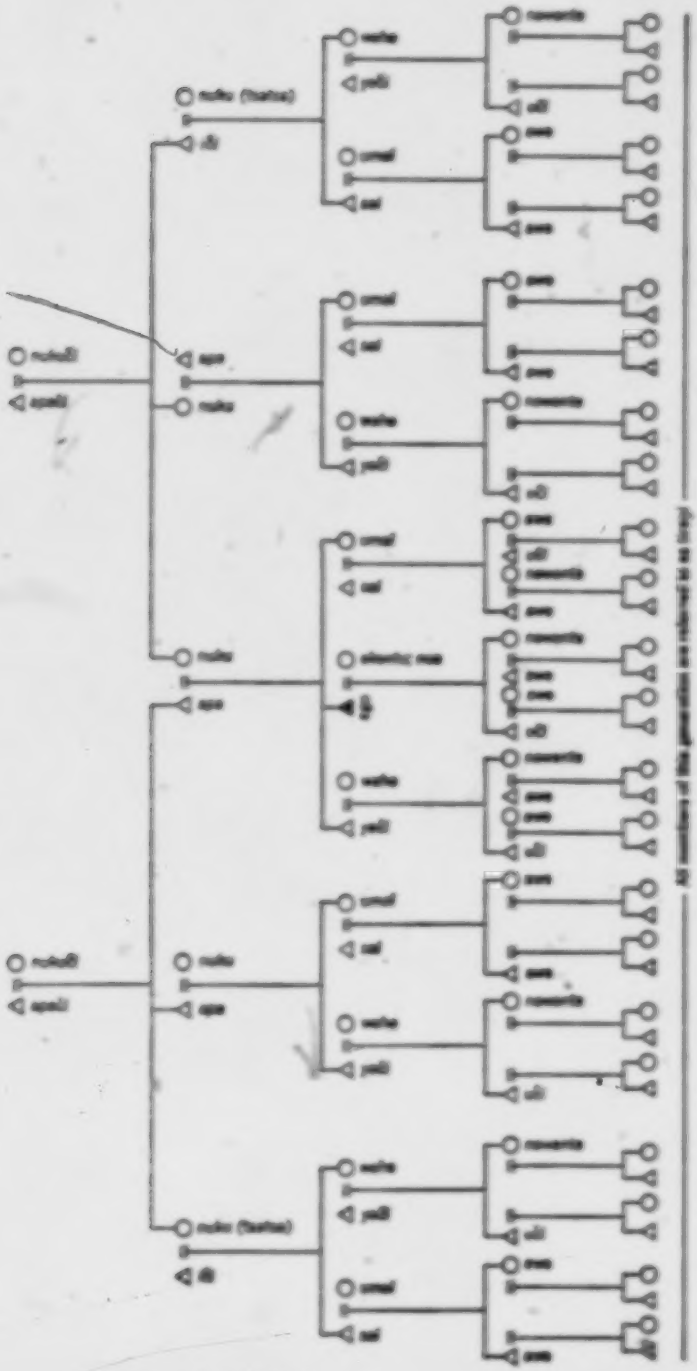
602 578 601 The utilization of these "true" and "branch" modifiers may be somewhat clarified by a few examples. According to the kinship rules, *ego* is expected to side with a true relative in a dispute with a branch relative of the same elementary category. However, *ego* must often decide at the time which of the two disputants is the "true" one and therefore deserving of his aid. No matter whose side *ego* decides to join, the abandoned party may be expected to accuse him of not living up to his kinship obligations. If *ego* does not join either party in the dispute, then both tend to level that accusation at him.

Similarly, another relative may manipulate the terminology when *ego* requests help from him. *Ego* may request aid from a parallel cousin, for example, saying, "You are my true 'brother' (*nekás yaći*) and therefore you must help me in my dispute against this man who is only your branch 'brother-in-law' (*kaná sai*)." If the parallel cousin does not wish to accede to the request, he replies, "I wish I could help you, but

/text continues on p. 103/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

601



/p. 102/

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

601 602 578 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kanú yaći*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

578 601 609 574 628 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true-branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being 867 ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not 578 surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or 628 more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

601

FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiči*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [572] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara
576 terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

1: Karsten--274 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 602 (1928-29)

"Though, as we have seen, among the Jibaros blood-revenge takes place with regard to members of the same sub-tribe, this is not so when a crime is committed within the family. Among these Indians it sometimes occurs that a man kills his brother, if the latter, for instance, has seduced his wife or bewitched one of his children. But in this case blood-revenge is not generally taken, inasmuch as the natural avengers--that is, the father and the remaining brothers--abstain from carrying it out. 'It is enough that one member of our family has died, 'they say, 'why should we deprive ourselves of one more?' The slayer is consequently pardoned. The absence of blood-revenge in a case like this is due to the natural sympathy which the avengers feel for the slayer, as well as to the consideration that by killing him they would only harm themselves, by weakening the power and influence of the family."

"When a man has killed an opponent he takes his head as soon as circumstances permit. It is customary with the Jivaros that a man, when struck, even though not severely wounded, will fall to the ground. Thus it frequently happens that the severing of the head is begun while the man is still alive. The removal of the head is usually accomplished with the lance blade. The skin is cut low on the chest in a V-shape just above the nipples and is peeled up until the lower part of the neck is exposed. The neck is severed, cutting through to the bone, and the head is separated from the body by cutting between two of the neck vertebrae.[56]

If the women of the defending party are able to conceal the body of a man who has been killed they do so quickly in order that his head may not be taken. When the battle is fairly equal they are sometimes able to do this.

During the fight a man is always exceedingly careful not to kill any of his blood relatives, who are likely to be present among the two combating forces if they live in the same region. The heads of women killed are taken, but not those of small children, their bodies merely being thrown aside.

As soon as the fight is over, assuming that the attacking party has been victorious, the curaka calls his men together for a discussion to decide which of the victims are relatives of the attacking party. Any member who has had a relative killed points him out. These are set aside, as tsantsas are not made from their heads out of courtesy to their relatives in the attacking force. During the heat of the fight, if someone notices

that a relative of his has been killed, he shouts to the victor: 'Do not take his head! That is a relative of mine!' However, any man who has killed an opponent and has not been able to take his head for this reason is entitled to make a tsantsa of a sloth's head, as will be described later. Captured women are divided among the successful warriors, the curaka taking his choice first.

All this having been decided upon, the victorious party mill around, shouting, and wrecking everything inside the house. They break the earthenware, kill the dogs, and rush about sticking their lances in the ground where they think the dead have been buried. (71) Any loot of value is taken. They then burn the house and uproot the plants in the garden. Meanwhile those who have taken heads string them on bark strips, wrap them in leaves or place them in a basket to be carried on their backs. The party is then ready to return home."

"71. The custom of burying the dead in the houses has resulted from missionary influence in some regions."

23: Turner--58 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 727, 602

"Mummified animal heads, usually of monkeys or sloths, are sometimes seen in collections. Of these the sloth heads are likely to be genuine. The Jibaros are elaborately careful not to take the head of a victim who is related to the slayer, however long adopted into the enemy band. In such cases, as also when a vigorous resistance prevents the securing of an unrelated victim's head, the slayer may at some later date take the head of a sloth (Choloepus didactylus) and prepare a token trophy, called uñushi. Generally similar ritual procedure accompanies the preparation of the uñushi. Finished trophies display the lip-fringe and suspending cord seen in tsantsas, but the degree of reduction is proportionally less. Some other animals may be similarly treated when one of their number is supposed to have caused the death of a Jibaro.

Stirling persuaded a Yaupe Jibaro to reduce the head of a monkey, but this was done without ritual and simply as a demonstration of the shrinking technique. Preserved monkeys' heads seen by the writer have certain features in common with the counterfeit tsantsas and it is to be doubted whether they are of Jibaro origin. Even where this should be the case they probably represent nothing more than purely commercial examples of Indian taxidermy."

31: Danielsson--102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602, 582

"In our so-called civilized societies the correlations between the attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and the more formal patterns, such as familial relationships, economic status, occupation, club membership, etc., have to be taken into consideration. In the Jibaro society there are no formal patterns except the familial pattern. How the Jibaros designate familial relationship is shown on Chart I. The Jibaro family is patripotestal. The children use, for instance, the same word, aparu, for their biological father as well as for their paternal uncles. No parallel exists to this on the mother's side. The parents use the same word, nauanda, both for the daughters and the daughters-in-law. For the son-in-law, however, another term, aweru, is used than for the son, uchi. A marriage between cousins on the father's side or between a paternal uncle and his niece is regarded as incest, but on the mother's side marriages of these types are regarded as natural."

"As could be expected the blood relationship is highly correlated with attraction.(9) Table V shows the interaction within each family house, in all the three geographical groups, computed after the same formula used on page eleven:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

TABLE V

Interaction Within Each Family House

Patuca family no.	Percentage	Yurupaza family no.	Percentage	Yaupi family no.	Percentage
I	100.00%	I	100.00%	I	100.00%
II	66.66%	II	100.00%	II	92.22%
III	100.00%	III	100.00%	III	100.00%
IV	100.00%	IV	33.33%	IV	100.00%
V	100.00%	V	100.00%	V	100.00%
VI	100.00%			VI	100.00%

"9. Irwin T. Sanders: 'Sociometric Work with a Bulgarian Woodcutting Group', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

31: Danielsson--102-103 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 571, 602, 592

In all the groups not showing a 100% interaction (Patuca II, Yurupaza IV, Yaupi II) the reason seemed to be a recent incorporation into the family group of a son-in-law (among the Jibaros the son-in-law frequently [103] moves over to the house of the father-in-law). In these cases (II8C among B-members in Patuca II, IV13B among C-members in Yurupaza IV, and 116A among B-members in Yaupi II) (see Charts II, IV and VI) the arrival of the new-comer is resented by some of the old members of the family house."

31: Danielsson--103 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602

"Table VI shows the interaction between all persons related by birth, computed by the same formula as in the last case.

TABLE VI

Interaction Between Persons Related by Birth

Patuca relationship	Percentage	Yurupaza relationship	Percentage	Yaupi relationship	Percentage
A	100.00%	A	92.88%	A	93.05%
B	100.00%	B	100.00%	B	100.00%
C	90.00%	C	85.71%	C	90.50%
D	100.00%	D	100.00%	D	83.33%
E	100.00%				

The figures seem to be somewhat lower than in the previous case, but any definite conclusions are of course impossible to draw from such limited material. (It should be noted that the letters repeated for each geographical group have no reference to one another. Thus the members from the A-group in Patuca are not related to the members of the A-groups in Yurupaza or Yaupi)."

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342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
• 602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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593 met, they fought. Finally, Alaṇā gave his sister to Tukupi.
605 Thereafter, when Alaṇā beat Tukupi's sister, Tukupi beat Alaṇā's sister.

Tukupi said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupi and Alaṇa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other
• 602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest
606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her.
576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even
[832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for
[578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

membership in some sort of corporate unit, as is commonly 602 •
found in unilineal descent societies. The Jívaro thus possess the most insecure of the basic types of kinship systems, and lack clearly defined descent groups which can protect their members from outside enemies and which can settle disputes among relatives.

The Jívaro version of the kindred seems even more insecure than most for the individual, for in disputes any serious reckoning of kinship is a source of considerable confusion, involving disagreements over degree of relatedness, even in the case of a single person. In any serious discussion of kin obliga- 601
tions among the Jívaro, all single-word, or elementary, kin terms of reference have added to them the modifier "true" (*nekás*) or "branch" (*kanú*) to pin down degrees of relationship (see Table 1 and Figure 2 for the elementary kinship terms). In the case of any specific relative, these modifying [602]
terms can often be substituted for one another, depending upon the degree of closeness of relationship which the speaker wishes to recognize in a given situation. The only kin 602
always defined as "true" relatives are a person's biological grandparents, parents, siblings, children, cross-cousins, and fathers of his cross-cousins. The only relatives who are always assigned to the "branch" category are affinal kin who, prior to marrying, were not considered by *ego* to be relatives of any degree. Since definition of degree of kinship is thus commonly manipulated at will, a person is often uncertain as to how his relatives will define their obligations and rights in any given dispute. The use of these "true" and "branch" modifiers almost doubles the varieties of relationship distinguished, so that many of the relatives in the kindred are unlikely to be defined as precisely the same, even by two siblings, in any particular crisis.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

601 DaHu, BrDaHu, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *awe* N (*aweči* N; *awetá* N; *antepá* O) *Awe* has replaced *antepā*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makučī*)

SoWi, SiSoWi, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nahatī* O(*naháturu* O; *makú; aweči* N; *awetá* N) *Nahatī* is beginning to be replaced by *awe*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Hu *aeš* (*áeširu*)

Co-wives are normally referred to by the *kai* term.

602 578 601 The utilization of these "true" and "branch" modifiers may be somewhat clarified by a few examples. According to the kinship rules, *ego* is expected to side with a true relative in a dispute with a branch relative of the same elementary category. However, *ego* must often decide at the time which of the two disputants is the "true" one and therefore deserving of his aid. No matter whose side *ego* decides to join, the abandoned party may be expected to accuse him of not living up to his kinship obligations. If *ego* does not join either party in the dispute, then both tend to level that accusation at him.

Similarly, another relative may manipulate the terminology when *ego* requests help from him. *Ego* may request aid from a parallel cousin, for example, saying, "You are my true 'brother' (*nekás yačī*) and therefore you must help me in my dispute against this man who is only your branch 'brother-in-law' (*kaná sai*)." If the parallel cousin does not wish to accede to the request, he replies, "I wish I could help you, but

/text continues on p. 103/

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601
602 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kaná*
578 *yači*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

578 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this
601 manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to
609 save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may
574 subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his
628 relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true-branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being
867 ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not
578 surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or
628 more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

601

FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *ašue* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *ašue*, and lives peacefully, the *ašue* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *ašue*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *ašue*, then the father or brother of this *ašue* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *ašue* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

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723
that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular
kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance
to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

441 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading
572 partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*awiči*)
593 in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatuči*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight with his "friend." A man is born and married into his per-
[602] sonal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner
628 involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if pos-
721 sible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus,
[572] when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *awigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *awigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *awigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *awigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanis-
[276] tic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
[787] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
[628] and sets household against household. Under these circum-
[721] stances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
[682] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical vio-
[278] lence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
• 602 Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him,
69 takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extra-
836 marital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp
837 whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] [435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

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as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[8]

726 702 [602] 726 [609] [576] [778]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untú*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iči* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wabe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

Tukupī and Ašaŋā are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Ašaŋā asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirā was dead). Tukupī gave her to Ašaŋā, and Ašaŋā and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Ašaŋā did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Ašaŋā frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.

So Tukupī went to the house of Ašaŋā. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."

They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

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593 met, they fought. Finally, Ašaŋä gave his sister to Tukupï.
• 605 Thereafter, when Ašaŋä beat Tukupï's sister, Tukupï beat Ašaŋä's sister.

Tukupï said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupï and Ašaŋa.

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606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her.
576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even
[832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for
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602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

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578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband [435]

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684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
586 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close
837 relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
• 605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*wabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *wabe* (male cross-cousin
[605] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists.
[586] Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

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241 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size
595 is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi-
[574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre-
[574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man
[554] who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the
595 forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a
462 son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the
• [606] undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives)
[412] and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather
[243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left
241 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man
476

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279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
512 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
313 with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.
[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she
fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband
starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He
drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working.
In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
[252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working.
Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
[252] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on
[262] fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer
again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour,
comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-
• [606] law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
[535] drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is
ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all
afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
[262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
[855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
[606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law
staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the
next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
[146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing
an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
[222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this
[136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
[222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
[136]

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592 [595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed [589] mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, [591] the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*asue*), [851] who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first [606] child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and [591] his family dwell in a new house nearby.

583 Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when 591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father- [411] in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. [595] This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

593 The man is formally head of the household and also in- 462 formally seems generally to dominate his family. He is re- [592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending [606] the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident 606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

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normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 216
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*iči*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yai*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

[515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yai*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

1: Karsten--44-45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574, 609 (1928-29)

"...we were instructed by the guide as to how we had to behave on our arrival. When approaching the first house we were warned not to speak loudly or to make any noise, since the attention of the Indians might be aroused too soon; they might run away or find time to take other measures. As soon as the first plantain and manioc plantations became visible one of my Indian companions made a loud signal with a cow's horn which he had brought with him for this very purpose. In this way our arrival was announced and the Indians would understand that friends and not enemies were approaching. Such a precaution is always considered necessary when one visits the savage Jibaro Indians. Thereupon we hastened our steps and a few moments later reached the house, the inhabitants of which were outside to meet us. We were received with the usual suspicion and curiosity and of course had to answer the usual questions as to the object of our visit, who that strange light-haired apachi (white man) was whom the Indians had brought, how long we intended to stay, and so forth. The women and children particularly displayed fear and suspicion, but at the same time curiosity drew them irresistibly to the spot where we were. They became calmer when I opened my boxes and presented a beautiful necklace of glass beads to each of the women as well as small mirrors and needles to the children. The owner of the house received [45] a forest knife and I easily obtained his permission to stay in the house a few days.

Later on I shall describe the detailed greeting ceremonies which take place when a

guest is received in a Jibaro house. A small speech must always be delivered to the host on behalf of the arriving party, and one of my Indian companions, Shaua by name, himself of Jibaro origin, undertook this duty. 'We have arrived, my brother', he said, 'as companions of this white man and carrying his luggage. We come to you as friends and not as enemies, to see how you live and to exchange things with you. Disease and evil we do not bring with us. We want to stay with you a few days in peace', and so forth. The host answered this speech with some words in the same vein. Shaua and his comrades were all the more anxious to express their friendly feeling to our hosts as only with hesitation had they consented to visit these old hereditary enemies of the Canelos Indians."

6

1: Karsten--45 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
574. 609 (1928-29)

"The rubber collector who had accompanied us to the Indians was, as I have said, almost the only white man with whom these savages had been in contact. As usual he had paid the Indians for their services with trousers, shirts, linen, etc., in consequence of which the native dress of these Indians showed more traces of European influence than I had expected. This influence, however, was absolutely limited to the dress. What I was able to establish during this visit to the distant Achuares was the great uniformity of the Jibaro culture. There are of course minor differences. Thus the dialect spoken by these Jibaros differs to a certain extent from the one spoken by the Upano tribes and the Huambizas. The Achuares seldom have swine and at their great victory feast there is no ceremony answering to 'the slaughtering of the swine' among the Upano Indians. Contrary to what is the case among the latter, who prefer to buy their arrow poison from other tribes, the Achuares are themselves skilled poison makers, and they likewise make their blowguns with which they even carry on a trade. Like the rest of their fellow-tribesmen they weave their loin-clothes, but their method of dyeing the stuff differs from that practised by the Upanos. Their pottery shows many interesting peculiarities, both in form and in the way of painting it, as will be shown later on. But their general mode of life, their social organization and, as far as I was able to ascertain, their intellectual culture is exactly the same as that of other Jibaro tribes, in spite of the relative isolation in which the Achuares live and probably have lived for many decades, perhaps for centuries"

„My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguańchi (evil spirit) would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed, 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaëma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the

house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father."

1: Karsten--71-72 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
164, 609 (1928-29)

"The whole of Eastern Ecuador at that time [JKM: 1928-29] seemed to be suffering from an epidemic of measles, a malady which among the natives is by no means the innocent disease of children it generally is in Europe. I had found it raging among the Jibaros of the Upano also, and since the Indians rightly conclude that such epidemics come from the whites, it had been extremely difficult for me to get in touch with the Jibaros of that region. A white man entering an Indian house was at first looked upon almost as an enemy. During my stay on the Upano, however, I never thought of the region of Canelos too being visited by measles, as I now found to be the case. When I arrived there I was told that the [72] village was practically empty, the Indians shunning it for fear of the epidemic and living now scattered here and there in their tambos along the river. There was little hope of persuading some of the fugitives to return to the village and enter my service."

1: Karsten--80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro.
609, 753 (1928-29)

"Knowing that fear of 'disease' which is particularly characteristic of the Jibaros, I was surprised at the unprejudiced attitude which the Aguarunas assumed towards me and my Indian companions. It may have been because they realized at once that we came from afar and not from any disease-stricken village inhabited by the whites. On the whole I was lucky during this expedition. If I had not encountered these Indians on the river by chance, it would have been very difficult for us to find the way to the region inhabited by the Indians alone. The friendly attitude of the Aguarunas was due to particular reasons. During the last years they had waged war against the Huambizas living between the Morona and the Santiago. They were closely related to these Indians, it is true, but this fact did not by any means prevent the two tribes from being mortal enemies. On the contrary, it is a peculiarity of the Jibaros that precisely the different sub-tribes wage sanguinary wars against one another. Exactly at the time when we visited them the Aguarunas were fearing an attack of the Huambizas. This fear may have been exaggerated. But the consequence of it was that at any rate for the time they wished to live in peace with the whites, who might even help them in the event of a hostile attack of their own tribesmen. As to the Canelos Indians whom I had with me, they had no fear of them. But there is no saying what would have happened if I had visited them in the company of real Jibaro Indians from Ecuador!"

1. Karsten--245-247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 609 (1928-29)

"There is hardly a day that the Indians do not receive guests of some kind. In fact, the reception and entertainment of guests fills a good deal of their time and forms a side of their social life which especially attracts the attention of a white visitor. There is a certain difference in the reception, according as the visitors are known to the inhabitants of the house or are complete strangers, but in either case certain ceremonies are considered absolutely necessary. Strangers must announce their arrival by a loud signal when they approach the house, in the way I had to do myself for instance when I visited the Achuares.

If the visitors are friends of the owner of the house or at least known to him, they can enter without further notice. Generally three or more come together; seldom does an Indian pay a visit alone. The guests always come armed with lances, guns, or rifles, and the arms are always taken into the house. When staying in a strange house the Jibaro Indian [246] is never separated from his weapons. This is considered perfectly

natural by the hosts and does not arouse any particular attention. (1)

As soon as the visitors enter, each of them pronounces the word: Winyáhei, 'I have arrived', whereupon they remain standing motionless at the door in a row. Then generally some of the younger boys step forward and hand a small seat (chimbúi) to each of them. They now sit down at the door with their lances stretched out, but do not utter a word. The host of the house at first pays little attention to the guests, but calls out to the women to bring them manioc-beer and starts to arrange his dress. He plaits his long hair in the usual three pigtails, puts on his ear-tubes, paints his face, and puts on

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"1. It is surprising to find, in G. M. Dyott's book On the Trail of the Unknown (p. 180) the following passage: 'On one of my expeditions a companion would insist on carrying his rifle into the Indian houses we visited. Local custom said that all weapons should be left outside during calls, and this man's failure to comply with an apparently unimportant practice nearly embroiled our party in warfare.' Everybody who has travelled among the Jibaros knows that this statement is the very reverse of the truth. According to local custom it is perfectly natural that all weapons should be taken inside, and I myself and my companions always took our rifles and guns into the Jibaro houses we visited."

a new itipi.' Then he seizes his lance, steps up to the guests, takes a seat and sits down in front of them saying the one word Winīti, i.e. 'may you come'. This for the guests is the 'word of release'. They now start to speak, one at a time, as they are addressed by the host. The speaker explains the aim of his visit, adding that besides this he wanted to see his friends, how they live, whether they are healthy and all right, etc. As long as the guest speaks it is not considered proper for the host to interrupt him except by certain grunts representing assent or approbation, and with confirming words like ita (yes)--ah--um--turáma ('so you have done')--ah--níkasneiti ('it is true') --máketi ('quite so'), etc. After the guest has finished, it is the host's turn to answer him, the guest only listening and interrupting, as his host had done, by the usual grunts of assent. This conversation lasts for five to ten minutes and must be carried out with each guest separately. Only after the last guest has been greeted in this way and had an opportunity to speak, can all of them leave the door and freely move about the men's department.

The most curious thing in this greeting ceremony, however, is the tone in which the men speak and the way in which the whole conversation is carried on. It is not the ordinary conversational tone; the Indian who is speaking for the moment shouts loudly, and the words follow [247] each other so quickly that to a person who is not well acquainted with the Jibaro language it is extremely difficult to understand what they are saying. During the conversation the host and the guest regard each other with stern

looks just as if they were angry or excited, while they speak they hold the hand to the mouth, and after every fourth or fifth word they spit on the ground, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left. A listener unacquainted with the customs of the Indians might believe that two madmen are conversing. It may be more to the point however to liken them to two lions, doing their best to arouse mutual respect. The guests drink manioc-beer the whole time they are conversing, it being offered them by two or three women who move continually between the men's ante-room and the 'kitchen' with their piningas."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--248-249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 576, 609, 521 (1928-29)

"Ceremonial greetings also take place when two parties of Jibaro Indians suddenly meet on the trail in the virgin forest, even when they are well known to each other. On the other hand, if the Indians are totally unknown to one another the greeting ceremony assumes the form called Enéma. The Enéma is properly a war dance and is especially a preparation for war, so this peculiar ceremony will be described in detail in connection with the wars of the Indians. The Enéma greeting ceremony differs from the war dance Enéma especially as regards the words uttered, though in the former case, too, there is always a menace behind the words and movements. For each party there is the possibility that the other one is travelling with hostile intentions and the very aim of the 'greeting' is to find out whether this is so. Assuming as haughty and arrogant an attitude as possible and facing each other with fierce looks, the Indians in turn and with a thundering voice call out certain questions to one another, accompanying these with threatening movements of the lances. The conversation is generally carried out much in the following manner:

Amuesha ya?, 'Who are you?'
Wétei (Andicheiti), 'I am (my name is) Andiche'.
Amínyu wikáhei, 'I am coming to see you',
Chamurstai--chamursti, (movements with the lance).
Waritkunái --waritkuni, etc. (movements with the lance).

Úruka irúndra wikéima, 'Why do you go united (in a party)?'
Mésechasi, 'Is it in order to make war?'
Tsa, tsa, méseta wikáchahei, 'No, no, we are not going for war',
Pingichichama wikáhei, 'We are coming to speak nicely (with you)',
Wari sumáktinyu, 'To buy something',
Mésetaka nakítahei, 'We do not like to make war',
Wáriki, wáriki, wikáhei, 'We go only for things (to barter)';
Wínya eíntsu ístinyu, 'To see our own people';
Seasa itahei, 'We bring arrow-poison (to sell)';
Nanki itahei, 'We bring lances (to sell)', etc.
Seasa, akáru sumáktinyu, 'to buy arrow-poison, guns', etc.
Maketi, 'It is all right'. [249]

The conversation having gone on in this way for a while and the peaceful intentions of the strangers having been manifested, the Indians can enter the house and sit down to have manioc-beer, or, if they met in the forest, both parties continue their march."

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

2: Stirling--42 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 609

"When Benavente first encountered the Jivaros he found them thoroughly belligerent and described them as being the most insolent and independent of all of the natives that he had ever seen in the Indies. It is likely that word of Benavente's harsh treatment of some of the Indians bordering on the Jivaro country had preceded him. The fact that he attempted to capture some of the first Jivaros that he saw by setting dogs on them did nothing to assist in attaining for him a friendly reception.

A few years later, when Juan de Salinas first penetrated the Jivaro country and established his colonies, he found the Jivaros a friendly and docile people. He repeatedly contrasts their friendliness and domesticity with the fierce, warlike nature of the tribes encountered in the highlands."

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 721, 609

"We had not come for war, and somehow an end had to be put to this clamourous deadlock. There seemed no end to the capacity of those Jivaros' lungs. For three long hours they yelled, with varying intensity. At times I would start up the bank in an attempt to get into conversation, but each time they took it for a hostile movement on our part and redoubled their efforts to persuade us of their strength.

The spell was broken in the end by my leaving my rifle with Game in the canoe and walking slowly up the trail which ran up in full view of the barricaded house nearest to us, suffering agony from my raw feet, but managing to cover the ground by reason of the soft sand. It was not more than a matter of fifty yards all told. I had gone a little more than half-way (with my six-shooter slung out of sight) when there emerged from the hut three quaking youths. The unfortunates had evidently been chosen for a parley much against their will, for I do not exaggerate when I say that their knees would barely hold them and their 'walk' resembled that of a man sick of the palsy. Indeed I was convinced at the time that they were really sick--that perhaps some disease had swept through the whole tribe of Antipas. I tried to [190] open the negotiations in Inca, in Spanish, and with every odd scrap of every language at my command, but all to no purpose. The Jívaro dialect was at the time unknown to me. I then attempted to calm them by offering my hand. The custom was evidently unknown to them for they searched my palm attentively to see what present I might be bringing. Finally I resorted to gesture--motioning them to the canoe as if to invite them to see what we had. They were for making me go

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 721, 609

first, but it is a safer rule to go last. So down we went in single file to where Game was sitting with his rifle across his knees, nursing his feet."

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Jivaro -1
116, 609, 576

"Pitacunca, [KS: medicine man and navigator] having landed, shot one glance at the camp and its inhabitants, and turned on his heel. Followed by the rest of the savages, he walked to a spot some twenty yards away, sat down with his back to all of us, and set up a dismal wailing chant in a minor key. His every action was imitated by the others, who joined in the chorus, and sent that dirge floating across the Marañon. Never a word had any of them spoken since they had caught sight of our outfit. They seemed to be stunned [231] by the sight of so many apaches (white people) and so much kit, as if the folly of having entrusted themselves to these unknown white creatures was suddenly brought home to them. No other reason occurs to me for so much yowling. It seemed as if they would never stop and we did not care to interrupt them, until finally Jack, whose first introduction to the Antipas cannot be said to have been inducive to a happy understanding, enquired in plain English whether they didn't see their way to changing the tune. The tune never was changed, but at the end of half an hour or so it died a natural death.

Little by little the Jívaros drifted over and seated themselves by the camp fire. Finally Jack and Ed. roused them from the trance into which they had fallen, the former doing a double-shuffle in the bottom of the Exploradora to the accompaniment of the latter's banjo. The savages were greatly inpressed, both by the unrivalled quality of the music and the dancer's skill! To complete their recovery, we presented them with the most glaring specimens of the shirts we carried for barter--they were striped

4: Up de Graff--230-231 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 609, 576

indiscriminately with orange, black, red, yellow and green, and were known among us as 'Hallelujahs.' "

4: Up de Graff--288-289 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 609

"For an hour we floated along, nothing but the wash of the paddles to break the silence except the occasional squawk of a parrot. In the stem of my canoe sat Tuhuimpui steering. The three paddlers in the bow swayed to and fro with the ceaseless rhythm that knows no fatigue. Game and I amidships, seated back to back with our rifles across our knees, smoked in silence, never losing sight of the Indians for a moment. Tuhuimpui had received his orders--our dugout was on no account to move up from its place in the rear. We were taking no risks that morning.

Two shots from around the long curve down-stream in quick succession roused us from our reverie. In a flash I had swung my rifle to the right and fired full into Tuhuimpui's stomach. The chief wilted and slid into the bilge-water in a heap. I turned to see Game grappling with the nearest of the canoemen, his Winchester gripped at the muzzle by the savage. Before I had time to jump to his assistance, he too had fired and put an end to the scuffle. In a trice the remaining two slipped into the muddy torrent and disappeared. Meanwhile the canoes stretched out ahead, seeing what had happened, shot forward in a suddent [sic] effort to escape our fire. A few shots sent after them convinced them of their folly, and they took to the water, swimming and diving like a school of porpoises at sea. Once in the water they presented a very difficult target. Swimming below water, they would feel for the surface with one hand, bob up for an instant to take a breath, and disappear once more. And so they made their way ashore, abandoning everything in panic-stricken flight. [289]

Jack and Ed. were safe, we knew, for from down-stream came the sound of their firing, the heavy discharge of Jack's .450 followed by the sharper report of Morse's lighter weapon. Anxious to join forces with them, we left the now vacated flotilla of lighter canoes to drift along, and paddled ahead as hard as we could. The alarm had been given, and it was our first duty to see what had befallen our companions after making sure of our rear.

Foreseeing trouble, we had arranged on the night before that in case of a hostile move on the part of the savages, the signal should be two shots fired in rapid succession. It was agreed that they should not be fired without due cause, but that once the alarm was given, each of us would exterminate the Indians in his vicinity. There was to be no hesitation, for, much as we wished to avoid trouble, if trouble came we must meet it instantly. So when the signal shots were fired, we turned on the Jívaros like a flash, knowing that our friends were in great peril, if not already dead."

8: Dickey--201[3] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 123, 609

"Five of us, including one white woman, lived with a Jivaro tribe numbering nearly two hundred for six weeks. The only contretemps suffered by our party came when we had exhausted all our excuses for not partaking of the vin du pays, the far from delectable chicha mascada, which was offered to us constantly, and is a drink evolved from yuca root mixed with the saliva of toothless, elderly Indian ladies. Apart from that, our treatment left nothing to be desired."

10: Anthony--158 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 609, 193

"In general their behavior toward the whites who treat them properly leads to rather amicable relations. With us they were very friendly and very goodnatured, answering any questions as well as their poor Spanish allowed. Only a few of them speak Spanish, but they are intelligent and quick to grasp an idea so that a few words in Spanish aided by signs, may convey much. No one of those we met knew much Spanish, and a peculiarity I noted was the fact that almost always the verbs were used in the participial form. This gave to their conversation a sound very like that produced by riming verse. As an example, I heard this sentence:

'En camino pasando, animales encontrando, un mono matando, cuero sacando, billetes ganando,' which would be translated as: 'He goes along the trail, meets animals, kills a monkey, skins it, and gets some money.'"

13: Rivet--254-255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153, 609

Horror of all subjection gives the Jíbaro a great distrust of the White. Experience has shown him that he has as much to fear from the White as from his worst enemies, and his first thought is to suspect all individuals of bad intentions toward him. Simson relates the difficulty that his companion, M. Sarkady, had in photographing two Indians because they were sure the operator carried away their souls with the plate which retained their features (1). But this mistrust, wholly natural and legitimate, quickly changes into excessive and often importune trust. Once his fears are calmed, the Jíbaro allows his curiosity free reign, and attracted by all the new objects that he sees, he asks about their use, which he immediately verifies himself, touching everything, trying [255] everything, even putting on your clothes; the smallest object attracts him and charms him, exciting his covetousness. It is easy to see how, by using these easily-aroused childish desires, white traders are able to procure at low prices the precious products of the forest. An Ecuadorian told me he had persuaded an Indian to prepare for him an entire human skin in the same manner as the tsantsas, in exchange for a bad gun.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

18: Hermessen--445 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 484, 609

"At an estimated distance of between 25 and 30 miles from Jamboé we passed the mouth of the Yacuhambi (or Yanazambi, as Wolf calls it), a river of respectable size flowing into the Zamora from the northwest. Two or three miles farther on we came to the Rio Nanguipa, which discharged into the Zamora on the right. We landed on the opposite bank, at the solicitation of the canoe-men, for a rest at a nearby house to which they conducted us. In it were several Jíbaros, none of whom evinced the least concern at our appearance, even giving me, a white stranger, only a casual glance."

25: Vigna --46 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 177, 609, 153

The relations of the Jíbaros with white people are characterized by friendship and opportunism. They admire the white civilization and imitate whatever appears suitable to them. It is a pity that they generally admire the vices and not the virtues. Through his contact with white civilization the Jíbaro has learned to lie, to intoxicate himself with liquor and to steal.

The work of the Catholic and Christian Missionaries among them proceeds slowly, and the Catholic Missionaries have chosen by preference to dedicate themselves to the education and evangelization of the new generations.

29: Vité--22 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 609

While the frenetic dance continued and the piercing and rending shouts of the savages reverberated in the air to the mournful sound of the "dúndulos," we decided to retire, for given their great xenophobia, it would not have been strange for these Indians to have been overcome by a sudden access of fury against us, --profane spectators of their fiesta.

We withdrew cautiously and readied for any emergency, by no means at peace with the echo of the "dúndulos" which made it clear that the orgy of blood followed its normal rhythm, --a sign that the Jíbaros have not preoccupied themselves with us.

In the dead of night, we arrived exhausted at the most interior of the Salesian missions where we were received fraternally and surrounded with affectionate attentions.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

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601 602 578 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kaná yaĉi*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

578 601 609 574 628 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being 867 ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not 578 surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or 628 more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

601

FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[3]

726 702 [602] 726 [609] • [576] [778]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

1: Karsten--183-184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 571, 592, 611, 621 (1928-29)

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organization is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

1: Karsten--185 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 611 (1928-29)

"A consequence of the endogamic rules is that the persons who marry among the Jibaros are generally relatives. As a matter of fact, it was looked upon as the duty of a Jibaro man to marry his daughter to a youth who claimed her by virtue of his relationship. Custom prescribes that a near male relative shall be preferred to a more distant one. A family father is of course anxious to marry his daughter to the young man he likes best and of whose qualities he has a high opinion, and it is natural that for this reason he is not always inclined to give her to one of his nearest relatives. In such cases there may be complaint on the part of the man thus neglected. 'I am your nearest kin', he may say, 'and still you give your daughter to So-and-So who is a more distant relative.' Still there are degrees of kinship within which marriages are forbidden. Cousins on the male side cannot marry; they are looked upon as brother and sister and marriage between them would be regarded as incest. On the other hand, there is no prohibition to marriages between children of a brother and sister or of two sisters. On the contrary, such marriages are looked upon as perfectly natural. Similarly, although a paternal uncle may never marry his niece, he is not prohibited from marrying his sister's daughter. The Jibaros,...are a strictly paternal people: they reckon descent only in the male line, women being wholly left out of account."

13: Rivet--241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 614, 773

Information on the existence of totems in the Jíbaro country is rare. The story regarding the flood, which I related before, is evidently of a totemic nature, but a doubt exists as to the legitimacy of its attribution to our Indians. The Aguarunas do not eat the meat of the Hydrochoerus capybara, the Tapirus americanus or the venado (1). Knowing that the other tribes use these animals for food, one may certainly conclude that the Aguarunas are governed by a prohibition of totemic nature specialized by clans, and that a more attentive study would reveal similar facts among the other tribes.

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1. Enrique Brunning. De Chiclayo a Puerlo Melendez en el Maranon. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. Volume XIII, 1903, pp. 12-159; 249-295; 385-418; V. XV, 1904, pp. 1-57) pp. 388 and 403.

28: Tessman--343 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 614, 621

The Chiwaros are not subdivided into sibs proper, but many groups must be distinguished, groups that originated from war conditions and and that are named after their leaders, i.e., people of so and so. These groups have not yet had a principal influence upon the social structure of the tribe, though eventually they may have such an influence, especially if the group segregation becomes a permanent one.

1: Karsten--119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 619 (1928-29)

"The Indians in their natural state never use salt as a spice. The half-civilized Canelos Indians have learned to use it and are accustomed to make the long journey down to the Huallaga on the Amazon to fetch salt. To these Indians, however, who have much communication with the whites, the salt is at the same time an important article of trade, and the same may in part be said of the Jibaros proper, at any rate those living on the Upano and upper Morona.

These savage Indians, although they never put salt in their food for the sake of making it more palatable, still have developed the preparation of salt into a sort of industry. Salt to them has value exclusively as a remedy, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is especially used as an emetic. Besides this, they [JKM: Jibaros] carry on a sort of trade with salt, their customers being the mestizos of Macas, who obtain all their salt from their savage neighbours."

1: Karsten--144-145 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
619, 463 (1928-29)

"Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison , only a few of them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza.[145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes. Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-

makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots' (1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesus en el Marañon Espanol, p. 87."

1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

1: Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

1: Karsten--275-277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 619, 721, 754 (1928-29)

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called túnchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would,

gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 619 (1928-29)

"Often the hostility between two tribes is only latent, becoming suddenly active through some chance incident, when a war ensues. Thus, as already mentioned, a series of deaths, which are attributed to the evil art of the treacherous enemy, may occasion a war. It also occurs that an Indian, travelling through the territory of a foreign tribe, with which his own stands on no friendly terms, is assassinated by the secret enemies of his own people, who cannot abstain from taking the opportunity. Such an assassination may be the signal for a general war of extermination between the two tribes. This was, for instance, the original cause of the war which, during my sojourn on the Rio Upano, was carried on between some tribes of the Upano and the Santiago on one side, and the Huambiza Indians on the Morona on the other. The son of an influential Indian on the Rio Santiago had, on account of some old quarrel, been murdered while travelling through the land of the Huambiza Indians. The tribesmen of the murdered Indian applied to the Jibaros on the Upano for assistance. The assistance was given, some 40 Upano Indians going down the river to join their friends on the Santiago and marching with them against the Huambizas."

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 511, 181, 619

"Contentment reigns supreme. Men and women seem happy in their lot. They have an abundance of every necessity and luxury they know. Their one worry in life is the constant fear of attack by raiders, but this they forget as easily as children do the dangers ot the street . Light is the daily round of all, and above all others of him who has a daughter to give in marriage! He who aspires to her hand becomes to all intents and purposes the slave of his future father-in-law for a term of five or six months until he proves his worth. The young savage takes over the scouting, hunting and fishing duties of the house into which he is going to marry; he is at the beck and call of its head, and must answer every call like a fag at school. But only once does he go through the mill; his own household set up, he takes to himself as many wives as he can find among his own people or steal from his enemies; thus it comes about that there is many a woman among the four Jívaro tribes who has been stolen and re-stolen until she is as much at home on the Santiago as on the Marañon, as happy burning hair off monkeys for an Aguaruna as spinning cotton for a Pautecuma. Indeed to my mind there can be one explanation of the existence of identical languages, habits, clothes, modes of fishing and hunting, and applied arts among all the Jívaro peoples, namely that they spring from a common ancestral tribe. A family would break away from the common hunting grounds, move off and establish itself on another river, and nurse its hatred of the parent group until, joined by others, little by little it became the nucleus of another tribe. And so through the course of [223] time they have drifted so far apart that to-day no one tribe

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 511, 181, 619

is found with their headquarters within thirty days' canoeing of another, and a deadly hostility exists between them all. There are white men alive to-day in the States who have been scalped by North American Indians; but after the Jívaro has taken his war-trophy, '*finita la commedia.*' "

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174 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

• 619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*šuarā*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apačī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri šuarā*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*ačuarā šuarā*) to the east. An alternative term, *nuraiya šuarā* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsumu šuarā*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas šuarā*" or "*yukina šuarā*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call
128 them the "*patuka širaŋ*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

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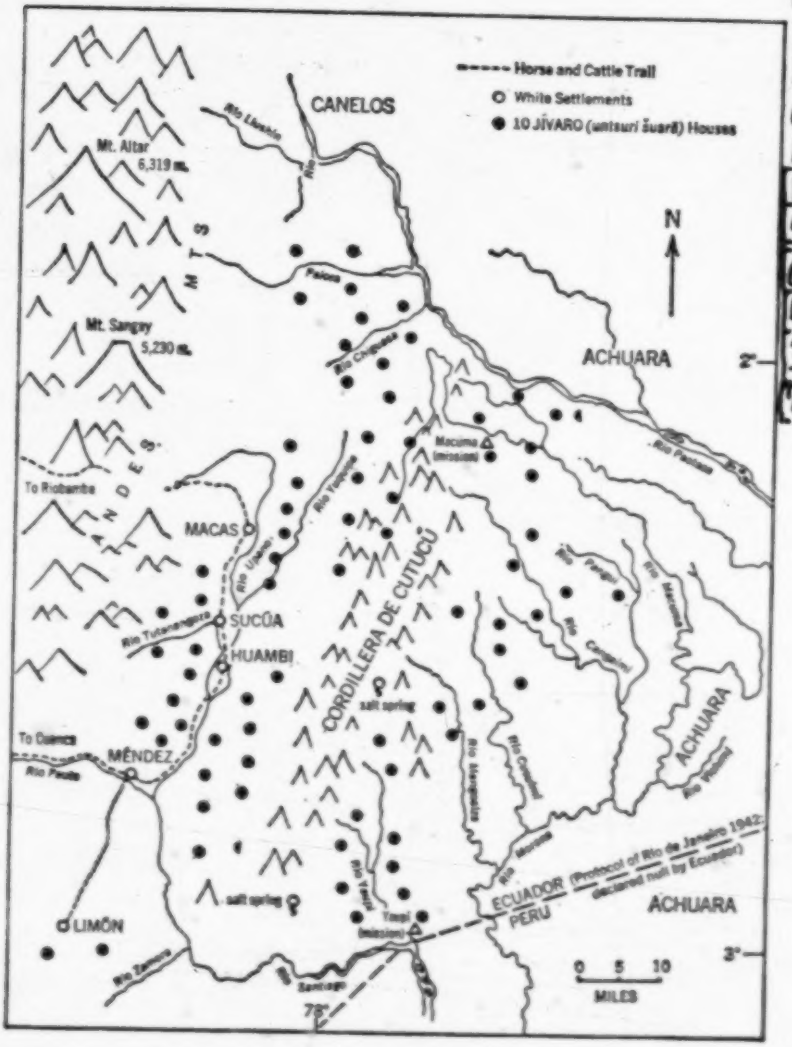

MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
[101] lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled east-
[161] ward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward
to the Río Chiguasa region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from
Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
• [619] all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by
missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
648
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765 554 571 796

an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

765 778 774 578 796 [619] [273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*wuisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *wuisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *wuisak*, while it is resident in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Čuwi[3] tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Čuwi tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

1: Karsten--183-184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 571, 592, 611, 621 (1928-29)

"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organization is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

1: Karsten--251 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 565, 621 (1928-29)

"Since there exists no society in the strict sense of the word apart from the family, it is natural that social classes, distinctions between fich and poor, etc, are also non-existent, like the distinction between rulers and ruled. If we may speak of a 'government', it is a purely patriarchal one, the head of the family and the owner of the house being at the same time the 'chief' of this small community, theoretically even with absolute power. It is of particular interest to see how he exercises this power in practice."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

10: Anthony--147 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 592, 621

"The Jivaros are a tribe of warriors and hunters, and devote but little attention to the cultivation of the soil. They live in small, scattered communities located on the rivers, and raise a little cotton and such things as yuca or cassava. Although they recognize a captain or chief, his authority appears to be largely nominal. He exerts but little influence upon the members of the tribe. As a result the communities are controlled by the heads of the families and the system may, perhaps, be best described as patriarchal. The father of a family is a responsible member of the community and his relatives aid him in offensive compaigns or rally to his defense."

12: Rivet--611-612 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 555

Among the Jívaro there are no real social groups nor the least embryo of government. Each Indian is absolute master of his own affairs, acts individually and depends on no one. He associates with his neighbors only for feasts, big hunts, big fishing parties, and war; these temporary associations leave him his complete personal liberty of action.

In other words, the tribe is only a group of allied and [612] often related families ready when necessary to give each other aid and assistance. The chief of this group is the one who by his endurance, his skill, his intelligence, his courage and also by luck imposes himself on the individuals of the neighborhood. His authority rests only on a tacit assent, carries no exterior emblem or sign, and in no case is transmitted by heredity to his descendants. His role is limited to the coordination of individual efforts in special circumstances. In times of peace he has no longer any special attributes. Occasionally, a peril or a common hate make allies of neighboring tribes, but these alliances are only temporary.

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 387. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--613-614 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 157, 164

In spite of their apparent isolation the Jívaro live socially; but up to the present time they have put up great resistance against grouping themselves in villages. It must be said that this repugnance can be explained not only by the desire for independence which is so well developed in them, but also by the fear of the diseases brought in by [614] the whites, especially smallpox which breaks out in fatal epidemics in Indian groups.

28: Tessman--343 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 614, 621

The Chiwaros are not subdivided into sibs proper, but many groups must be distinguished, groups that originated from war conditions and and that are named after their leaders, i.e., people of so and so. These groups have not yet had a principal influence upon the social structure of the tribe, though eventually they may have such an influence, especially if the group segregation becomes a permanent one.

" TABLE III
Cohesion Within Each Geographical Group

Group	Choices per capita per members of in-group
Patuca	21.00
Yurupaca	9.50
Yaupi	10.66

This centripetal tendency is graphically demonstrated in the Charts II, IV and VI. If we for instance take Chart VI, the I (the number of individuals in the in-group) is 3 (Ila, V16D, and V123D), 0=16, * Ci=26, Co=16, and Ca=6. The result according to the formula:

$$\frac{16(6+26)}{3 \times 16} = \frac{512}{48} = 10.67 \text{"}$$

* Not indicated on the graph.

"The overlapping of the answers of the male and female adults was studied in one geographical group, the Patucas. The result is shown in Table VII. As seen, the correspondence is almost perfect. Whether this holds true for all the geographical groups, and whether the women to women patterns correspond with those for men, only further research can demonstrate. It seems, however, likely that the men's opinion in the present matter to a large extent determine the women's also in other groups. This is supposed not because of a complete submission of the women--which is far from true--but because of the strict division of labor and interests between the sexes. Formation of alliances and actions against enemies are part of the 'politics' and as such belong exclusively to the masculine sphere.

Eventually an attempt was made to determine the relation between repulsions and geographical space. As already has been pointed out (Part I, pp. 6-7), great hostility exists between the different geographical groups. In order to ascertain the degree of hostility all male individuals of the three previous groups (Patuca, Yurupaza, Yaupi) and of another Jibaro group, otherwise not dealt with in this study, the Huambizas, living farther down the Santiago River, were interviewed about their feelings toward the [105]members of their respective out-groups. The number and percentage of individuals in each group answering that all the members of the other geographical

groups were enemies are indicated in Table VIII, column I. The figures for those who answered that one or more individuals from the other groups were friends are given in column II in the same table."

1: Karsten--267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701, 827 (1928-29)

"The dignity of a chieftain is hereditary in a relative sense, in so far that the son of a chief is generally elected chief in time of war after his father has died or grown decrepit. This, however, can only take place if he has proved a valiant and skilled warrior and has killed enemies. No Jibaro is selected as a chief if he has not killed at least one enemy. The Jibaros have absolute faith in the heritability of prominent qualities, and ascribe extraordinary importance to education and the power of example. The son of a great chief, they say, must necessarily also become an able warrior because he is, as it were, a direct continuation of his father, has received a careful education for the deeds of war, and has always had the good example of his great father before his eyes."

1: Karsten- 267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 592, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros as we have seen each family father is theoretically absolute ruler over his house people, and in times of peace there is no recognized common chief even within the tribe, and still less any exercising authority over several tribes. The Jibaros have not even a proper name for a chief. The word capitu, which is sometimes used, is borrowed from the Spanish and is used principally to denote a white man of importance. It is only in times of war that a chieftainship exists; that is to say, during those great wars of extermination which are carried out against other Jibaro tribes. Such a temporary chief of war is generally only called únta, 'the old one', because the chiefs are nearly always old, experienced men who have killed many enemies and captured many heads. The small blood-feuds within the tribe, on the other hand, have a more private character and as a rule are not fought out under the leadership of a common chief."

1: Karsten--267-268 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"The authority of the chief elected for a war is very great. It is he alone who arranges everything for the expedition planned, who decides [268] about the time for and the mode of making the attack, and the younger warriors oblige themselves to obey him in everything. But as soon as a war has been carried to a successful end the power of the chief ceases, and he has, in spite of the great repute he always enjoys, no more authority or right to decide about the doings of his tribesmen than any other family-father among the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--282-283 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 622, 726 (1928-29)

"The general expression of the Jibaros for a war, and more particularly one that is fought out against a foreign tribe, is meséta, and to make war is nanki hukítinyu, literally 'to carry lance for the combat'.

When a whole tribe, or perhaps several tribes together, prepare a war against one or more other tribes, the first thing done is to elect a common chief. He should be an elderly, experienced man, who has taken part in several wars, killed many enemies, and celebrated at least one victory feast. The rest of the warriors, who are generally younger men, swear him unlimited obedience. During the time the expedition is planned and the preparations are made, the warriors, and especially the chief, repeatedly drink maikoa or natéma to consult the spirits. They pay great attention to their dreams, even to those not produced under the direct influence of the narcotic drinks, tell them to each other, and discuss their possible significance. Only if they believe that they have received favourable answers and all omens are good are measures taken to carry out the war plan conceived. Meanwhile they try, through spies, to acquire as accurate a knowledge as possible about everything concerning the enemy: how many houses there are in the tract, how many fighting men in each house, if the houses are fortified, if the [283] men are well armed, and especially if they have firearms. All these and similar details the spies investigate by making trips into the country of the enemy and by stealing at night to the houses. Everything is prepared

with the greatest secrecy possible, so that the enemy is caught unprepared, for otherwise he will have time to take measures of defence that may defeat the whole undertaking."

31: Danielsson--86 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 622, 103

" There is no permanent chief for the different geographical groups. (Each cluster of houses is named after the rivulets where they are situated, as for instance the Patucas, the Yurupazas, the Yaupis.) The family head is the highest authority and his power is limited to the members of his house. Only in time of war are chiefs appointed for larger units, but their power is provisional and confined to the war-period only."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

225 sized fish are also caught in deeper waters with a special thin, long palm wood thrusting spear.

225 Fish poisoning is undertaken perhaps every few weeks to
278 secure a large catch. Men, women, and children from several neighboring houses usually participate. They select a section of river where it is bisected by an island or sandbar, to which the men and boys construct a low dam of river boulders from one bank. This stone dam is constructed to form a lagoon where the poison can sufficiently take effect in the slowed current. Other men meanwhile build split bamboo grating-like fish traps at several low points on the dam and prepare the fish poison.

[824] Three types of plant piscicides are used: *timm* (in Spanish, *barbasco*), *mum*, and *payal*. *Timm* is considered the best of these, but is used in combination with *mum* for maximum success. Large quantities are required, and the fishermen often prepare six to eight bushel-sized baskets. They pound the plants to a pulp between river boulders and dump them into the water upstream. If all goes well, within twenty to thirty minutes stunned fish begin rising to the surface and float toward the dam. The men who constructed the traps seize the fish as they are washed onto the bamboo gratings. Everyone else, regardless of age or sex, wades into the lagoon and grabs for fish. Each person owns whatever he catches, although he often may give some of his catch to a less fortunate participant. Fish poisoning is sometimes pursued at night because the fish tend to be nearer the surface and therefore more susceptible to the poison. Both poisoning and netting are most effectively conducted during dry periods, when the rivers and streams are low and the current slow.

• 622 Gathering activities contribute quantitatively relatively
[146] little to the diet, approximately 5 per cent annually, but do provide a variety of delicacies to supplement it. Various species

2: Stirling --38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 179, 721

"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

2: Stirling--38-39 (1930-1931) 1936 Jivaro
116, 592, 624

"At the present time the political organization of the Jivaros is at best a very flexible thing and is simple both in theory and in practice. The Jivaro-speaking peoples are divided into scores of so-called tribes. These tribal divisions, however, are merely artificial denominations given by the whites to groups more or less isolated in certain geographical units such as rivers or divides. Tribes in this sense have no existence in the minds of the Indians themselves.

The simplest unit of organization is the patrilineal family group living under a single roof. Such a household is quite independent and self-sufficient, being subservient to no one. The head of the [39] household is usually the oldest man in it, known by the Spanish term 'capito.' Where there are a number of houses in the same general vicinity these may recognize a common war leader known by the Quechua term 'curaka.' It is significant that there is apparently no word in the Jivaro language indicating the equivalent of our idea of a chief."

2: Stirling--39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 624, 628

"A typical unit or group under a curaka [KS: head of the household] consists of six or seven houses, each with its capito [KS: common war leader], situated over an area of 5 or 6 miles on some small river. Such a group has no name to designate it other than that of the stream on which it is located. The blood ties in such a group are likely to be rather close. All groupings of the Jivaros other than the household group proper, which is a natural family unit, are traceable directly to the custom of blood revenge. Such groups are in the nature of loose alliances for defensive or offensive warfare. Insomuch as war raids are purely in the nature of feuds, these alliances are never very extensive or very permanent."

2: Stirling--39 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 554

"The power of the curaka [KS: head of the household] is purely advisory and is confined to warfare. He had no authority to order men against their will for any purpose, even that of fighting. The curaka has no special insignia denoting rank and has no special privileges, other than the prestige which his position gives him. He holds his position only as long as he retains his personal influence with the group. Realinements of household groups are frequent as leaders lose prestige or die."

2: Stirling--39[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701

"The number of households under the influence of a given curaka is subject to a great deal of fluctuation. It frequently happens that a strong curaka will build up a fairly powerful group of warriors about him. A weak curaka or capito may have a blood-revenge killing to attend to but will find himself outnumbered by the enemy to such an extent that he is afraid to attempt a killing with his own group. In this event he is likely to call upon the strong curaka to arrange the killing for him, paying him with a gun or a woman. Often, too, a weak curaka, fearing that his group would not be able successfully to defend themselves against an attack from enemies, will voluntarily place himself and his group under the influence of the strong curaka in a loose sort of alliance. In this way the strong group tends to grow and to become even stronger until one curaka may have 8 or 10 lesser curakas more or less under his control. This state of affairs is usually not very permanent. Owing to the loose organization and lack of any real power on the part of the head curaka, the large group becomes unwieldy or develops diverse interests and it tends to split up again into independent units. Consequently, in as little as 2 or 3 years' time, the original head curaka may find that one or more of his former lieutenants are now stronger than he."

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuki, known to the Ecuadoreans as José Grande. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuki was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Canga River and the upper Yaupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Canga Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cucusha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucusha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 201, 624

"We were flooded out by the human tide. They clambored into the dugout, delved into everything they could lay hands on, and behaved generally like a crowd of school children to whom the free run of a candy store had been given. They chattered, grinned and gesticulated; they held our trumpery trade-beads up to the light and tried the effect of wearing them; they gazed spell-bound into the hand-mirrors which we had rightly regarded as one of our strongest lines; and finally they were completely overwhelmed by the shoddy striped cotton shirts which the favoured few among the men donned with all the exquisite satisfaction which a youth fresh from school experiences when first he puts on a 'swallow-tail.'

So the ice was broken. But no conversation had taken [192] place as yet, for conversation was impossible. We found that the language spoken by the Antipas was quite unintelligible to us, and that Inca, the only Indian tongue I knew, was unknown to them. Progress was made, however, in the sign-language which is common, to a greater or lesser degree, to all men. They made it clear to us that they wanted a token to send to their chief, a sign whereby the truth of their incredible report of the arrival of white men in the land might be impressed on him; seeing us using machetes they seized on them as serving their purpose well. Three they sent by special envoy to the Chief, and three more they sent a little way down-stream to a point where there was a trail along which he might be expected to pass if the envoy missed him; there the machetes were stuck into the earth as we pile arms in the field. He would be sure to see them, and would be put

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 153, 201, 624

on his guard.

And so we sat down to await his arrival."

4: Up de Graff--196-197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 152, 574

"To take up the tale; we had not to wait more than an hour for the arrival of the chief, a fat, sleek, cunning-looking old thief, who greeted me as his Christian brother and produced a small piece of paper, carefully protected from the elements by a palm leaf, on which was written in ink the name 'Lázaro.' He professed to have been baptized by a Jesuit priest at Macas(where we were destined to go ourselves within a few months). The holy water certainly never penetrated his skin, for to the end of his days he was a shameless rascal, no better than the rest of his kind.

His arrival saved the situation, however, for he spoke Inca (known among the Jívaros as 'the white man's language,' curiously enough, the reason being that it is spoken at all the points of contact between the savage tribes and the outposts of civilization). We always imagined that he owed his chieftainship to the fact that he had lived with the priests, and, later, answered the call of the wild, returning with a wider knowledge of the world than any of his fellows possessed.

He was full of interest concerning our movements. Where had we come from? What were we looking for? Where were we going? Had we any companions, and, if so, where were they? We were subjected to a brisk catechism. Well, we told him we were looking for gold, that we were going up the Santiago (known among the Indians as the Pauta), that we had a camp just below the Pongo, and, above all things, that our camp was one vast treasure-house of presents, such as those we had had the pleasure of giving to his subjects. Indeed, it was a source of great sorrow to us that, owing to the bad going in

the Pongo, we should be unable to bring them up...a pity, for they were certainly a very fine col[197]lection.....No, no efforts of ours could overcome the difficulties of navigation in the cañon, with so many heavy dugouts laden with merchandise destined to enrich his people...Yes, a great pity, for we had brought them up from many moons distance expressly for this purpose, having heard of them from other and lesser peoples who trembled at their name.

Pressed to stay with him as the guests of the tribe before returning, we accepted, lamenting once more that we should be unable to give them some small recompense for their generous hospitality, as our stores were irremediably shut off by the Pongo.

After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

28: Tessman--360 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 624

The chieftain is called kuhâku. In the case of disputes within the group he has no executive, but only advisory powers. He has no greater number of wives than any other respected member of the community.

According to Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., pp. 7 ff.) the Chiwaro Makas Indians do not have any chieftains; they elect war leaders (unta) in the case of war.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untä* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
• 624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
• 624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untā*. There may be two war chiefs if the neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the ex-[554] pedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often [illegible] as rigor-[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
703 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
602 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
628 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another
726 expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight
765 aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kunai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
• 624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s
796 house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
[554] man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with
[342] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara. The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*nampen*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsamtsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhú*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsamtsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsamtsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Čuwi[3] tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Čuwi tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 554 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his [865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, [562] [581] with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 554 626 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untä* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 721 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

I was born to die fighting. 538

Jívaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the interior Jívaro as to what is correct, normative social behavior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them. 626 183

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis among the Jívaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic illnesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed 754 682 626

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanis-
[276] tic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
[787] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
[628] and sets household against household. Under these circum-
[721] stances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive
[682] an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
[278] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
602 Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him,
69 takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusúpani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house,' etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place."

R. Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--269-270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 627 (1928-29)

"Since supposed sorcery is nearly always the nearest cause of murders within the tribe, it is clear that the professional sorcerers or medi-[270] cine men are those members of Jibaro society which are most frequently exposed to the revengeful attacks of their enemies. As a matter of fact, in large Indian societies sorcerers are very often assassinated, or at least threatened with death, by their enemies. When a medicine-man has undertaken to cure a sick person and the latter dies in spite of the treatment, the 'doctor' is also generally made responsible for the death, the relatives of the dead reasoning that the medicine-man, instead of curing the patient, on the contrary used his art to kill him. The unsuccessful curer is therefore murdered unless he escapes by flight. Since the Jibaros, on the whole, do not recognize what we call a natural death but always attribute a death to supernatural causes, any death among them tends to give rise to a murder, the relatives of the deceased considering it as their duty to take revenge upon the supposed author of the accident."

l: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (súngura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (sungura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i.e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused wilfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out

1: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

I: Karsten--271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

I: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775, 152, 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc. --we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

1: Karsten--272-274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 672, 627, 828 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros blood-revenge is not strictly individualized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the slayer. The Jibaro certainly first of all wants to take revenge on the person who committed the crime, but if he cannot be caught it may instead be directed against some one of his relatives--his brother, his father, even his mother or sister. To understand this we have to consider that the conception of individual personality, and consequently of individual responsibility, does not exist among the primitive Indians in the same sense as among civilized peoples. The individual forms an inseparable part of a whole, namely, of the family or tribe to which he belongs. Especially the members of the same family are regarded as, so to speak, organically coherent with each other, so that one part stands for all and all [273] for one. What happens to one member of that social unit happens to all, and for the deed of one member the rest are held equally responsible. How the Jibaros conceive this connection appears from certain of their social customs. For instance, custom requires that after a child is born the parents shall fast and observe other rules of abstinence for a couple of years, or until the child is weaned. This is due to the idea that something of the souls or essence of the parents inheres in the child, so that all three in one way form a single organism, a single personality. But this mystic connection between the parents and the child also subsists after the child has grown up, although perhaps less intimately. Similarly the tie which unites brothers and sisters

in a family is so intimate that they may be said together to form one organic whole. Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when one member of the family is sick the rest have to diet in the same way as the patient himself, for if they eat unsuitable food it would be the same as if the patient ate that food, and his condition would grow worse. From the same point of view we have to explain the custom prevailing among the Jibaros that when a man dies his brother must marry the widow. The departed husband, who is still jealous of the wife he left behind, does not cede her to any other man than his brother, who with himself forms one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. When a younger Jibaro is murdered by his enemies the duty of revenging his death is also first of all incumbent on his brothers.

The Jibaro cannot even distinguish his own personality from his material belongings, at least not from things he has made himself. When he makes a shield, a drum, a blowgun, or some other delicate object, he has to diet and observe abstinence in other ways; for, according to his belief, he actually puts something of his own personality, his own soul, into the object he is making. His own properties, both the essential and habitual ones and those occasionally acquired through eating a certain food, etc., will therefore be transferred to that object. The division of labour existing among the Indians depends on the same peculiar view. Thus, for instance, the Indian woman has

to make the clay vessels and manage these utensils, because the clay of which they are made, like the earth itself, is female--that is, has a woman's soul. She is connected with the fire and has to cook the food, because the fire has a female soul, etc.

Such a view prevailing among the Indians, it is easy to understand that a Jibaro, in regard to the murder of one of his relatives, asks not [274] so much which individual has committed the deed, but rather reasons in the following way: 'A member of that family has murdered my relative; consequently, in revenge, some member of that family must die'."

R. Karsten--274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 672 (1928-29)

"When a murder committed by tribesman is to be avenged, the social morality of the Jibaros requires that the punishment shall be meted out with justice, in so far that for one life which has been taken only one life should be taken in retaliation. Thereupon the blood-guilt is atoned for (tumáshi akérkama) and the offended family is satisfied. Consequently, if a Jibaro Indian wishes to avenge the murder of his brother, it may well happen that he, if the slayer himself cannot be caught and punished, will assassinate his brother or father instead of him, but he does not take the life of more than one member of the family, even if he has an opportunity of killing more. If he, for instance, killed not only the murderer himself but also one of his brothers, this would awaken indignation in the whole tribe, and it would be considered just that the family thus offended in its turn should take revenge. The blood guilt in such a case has passed to the original avenger. This principle, which requires that there shall be justice in the retaliation so that life is weighed against life, in itself of course has a tendency to limit blood-revenge. It happens, however, in many cases, and especially when supposed witchery is in question, that the person accused of the crime does not admit the guilt, but asserts that he and his family are innocently persecuted by the relatives of the dead. If then he or a member of his family is murdered, his relatives try, in their turn, to take revenge, and so on, in which case the blood feud tends to become prolonged indefinitely."

1: Karsten--274 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 602 (1928-29)

"Though, as we have seen, among the Jibaros blood-revenge takes place with regard to members of the same sub-tribe, this is not so when a crime is committed within the family. Among these Indians it sometimes occurs that a man kills his brother, if the latter, for instance, has seduced his wife or bewitched one of his children. But in this case blood-revenge is not generally taken, inasmuch as the natural avengers--that is, the father and the remaining brothers--abstain from carrying it out. 'It is enough that one member of our family has died, 'they say, 'why should we deprive ourselves of one more?' The slayer is consequently pardoned. The absence of blood-revenge in a case like this is due to the natural sympathy which the avengers feel for the slayer, as well as to the consideration that by killing him they would only harm themselves, by weakening the power and influence of the family."

20: Dyott--157-158 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 627, 867, 181

"It was no longer plans for the morning that were being discussed: Kuashu was relating a rather long-winded story about a brother of his who had been foully murdered some years previously. He was telling his sons that the day would come when they would have to avenge the outrage.

It seemed that this uncle had beaten one of his wives to death because she was unfaithful to him, and the woman's family, considering the treatment unnecessarily harsh, had murdered the husband in retaliation. Custom said that Kuashu's family must also take a life in order to satisfy the Jivaro sense of justice. With this end in view, the spirit of revenge was being kept alive, and almost every day the young men of the household were reminded of the duty which they inherited, and how they would eventually have to kill some member of the family who were responsible for their uncle's murder. The boys listened to the tale, which had already been told them hundreds of times, with as much interest as if they had never heard it before, and I wondered how long it would be ere their hands were stained with blood. They saw nothing wrong in this lust for vengeance, for their creed taught them that the spirit [158] of their uncle could not rest till justice had been meted out. Furthermore, if they failed to take reprisals they and their families would be the ones to suffer."

1: Karsten--65 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 628 (1928-29)

"Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited."

1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 583, 628 (1928-29)

"....capture of women in general, within the sub-tribes, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Jibaro communities. The same may be said of elopements with another man's wife, an unlawful form of marriage which may give rise to lengthy and sanguinary feuds between the families."

1; Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

1: Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 754 (1928-29)

"When among the Jibaros a family father, especially a chief or a great warrior, dies, and a medicine-man, by drinking natéma, has established not only that death has been caused by witchcraft but also who the wizard is, it is incumbent on his nearest male relations, and first of all on his sons, to take revenge on the supposed assassin. At the death-bed of the father they make a solemn promise to fulfil this duty. Often the sons alone carry out the sanguinary business. If the sorcerer has many supporters they join the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased. Sometimes the conspirators also ask the advice of the chief of the tribe, but the latter generally does not take part in such a private feud unless he has some personal interest in it."

1: Karsten--279 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arútama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself. 'That sorcerer who has bewitched your father you will conquer and kill'. Or they say: 'If you make war against that sorcerer now, you will not succeed in killing him, but you will be killed yourself.' In the latter case the avenger desists from his plan, at least for the present. Again, if the answer is favourable, he with his followers makes the last preparations for the attack."

1: Karsten--279-280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628 (1928-29)

"Such an attack is sometimes planned and carried out in the greatest [280] secrecy. Sometimes, and more frequently, the victim is threatened beforehand, the avenger letting him know what fate is awaiting him. He may then save himself by quickly fleeing to another part of the country. But it may happen that he sends his enemies the following menacing challenge: 'I have been told that you intend to assault and kill me. All right; you may come if you have valour. I do not fear you, and I am ready to receive you.' Such resolute behaviour may cause the enemy to desist from the planned attack or to postpone it to another more opportune time. Among the Jibaros there also exists the following custom, through which the Indians try to inspire the enemy they want to kill with fear. Of a piece of manioc the likeness of a human head in miniature is formed, which is supposed to represent the enemy threatened. This head is put on the top of a stick, and the stick is fixed in the ground in the neighbourhood of the enemy's house. This procedure is supposed to have some power of promoting the plans of the avenger."

1: Karsten--280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 302, 276 (1928-29)

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

"The attack is carried out in different ways, depending on the circumstances. Sometimes the victim is attacked in his house at night, sometimes while he is working outside or travelling. In the former case the assault is made a little before dawn, at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning. The Jibaros begin their day very early, and the family father is the first who gets up. Since it is difficult or impossible to force the entrance, the enemies generally avail themselves of the opportunity when he opens the door to perform his necessary duties. At this moment they rush upon him and kill him with their lances. If they are armed with guns or rifles and the house is not especially fortified, they creep along to the wall and through an opening in it try to give the sorcerer the death-dealing shot while he is sitting at the fire preparing his tobacco water or his guayusa. Having accomplished the deed, the assassins quickly steal away, leaving the rest of the inhabitants of the house unmolested.

It is, however, easier to kill the enemy while he is outside the house, [281] working or occasionally wandering in the forest. The conspirators beforehand carefully inquire about the movements of the intended victim, and ambush a place along the path where he has to pass. This place is generally one where some natural obstacle appears, consisting of a small rivulet which the sorcerer has to wade across, or of a swamp where he is obliged to go slowly. Sometimes they also put up along the path some of the secret signs which the Jibaros use as road marks, or to give friends indications as to the direction they ought to take. When the sorcerer arrives here, he stops to

examine what the mark means. At this moment the enemies rush forward and pierce him with their lances or shoot him to death. The dead body is left lying on the path or is thrown into the forest.

Naturally it also happens that the sorcerer is able successfully to defend himself, nay, even to kill his assailants. The sorcerers are nearly always also warriors--a fact quite natural on account of the danger of their profession--and always go armed, one threatened by his enemies, of course, being especially on the alert."

1: Karsten--281-282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 784 (1928-29)

"On the return from such a feud the avengers have for some time to observe certain rules of precaution with regard to their mode of life. The restrictions laid upon them are, however, much milder than those a Jibaro has to observe after he has killed an enemy of a foreign tribe, and essentially consist in fasting and sexual abstinence. During the two first days the slayer or slayers must abstain from drinking manioc beer (nihamanchi), the national beverage of the Jibaro Indians. His food consists of boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma, or of another kind of root fruit resembling the manioc, called sangu by the Jibaros and mandi in the Quichua language. He likewise eats a dish prepared of manioc and the leaves of the plant sangu, called ambi. He is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, as well as the flesh of the large wild hog (unta pakki), and of any kind of monkey. On the other hand, he is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the small rodent agouti (kayúka). He eats only the small birds of the forest which are killed with the blowpipe and nonpoisoned arrows. He eats only the smallest kinds of fish living in the rivers, a kind of sardine, and small shellfishes (chumakaí, sháchma). This diet is continued for two or three months. During the first month after having killed the sorcerer the Jibaro is likewise forbidden to sleep in his house, and passes his nights in a small ranch made on the bank of the river. After the lapse of the month he goes to a natural small waterfall (paccha or sasa) and takes a cold bath, letting the water fall on his naked [282] body. After this purification he returns to his home and may sleep in his house, not with his wife, but in the

ante-room or department of the men (called tangámasha). This sexual abstinence is observed as long as the fasting, namely, for two, or, among some Jibaros, three months. If the rules mentioned are infringed by the slayer the soul of the killed enemy, who constantly follows him thirsting for revenge, will take his life."

1: Karsten--282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas this blood-revenge within the tribe is most often carried out simply through assassinations, the feuds fought out between the different tribes are naturally on a larger scale and with more reason deserve the name of 'war'. In all his feuds, however, the Indian, if possible, avoids open fights, having recourse to treachery, assassinations, and sudden, generally night attacks. But if a real combat and hand-to-hand fighting ensue, the Jibaro warrior often displays both valour and contempt of death, a fact that is fully proved by the history of the Indians. Not to take flight, not to abandon his comrades in such a situation, but gallantly to meet the enemy with lance and shield, is the ambition of every real Jibaro warrior, and, as we have seen, the education of the boys from the beginning aims at imparting to them the qualities necessary for such behaviour."

2: Stirling--39 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-
116, 624, 628

"A typical unit or group under a curaka [KS: head of the household]consists of six or seven houses, each with its capito [KS: common war leader], situated over an area of 5 or 6 miles on some small river. Such a group has no name to designate it other than that of the stream on which it is located. The blood ties in such a group are likely to be rather close. All groupings of the Jivaros other than the household group proper, which is a natural family unit, are traceable directly to the custom of blood revenge. Such groups are in the nature of loose alliances for defensive or offensive warfare. Insomuch as war raids are purely in the nature of feuds, these alliances are never very extensive or very permanent."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

2: Stirling--116-117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 628

"In discussing the matter of shamanism it is necessary to understand something of the background of the system of blood revenge as practiced by the Jivaros, because many shamanistic practices result directly or indirectly from this basic custom. The Jivaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft and ordinary disease. If a man is afflicted with localized pains in some part of the body the trouble is attributed to witchcraft. However, there are a number of ailments, particularly those which have been brought to the Indians by the whites, which are looked upon as natural ailments.

If someone brings sickness to the house of a Jivaro so that a member of the family becomes ill and dies, that person is considered responsible for the death and is liable to blood revenge by the relatives of the victim. They may be willing to admit that the disease was not brought intentionally, but this does not excuse the responsibility. However, where the culprit is not considered morally liable, in most instances he may free himself from the blood revenge system by paying compensation to the family of the person who has died.

In the same way the Jivaros are apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases where the crime has not been caused willfully, as for example, when someone in a state of intoxication or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause of another person's death. However, in any of these instances, if the [117] evildoer refuses to pay to compensation asked, he becomes liable to blood revenge."

26: Brüning--73 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 628

It seems that among the Aguaruna Indians there is a sort of murderous revenge, though there is a way of redeeming it with gifts. I heard of one case where the gift of a blowgun eliminated the necessity for bloody revenge.

31: Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 181, 628, 721

"The so-called 'fight-instinct' has frequently been mentioned as the cause of the warlike character of the Jibaros. There seem, however to be less mystical explanations, and the most common causes of fights and wars are probably the following: Violation of social mores, wish for revenge, damage through witchery, traditional rivalry, enmity, and stealing women. (3)[89]

It should, however, be noticed that there is a difference in practice concerning the killing within the same geographical group and between different geographical groups. In the first case, jus talionis is strictly followed. The same number from the enemy family is killed that was lost by the offended family. In the second case, namely, conflicts between different geographical groups, a complete war of extermination is carried out."

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]

31: Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 181, 628, 721

"3. [Footnote 3; pages 86-88] That controversies on account of such factors as listed here usually lead to open fighting and killing is of course due to the lack of an established common law maintained by functional groups (police, judges, wardens), as the Swedish philosophers Hagerstrom and Olivecrona have pointed out. An experiment was made among the Yurupaza Jibaros in collaboration with Father Juan Ghinassi and with the consent of the Indians themselves. A jail was built at Father Juan's courtyard, and the Indians agreed to bring there all delinquents whom they unanimously regarded guilty, instead of letting the involved parties fight it out as they had done before. (As a matter of fact the majority of the Indians usually have a clear idea about who is the guilty according to the mores.) This turned out to be a working solution. The Indians considered the mere act of confinement as such to be a sufficiently severe penalty (the lack of liberty [87] is the greatest misfortune and shame that can occur to a Jibaro Indian), and the time of confinement was of no importance to them. The common 'sentence' was one or two days. All attempts to give Father Juan also judicial power were, however, in vain. The Indians correctly pointed out, that in spite of the fact that he had lived among them for the last twenty years, he didn't know as much as themselves about the mores and traditions of the society. During the subsequent seven months seventeen Indians were sentenced to imprisonment, and Father Juan's last report says that the rate of fighting and killing has decreased considerably. None of the Indians had insisted on long

prison terms, but some of them suggested that Father Juan should insult the prisoners several times a day as an additional penalty. All the 'plaintiffs' declared themselves to be content with the arrangement of imprisonment as a penalty."

12:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without reverence to the beliefs regarding ensuel, witchcraft, or kin-ship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *musiak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekir wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind telling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824 part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
(237 shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of
European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
157 men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must
always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must
practice the use of weapons, live for
battle and the hunt.

/333 cont./

000 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[727] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed
forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform
all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems
to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm
[462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men
fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for
cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the
forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work,
falls to the women.

582 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention.
583 That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its
mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being
able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may
also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into
his house and feed them.

628 Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair
[579] style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense
[302] of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedi-
cated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its
certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails
here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a
family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole
tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor him-
self must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must
be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack;
the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings
avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden
attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is
[202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack
succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the in-
habitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even
violent battles take place. Then the families living in the
neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [175] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly. (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [797] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge its actual demographic effects. 164

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift that has occurred during the past half-century from large-scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to have expanded. 16 [721] [682] 101 628

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has con-
• 628 tributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956–57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had
439 not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighbor-
[411] hood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these
[441] products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro
[464] in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu-
177 factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of
134 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially
43 because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
• [628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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601 602 578 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kanú yaći*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

578 601 609 574 628 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

867 578 628

601

FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuia, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nehás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

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578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yaći*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yaći*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untá*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[8] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [714] [292]

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
• 628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law. 701 628 721

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation. 701 721 [726] [727] [727] [411]

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri šuarä* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu šuarä* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche. [484]

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwišin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The 756

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
• 628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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441 of siblings and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading
572 partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*amičī*)
593 in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yatsučī*). Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight
[602] with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner
• 628 involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if possible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus,
721 when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading
[572] partner's *amigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *amigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *amigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *amigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back. 441 [628] [721]

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *amigri* named Hintač was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macuma. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *amigri*, Mukučam, of the *yaŋuara* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Aŋuašä, in the *čaŋuap* neighborhood. Finally, Aŋuašä then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos. [439]

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintač was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cusuimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *amigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kašinhint, in the Cusuimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kašinhint, in turn, traded with Wampitsurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampitsurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa. [439]

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774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it
778 is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
• 628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huará* intra-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more 721
insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more 727
likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same 765
fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be
taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the
"hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are [774]
frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* [829]
souls and *wainak*, and it appears that their primary motivation
in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a 774
tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature 825
thought to be capable of forming a *wainak*. Because the tree [796]
sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore [796]
must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long.
At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow
manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam*
soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual [796]
precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human
tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive. The *wainak* of [784]
the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an 765
inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head 727
before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot 796
be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, 774
but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a 776
previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts.
Through ritual procedure, the *wainak* of the new victim is
believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two
tsantsa celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*tsumi'l nawper*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of
the victim even though a subminute head is being used. Oc- 796
casionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the 825

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779 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*.
276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
• 628 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
721 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with inter-tribal communication, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual communication contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly ap-
276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic
[276] beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
[787] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
[628] and sets household against household. Under these circum-
[721] stances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive
[682] as activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
[278] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquility.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
602 Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved
69 party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within 674
the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in 682
which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most [186]
deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether [761]
through actual physical violence (including poisoning), be- [775]
witching, or by avenging souls (*musiak*) of the dead. While
no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to
be caused by *musiak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely 682
considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal 628 •
family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a [721]
one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 682 628 728

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628 682 728 [431] a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to terminate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family, accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 682 754 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are, in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assassination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 562 278 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death [593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

[754] [727] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense
• [628] and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

685 A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
428 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
593 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
[587] if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
727

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a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens. 423

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jívaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jívaro life. 578 628 682

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
• 628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not
762 surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

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Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untsi*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untsi* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

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"War," in the Jivaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

• 628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a re-
flection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding,
and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e.,
have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he
554 asks an *untā* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
624 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
[796] or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[342] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untá*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
• 628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the *last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one* such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 This does not mean that Jivaro killing has been entirely
• 628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
578 warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
648 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
183 typical of the present situation is that some Jivaro are learning to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jivaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jivaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jivaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,830 *wasuni huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jivaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

5: Reyes and Teran--131-134 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 635

"The present borders of the Oriente have resulted from the work of one of its most enthusiastic and intelligent leaders, Pío Jaramillo Alvarado. He demonstrated the absurdity of maintaining the ancient title 'Provincia de Oriente', whose governor exercised a control which was even less than abstract. The present political organization, even though it too may have faults and deficiencies, is slowly giving recognition to these forgotten regions and, above all, is making effective national sovereignty in the face of the pretentions of the southern neighbor [GCB: Peru].

The territory is divided into two provinces [provincias] and these, in turn, are divided into cantons [cantones] and parishes, [parroquias] as follows: [132]

I. NAPO PASTAZA. --Capital: Tena. 4 cantons and 20 parishes.

The cantons are:

1. Napo, including the towns of Tena, Papallacta-Baeza, Archidona and Loreto.

2. Sucumbíos, including the towns of Santa Rosa de Sucumbios, Farfán, Sigue, Putumayo and Cuyabeno. [133]

II. SANTIAGO--ZAMORA. --Capital Macas. 5 cantons and 20 parishes.

The cantons are:

1. Macas, including the towns of Arapicos, Zuna, General Proano, Chiguaza and Guamboya.

2. Morona, including the towns of Miazel, Morona and Yaupi.

3. Santiago, including the towns of Gualaquiza, Mendez, Rosario, Indanza and Santiago.

4. Zamora, including the towns of Zamora, Yacuambi and Sabanilla.

5. Chinchipe, including the towns of Zumba, Chito and Palanda. [134]

This demarcation has resulted after many years in giving our Amazonian territory new rights to self-administration, as it had in Colonial days, when it was divided into the governments of Yahuarzongo and Bracamores to the south, those of Llacas and Quijos in the central region, and those of Mocoa and Sucumbíos to the north. Today in the Napo provinces--Pastaza and Santiago--Zamora--the political and administrative personality characteristic of their sister states of the Andes already are being defined. Soon this development will permit them to take part consciously and worthily in the orderly progress of the national life."

18: Hermessen--435 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 133, 642

"Rising in the western foothills of the Cordillera Oriental the Rio Zamora flows through Loja, where it is joined by the Rio Malacatos. (5) Ten miles farther north, in confluence with the Rio de las Juntas, it breaks through the Andes and enters the province of Oriente, the Amazon region of Ecuador, comprising a northwestern part of the basin of the great river. Vast in extent and largely unknown, unexplored and unmapped, this territory has always been a bone of contention among the republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. But although the particular portion of it which I visited, on a reconnaissance of the Rio Zamora, was supposedly under the sovereignty of Ecuador, no evidence of administrative authority was to be found there, nor did the savages of the Jíbaro tribe who live there acknowledge allegiance to the government at Quito."

"5. Not to be confused with another river of the same name, rising at Cajanuma on the Pacific side of the Cordillera Occidental and discharging into the Rio Catamayo, which latter, under the name of the Rio de la Chira, reaches the sea near Payta, Peru."

2: Stirling--51 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 648

"The Jivaros usually attempt to maintain a spy system in all of the groups with which they have contact. Spying is a dangerous mission as it is common knowledge among the tribes that the others, as well as themselves, maintain a system of espionage. When a spy learns something which he thinks his group should know, under the pretense of going hunting, he notifies his friends. Cases have been known when a Jivaro has betrayed his own group in return for a girl or a gun."

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in drinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.* The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-drinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the returning war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> You will a there calling you from your home
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

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As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

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501 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
[648] to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

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628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jivaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jivaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Macas
and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from
his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the
volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a
distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing. On the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jivaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jivaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jivaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

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INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri huara* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

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Chapter 1

THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

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> I say truly to Your Highnesses that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.
>
> *Captain Hernando de Benavente —on the Jívaro in a letter to the Royal Audiencia of Spain, March 25, 1550*[1]

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Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untsuri šuarā*, the Jívaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *ačuarā šuarā* and the *tsunu šuarā*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful
101 conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

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MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri huarā*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 1 shows
133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
[161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 1,000 meters above sea level.
101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro
[563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguaza region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jívaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jívaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on
• 648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

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highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jívaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[13]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xivaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[14]

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The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, into the Jívaro territory. These newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[15] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

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scribed as "cities," in 1551: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Paute (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora, and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[18] 175 648

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldrete reported in 1582: [316]

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[19]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[20] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all due to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas, and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebrations of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presupposes several points:
>
> (1) That the Indian nations of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish; because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop something more than a parish of Indians. [177]
>
> (2) That the Jívaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without levies or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes.

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(3) That the conquered inhabitants of the Paute, where the city of Logroño was founded, remained very displeased with the unequal administration of its taxes, done because of their old rebelliousness.

(4) That even though they were paid for their labor, in iron tools and other goods, in accordance with the ordinances of President LaGasca, that immediate inducement did not offset their innate idleness, and they worked the gold mines with much reluctance.

Given these points, it is easy to understand with how much activity the uprising would be prepared. Above all, it is necessary to understand that the Jíbaros of the Morona, who were the leaders, had renewed their friendship and alliance with those of the Paute, in the interest of having, through them, the iron tools that they needed.

With the matters of government in these critical circumstances, there arrived orders from the royal Audiencia that there, as everywhere, they conduct the customary ceremony of the oath of allegiance to the King. The Governor, who did not miss an opportunity to enrich himself, wanted to take advantage of this. He proclaimed an edict in the capital, and had it announced in all the [regional] government through his lieutenants, fixing the day well in advance, and imposing a large tax, under the name of a gift, for the solemn royal celebrations, he being the one having to go out to collect it in person in the three provinces, equally from the Spaniards as from the Indians.

As soon as this order was proclaimed, rebellion was also proclaimed in all the [regional] governments, with the greater activity among the Spaniards than among the Indians. Since they [the Spaniards] knew the purpose of asking such a big gift, they resolved to pay the cost of the celebrations themselves, although it might cost more, in order not to enrich the Governor by putting it into his hands. They spoke openly and resolutely about the cost, and afraid of not being heard, they elected in their meetings several leaders of a formal and declared conspiracy

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against the injustice of the order. The Governor, fearing its effects, since all the Spaniards were stirred up, explained to them, by himself privately, that the gift was free and voluntary, and that each should only contribute according to his means. But he did not explain nor intimate this to the Indians; as a result, while the Spaniards had calmed down, the Indians remained upset.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order with resignation. The Jíbaros entered into many consultations, and already were resolved to throw off the yoke, retreating to the Morona. Seeing them with this determination, Quirruba [*Kirupasa?* ("Big Frog")], chief of one of their settlements, very alert and capable, quieted them all down. He told them that that was not the sure way of liberating themselves permanently from the Christians: that if they were attempting to do that, they must entrust themselves to his direction, and must bind themselves to execute in secret all that which he would order, and not to think, for then, of making a withdrawal.

They accepted his proposition and swore to recognize him as their leader and liberator. He imposed two obligations upon them: first, inviolate secrecy on which everything depended; and second, that they seek not only the gold that the Governor ordered, but whatever more they were able to, in order that this might be the price of their liberty, feigning to seek gold with great enthusiasm to solemnize the royal celebrations.

Meanwhile, Quirruba asked, through messengers, for aid from all of the Jíbaros of the Morona; and having it assured, he insisted on involving the Macas and Huamboyas in the same conspiracy by means of secret emissaries, because his plan was to wipe out all the Spaniards of the [regional] government at the same time on the same day. He learned the day which the Governor had fixed for his arrival in Logroño, where Quirruba himself was to go personally with part of the army.

He designated two others in whom he had confidence as leaders of the undertaking: one for the capital of Sevilla del Oro, and the other for the town of Huamboya, in order that each one, aided by the local Indians and by the troops of Jíbaros that were

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175 distributed in those parts, that all might become blood and fire.
648 The fear of being destroyed by the Jíbaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan; but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at
648 Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out
726 up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the
648 preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in
727 which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations, and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jests, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone, and burning his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 175 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [562] [797] 175 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country; the communication was excessive, because each one was 175 648

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thinking more of saving his family and possessions than of the common defense, it was difficult to conduct it to advantage: nevertheless, the city and royal officials tried hard to make as much preparation as was possible, intrenching the towns, and placing those under arms in the locations of the most danger, not having forces or preparation for a battle outside the city.

The officials transported all of the royal treasury and its boxes to the main church, fortifying it as a citadel and final refuge. They also fortified the church of the nuns of the Conception, cramming into it all of the women and children. At nightfall, a portion of the inhabitants of the town of Huambocha, 16 leagues distant, entered the city, having seen all of the rest in Riobamba and its environs. All of these fled, abandoning their houses and goods, because at dawn that day they learned, from a lone sick Indian who had remained, that all the people of his nation had retreated to the Cordillera de Cabillín, fleeing the Jíbaros, who were going to destroy everyone that night.

They rejoiced in Sevilla del Oro with the recruitment of these people, and passed all the night on watch, awaiting the enemy. Seeing that they neither appeared the next day, they began to doubt the existence of the conspiracy. They thus won time to complete the defense somewhat more, to bring in a supply of food from the neighboring countryside, and to gather the Spaniards sprinkled in the mining camps and small settlements of the district.

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The reason that the barbarians postponed the appointed time by 24 hours was because the Macas, who were summoned to join with them and to lead them, as guides, to the city, did not appear at their appointed meeting place. Finding the Macas to be unfaithful, they delayed the march, and sent word to Logroño to supply more troops. These arrived between midnight and dawn the next day, and together they marched against Sevilla del Oro, burning with desire to avenge themselves, not so much against the Spaniards, as against the Macas Indians, for having broken their promises.

The Spaniards worked themselves up into going forth onto the

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115 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city,
• 648 which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and
726 proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[726] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

115 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both
648 legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been mentioned with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mondejar, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

115 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead
648 in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in
727 Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

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more than 25 thousand inhabitants, between citizens and merchants from the outside, it is said that not a fourth remained, this being almost all women and children, with very few men.

Upon the pitiful fall of this government [of Macas], the total ruin of the territory of Yaguarzongo followed as a consequence, and the almost total ruin of Jaén, of which I shall tell you in due time; and that of Loja and Quijos, which I have already reported. Even the highest and most secure provinces of the Kingdom [of Quito] experienced notable unrest on the part of the peoples upon notification of the horrendous catastrophe: it reached even to the barbaric nations of Popayan, and caused them, by its bad example, to commit the insolences and destructions to which I referred in speaking of its cities.

It was a special providence of Heaven that at nightfall the triumphant barbarians unexpectedly withdrew from Sevilla del Oro, the reason being unknown, they being able to have easily consummated the slaughter of everyone. The wretched remnant, informed of all that had happened in Logroño, remained fearing the return of the barbarians at any moment; and no longer capable of resistance, they only thought of saving themselves. Small parties of children and women, with an occasional man, were leaving on foot with a thousand hardships, and without any food, to take refuge in other cities of the Kingdom; and not a single person would have stayed, if an opportune relief had not shortly arrived from Quito.[19]

Those Spaniards who stayed retreated north to the upper Rio Upano Valley and founded the refugee settlement of Macas. Some years later these people of Macas (commonly referred to as Macabeos) made sorties southward to mine the old placer gold deposits, but apparently these attempts ended in failure, due to attacks by the Jívaro.[20]

From 1599 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jívaro apparently had only intermittent and generally hostile contacts with whites. Some missionary and military

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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apach* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but were something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *mach'a* . . . they rode on top of them. I think these must have been horses. The *huard* were scared of them. These whites also had *ensa*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apach* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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194 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shots." The *mala* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-*malas* (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-*malas* (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the nineteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *si apali*, although he thought it was possible.

195 • 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the seven-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

195 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Pastaza region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[19] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1871, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[20]

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173 The Jivaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
• 649 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
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[19] In the old days, all the Jivaro [*aucanari huari*] lived near the Río Pastaza. Then two Jivaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutumupum, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *huari*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jivaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jivaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *huari* returned downstream and told their people:

[20] [21] [22]

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[41] [42] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[29] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[28] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

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machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the Jíbaro.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[28] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[29]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[30] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

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new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1902, but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

"Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

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175 people. Its fine cattle are known, by hearsay at least, throughout
• 648 Ecuador, but it is rarely that any are driven up to the markets of the plateau. The long trail to Riobamba, the only route from the village to the plateau, is at all seasons of the year so deep in mud that cattle cannot stand the journey over it. One wonders, indeed, how and why such a settlement as Macas exists. But it must be borne in mind that the inhabitants, as in certain sections of eastern Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, as well, are of a type of which white men elsewhere can scarcely conceive. They are with few exceptions a people so long reduced, because of their inability to engage in trade of any importance, to a state in which they have no desires that cannot be satisfied by the land on which they live. Shelter and food are their chief wants. The few articles of their monotonous diet are easily grown. Their huts of bamboo slats . . . are easily constructed from material immediately at hand. On their infrequent trips to the plateau, they may carry with them a bit of gold washed from a nearby stream, a little crude alcohol distilled from cane grown on a river playa, a few homemade cigars, a little coffee or cacao, wherewith to purchase a few yards of cheap cloth needed for clothing. Their life is easy, tranquil and even plentiful within their conception of plenty. The region could undoubtedly support many more people in such a state of plenty and tranquility, but such a life could scarcely satisfy the desirable type of colonist, either local or foreign, who breaks old ties and traditions to set out to find a better life in new lands.[21]

Even as the above sketch was being published, however, a new wave of white colonists had begun to enter this western part of the Jívaro territory.[22] Mestizo workers who had accompanied the Salesian missionaries to Méndez were rediscovering the rich placer gold deposits which the Spaniards had mined in the sixteenth century on the lower Río Paute, lower Río Zamora, and lower Río Upano. Ecuadorians from the province of Azuay in the adjoining Andean highlands soon

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came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 175
Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usu- 648
ally attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as
individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were [411]
fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[10] probably
contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro
occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another,
directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [487]
built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province [797]
of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the
trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually,
Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed [411]
the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465]
particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which
they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the
colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423]
arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented
by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for
pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [791]
population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jivaro gardens by the whites.
[731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jivaro
101 lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled east-
161 ward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward
to the Río Chiguaza region.

175 Around 1941, Jivaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jivaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from
Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting
bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown num-
ber of Jivaro, including women and children, were reportedly
killed. The other Jivaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
[619] planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
all the Jivaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian
colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and
made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first
sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate stra-
tegic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the
leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Un-
doubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance
were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the
Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was
initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against
the Jivaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by
missionized Jivaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also sub-
sequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambiniani, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 1). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[38]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *anigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or 756 magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and 776 are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of [755] these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore 756 most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those 776 belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)- • 648 speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the 177 Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *paŋü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *paŋü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *šuar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *pasu* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

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[177]
[648]

The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *pasu* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *pasu*! Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods. 756 776 554

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual. 756 184 648 554

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3). 756 554

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jivaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret 756 [162] [463] [562] [554]

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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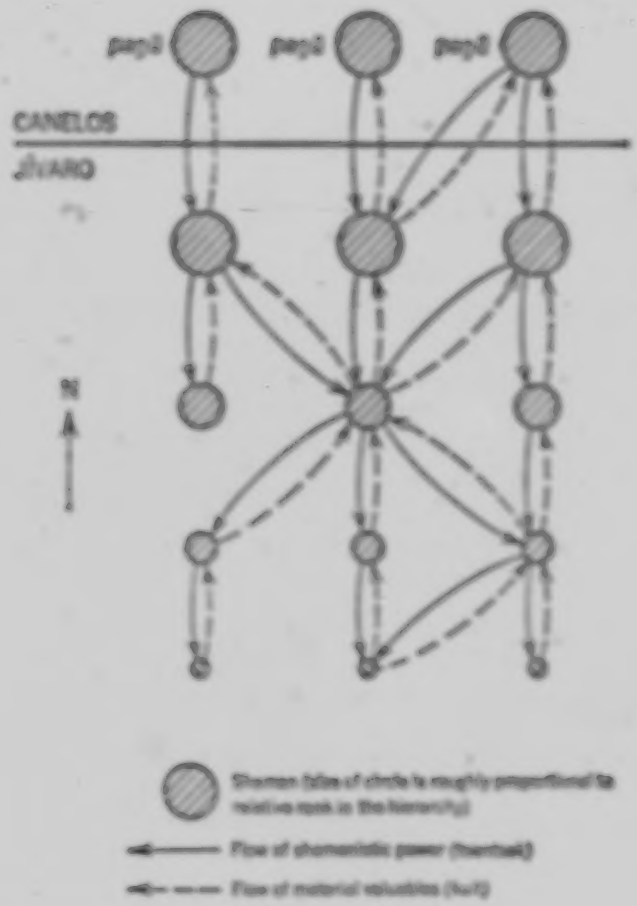

FIGURE 3

Schematic diagram of inter-tribal shamanistic hierarchies

— 34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the wakani might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the wakani will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the wakani to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the tsantsa over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the wakani as well as containing it. As

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jivaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jivaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jivaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available. 178 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *wampui huara* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *wampui huara* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 This does not mean that Jivaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
598 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
• 648 typical of the present situation is that some Jivaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jivaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jivaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
315 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jivaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *wampui huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jivaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jivaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jivaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jivaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jivaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jivaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jivaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jivaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

198 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
• 698 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will
563 undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from
the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe were convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept
through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as
the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the
Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently
determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed
five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most
slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us,
together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march
on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility
and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt
of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
[178] ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[433] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[657] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[797] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano
Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white
standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands
are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

34 Harner E-4, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the 429
Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This 563
basic cultural difference makes successful communication and
adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two
groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, 182
which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano 563
Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with 657
the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white 797
colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some 648
of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down
a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shuiri, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huara*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jívaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

[433] [423] [101] [186] [207]

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only 182
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ment concerned specifically with the protection of the rights
of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not 657
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many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jivaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious ob-
ligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jivaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jivaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

34:Harner E-6, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jivaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jivaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jivaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jivaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

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1: Karsten--35-36 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
668, 797 (1928-29)

"Although the Canelos Indians are nominally Christians, their relations to the leaders of the mission have not always been of a friendly nature. There have sometimes been conflicts between the Fathers and the Indians. The worst was the one which arose when the present wooden mission building was constructed, some forty years ago. The Indians were of opinion that a bamboo building of the kind commonly used by both Indians and settlers in Eastern Ecuador would be good enough for the Fathers, and consequently refused to construct a wooden house which would demand much time and work. The Indians engaged in a 'strike' of the kind that has not been uncommon among Christian Indians 'reduced' at missions. In Eastern Ecuador this strike is called miticushca which means 'to avoid', 'to keep away'; the Indians, in defiance of the orders of the Fathers, go off to their distant tambos, keeping away from the mission and the duties it imposes upon them. Palati, who had found an opportunity to exert his influence, was the leading person in organizing this strike, agitating and delivering speeches among the Indians and doing his best in exhorting them to avoid the mission. But the continuance of the boycott proved impossible; one family after the other [36] returned to the mission and submitted to the authority of the Fathers. Seeing that he would come off a loser Palati found it convenient to change his attitude in time. One day the Father had succeeded in calling together a number of Indians at the mission, and after the mass was finished he intended to speak to them to bring them to reason. Palati, who

was also present, asked to be allowed to say a few words to the Indians first. Then he started to deliver an exciting oration in which he expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of the striking Indians, reproaching them for their ingratitude towards the Father, and urging them to return to their duty. He himself, he said, had been against the miticushca from the beginning, but his advice had not been followed. This hypocritical declaration of the man who had been the real instigator of the strike, of course, astonished the Father, and some of the Indians too wished to raise protests against so obvious a distortion of the facts. However, satisfied at the final settlement of the conflict, the Father found it wiser to overlook minor matters. Palati had saved his prestige and even strengthened his influence.

Palati died in 1924, a few years after I left Canelos and South America. He was an interesting acquaintance to me, not only on account of his great age and his wide experience of life but also on account of his whole character, which seemed to me to be typical of an Indian chief and 'politician'."

2: Stirling--41 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 177, 135, 669

"The gold in the headwater streams of the Santiago brought the Jivaros in contact with the Spaniards at an early date. During the sixteenth century they apparently did not offer much resistance to the intrusions of the Spaniards, although they were continually fighting among themselves in much the same manner as they do at the present day. It took some time for the Spaniards to establish themselves as natural enemies, but after enduring the encomienda for about 30 years the Jivaros finally arose in a united revolt which freed them permanently from foreign rule, in spite of the fact that continuous efforts have been made since that time to exploit their territory."

12: Rivet--341-342 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 669

Incessant uprisings were also the result of this disastrous colonial policy. The most famous was that of 1599. On the occasion of the death of Philipp II, and the crowning of Philipp III, the governor of Macas wished to levy in his province a supplementary tribute under the name of "donativo para fiestas reales". Exasperated, the Jíbaros prepared a great revolt, under the leadership of a chief called Quiruba, and on the appointed day, 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño in the night. All the inhabitants were killed, the young women alone were spared and became [342] the wives of the wild victors (1). The governor died in the worst tortures; Quiruba made him drink melted gold to see, he said, if thus his thirst for riches could be appeased. The city was pillaged and burned, there were about 12,000 deaths. From Logroño, Quiruba went to Sevilla de Oro, where a great many of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The unfortunate city put up a desperate resistance and the aggressors had to withdraw, not without having killed three quarters of the population, about 18,000 individuals (2).

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 70. The wise Ecuadorian historian has pointed out that the Jíbaros could not have captured nuns since there did not exist at this time a convent of women in any city of the eastern region.

2. Coleti, op. cit. word Xivaros, vol. II, p. 182. --Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 152 and following. --Pedro Fermín Cevallos. Resumen de la historia del Ecuador. Guayaquil 1886, 6 vol. vol. II, pages 141 and following.

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
101 the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
161 lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguasa region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
[619] all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
648
797

1: Karsten--272-274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 672, 627, 828 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros blood-revenge is not strictly individualized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the slayer. The Jibaro certainly first of all wants to take revenge on the person who committed the crime; but if he cannot be caught it may instead be directed against some one of his relatives--his brother, his father, even his mother or sister. To understand this we have to consider that the conception of individual personality, and consequently of individual responsibility, does not exist among the primitive Indians in the same sense as among civilized peoples. The individual forms an inseparable part of a whole, namely, of the family or tribe to which he belongs. Especially the members of the same family are regarded as, so to speak, organically coherent with each other, so that one part stands for all and all [273] for one. What happens to one member of that social unit happens to all, and for the deed of one member the rest are held equally responsible. How the Jibaros conceive this connection appears from certain of their social customs. For instance, custom requires that after a child is born the parents shall fast and observe other rules of abstinence for a couple of years, or until the child is weaned. This is due to the idea that something of the souls or essence of the parents inheres in the child, so that all three in one way form a single organism, a single personality. But this mystic connection between the parents and the child also subsists after the child has grown up, although perhaps less intimately. Similarly the tie which unites brothers and sisters

in a family is so intimate that they may be said together to form one organic whole. Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when one member of the family is sick the rest have to diet in the same way as the patient himself, for if they eat unsuitable food it would be the same as if the patient ate that food, and his condition would grow worse. From the same point of view we have to explain the custom prevailing among the Jibaros that when a man dies his brother must marry the widow. The departed husband, who is still jealous of the wife he left behind, does not cede her to any other man than his brother, who with himself forms one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. When a younger Jibaro is murdered by his enemies the duty of revenging his death is also first of all incumbent on his brothers.

The Jibaro cannot even distinguish his own personality from his material belongings, at least not from things he has made himself. When he makes a shield, a drum, a blowgun, or some other delicate object, he has to diet and observe abstinence in other ways; for, according to his belief, he actually puts something of his own personality, his own soul, into the object he is making. His own properties, both the essential and habitual ones and those occasionally acquired through eating a certain food, etc., will therefore be transferred to that object. The division of labour existing among the Indians depends on the same peculiar view. Thus, for instance, the Indian woman has

to make the clay vessels and manage these utensils, because the clay of which they are made, like the earth itself, is female--that is, has a woman's soul. She is connected with the fire and has to cook the food, because the fire has a female soul, etc.

Such a view prevailing among the Indians, it is easy to understand that a Jibaro, in regard to the murder of one of his relatives, asks not [274] so much which individual has committed the deed, but rather reasons in the following way: 'A member of that family has murdered my relative; consequently, in revenge, some member of that family must die'."

1: Karsten--274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 672 (1928-29)

"When a murder committed by tribesman is to be avenged, the social morality of the Jibáros requires that the punishment shall be meted out with justice, in so far that for one life which has been taken only one life should be taken in retaliation. Thereupon the blood-guilt is atoned for (tumáshi akérkama) and the offended family is satisfied. Consequently, if a Jibaro Indian wishes to avenge the murder of his brother, it may well happen that he, if the slayer himself cannot be caught and punished, will assassinate his brother or father instead of him, but he does not take the life of more than one member of the family, even if he has an opportunity of killing more. If he, for instance, killed not only the murderer himself but also one of his brothers, this would awaken indignation in the whole tribe, and it would be considered just that the family thus offended in its turn should take revenge. The blood guilt in such a case has passed to the original avenger. This principle, which requires that there shall be justice in the retaliation so that life is weighed against life, in itself of course has a tendency to limit blood-revenge. It happens, however, in many cases, and especially when supposed witchery is in question, that the person accused of the crime does not admit the guilt, but asserts that he and his family are innocently persecuted by the relatives of the dead. If then he or a member of his family is murdered, his relatives try, in their turn, to take revenge, and so on, in which case the blood feud tends to become prolonged indefinitely."

1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
674, 177 (1928-29)

"Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*muisak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *muisak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft. 674 682 [186] [761] [775] 682 628

According to Jívaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible. [721]

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 682 628 728

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the
[628] abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

685 A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
428 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
593 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
[587] if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
• 674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
727

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
• [674] *untsuri šuarā*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that
423 he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being 411 obtained in ever greater numbers. 439

The development of long-distance chains of trading part- 178 ners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end 411 of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus 438 for this development was provided by the fact that the end 439 of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had [441] been much more involved in the rubber trade than the [249] Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and [313] ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier [278] Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory [317] of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpow- [412] der, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the fron- [237] tier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from [278] the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has 178 been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony 441 in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to 184 formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contrac- 675 • tual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for 178 firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neigh- 571 borhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white [411] settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading [441]

28: Tessman--361 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 682

Murderous acts and cases of homicide occur within the smallest circles. Occasionally, a husband kills, when he catches his wife's seducer in flagranti. To escape punishment, a murderer always flees; but after a long period of time he is allowed to return and has to pay. This settles the affair.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[13]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[14] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makančI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pagi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge 164
its actual demographic effects.

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus 16
are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift [721] that has occurred during the past half-century from large- [682] scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to 101
have expanded. 628

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

538

I was born to die fighting.

Jívaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the interior Jívaro as to what is correct, normative social behavior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them. 626 183

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis among the Jívaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic illnesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed 754 682 626

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*muisak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *muisak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft. 674 682 [186] [761] [775] 682 628

According to Jívaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible. [721]

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 682 628 728

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
• 682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 • 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens. 423

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jivaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jivaro life. 578 628 682

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
• 682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not
[628] surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[682] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather suddenly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
773 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
276 become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
824 uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
756 have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
755 Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jivaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás tsakami*) may go to the interior of the
823 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
177 from the frontier Jivaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
797 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jivaro, Tunguri, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jivaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
• 682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jivaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and prolonged feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 • [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

1: Karsten--185-186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 835, 684 (1928-29)

"Incest and any illicit sexual intercourse is regarded with the greatest horror and severely punished by cruel ill-treatment, sometimes even by both parties being put to death. One case of this kind came under my notice when a young Jibaro Indian eloped with his father's sister. All the male relatives of the family were pursuing the couple, and they assured me that if they got hold of them they would kill them. The Indians declared to me that such a marriage was a 'very bad thing'. [186] On further inquiry I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common punishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

1: Karsten--271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáno a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

10: Anthony--150 [3] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
-116, 684

"Sternest discipline, however, awaits any woman, who is found to be unfaithful to her husband. Even for the first offense an extremely cruel punishment is inflicted. The erring woman is thrown to the ground and held there while her husband, using the long, heavy machete or brush knife, cuts down on her head as hard as he dares to do without acutally killing her. He cuts a number of times in one direction and then again at right angles, so that when the woman is released her hair is all chopped bits and she is streaming blood.

If this treatment does not deter her from a second manifestation of infidelity, an even more rigorous punishment awaits her. She is pinned to the earth by the large lance or spear used by the men, the spear being thrust through the fleshy parts of the legs and and then deep into the ground. She is kept thus for several days or even as long as three weeks, being given food and water and sufficient attention to preserve life. The punishment for the third offense is death outright."

28: Tessman--362 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 684

Adultery is regarded as a serious crime. A husband is allowed to kill the adulterer if he catches him in the act. If the adultery is revealed at a later date, the scalps of the woman and her paramour are scratched with spines until blood is flowing all over their faces.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 837
by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 831
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs 832
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [534]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband [435]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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of the *tawaspā* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

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Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

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In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

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Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

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A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

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684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
586 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close
837 relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*tsabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *tsabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse
[605] with his daughter, one of the girl's *tsabe* (male cross-cousin and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists.
[586] Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

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685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense
[628] and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
685 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
428 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor
593 mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things
[587] to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common.
685 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

682 The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the
[684] two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the ammunition attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual ammunition raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading ammunition raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses. 762 593 684

Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*uwi*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement. 628 728

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *uwi* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge 721

28: Tessman--361 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 685

Men are rarely, women somewhat more frequently involved in thefts (in the fields!) Abuse is heaped upon the culprit, who must return the stolen goods, if she still has them. No other reparation is demanded. Lost objects, when found, are returned, and a reward is not customary.

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• 685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
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685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
[674] *untsuri šuarā*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
423 and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambinimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanis-
[276] tic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
[787] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
[628] and sets household against household. Under these circum-
[721] stances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive
626 an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
[682] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical vio-
[278] lence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
602 Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him,
• 69 takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

1: Karsten- 267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 592, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros as we have seen each family father is theoretically absolute ruler over his house people, and in times of peace there is no recognized common chief even within the tribe, and still less any exercising authority over several tribes. The Jibaros have not even a proper name for a chief. The word capitu, which is sometimes used, is borrowed from the Spanish and is used principally to denote a white man of importance. It is only in times of war that a chieftainship exists; that is to say, during those great wars of extermination which are carried out against other Jibaro tribes. Such a temporary chief of war is generally only called únta, 'the old one', because the chiefs are nearly always old, experienced men who have killed many enemies and captured many heads. The small blood-feuds within the tribe, on the other hand, have a more private character and as a rule are not fought out under the leadership of a common chief."

1: Karsten--267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701, 827 (1928-29)

"The dignity of a chieftain is hereditary in a relative sense, in so far that the son of a chief is generally elected chief in time of war after his father has died or grown decrepit. This, however, can only take place if he has proved a valiant and skilled warrior and has killed enemies. No Jibaro is selected as a chief if he has not killed at least one enemy. The Jibaros have absolute faith in the heritability of prominent qualities, and ascribe extraordinary importance to education and the power of example. The son of a great chief, they say, must necessarily also become an able warrior because he is, as it were, a direct continuation of his father, has received a careful education for the deeds of war, and has always had the good example of his great father before his eyes."

1: Karsten--267-268 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"The authority of the chief elected for a war is very great. It is he alone who arranges everything for the expedition planned, who decides [268] about the time for and the mode of making the attack, and the younger warriors oblige themselves to obey him in everything. But as soon as a war has been carried to a successful end the power of the chief ceases, and he has, in spite of the great repute he always enjoys, no more authority or right to decide about the doings of his tribesmen than any other family-father among the Jibaros."

2: Stirling--39[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701

"The number of households under the influence of a given curaka is subject to a great deal of fluctuation. It frequently happens that a strong curaka will build up a fairly powerful group of warriors about him. A weak curaka or capito may have a blood-revenge killing to attend to but will find himself outnumbered by the enemy to such an extent that he is afraid to attempt a killing with his own group. In this event he is likely to call upon the strong curaka to arrange the killing for him, paying him with a gun or a woman. Often, too, a weak curaka, fearing that his group would not be able successfully to defend themselves against an attack from enemies, will voluntarily place himself and his group under the influence of the strong curaka in a loose sort of alliance. In this way the strong group tends to grow and to become even stronger until one curaka may have 8 or 10 lesser curakas more or less under his control. This state of affairs is usually not very permanent. Owing to the loose organization and lack of any real power on the part of the head curaka, the large group becomes unwieldy or develops diverse interests and it tends to split up again into independent units. Consequently, in as little as 2 or 3 years' time, the original head curaka may find that one or more of his former lieutenants are now stronger than he."

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuki, known to the Ecuadoreans as José Grande. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuki was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Canga River and the upper Yaupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Canga Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cucusha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucusha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

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554 While the concept of the *untí* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untí* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
• [701] While the elderly *untí*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jívaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untá*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[2] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [714] [292]

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• 701 554 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his [865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, [562] with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such [581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 554 626 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *uni* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 721 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

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723
that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701 •
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular
kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance
to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [572]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law. 701 628 721

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation. 701 721 [726] [727] [727] [411]

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri huarã* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu huarã* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche. [484]

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwilin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The 756

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
• 701 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
756 and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
776 specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical
weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakwam*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body 766
is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A 764
palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is [778]
interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her 764
snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging 765
above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and 774
a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and [262]
beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekú wakanï*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untä* with renown as 769
a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he 774
wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, [701]
which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is en- 766
tombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 774

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
• 701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untä* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untä*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
• 702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[3]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the wee
[829] declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This
[226] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on
[251] fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are
[727] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *uwai*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[789] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

1: Karsten--94-95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
712 (1928-29)

"Since there are no openings serving as windows in the walls, narrow intermediate spaces of about two centimetres are left between the poles, through which the daylight filters. These cracks in the walls also allow the inhabitants of the house to look out and watch persons approaching; but on the other hand they may make it possible for enemy spies to watch the inmates of the house and even to attack them with natural or supernatural weapons. In times of war therefore the houses of the Jibaros [95] are specially fortified by means of extra walls and in other ways, as we shall see later on..."

1: Karsten--261-262 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 342, 712 (1928-29)

"That the Jibaros are professional warriors also appears from the way in which they construct their houses and from the defensive measures to which they have recourse when particularly threatened by their enemies. The houses themselves are constructed with great care, and as we have seen, even in times of peace are provided with walls of strong chonta poles. When a family is particularly threatened by enemies the house is fortified in a special way. On the outer side of the ordinary wall another wall is made, consisting of big chonta stems, so that the house has two walls, one close to the other (Pl. X, 3.4). Within the houses, all along the walls, a number of small rooms or partitions, about 1 meter in height, are likewise made of chonta poles, each having a small hole in the outside through which the warrior can shoot his attacking enemy. There is one such small room for each defender of the house. The partitions will afford the warrior protection in case the enemies are able to penetrate into the house. As to the doors, there are two in each Jibaro house, one at each end of the house, one for the men, the other for the women. These doors generally consist of six chonta poles, the upper ends of which are united by means of strong lianas, while the nether ends are free and can be separated from each other, three to each side, making an opening of triangular form. The whole opening is so small, however, that only one man at a time with some difficulty can enter the house. During the night the poles forming the doors are always carefully closed and fastened by a transverse pole applied to the inner side,

so that the entrance of undesirable persons is made impossible. Even the outer wall in a fortified house has a special door consisting of similar poles, which can be closed from the inside.

Not only the houses themselves but also the manioc and banana plantations situated close by are protected in a similar way by high fences [262] of strong chonta poles. The aim of this arrangement is to prevent the enemy from approaching the house through the plantations.

Formerly, before the use of firearms was so general among the Jibaros as it is now, the chiefs especially were in the habit of constructing a sort of war tower at one end of their houses. These towers were of quadratic form and sometimes 20 or 30 meters in height. On the top of it there was a small room about 4 meters in quadrate and with walls about 1 meter in height, made of strong chonta poles, which protected the defender against the lances of the enemies. The whole thing rested upon pillars of the stem of the chonta palm, and the warrior ascended along a stair consisting of wooden logs with incisions which gave him foothold. These war towers were called kumbinta. After the Jibaros began to make use of firearms in their wars these measures of defence proved less fit for the purpose, and consequently were no longer used."

1: Karsten--262-264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 712, 411 (1928-29)

"It is still common among the Jibaros to arrange a kind of trap on the way which leads to the house and where one expects the enemy will try to approach it. One such trap consists of a round hole in the ground, about 1 1/2 meters deep and large enough for a full-grown man to fall into it. At the bottom of the hole three pointed sticks of chonta, resembling points of lances, are arranged in an erect position. These pointed sticks are called ashi. The part which sticks out from the earth has a length of about half a meter. At the surface of the earth the opening of the hole is covered with small sticks and leaves which makes it difficult or impossible for the enemy, creeping along in the darkness, to discover its presence before he falls into it. When he falls his feet are transfixed by the pointed sticks and he is not able to get out. Besides, the defenders of the house are often keeping watch at these holes, ready to dispatch the enemy when he is caught in them. The Jibaros call these traps mesértinyu whua, 'a hole of death'.

Another kind of trap, which likewise is arranged on the narrow path leading to the house, is the following: it consists of a small tree, growing close to the path, which is bent down, or of a big branch of a tree, one end of which is fixed in the ground so that with the latter it forms an angle of about 30°. To the upper end of this branch eight pointed chonta sticks are attached in such a way that they form as it were a comb. The branch is bent back like a bow against a couple of poles fixed in the ground for the purpose, to which it is attached by means of a strong liana in a certain ingenious way that

cannot be fully described in words. Across the path a few inches over the ground another liana is stretched [263] and tied at one of the poles just mentioned. Between this liana and the liana holding the bent branch there is such a connection that when the foot of the enemy touches the former, the bow is released, and the comb with the pointed chonta sticks will strike him with terrible force in the face or the chest. The liana stretched across the path is sometimes covered with leaves in order that the enemy may not notice it, but besides, even this weapon is calculated to operate mainly in the darkness, since the attacks are nearly always made at night. The trap described (Fig. 7) is called tambunchi by the Jibaros and singbraru by the Quichua-speaking Canelos Indians.

Whereas the tambunchi has been used by the Jibaros since ancient times, the following defensive measure is of modern origin. Across the path along which the enemy is expected to come a blackened string is stretched at such a height that it is level with a man's chest. At the tree where one end of the string is fastened a charged and cocked rifle is tied, with the barrel fixed in the direction of the string. The end of the string is fixed in such connection with the trigger of the rifle that when the enemy, coming along in the darkness, gives it a push, the shot is discharged and is likely to hit him in the chest. Even if he should [264] escape being hit, the shot would warn the inhabitants of the house that enemies are approaching."

116, 712

"The Jivaro house is generally constructed with an eye to defense. As a rule, a house is erected in a small clearing, one side of which either faces a steep mountainside or a river bank. The walls of the house are constructed of poles or slats set vertically in the ground and as close together as possible. The house has a door at each end, made by placing hewn planks side by side in a vertical position so that when closed both the upper and lower ends are fitted into a slot. In order to open the door, these planks are lifted up so that the lower ends come out of the slot and the butts are set to one side so as to make an entrance in the shape of an inverted V. These doors can be barred from the inside.

If a jivaría has reason to suspect that an attack is impending a palisade of balsa logs is set up around the house with small loopholes here and there between the posts to serve for observaion and to shoot through. The walls of the house itself are reinforced on the inside with posts about 5 feet high. At intervals along the trails leading to the house strong saplings are bent back, attached with strings leading across the trail with trap releases. Spears are attached to these saplings so that when the string is stepped against, the sapling will react as a catapult, launching the spear into the body of the person releasing the trap. Deadfalls with pointed chonta sticks on the bottoms are dug at various strategic points. Frequently a trench with the bottom covered with chonta points in this fashion is dug entirely around the house. Great pains are taken to cover this nat-

urally, so as to make its location difficult to detect. Loaded guns with strings attached to the triggers are also set up here and there along the trails in the manner of the spear-catapults. Sometimes houses which are built near a river bank have concealed tunnels leading from inside the house through the bank to the edge of the river through which they can excape or send out messengers if badly pressed."

2: Stirling--60 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 712

"On the Casu, a tributary of the Apaga River, were two large abandoned jivarías, both strongly fortified by means of an inner wall 6 or 8 inches from the main wall standing about 5 feet in height, the intervening space being filled with small boulders gathered from the river bed, thus affording an excellent barricade in case of attack. Just off the end of the building which was evidently considered least vulnerable there was a small room barely 15 feet square which was protected on all sides in the same manner, but was raised about 20 feet from the ground, supported by four stout posts and placed conveniently near the little door of the main building so that one could at once step on a notched tree trunk and climb to safety, throwing the ladder away. These places are used for the safety of women and children in times of raiding and as a final refuge. Should the enemy try to climb to the hut, a shower of rocks is dropped down upon them, a supply being kept ready for that purpose. Climbing into one of these curious towers, it was found to have convenient niches in order that the occupants could command a complete view of the clearing on all sides and any Indian being fortunate enough to own a rifle and ammunition could easily hold at bay a strong force. However, the purpose of the structure is primarily as a protection for the women while the male occupants of the jivaría fight the enemy with their lances and shields."

12: Rivet--617-618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 712

When the Jívaro expects an attack he arranges a series of traps around his habitation: these are carefully hidden ditches where the enemy impales himself on sharp wooden sticks or perhaps they are automatic shooting arrangements made with the aid of vines. The aggressor, on touching one of them, sets off apparatus [618] and the skillfully arranged lances pierce him from all sides. (1)

When the menaced Jívaro is the chief of the tribe or a person of prestige, he constructs a very remarkable kind of a fort on the top of a hill where he can see a long way. Four enormous strong posts, 25 m. high, chosen from among the strongest in the forest, support a little room 3 m. square with a floor of strong wood, a roof like those in the houses, surrounded by a wall of chonta and caña one meter high. A big ladder is the only way of getting in. In this fort are placed an enormous tunduli, rocks to be thrown against the assailants, lances, machetes, implements of every sort, and occasionally a good Winchester rifle completes the armament. It is unnecessary to add that all the approaches are protected by numerous traps. (2)

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 66.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 68-69.

20: Dyott--156 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 342, 712

"Kuashu's home, in all its rough simplicity, was exactly like every other Jivaro establishment. Amongst the dozens I have visited, I have never seen the slightest signs of originality exhibited in their construction. Except for size, they are all identical. The absence of an outer wall, sometimes noted, only indicates the poverty or laziness of the owner. With increase of family, it will be added and the dwelling made to conform to the universal standard. In the more unsettled areas, I have come across defence towers (kumbinta) built alongside the house, and it is not uncommon to see an extra row of short poles planted outside the wall about six inches away, with the intervening space filled with stones; but such things are merely additional safeguards against attack."

26: Brüning--52 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 712, 343

A special type of buildings are the battle towers which can be found in connection with certain dwellings. I did not see one of these battle towers close enough, but I saw them from a distance while travelling by. The dwellings which I inspected did not have any such battle towers. They are placed at a distance from the main dwelling, but are connected with the latter by means of a ladder, which consists of notched tree-trunks. The towers consist of four sturdy uprights, each one 8 - 10 meters high and placed in a square at a distance of three meters from each other. On top there is a platform, which is protected by a parapet (height: 1 meter) and a roof.

28: Tessman--355 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 712

They have fortress-like structures (kumbinta according to Karsten) which look like towers (see my photograph on Plate 65. Pitfalls (tsi) with palm-wood points at the bottom are placed close to the paths. They have spearing traps (tanibunchi, Karsten) against enemies, very much like the spearing traps of the Ssimaku (see p. 495 and Illustration 11 on Plate 88). Illustration in Karsten, Blood Revenge etc., Plate 2.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

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539
926

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And yet one
Can get near my house.

Sung by a man to his enemies
when he believes that they are
about to attack

595 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally
951 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 1).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kwapanki* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
• [712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

/p. 42/ /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. 342
The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a [712]
single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the door- 342
ways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn 712
wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even 362
though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually 342
after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for 356
abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity [313]
of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of [224]
wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[342] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed
[712] palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of fosholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs. 178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier. 178 251 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance. 178 224 225 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has 178 184 438 278 411 [224]

I: Karsten--266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 713 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros never use blowpipes and poisoned arrows in their wars, but only for hunting. They believe that if they kill a man with a poisoned arrow that poison will no longer do for killing an animal or bird of the forest. Besides, it seems that the poisoned arrows are not regarded as a sufficiently effective weapon to fight men with. The Indian, when killing his enemy, desires to inflict as large wounds and to shed as much blood as possible, a fact that explains his predilection for the lance as a weapon of war."

2: Stirling--85 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 713, 411, 777

"The blowgun is never used in warfare. The Jivaros say that it was given them for the purpose of obtaining game. To use it against man would bring bad luck. (22)"

"22. Figueroa, writing of the Mainas in 1665, specifically states that the blowgun and poison darts were never used against their human enemies. Skinner, 1805, p. 285."

2: Stirling --85-86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The traditional war equipment of the Jivaro from earliest times has consisted of the lance and shield (pl. 28). Before the spear thrower was abandoned, a small lance or javelin was in common use. The ordinary name for lance is nangi, but ceremonially it is referred [86] to as shingi. It is made from the hard black wood of the chonta palm and as a rule is from 6 to 8 feet in length. The head is usually in one of two shapes; either diamond-shaped with a low ridge running down the center of each side and tapering to a cutting edge, or triangular in cross section without the cutting edges (pl. 14, a). At the present time lance heads of the former type made of iron are in common use (pl. 41, a). From a practical standpoint, these are unquestionably superior to the wooden lance, but the Jivaros believe that the all-chonta lances contain magical properties not possessed by iron, and therefore the more conservative Indians still prefer them for use in warfare. Until comparatively recently the Jivaros say that they used lances tipped with points made from the leg bones of the jaguar. In the seventeenth century Lucero spoke of lances fitted with points made from human leg bones. These seem to have been a smaller type of spear and probably represent the javelin which was formerly propelled by means of the spear thrower."

2: Stirling--86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The use of the spear thrower appears now to be entirely forgotten by the Jivaros. Pigorini figures a spear thrower credited to the Murato. It consists of a straight stick tapering slightly from the butt to the tip. An inch or two below the tip a spur is attached, apparently by means of binding made secure by the addition of some sort of wax or resin. The handle has a small perforation through it about an inch from the base through which a string is passed, evidently for the purpose of fastening the implement to the wrist. It is not dissimilar in general appearance to archeological specimens from the Peruvian highlands. (22)

Mortillet says that the javelin proper consists of a shaft 76 cm. in length made from a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia), which is smooth on the outside but filled with pith and unusually light in weight. One of the extremities is closed by a plug made of a resistant wood for receiving the spur of the throwing stick. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta point in the form of a very sharp prismatic prong about 22 cm in length. (23) "

"22. Pigorini, p. 46, pl. 1.
23. Mortillet, 1891, p. 241."

2: Stirling--86-87 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 411, 713

"The Jivaros call the shield pandara. Like the lance, it has apparently changed but little during the passage of the centuries. They are made from the large flat buttresses of the camusha (ceiba) (24) tree. These buttresses do not have a definite grain and therefore do not split or check easily. In addition, they are tough and light. The shields are circular in form and, although approximately 3 feet in diameter, are always made from a single piece. The shield is fabricated in such a manner as to make it appear to be composed of three [87] superimposed concentric disks, each about a half inch in thickness and each with a diameter approximately one-half that of the disk upon which it is superposed. Thus the center of the shield, while apparently somewhat thicker than the outer edge, is actually not as much so as it appears because of the concavity of the inner surface which is really in the form of a very much flattened cone. A hand grip of rattan is attached at the apex of this cone and is fastened in place by being pegged into three small holes made on either side of the central disc (pl. 28).

As a rule, the shields are painted with sua and achiote. The decorations usually represent animals or spirits designed to give power in warfare. The shield which the writer obtained from Hisama on the upper Chinganasa River had a design depicting Pangi, the anaconda; the moon, and the sun's rays. The round shield itself represents the sun.

"24. Bombax ceiva.

The shield, like the chonta lance, is supposed to contain tsarutama so that it is used for other purposes than for defence in fighting. Hisama carried his shield with him when night fishing, in order to ward off Iguanchi. He stated that the shield was called upon frequently when it was suspected that evil spirits were in the vicinity, or that a rival wishinu was attempting to work harm through magical powers.

As is the case when making the blowgun, the maker of a shield is required to undergo rigid taboos during the period of manufacture. He must remain continent during this time, must not talk, and must be particularly careful of his diet. If the proper observances are not followed, it will lose much of its power, and is likely to warp and check.

Formerly shields were also made from the skins of the tapir and of the manatee, but this practice has apparently been abandoned."

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(*wahe*) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during 836
which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl be- 836
comes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to 584
their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young 837
married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so [719] •
common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tampunči* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tampunči*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

34:Harner, E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

1: Karsten--287-288 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 714 (1928-29)

"On the eve of the day fixed for the attack the warriors arrange their dress. The Jibaro always pays great attention to his dress and his orna-[288]ments, which form a part of his personality, and at the feasts the dressing has a ceremonial character.

When the Jibaro warrior prepares for an attack against an enemy he puts on his head a sort of cap made of monkey's skin, which he prefers to the ordinary head ornament made of parrot or tucan feathers (tawása). The ear-tubes ought to be as large as possible so that their ends nearly reach the shoulders. Around the neck the warrior wears a necklace of jaguar's teeth and round the waist the usual cincture of human hair (akáchu). Old warriors, however, for an attack prefer to cincture themselves with a broad belt of the skin of the great boa. The uncovered part of the body, the face, the breast, the back, the arms, and legs, are finally painted black with genipa (sua).

The hair is divided into the three usual pigtails, and they are tied round with broad bands adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, or with cotton strings which are dyed red with roucu. The Jibaros on the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians, for a battle, are in the habit of tying round the pigtails or the hair broad strips of bast obtained from a plant which the former call chipyáta, the latter chilipanga. These strips of bast, which are of bright colour, are partly used as signs by which the warriors, in the darkness and in the heat of battle, are able to distinguish friends from foes, and are also worn because of some mysterious power ascribed to them or to the plant from which they are taken."

I: Karsten--288-289 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 714, 789 (1928-29)

"In regard to the arrangement of the dress for war there are three objects which are kept in view. Partly, the Indian tries to make his whole appearance as terrifying as possible in order to impress the enemies; partly, certain pieces of clothing and ornaments which he puts on are, owing to some mysterious inherent properties, supposed to give him strength and courage; lastly, some of them will serve as marks of recognition, by which the warriors will be able to distinguish friends from enemies in the battle. The black body painting, for instance, serves all these three aims. More than anything else, it helps to give the Indian warrior a savage and terrible appearance. The Jibaros say that for a combat they paint themselves black in order to resemble the iguanchi (demons), which implies that the body-painting is believed to impart to them something of the savage ferocity and strength of these supernatural beings. Besides, even in semi-darkness it is possible to distinguish the black-painted Indian from one who does not wear that mark of recognition. The strips of bast tied around the pigtails likewise, as already indicated, partly enable the warriors to recognize their comrades in the battle, [289] partly are supposed to eke out that natural power which the Indian always ascribes to his hair and his pigtails. To impart strength and valour to the warrior is also the object of the ear-tubes, the necklaces of jaguar's teeth, and the belt of the boa serpent. 'Wearing our ear-tubes (arúsa), we do not fear anything,' the Jibaros are in the habit of saying. The teeth of the jaguar and the belt of the boa skin

naturally give the wearer something of the demoniac strength of these animals. Again, the power which the Jibaros attribute to the cincture made of human hair is due to the supernatural properties ascribed to the hair, which is regarded as the seat of the soul or the vital energy."

1: Karsten--429 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
714 _ (1928-29)

"We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguañchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

2:Stirling--53 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 714, 726, 301

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the natima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."

"We lit fires round our shelter, as the Jívaros themselves had done, and sat up for many an hour, spectators of the weirdest scene I have ever witnessed.

Tuhuimpui arrived at our shelter with a great gourd full of what looked for all the world like chutney sauce.

'We are going to paint,' he announced. A short interrogation sufficed to satisfy myself that this was huito, a kind of giant walnut, of which the outer shell contains a stain or dye, in just the same way as a butternut or a black walnut. The thorny root of a palm is used as a grater to reduce the outer shell to pulp. With this the skin can be dyed jet-black, simply by rubbing it in in the wet state. All the Jívaro tribes use it to paint themselves for battle, and are indeed loath to attack without doing so. It may be that they want a distinguishing sign so that in the excitement and confusion of the fight in close country a glance will suffice to tell friend from foe. I think, however, that this is a very unlikely explanation of the custom. [265] It is more probably a part of the usual panoply of war in which all savage tribes indulge.

The same huito is used extensively in the small towns, villages, and posts of Ecuador and Peru bordering on the Jívaro territory, by half-castes who are not as dark as the Indians, nor yet as light as the Spanish. They (chiefly women) stain their faces, necks, arms and hands with it in the belief that when it comes off it takes some of the black with it! They go about their ordinary occupations with it on, it being accepted by all as powder is on the beach. So durable is the stain that only time will bring it off; three weeks

or a month are required to efface it altogether. This temporary sacrifice of appearance is willingly made in their desire to cast off the taint of Indian blood.

We all readily agreed to paint up in preparation for the attack on the morrow. So we stripped, determined to do the thing thoroughly, and each saw to it that his companions did not overlook any odd corners. Even Jack's bald spot did not escape attention. The effect of the application of this dye is not immediately apparent. So it was not till morning that we noticed any change in our appearance. The rising sun, however, revealed to us the full possibilities of huito. Not only our skin, but even our hair and eyes seemed to have changed color overnight. We laughed till we were nearly sick. The Jívaros hearing the uproar, thought we were having a war-dance of our own. Tuhuimpui came over and inspected us, surveying with a face unmoved a scene the absurdity of which no white man could have resisted."

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly
[342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma-
[574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one
[576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at
[231] the other. Hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which,
628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be-
648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about
[161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable
[164] in the region of the Jivaros, and it is being accelerated by
[175] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jivaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular
726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately
48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a
714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city,
648 which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and
726 proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[714] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both
648 legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño; because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead
648 in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in
727 Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [714]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untsi*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[2] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [714] [292]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanï*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jívaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round
[714] wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[796] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremo-
[727] nial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 possibility that they were Macabeos, since the latter "did not have shoes." The *maču* whom the informant thought must be horses are clearly he-mules (Spanish: *macho*). The *mua* for which he could not suggest an identity undoubtedly are she-mules (Spanish: *mula*), since the Jívaro have difficulty pronouncing *l*. In view of the fact that "many, many" whites are referred to, including women and children, this account may actually concern the sixteenth-century occupation by the Spaniards. It is remarkable, however, that the informant had no information as to whether the Jívaro fought the *ai apači*, although he thought it was possible.

175 648 From 1599 to 1870, Macas remained the only permanent white settlement near the Jívaro. This little community was linked to the outside world by means of a single foot trail to the highland city of Riobamba. There is even one Macabeo tradition that for some time after the 1599 uprising the people of Macas "lost" the trail and were completely cut off from the outside world. While the truth of this particular tradition is dubious, it does illustrate the Macabeos' sense of isolation. By the early nineteenth century, however, Macabeo men were regularly using the trail to make the sixteen-day round trip hike to Riobamba to obtain machetes, axes, cloth, needles, and firearms for their remote community.

175 648 72 The Jívaro apparently launched attacks repeatedly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century from the Río Paute region, forcing the Macabeos to relocate their village several times. The people of Macas, unlike the Jívaro, had a few firearms, and this advantage, it is believed by them, contributed importantly to their survival.[23] The Macabeos and Jívaro were still fighting in 1837, but by the mid-nineteenth century peaceful trade relations had been initiated between the two groups.[24]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
[101] lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled east-
[161] ward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward
to the Río Chiguasa region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
• 72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from
Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting
bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown num-
ber of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly
killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
[619] all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian
colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and
made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first
sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate stra-
tegic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the
leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Un-
doubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance
were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the
Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was
initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against
the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by
missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also sub-
sequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
648
797

1: Karsten--46 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
721 (1928-29)

"The interior of the country of the Achuares is geographically unexplored, but is said to be inhabited by various Jibaro tribes who, as usual, are hostile to each other and make war among themselves."

"I made visits to several houses in the neighbourhood. Of the greatest interest was my stay in the house of an old man called Tuhuimbi, who [81] seemed to be in a way the chief of this small Jibaro tribe. It was here that I was first informed of the danger of war which was believed to threaten the Aguarunas from their enemies the Huambizas. I was moreover able to see with my own eyes some of the defensive measures which the Jibaros take in time of war. The whole house, amongst other things, was surrounded by a wall of strong chonta poles of nearly a man's height. The wall was so thick, the Indians explained to me, that a bullet could scarcely penetrate it, and if the enemy tried to shoot over it the bullets would only hit the roof. In other respects also Tuhuimbi was well prepared to receive an enemy. I found four firearms in the house, of which two were Winchester rifles. In a war between comparatively primitive tribes such a store of arms was no doubt of great importance.

In recent years firearms have been more and more used in the wars of the Indians instead of the old chonta lances, and the consequences of this change in the methods of warfare have naturally been revolutionizing. New kinds of defensive measures must now be taken. The lance and the shield have almost passed out of use. When I first visited the Jibaros--in 1916--it was an easy thing to get genuine Indian lances of chonta wood as well as shields; shields especially are now wellnigh unobtainable, and decent lances extremely rare. Instead of these ancient weapons the Jibaros quite commonly

make use of a primitive kind of shot-gun, muzzle-loaders, but Winchester rifles have also unfortunately been introduced by the rubber merchants. The trade in this kind of firearms has to a great extent been a consequence of the barter for the shrunken heads, prepared by the Jibaros and eagerly sought by certain whites, especially by North Americans. For each tsantsa the Jibaro Indian demands a rifle. In possession of this weapon he is able to carry on war with his enemies successfully, and to acquire new heads for further barter with those white travellers who are unscrupulous enough to pursue this dirty trade."

1: Karsten--184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 721, 186 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different Jibaro tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

1: Karsten--259 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 181 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are no doubt at present the most warlike of all Indian tribes in South America. The blood-feuds within the tribes and the wars of extermination between the different tribes are continuous, being nourished by their superstitious belief in witch-craft. These wars are the greatest curse of the Jibaros and are felt to be so even by themselves at least so far as the feuds within the tribes are concerned. On the other hand, the wars are to such a degree one with their whole life and essence that only powerful pressure from outside or a radical change of their whole character and moral views could make them abstain from them. This one may judge even from the fact that from a victory over his enemies the Jibaro warrior not only expects honour and fame in the ordinary sense of the word but also certain material benefits. The head trophy which he takes from his slain enemy is not merely a token of victory, but becomes a fetish charged with supernatural power, and the great victory-feast itself with its many mysterious ceremonies in fact forms a part of the practical religion or cult of the Jibaros.

1: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--275-277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1.
116, 619, 721, 754 (1928-29)

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called túnchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would,

gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 619 (1928-29)

"Often the hostility between two tribes is only latent, becoming suddenly active through some chance incident, when a war ensues. Thus, as already mentioned, a series of deaths, which are attributed to the evil art of the treacherous enemy, may occasion a war. It also occurs that an Indian, travelling through the territory of a foreign tribe, with which his own stands on no friendly terms, is assassinated by the secret enemies of his own people, who cannot abstain from taking the opportunity. Such an assassination may be the signal for a general war of extermination between the two tribes. This was, for instance, the original cause of the war which, during my sojourn on the Rio Upano, was carried on between some tribes of the Upano and the Santiago on one side, and the Huambiza Indians on the Morona on the other. The son of an influential Indian on the Rio Santiago had, on account of some old quarrel, been murdered while travelling through the land of the Huambiza Indians. The tribesmen of the murdered Indian applied to the Jibaros on the Upano for assistance. The assistance was given, some 40 Upano Indians going down the river to join their friends on the Santiago and marching with them against the Huambizas."

1: Karsten--277-278 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas the small feuds within the sub-tribes have the character of a private blood-revenge, based on the principle of just retaliation, the wars between the different tribes are in principle wars of extermination. In these there is no question of weighing life against life; the aim is to completely annihilate the enemy tribe, all members of which form one organic whole and are animated by the same feelings and mode of thought. The victorious party is all the more anxious to leave no single person of the enemy's people, not even small children, alive, as they fear lest these should later appear as avengers against the victors. As already pointed out, it is also solely in such wars against foreign tribes that trophies are made of the heads of the enemies killed.

The wars of the Jibaro Indians are thus in their nature nothing but wars of revenge, and never aim at territorial conquests. The Jibaros, [278] in reality, fear and detest the country of their enemies, where secret supernatural dangers may threaten them even after they have conquered their natural enemies. The sorcerers of the hostile tribe may have left their witching arrows everywhere, on the road, in the forest, in the houses, with the result that the invading enemies may be hit by them when they least expect it. The land of the enemy is therefore abandoned as soon as possible. Besides, the Jibaros who inhabit endless virgin forests, where they can make new settlements almost anywhere have no need to conquer the territory of other tribes."

1: Karsten--282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 721 (1928-29)

"Whereas this blood-revenge within the tribe is most often carried out simply through assassinations, the feuds fought out between the different tribes are naturally on a larger scale and with more reason deserve the name of 'war'. In all his feuds, however, the Indian, if possible, avoids open fights, having recourse to treachery, assassinations, and sudden, generally night attacks. But if a real combat and hand-to-hand fighting ensue, the Jibaro warrior often displays both valour and contempt of death, a fact that is fully proved by the history of the Indians. Not to take flight, not to abandon his comrades in such a situation, but gallantly to meet the enemy with lance and shield, is the ambition of every real Jibaro warrior, and, as we have seen, the education of the boys from the beginning aims at imparting to them the qualities necessary for such behaviour."

2: Stirling--38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 175, 721

"Brief references to the political organization of the Jivaro Indians by sixteenth century writers seem to indicate that in this respect very little change has taken place up to the present time. Salinas says that the Jivaro Indians in the vicinity of Santiago--

were free from the subjugation of any ruler, each town recognizing no more than its own chiefs or captains and, although they are not a hostile people, they carry on continuous wars among themselves.

Referring to the Jivaros of Cungarapas on the lower Santiago, he says:

They continually have their disputes with one another because of not having a head chief whom they respect, but each town and group has its chiefs and captains in the manner of those of Santiago before mentioned.

In his second letter, Salinas, again referring to the Jivaros in general, says:

They had their differences and civil wars among themselves because of not having a head chief but only local chiefs and captains in each town or settlement, which were not clustered together but were populated in a scattered manner.

2: Stirling--38 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 624, 175, 721

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of the Santiago that--

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of his chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and to take the heads of their enemies. The chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died."

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuki, known to the Ecuadoreans as José Grande. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuki was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Canga River and the upper Yaupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Canga Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cucusha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucusha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

2: Stirling--41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

"At the present time the Jivaros are without doubt the most warlike group in all South America, and it is probable that this statement would hold true for the past century. In this respect, however, they have merely retained a custom and a war pattern that was widespread in northwestern South America at the time of the conquest."

2: Stirling--41 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 161, 721

"The present-day practices of the Jivaro with regard to war resemble closely the sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions given by the Spaniards who attempted to conquer them and who had an excellent opportunity to observe this aspect of Jivaro ethnology. The accounts given of the methods of warfare practiced by neighboring tribes and by distant tribes of the highlands of Ecuador and Peru would seem to indicate that their motivation and method of fighting was very similar. Raids on distant groups in order to obtain trophy heads, individual prestige enhanced by this same method; even the preparation of tsantsas and the accompanying feasts and ceremonies were carried on over a large region."

2: Stirling--41-42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The type of warfare which enabled them to maintain their liberty against the European invaders was, however, considerably different [42] from the internecine fighting which they have always maintained among themselves. It involved the temporary alliance in a common cause of several groups of natural enemies who laid aside their personal feuds until their purpose was accomplished. The success of the great revolt of 1899 is probably due primarily to the fact that in the person of Quiruba the Jivaros found an exceptional leader in a time of need."

2: Stirling--42 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 628, 621

"The fighting which constitutes the normal war pattern of the Jivaros consists of a never-ending cycle of blood-revenge feuds which may vary in extent all the way from an individual murder by a single man from ambush to desperate struggles of extermination in which several hundreds may be involved. There appears to be a difference, however, between the numerous assassinations which take place and the more formalized raids on distant groups which may more properly be termed warfare. It is typically in the latter instance that heads are taken and tsantsa ceremonies performed.

A good description of the methods used by the Jivaros in fighting against Spaniards is to be found in the account of the Vaca expedition in 1692. (58) The Spaniards complained that the Indians, instead of standing their ground in close formation so that they could be effectually shot down, preferred to scatter through the brush and reappear at unexpected times and places, attacking from ambush.

Although on some occasions considerable numbers of Jivaros unite for the purpose of war raids, or in defense against attack from invaders, their decentralized manner of living makes this rather difficult. Living as they do in individual houses, each containing a few families at most, and separated one from the other by considerable distances, there is no concentration of population at any one place such as would tend to produce large engagements."

"58. Saabedra in Relaciones Geográficas, vol. IV, pp. cxxxix-cxl."

"We know, however, from many early descriptions, that the Jivaros were as active in their head-hunting raids in early times as they are at present and, from the meager descriptions which have been left us, it would seem as though their manner of conducting these blood feuds has changed but little with the passage of centuries.

Joan Pizarro, writing in 1582 concerning the Jivaros of the Santiago River, says:

They are a people living free from the subjugation of any ruler, although each is a partial subject of the chief under whom they join together to make war and to rob and take the heads of their enemies * * *. Their chief is not chosen by inheritance but is the most cruel among them, he who formerly commanded them having died * * *. They used to receive much harm from all the neighboring Indians before the Spaniards settled among them and protected them because of being a very settled people and the land being easily traversed by canoes that often held 40 or 50 Indians paddling; they travelled far and, coming upon a town by night, no one escaped unless he fled into the mountains.'(59)

A few early observations on the Indians of the higher valleys west of the Jivaro country are interesting because of the similarity they show to the customs of the Jivaros. In 1571 Salinas says of the Indians of Valladolid and Loyola that they are---

warlike people, fond of fighting and of killing and cutting off heads and plundering, and thus perpetually have their own wars among themselves because of not having a head chief whom they respect but each town has its chiefs and captains under whom they band

"59. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, pp. 36-37."

together. (60)

Joan Pizarro says of the Indians of Valladolid, writing in 1582:

They do not have chiefs but the most courageous is chosen as leader and the inhabitants of one town make war against the others living in the towns nearest, by cutting off their heads and stealing their llamas and guinea pigs * * *. Parties of about 100 men and 100 women work together in the gardens until midday and from then until midnight they drink and dance and during these dances each one takes the woman that he desires and they go out to indulge their vices, and their wars were caused by this, because having sobered up they felt the insult and went to avenge it, and these acts of retaliation brought on others. (61)

"60. Relaciones Geográficas, p. lxvi.
61. Pizarro, in Relaciones Geográficas, p. 42."

2: Stirling--46-47 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"In 1682 Lucero, who accompanied the expedition of Diego de Vaca, described the methods of fighting by the Jivaros in the following account.

The Jivaros appear formidable at first sight because their robust, tall, and well-proportioned bodies give them an advantage over many tribes on the great Amazon River; their lances and shields are not like those of ordinary men but of giants; their garment is so long and ample that it reaches their feet and is encircled with a belt a palm wide, very well made of hair, in such a manner that this long skirt can be drawn up through it so that it only reaches the knees, enabling them to climb their ridges with ease, carrying in the part of the garment hanging over the girdle many stones for some purpose or other. Their head is encircled with a red band in the form of a wreath, all decorated with spangles of shell which was showy workmanship and pleasing to see. Seeing many Jivaros together produces an agreeable sight; however, in keeping with what has already been referred to, his arrogant mode of speaking and his fierceness, even though he had no other adornment, would be sufficient to make him known as a haughty son of the mountains * * *. The sharpened blades with which they tip their lances are of bones taken from men whom he has killed from ambush, a prize among them of inestimable value because he who carries it gives to all in the region authentic testimony that he has commited murder, or Ayumba, which is the same thing. Their houses are large and

are all in the wilderness because each family lives apart; the reason for living thus being that they are all treacherous and kill each other without abatement except for the women, whose number alone increases their force; and thus they observe only the law which says, he lives who conquers, and for this reason no one trust another, for experience with so many fatal results has shown them that he who trusts his best friend dies without recourse, and it has been demonstrated that the women of the dead belong without any question to the murderer, besides which he needs other means in his possession to show the blood on the lance and to dance with the head in a joint festival of Ayumbas, in which the drinking runs in proportion to the amount of manioc turned into very strong wine, so whose who become intoxicated undertake new expeditions to kill others; and as similar excesses follow one another and are continued without fear, either to chief or cacique (whom they do not have) [sic]; they live so well armed and keep such careful guard that it seems a miracle to a Spaniard that any escape in their houses; because, since they live on such high ridges, those who climb up to them by slow degrees and with much work are necessarily discovered, there being, as I have said, sentinels posted on all such advantageous places. It appears from what I have said before that on the first rumor of a Spaniard the word went almost at once through all of the province, and then there was a general truce between Xibaro and Xibaro, considering the Christian their greater enemy, against whom they joined together hoping to [47] ambush them in the roughest part of their trails. The Christians, not knowing of the hatred, died without

warning.

In the narrowest and highest part of the ridge they set up good-sized stones held by supports made of sticks fastened with vines, which being cut, the stones being free fall heavily on whomever might be below and break them to pieces, those who are coming up being unable to help themselves; then the Xibaros without fear of injury or of falling into the hands of his enemies get down behind the stones, so that they appear as if they were part of the roadway itself. They rush down then to compete against each other to see who will be successful in returning with the greatest load of heads, but when the sides of the narrow roadway were grown with thick tree trunks the Christians protected themselves behind them, remaining so free that the Xibaros who came down blindly, eager for heads, found themselves prisoners of those they had considered dead.

And when they fell into the hands of Christian Indians, not only did they find themselves prisoners but also cut to pieces, the Spaniard being careful to defend them from our Indian friends, which fact the Xibaro knew so well that when he fell into the hands of the Spaniards he knew his life was safe, and on the contrary, when he fell into the hands of Indian friends: and for this reason if he is able he calls in the Indian language to the Spaniards, saying many times: 'Apache', when they wish to say Spaniard. (64)

"64. Lucero, p. 27."

It is of interest to compare Lucero's account with the following description of the Quijos written in 1577 by Diego de Ortegón:

> They do not form a great state or an organized nation: each section is governed by itself; and, when they go to war, they elect for leader the most valiant and courageous among the caciques, and his command lasts the duration of the war, no longer: their arms were wooden lances, shields, the macana, and javelins. They cut off the heads of their enemies and they arrange them on stakes stuck in the ground, around their houses * * *.
>
> As expedients against their enemies they made use of big stones, which, having tied them with vines, they suspend them from the sides of the hills over the narrow and uneven trails; their enemies passing unsuspectingly they then cut the ties and the stones fall with violence, bounding and knocking down in their path as many as they strike on the trail: a manner of warfare very terrible and disastrous, of which some of the soldiers of Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda were victims. The thickness of the vegetation contributes to making the danger more serious, hiding from sight that original method of warfare. (65)"

"65. González Suárez, Hist. Gen., vol. VI, pp. 58-59."

2: Stirling--47-48 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 721

"Concerning the warlike customes of the Jivaros, Prieto wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> Their inclination to make cruel and ferocious war on their fellow creatures distorts and obscures all their good qualities to such a degree that the Jivaros are reputed to be the most cruel enemies in all the world. Traveling from mountain to mountain, from forest to forest, from river to river, looking for other infidels like themselves in order to take their lives and dance with the heads of the dead is what most amuses, delights, and enraptures them. In order to satisfy this ferocious custom, hardships, nakedness, long trips, hunger, and whatever one might imagine, does not hinder them, as they aspire to no other [48] glory nor greater happiness than to merit the name Cocarama,(66) as the continuous wars which I myself have observed demonstrate; and thus it happened in my time when I was Cura-Doctrinero of the town and mission of Canelos, during the years previous to my arriving at this parish, that the town of Copataza was annihilated, and at the same time the town of Palma in the time of M. Rdo. P. Santiago Riofrio of the order of Predicadores, my predecessor in Canelos. In my time these same Jivaros of Gualaquiza, Bonboisa, and Zamora, together with the Jivaros who lived on the Paute River in the vicinity of Macas,

"66. The Jivaros called the brave ones and those who had proved their valor by killing many people, Cocarama."

made various forays on the other side of the Pastaza River, where they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them * * *.

Their dances are a horrible abomination and make even those with much courage and spirit afraid upon seeing them. A few years ago they sacrificed all the Christians of the new Zamora near Loja to this wicked end. Among those suffering the same fate was Don Julian Eguiguren, a native of Spain, who was in the town of Zamora when the revolution of the Jivaros occurred. Two months before I entered this conquest, a horrible battle occurred between the Nantipas Jivaros, who live on one of the rivers tributary to Zamora, and those who live in the vicinity of the Pongo Manseriche; also another battle between the latter and the Pafocamas, who live on the headwaters of the Marañon near Jaen. Also the Jivaros of Mayalico and Suinde are preparing to wage a cruel war against the Jivaros of the great Achual near Canelos. (67)"

"Prieto, in Compte, pp. 65-66."

2: Stirling--50 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 555, 181

"It is certainly true that at the present time the most important thing in life to a Jivaro is war. His greatest aspiration is to become renowned as a fighter. His reputation increases in proportion to the number of heads he has succeeded in securing during his career. Warfare consists of raids conducted by one group or alliance upon another, and, while of very frequent occurrence, they are sporadic in nature."

2: Stirling--50 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 756

"The following information regarding war practices and the preparation of tsantsas was obtained directly from Anguasha, a veteran warrior of the Yaupe River who had participated in many raids. While this description may be said to apply particularly to the Yaupe group of Jivaros, it may be regarded as typical of the whole Jivaro territory, save for minor details.

When a man dies or when he is seriously ill the shaman of his group takes natima. (70) While under the influence of the narcotic the source of the man's illness is revealed to him. Then, in the event that death occurs, a raid is made upon the house in which the offending shaman lives."

"70. Banisteria caapi."

2: Stirling--51 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 866

"The art of warfare is drilled into young boys from earliest childhood. When about the age of 6 a son is instructed by his father every morning at dawn concerning the necessity of being a warrior. He endeavors to implant in the son's mind the idea of revenge by reciting the feuds in which his particular family is involved. For example, he says:

> So-and-so killed your uncle; some one else killed your grandfather; we must have our revenge, otherwise bad luck will fall upon us. Our crops will be poor and we will not have success in the hunt.

This is repeated every morning regularly for more than 5 years, until the parent sees that the son has been thoroughly inoculated with the warlike spirit and the idea of blood revenge.

When a man goes to war he usually takes with him his sons of more than 7 years of age. These small boys do not take an active part in the actual combat, due principally to their lack of strength, but they often enter the fight and here accustom themselves to the methods of warfare. Most particularly they learn to defend themselves and learn not to be afraid. They also harden themselves in this manner to the bloody realism of the actual killings. The first time a young boy goes to a fight a special feast is held in his honor in which chicken blood is put on his legs."

2: Stirling-- 52 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"War is declared with a ceremony in which the lance is officially disinterred and carried into the jivaría. Immediately following this ceremony, an emissary is sent to notify the enemy. Following the conclusion of the ceremony, which may last for 24 hours, the attacking party leaves on its mission. Occasionally the enemy, after being notified, immediately launches a counter attack. However, the ethics of Jivaro warfare require that they too must sent an emissary in advance in such a case.

As a rule, while the ceremony is being launched, a messenger is sent out to notify all of the allies and friends. This messenger runs to the nearest jivaría carrying a lance which is relayed to another messenger from that jivaría, who in turn passes it on to the next, until in this manner all of the friendly houses have been notified, which fact is signaled by the return of the lance over the same route to its starting place. Each messenger, upon arrival, delivers a warlike talk, attempting to incite the occupants of the household to a desire to accompany the expedition. He tells of the strength that can be mustered, of the bright prospects for victory and of the glory and prestige to be gained by those participating in the fight. By the time the lance returns with the recruits the attacking party know what their strength will be and plan their tactics accordingly.

Any individual may be the instigator of such a raid, which follows some supposed hostile action on the part of the enemy, as described before."

2: Stirling--52-53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The emissary, who is sent out to notify the enemy that the lance ceremony has taken place, is always one of the most able warriors, as this is a rather dangerous mission requiring considerable skill, owing to the pitfalls and set-guns which he is likely to encounter when approaching the enemy's habitation. However, the messenger is rarely killed. In the event that he should be killed, the wishinu, [53] under the influence of natima, is supposed to get in touch with his spirit and receive his advices in this manner. Sometimes, instead of notifying the enemy verbally, a head is fashioned out of manioc or mud, in the form of a tsantsa, or some animal head is placed on the point of a lance and set up near the house to be attacked, in a place where it is sure to be seen."

2: Stirling- 60 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 202

"When warned that they are to be attacked, the chief plays on the big telegraph drum in order to notify their friends and call them to their assistance. When the allies arrive from the other houses the little drum is played."

2: Stirling--60 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 411

"The blowgun is never used in warfare and, as has already been mentioned, only lances are utilized in the hand-to-hand fighting in the house.

Poison is never used in warfare because of the fact that it was given to men for the purpose of hunting game and to use it for fighting would be to offend the spirits. Force only is supposed to be used in killing enemies in war."

2: Stirling--61 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721

"The desire or obligation of revenge is the principal cause of war. This may happen as a direct act of reprisal brought about by the killing of one member of a group by another; it may also come about as a result of woman stealing or adultery. Perhaps the most common cause is the death of a member of the tribe which presumably has been brought about by the magic of the wishinu of another tribe. The Jivaro wishinu is supposed to have the power of sending death to anyone whom he desires. As a result, many deaths from illness or natural causes are laid to this source."

2: Stirling--96 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 574, 721

"Because of their continuous state of warfare, the Jivaros are suspicious of strangers and there is a certain amount of ceremony involved in visiting a distant jivaría. It is customary for a visiting party to give notice of its approach by shouting or firing guns when a short distance away. In the case of a fairly large party, an emissary is usually sent in advance to announce the arrival, partly in order to avoid surprise and partly that the host and his group may have time to assemble, dress themselves properly, and make preparations for feeding the visitors. The etiquette upon such a visit consumes a considerable length of time and the foreign visitor must be prepared to lose almost a full day because of the attendant ceremonies when visiting a new jivaría with a party."

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 361, 576, 721

"We noticed a sheltered creek on the left bank which had not been visible before. A few strokes more and it was in view. On the hillside above, some two hundred yards from the bank, a bright yellow patch among the dark-green forest, stood a Jívaro shack. [188]

The sight of that hut on the hillside was as good to us as water to a man dying in the Sahara. We felt a new strength, and the word 'fear' had no meaning for us. All we thought of at that moment was that there lay our goal, a few hundred yards ahead. Of the difficulties and dangers which lay in our path, not one thought crossed our minds. To push ahead was all that mattered.

And then we saw human life. Four Antipas, long-haired and stark naked, were crossing the stream ahead of us in a dugout. Indifferent as to the effect it might have on them, we gave a yell, in which was voiced all the pent-up joy which was in our hearts at meeting our own kind after the weary search which lay behind us. If we had stopped to think a moment, we should gave realized that a whoop such as we let fly could carry but one message to a Jívaro--war.Those four in that dugout did not even stop to turn their craft. They stood up, faced about, and paddled hard astern for their lives, throwing the water eight full feet into the air, and racing for the left bank where (as they thought) safety lay. No sooner had they landed than the Boom-boom, Boom-boom of the call to arms came floating across the water to us, to be taken up in fifty settlements all round the country. Clearly it was to be war. Little we cared, however--not because we were particularly brave, but rather particularly hungry. And after all, [189] approaching on the water and

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jivaro -2
116, 361, 576, 721

armed with Winchesters, we had little to fear from spears. Following the flying dugout, we came upon some twenty more pulled up on the beach, and we made our way to the landing-place and hauled ashore. Then broke out a storm of war-whooping and howling which beggars description. The object, of course, was to impress us with the idea that we were faced by innumerable warriors. There was nothing, or almost nothing, to be seen of the savages, sheltered as they were behind the thick palisades of split palms which surrounded their huts and which could be guaranteed to stop even a bullet from our rifles."

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 721, 609

"We had not come for war, and somehow an end had to be put to this clamourous deadlock. There seemed no end to the capacity of those Jivaros' lungs. For three long hours they yelled, with varying intensity. At times I would start up the bank in an attempt to get into conversation, but each time they took it for a hostile movement on our part and redoubled their efforts to persuade us of their strength.

The spell was broken in the end by my leaving my rifle with Game in the canoe and walking slowly up the trail which ran up in full view of the barricaded house nearest to us, suffering agony from my raw feet, but managing to cover the ground by reason of the soft sand. It was not more than a matter of fifty yards all told. I had gone a little more than half-way (with my six-shooter slung out of sight) when there emerged from the hut three quaking youths. The unfortunates had evidently been chosen for a parley much against their will, for I do not exaggerate when I say that their knees would barely hold them and their 'walk' resembled that of a man sick of the palsy. Indeed I was convinced at the time that they were really sick--that perhaps some disease had swept through the whole tribe of Antipas. I tried to [190] open the negotiations in Inca, in Spanish, and with every odd scrap of every language at my command, but all to no purpose. The Jívaro dialect was at the time unknown to me. I then attempted to calm them by offering my hand. The custom was evidently unknown to them for they searched my palm attentively to see what present I might be bringing. Finally I resorted to gesture--motioning them to the canoe as if to invite them to see what we had. They were for making me go

4: Up de Graff--189-190 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 721, 609

first, but it is a safer rule to go last. So down we went in single file to where Game was sitting with his rifle across his knees, nursing his feet."

4: Up de Graff--192-193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 101, 361, 721

"A few words about this tribe will not come amiss, as they played such an important part in our personal history during our search for the Inca gold, and are, indeed, one of the only six known head-hunting tribes of the Amazon zone, grouped under the common name Jívaros, the others (all their enemies) being the Huambizas or Pantecunas, the Aguarunas, the Muratos and the Zaparos. To form an estimate of the relative strengths of these peoples is more than I dare attempt; their migratory habits and their custom of living in small scattered settlements hidden in the dense jungle makes it an impossible task. Indeed, one of the main points of their policy is to conceal from one another not only their whereabouts but also their fighting strength, even going so far as never to use the same trail twice, if possible, in approaching their homes. For these reasons an air of complete mystery surrounds the whole region, [193] and the casual white invader stands no chance of obtaining accurate statistics."

4: Up de Graff--215 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 278, 721

"Despite its proved deadliness, this poison is never used by the head-hunters in warfare. (I say 'deadliness' with some justification, for it compares very favorably with, say, the poisonous snakes of India, whose bites take more hours to bring on death than the jambi does minutes.) Why, I cannot explain, unless it be that a man can snatch an arrow from a wound so quickly that the poison would never have time to be absorbed by his system, as it clings to the arrow-head in a gelatinous form. While speaking of this poison and its effect on men, I recall an incident that happened on the Yasuní when Jack Rouse and I were existing through those ghastly eighteen months. An open wound that had become fly-blown and full of worms (there was nothing in the nature of a fresh cut about it) had to be cured somehow, and every remedy we could think of had failed. The case was one of desperate urgency, and Jack declared that 'he would rather be poisoned than eaten alive by worms.' So it was decided that I should fill the wound with this same jambi, and I applied about a thimbleful, or enough to kill an ox. Neither Jack nor the worms took the slightest notice. Now it may be that his life was saved by the fact that there was no fresh blood flowing, or again that the poison, for some strange reason, has no effect on men, which latter supposition would account for its never being used in battle. I may add that the worms were summarily ejected in the space of half a minute by the application of a wad of cotton soaked in nicotine procured by condensing cigarette smoke on the finger-nails. (The juice of the same cigarettes when boiled has no value whatever)."

10: Anthony--148-149 (1920-21) 1921- Jivaro
116, 721

"Perhaps some neighbor in the same tribe has been selected as a victim and the Jivaro plans to kill him with as little personal risk as possible. These Indians are adept in the use of the long blowgun, employing poisoned arrows, but prefer [149] to do the man-hunting with guns which they obtain from traders. The approved method, when the raiding party consists of two or more individuals, is to surround the hut of the designated victim, and wait for the man to come out through the doorway. As he steps forth, he receives the contents of several muzzle-loading muskets at close range. Then the place is raided and all the women and children are taken prisoners. The women enter the household of the victor as wives, while the children are adopted and given the same treatment as the man's own offspring. That is to say, the captives are notconsidered to be slaves, but henceforth are a part of the victor's immediate personal family."

12: Rivet--604-605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 595, 721

The Indians can marry as many women as they want to, but practice, although some do possess as many as eight (certain chiefs particularly), most of them are content with two or three, generally one old one, the wife by the first marriage, and one or two younger ones, not so much because of the [605] difficulty of providing for the needs of many companions, but because of their rarity. In fact we shall see later that many wars have no other end than to procure women.

12: Rivet--615* (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437, 721

To sum up, properly speaking, commerce does not exist and the Jívaro until this day has no use for his energy, activity, and intelligence except in the bloody battles that his tribe wages ceaselessly against the neighboring tribes.

12: Rivet--615 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 181, 721

One could say without exaggeration that the state of war is the normal state of the Jívaro. The resulting constant strain obliges the native to live always on guard, always ready to attack or defend. He never knows the restful, beneficent calm of peace. In these forests of the Amazon, there is nothing but assaults, surprises, bloody scenes, and never-satisfied hates which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

The causes of these hostilities are very numerous: often it is the necessity of getting women or even the appeal of profitable pillage. More often it is a matter of vengeance to be satisfied, vengeance founded on griefs that are sometimes real but usually imaginary as we shall see when later we study the role of the sorcerer. The law of the talon is actually the only law that rules these savage tribes. But even if these diverse motives did not exist, the Indians would still make war simply for the pleasure of it, by an instinctive need of their nature. They are also driven by the desire to acquire that very special glory that the possession of many shrunken heads gives in a Jívaro country. These trophies are no less an object of pride to the savage than commemorative medals are to the European soldier. In addition to this, these human mummies are the center of many beliefs and of many ceremonies, so obviously superstitious in character that the study of them belongs with the subject of religious life. In this chapter I will describe only their method of preparation and their principal characteristics.

12: Rivet--615-616 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

It would seem that among the people where the state of war is, so to speak, permanent, bravery should be the dominant virtue. In reality, there is none of it, because the Jívaro rarely attacks openly. If he is acting alone, with the patience of a deer in hiding, he waits for his enemy hidden behind the trunk of a tree and pierces him from behind with a blow of his lance. But more often the Indians work in bands of fifty individuals at least and sometimes of a hundred or more, and in this case the whole plan consists of falling unexpectedly on [616] the adversary or surprising him in the middle of his sleep, or even better in the middle of a drunken feast; it does not cost the Indian anything to gain his end while exposing himself as little as possible. He shows an extraordinary endurance during these expeditions, sometimes very long and far away. For instance, the tribes from around Macas sometimes make incursions on the Kanduashis which necessitate an absence of three months, although the greatest part of the trip is made in canoes by the Kangaimi, Morona and Cetuchi Rivers. The missionaries speak even of expeditions of the same people against the Patucamayas of the lower Santiago, or the Huambisas of the lower Morona. (1) Almost all the journey is made by night marches through dense forests, with their food reduced to minimum. Often, in order not to leave traces, they follow the bed of a stream, down which they swim for whole leagues. They never advance in any case without being preceded by scouts. (2)

1. Coleccion de las cartas, etc. op. cit. carta sexta, note on page 63-64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op.cit., page 166.

12: Rivet--616-617 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

So courage is replaced here by the cleverness of a cat which glides and bounds upon its defenceless prey. On each expedition, only two or four houses are attacked because the aggressors know that they must have twenty to twenty-five people in order to surround a house and not let anyone escape. If the band arrives in the proximity of the place where it expects to operate without having been discovered, it waits until the second half of the night and when everyone is asleep, the assault is made: sticks with one sharpened end and the other wrapped in dry leaves carefully tied and lighted make huge flaming arrows, which set the straw roofs on fire. (1) When the surprise is well carried out, the besieged people, before they have time even to defend themselves, stifled by the smoke, fall before the lances of the assailants. Only the young women are spared. Taken into captivity, they become the wives of the conquerors. Children are also sometimes spared: they are kept as I have already said, for a more cruel death, under the unskilled blows of the children of the victorious tribe. Fire completes the work of pillage; the plunder-laden group, pushing before them the [617] unhappy captives, sisters, daughters and wives of the warriors whose bloody heads swing sinisterly on the shoulders of the conquerors, flees in all haste before the sun rises; the same precautions are taken as when they came in order to avoid an attack by the relatives or allies of the victors.

1. Bulletin Salesiane, August 1896, page 197.

Such are the customary methods of war among the Jívaros. Formerly, the tribes of Gualaquiza and Zamora practiced special tactics; these consisted of closing the roads and preparing enormous pieces of rock on the hilltops which overlooked them. These were rolled down on the invader.(1)

These details make the failure of the Incas', as well as the Spaniards', attempts at conquest understandable.

The existence of the savage is dominated by the perpetual state of alarm in which he lives. He never goes out at night in normal times; he rarely goes far from his house without taking with him his wives and his family; he is never separated from his lance, and during his sleep he always has it within reach of his hand. If two Jívaros do not recognize each other when they meet in the forest, the conversation begins at a great distance and each one keeps his weapons in the position of attack; if the tension relaxes, the point is little by little brought back toward the body and rested against the waist, the handle of the lance being pointed up; if confidence is completely established, the lance slides toward the ground, the handle resting freely against one of the shoulders.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador. vol. 6, page 214.

12: Rivet--618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 152, 721

One can easily see what unusual characteristics this constant state of hostility gives the life of the Jívaro, and what an unusual mentality it has created in him. One understands equally well what importance the disappearance of these bloody fights has for the future of the race.

13: Rivet--69 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 181, 266, 721

The savage thinks only of killing; but in spite of these habits, he is not cannibalistic. However, Barriero says that as soon as his enemy falls dead, the conqueror tears out his heart and eats his brain (1); but Villavicencio and Lubbock affirm that cannibalism does not exist among our Indians (2) and no traveller, to my knowledge, has confirmed the account of Barriero (3).

Osculati reports that, "The savages make a kind of bowl with the skull of their victim, in which they drink a great quantity of chicha, thinking to show their profound scorn for the dead in this manner" (4). This detail has not been noted by any other author and it is well to remember that the Italian traveller did not visit the Jíbaros, but was simply lucky in seeing some representatives (belonging undoubtedly to the tribe of Canelos) in the Ecuadorian city of Ambato. Because of this fact, his account may be suspected of inaccuracy.

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1. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 114.
2. Villavicençio, op. cit., page 360. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Cf. Theodor Koch. Die Anthropophagie der sudamerikanischen Indianer (Archives internationales d'Ethnographie, Leyde. Vol. XII, 1899, pages 78-110).
4. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 30.

"We passed an uneventful night, and with the break of a new day, the warriors who had sought advice of the great spirits returned home satisfied with the wise counsels received. The 'aru-tama' had appeared to each of them and advised prompt action, as everything was favourable for the complete success of their plans. According to them, the enemy, on his way homewards, would have to make use of a fallen tree-trunk spanning a particular torrent. It was at this point that Mihanda and We-suma were to lie in ambush, one at either end of the improvised bridge. The plan was for We-suma to spring from his hiding-place in the rear and challenge the enemy with his spear as soon as [181] he reached the centre of the span. The luckless individual would naturally swing round to defend himself, but at that moment Mihanda would leap up in front and deal the fatal thrust while yet his opponent's attention was diverted by We-suma's shouts of defiance at his back.

Indians are frequently accused of low-down tricks and a general lack of the so-called sporting instinct; but it must be remembered that the killing of a fellow-man is not a sport with them. It is a dirty business for which they have no liking, and the sooner they get through with it the better. There is no such thing as giving a man a sporting chance. Such a measure would be tantamount to self-annihilation. If an enemy has to be done away with, the task is carried out with a minimum of risk to the party planning the killing because his object is to exterminate and not just to juggle with death.

20: Dyott--180-181 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 721

Sometimes it happens that two Indians will meet accidentally on a fair footing, and if they do, there is no flinching on either side. One of them will never fight again."

20: Dyott--190-191 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 721

"In the afternoon, our two warriors left on their mission of death. They were both pretty well keyed up for [191] the occasion, and my companions felt thankful that we were not to be the object of their vengeance. Kuashu exhorted them to be brave, and with that both of them departed to take up their all-night vigil at the place agreed upon. It was considered a favourable omen that the rain had ceased, the sky was clear, and the evening sun shone blood-red over the tree-tops.

Shadows of night soon began to creep in upon us, the doors of the house were securely closed and our savage, yet kindly friends sought their hard sleeping racks like so many barnyard fowls, ascending to roost on a summer's evening. How strange it seemed to be in a place like this in the heart of nowhere, surrounded by such types of primitive humanity! The scene within this forest dwelling was eerie beyond description. Wooden posts stood blankly silhouetted against the uncertain fire-light. Slanting shadows slid obliquely over the earthen floor, and on the sleeping racks, bare legs and arms of slumbering Indians stuck out at crazy angles, suggestive of a cubist painting. Eternal peace had descended on the forest outside. The croak of a frog broke the stillness of the night air, and only the tropical moon, swimming in the deep blue canopy of heaven, spoke of the world I knew and assured me of the reality of the scenes before me."

25: Vigna--47[3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 721

Vengeance which is hereditary is sacred law for the Jíbaro. Once the vengeance is organized and prepared, the Jíbaro calls together many members of his family or friends to accompany him on his task. While their courage is exalted by means of abundant libations of chicha or by violent provocative discourses, they organize the preparations which are always secret and scrupulously detailed. The action which follows is always violent and treacherous. It is a curious phenomenon that the Jíbaro who has no secrets, knows how to conceal his projects of vengeance.

26: Brüning--72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 721, 174

There is an old irreconcilable enmity, in spite of their belonging to the same language group, between the Aguaruna Indians along the right Marañón tributaries and the Huambisa Indians along the upper Santiago. This feud seems to date back to a time prior to the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Evidently the Inca penetration went only as far as the right bank of the Marañón; this explains why the Aguarunas adopted many Quichua words. After the Spanish Conquest many of these Indians were more inclined to embrace Christianity. There were a number of missionary outposts along the right bank of the Marañón. It is true, the Spaniards penetrated also the territory on the left bank of the Marañón, but they were incessantly harrassed by the independent Jivaros, for which the so-called submissive Indians had to suffer. These mutual annoyances continue to this day though to a lesser degree.

28: Tessman--354-355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 181, 721

One might be tempted to call the war the true religion of the Chiwaros...One is all the more inclined to say this, since warlike acts are in most cases acts of revenge for enchantments so that these warlike expeditions constitute religious acts of revenge against evil sorcerers. But whatever excuses and reasons one may discover, the fact remains that murderous thoughts have become a standard principle of the Chiwaro way of life. For example, one of the Aguarunas whom I had with me in the headquarter of the expedition said to me that "his heart was disquieted because he did not know whom he could kill now."

The Chiwaros live in a permanent state of war against parts of their own tribe, that is to say, Aguaruna is fighting against Aguaruna. And parts of the subtribes fight against other subtribes (for instance, the Aguarunas against the Uambisas). Of course, they also fight against other tribes and also against the whites. The Spaniards were rather badly beaten by the Chiwaros, who were never [355] completely subjected by the whites. The Chiwaros destroyed and ransacked whole settlements (like Borja), killed the men and abducted the women, etc. Later, they made raids on Peruvian outposts and killed a large part of the garrison. Today the Peruvian government, as centruies ago the Spaniards, does not dare to punish the most war-like of all the east-Peruvian Indians so that conditions along the Santiago today are just as insecure as they had been at the time of the Spanish colonization.

31: Danielsson--86 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 721

"Great hostility exists generally among and between the various geographical groups, and wars of extermination are often waged. It is at these occasions that the head-trophies are taken and prepared, thus giving the Jibaros their popular name: The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas."

31: Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 181, 628, 721

"The so-called 'fight-instinct' has frequently been mentioned as the cause of the warlike character of the Jibaros. There seem, however to be less mystical explanations, and the most common causes of fights and wars are probably the following: Violation of social mores, wish for revenge, damage through witchery, traditional rivalry, enmity, and stealing women.(3)[89]

It should, however, be noticed that there is a difference in practice concerning the killing within the same geographical group and between different geographical groups. In the first case, jus talionis is strictly followed. The same number from the enemy family is killed that was lost by the offended family. In the second case, namely, conflicts between different geographical groups, a complete war of extermination is carried out."

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]

31; Danielsson--86-89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-2
116, 181, 628, 721

"3. [Footnote 3; pages 86-88] That controversies on account of such factors as listed here usually lead to open fighting and killing is of course due to the lack of an established common law maintained by functional groups (police, judges, wardens), as the Swedish philosophers Hagerstrom and Olivecrona have pointed out. An experiment was made among the Yurupaza Jibaros in collaboration with Father Juan Ghinassi and with the consent of the Indians themselves. A jail was built at Father Juan's courtyard, and the Indians agreed to bring there all delinquents whom they unanimously regarded guilty, instead of letting the involved parties fight it out as they had done before. (As a matter of fact the majority of the Indians usually have a clear idea about who is the guilty according to the mores.) This turned out to be a working solution. The Indians considered the mere act of confinement as such to be a sufficiently severe penalty (the lack of liberty [87] is the greatest misfortune and shame that can occur to a Jibaro Indian), and the time of confinement was of no importance to them. The common 'sentence' was one or two days. All attempts to give Father Juan also judicial power were, however, in vain. The Indians correctly pointed out, that in spite of the fact that he had lived among them for the last twenty years, he didn't know as much as themselves about the mores and traditions of the society. During the subsequent seven months seventeen Indians were sentenced to imprisonment, and Father Juan's last report says that the rate of fighting and killing has decreased considerably. None of the Indians had insisted on long

prison terms, but some of them suggested that Father Juan should insult the prisoners several times a day as an additional penalty. All the 'plaintiffs' declared themselves to be content with the arrangement of imprisonment as a penalty."

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or mishap. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

926 924 921 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

926 924 921 [996] The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If they were failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home [987] and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

924 918 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

[183] By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This fact and encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[921] [961] Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person 926 924 who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
342 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
526 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
[721] one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jivaro
steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm
trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowgun, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
359 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

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but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 1,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jívaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

101 177 128

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chigüaza region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jívaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jívaro which forced the Achuara (*achuri huni*) to retreat northeastward from the Chigüaza and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsunki huni*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jívaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.[10]

101 [129] 101 [131]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jívaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri huni* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

166 101 [224] [226]

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relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge its actual demographic effects. 164

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift that has occurred during the past half-century from large-scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to have expanded. 16 [721] [682] 101 628

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

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be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [721]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tayamaśā*), and the women's 562
(*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

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342
352
513

10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

[231]
[854]
[721]

11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-E/

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Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six, but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemar*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a
884 human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
[721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

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578 965 867 628 721 [778] [829] [605] When you are living well, then, with all your *tsi* and *yai*, if someone comes and kills your *tsi*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yai*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *uwai*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 131–41) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[8] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [714] [292]

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701 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and ag-
554 gressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his
[865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it,
[562] with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such
[581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his
554 neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset,
626 a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untā* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst
• 721 personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

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723
that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [602]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or [592]
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
• 721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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own self-interest. By the time a *ni kakaram* is achieving such 901
status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, in- 628
stead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually 721
send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invi- 701
tation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another 721
tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jivaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire [726]
household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing [727]
women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* [727]
and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the [711]
attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri kuri* [484]
inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jivaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsunsu kuri* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jivaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*untsumi*), more numerous than outstanding killers, 756
often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

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441 of *ohingi* and, in fact, if two brothers happen to be trading
572 partners they will use the "friend" form of address (*awsli*)
593 in preference to that normally used by brothers (*yamali*).
Brothers, fathers, and sons can and often do fight with one
another, but it seems to be unthinkable for a man to fight
[602] with his "friend." A man is born and married into his personal kindred and it is recognized that he does not necessarily have to like his relatives, but in the case of a trading partner, he is honor-bound to live up to the obligation which he has ritually undertaken. If he failed to do so, he would lose the respect and trust of others to a degree dangerous to his safety.

441 The protection of a visiting "friend" by his host-partner
628 involves constant companionship as a bodyguard and if pos-
• 721 sible, even concealment of the identity of his visitor. Thus,
[572] when a local neighbor happens to drop in while a trading partner's *awsigri* is visiting and asks the name of the visitor, the host-partner may simply state, "He is my friend," and thereby avoid giving any additional information, because his partner might have enemies in the local neighborhood. Such a statement is also a declaration that the visitor, being classified as a "friend," is under the host's personal protection.

The safe conduct provided by his *awsigri* is absolutely essential when a Jívaro goes to an Achuara neighborhood to trade, because anyone of the alien tribe has a theoretical right to kill him to obtain his head for a trophy. Without the *awsigri* institution, well-developed Jívaro-Achuara trade would be impossible. Even with the safe conduct provided by a trading partner, *awsigri* are afraid to travel much farther than one or two days' walk. The longer they are on the trail traveling alone and unprotected to visit a partner, the

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greater the chance of being murdered by an enemy. Therefore, a series of trading partners is necessary to transport goods across the territory of the Jívaro tribe from the frontier of white colonization to the Achuara and back.

In the Río Cangaimi neighborhood in 1956–57, an *awigri* named Hintak was the participant in a chain of trading partners extending to near Iquitos, Peru (see Figure 5). His case provides an example of one such series of trading partners. He was trading white-manufactured goods and Jívaro salt to his "friend" Tiwi, an Achuara residing on the lower Río Macumu. Tiwi, in turn, exchanged goods with his Achuara *awigri*, Mukudum, of the *yaŋuntsa* neighborhood. The latter continued the trade farther to the southeast with Aŋuaši, in the *Jaŋuap* neighborhood. Finally, Aŋuaši then exchanged goods with a white trader (name unknown) who was reported to live in or near Iquitos.

In the other direction, west from the Río Cangaimi neighborhood, Hintak was a link in another series of trading partners. At the time, he was on extremely hostile terms with many of the Río Cusuimi people and lacked a "friend" there for his trade to the west. Consequently, he became an *awigri* of a man of his own neighborhood who himself had a trading partner, Kašinhint, in the Cusuimi region, and thereby was able to effect a continuation of trade westward. Kašinhint, in turn, traded with Wampútsurek west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, about half a day's walk from the white settlement of Sucúa in the Río Upano Valley. Wampútsurek obtained steel cutting tools, guns, and ammunition for the return trade primarily from people of his neighborhood who were working for the Ecuadorian colonists in Sucúa.

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
778 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
• 721 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
774 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. 774
As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his 778
arutam leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a 721
wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[9] The [821]
departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to [761]
kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
798 the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
[754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
• [721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot *die* as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy at-
721 tempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natemá*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
721

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definitely—enters the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 779
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 921
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gos-
sip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his
arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical
weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in force-
fulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the
raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam*
soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy
still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the
Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [101]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful
one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the pro-
tection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would
make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common tech-
nique is to walk alone through the forest night after night,
without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope
of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest moun-
tain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in witchcraft try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the
shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second
one for him, since no one can possess more than two such
souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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727 774 798 765 789 796 [562]

in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *wuisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *wuisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *wuisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *wuisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 628 727 921

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huará* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-

[532]

ing him. The hair is lost, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] [796]

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *wuisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *wuisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *wuisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *wuisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *wuisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nampet*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

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779 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*.
276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
628 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal
721 assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly ap-
276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jivaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jivaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquility.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jivaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*musak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *musak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft. 674 682 [186] [761] [795] 682 628

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible. [721]

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 682 628 728

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

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Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untä*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untä* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

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"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untā* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

765 778 774 578 796 [619] [273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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178 241 476 592 tial garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little 178 changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend 461 in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent 517 on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the 439 adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western [592] and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading part- [512] nerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his [412] time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain [286] skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become [291] shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon [281] after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple com- [224] monly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the 178 birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this 591 change are not clear except that some informants said that in- [851] laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the [578] old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary [583] matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's [411] father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the 178 turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of 411 steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the • [721] Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, [439] however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available. 178 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jívaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jívaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jívaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jívaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from
726 which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huarā* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization. 178 797 [114] [508] [191] [875] [758]

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huarā* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order." 178 797 648 721

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178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
• 721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
315 copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in 177
the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has 178
been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious 648
to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. 233
Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, 433
the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured 439
goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such [464]
success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the 648
influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a 657
scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempt- 797
ing to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions 563
for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own [233]
pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four [721]
hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
648 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will
563 undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from
the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
648 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept
721 through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as
the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
[123] staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the
Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently
determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed
five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most
slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us,
together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march
on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility
and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt
of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
423 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
563 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
648 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano
Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white
standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands
are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

1: Karsten--264 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 181, 722 (1928-29)

"All these precautions in their way illustrate the almost maniacal suspiciousness and dread of enemies which dominates the Jibaros. The mere discovery of mysterious footprints in the neighbourhood of the house, left by unknown Indians who apparently have gone sneaking about at night, may cause an indescribable excitement in the inhabitants. The footprints are carefully examined for the sake of ascertaining from what tribe they originate, message is sent to neighbouring houses, where further inquiries are made. 'We have found such and such footprints near our house, they are not like the feet of anybody from our own tribe, no one of our relations walks in that way, they must originate from strangers, may be of that and that tribe. Have you noticed anything exciting suspicion in the neighbourhood of your house or seen any strange Indians?', and so forth. Assuming that the mysterious footprints might possibly have been left by enemy spies who are planning an attack against the house, the inhabitants continue their inquiries with the energy that the Jibaros generally display when an important enterprise is in question, and take measures of defence."

1: Karsten--264 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 534, 722, 202 (1928-29)

"The big signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, also plays a part in the wars, although originally it seems to have been a purely religious instrument. At times when there is fear of an attack of enemies it is placed outside the house on the hill, and the beats may then be heard at a distance of several miles. The drum tundúi is beaten when the Jibaros drink the narcotics maikoa and natéma--in which case the object is to summon the spirits that inhabit these sacred drinks--also after a death, and lastly to give friends notice of an attack by enemies. In the latter case the signalling consists of a series of short and fast beats at a time which is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. When the friends in the other houses hear these beats they say: Pakinmawae, 'they are killing'. Hence this whole mode of signaling is called Pakinmawae. As soon as the inhabitants of a house get knowledge of or suspect the presence of enemies, and also during the attack, if there is time for it, they try by beating the tundúi to summon their friends for rescue, and the singalling may sometimes cause the enemy, fearing the arrival of help, to give up his evil intention and take flight."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

723 •

that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular
kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance
to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
• 725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
761, 726 (1928-29)

"But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 787, 276, 726 (1928-29)

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

1: Karsten--282-283 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 622, 726 (1928-29)

"The general expression of the Jibaros for a war, and more particularly one that is fought out against a foreign tribe, is meséta, and to make war is nanki hukítinyu, literally 'to carry lance for the combat'.

When a whole tribe, or perhaps several tribes together, prepare a war against one or more other tribes, the first thing done is to elect a common chief. He should be an elderly, experienced man, who has taken part in several wars, killed many enemies, and celebrated at least one victory feast. The rest of the warriors, who are generally younger men, swear him unlimited obedience. During the time the expedition is planned and the preparations are made, the warriors, and especially the chief, repeatedly drink maikoa or natéma to consult the spirits. They pay great attention to their dreams, even to those not produced under the direct influence of the narcotic drinks, tell them to each other, and discuss their possible significance. Only if they believe that they have received favourable answers and all omens are good are measures taken to carry out the war plan conceived. Meanwhile they try, through spies, to acquire as accurate a knowledge as possible about everything concerning the enemy: how many houses there are in the tract, how many fighting men in each house, if the houses are fortified, if the [283] men are well armed, and especially if they have firearms. All these and similar details the spies investigate by making trips into the country of the enemy and by stealing at night to the houses. Everything is prepared

with the greatest secrecy possible, so that the enemy is caught unprepared, for otherwise he will have time to take measures of defence that may defeat the whole undertaking."

"About a week before the warriors start for the expedition they assemble every night in the house of the chief, who develops the plan of the war, gives his men the necessary instructions, exhorts them to take courage, not to fear the enemy, not to abandon their comrades, etc. Part of these instructions are given during the war dance or exercise with the lance, which is called Enéma or Anékma (the corresponding verb is enemártinyu or anekmáktinyu). Enéma is a dialogue between two warriors, who through certain movements of the body, and especially of their lances, give emphasis to their words. Enéma with the lance (or with a rifle) takes place not only as a preparation for war, but also, for instance, when two Indians, who are unknown to each other, suddenly meet while travelling in the forest (Pl. XXV, 1) or when unknown guests arrive at a house. The one party then has to find out who the newcomer is, if he comes as an enemy or as a friend, from where he comes, where he is going, what business he pursues, etc. The conversation all through has a ceremonial character, and menacing movements with the lance accompany each word or phrase.

The dialogue at the Enema is rather stereotyped, the words being always about the same and being repeated several times. The following is the Enéma conversation among the tribes of the Upano, Morona, and Pastaza:

Enemártahei, 'Let us speak loudly!'

Chichama hustai, 'Let us speak words!'

Warita kunai, 'What are we going to say?'
Waru irúrtai, 'Let us quickly assemble!'
Tumáshi akérkatai, 'Let us avenge the blood-guilt!'
Kashíni kanártai, 'To-morrow we will sleep far away.'
Waru nikápsatai, 'Let us quickly take our enemy!'
Waru, chíchamahúomo, 'Quickly, before he is told about it!'
Unta nu, 'So says the Old One (the chief):'
Waru wakítketai, uchitai, 'Let us go, to return quickly, youths!'
Húomokki, húomokki, 'Quickly, quickly!' [284]
Manyáhei, 'We have been fighting!'
Mahei, 'We have killed!
Tumáshi ayambruamákahei, 'We have revenged the blood!
Muka tsupiktai, 'Let us cut off the head (of the enemy)!'
Hukitai, 'Let us carry it with us!'

Enemártinyu (enemártahei) means 'to speak in a loud voice,' which is consistent with the fact that the Indians do not speak in an ordinary voice but shout while carrying out the Enéma conversation. Each phrase is strongly contracted in the pronunciation, so as to consist only of two to four syllables, which naturally makes the conversation entirely unintelligible to one who does not know the words. In return, the phrase thus

contracted is repeated twice, corresponding to the movements of the body. Thus, for instance, the beginning of the conversation:

Chichama hustai,
Warita kunai,
Waru irurtai, etc.

assumes the form:

Chamurstai, chamursti,
Waritkunai, waritkuni,
Warurtai, warurti,

and so on.

At the beginning of the conversation the two warriors face each other, each having the lance resting on the right shoulder. They speak by turn. The Indian speaking pronounces the phrase in a loud voice, holding the hand over the mouth. With the right arm, upon which the lance rests, he simultaneously makes a movement as if to give emphasis to the words, but he does not, in the beginning, swing the lance and does not move from the spot. Again, at the second repetition or the latter part of the conversation the following movement takes place. The Indian who is to speak takes one step toward his opponent, beginning with the left foot, simultaneously raises the right arm with the lance and lets it fall vibrating down on the shoulder; immediately thereafter he goes back

to the original position, at the same time again swinging the lance over his shoulder. This whole series of movements is performed quickly and at one time, accompanying the phrase pronounced: charmurstai-charmursti, etc. One of the conversing Indians having several times repeated this movement with its corresponding phrases, he stops and stands still, the other one then speaking. The whole Enéma conversation lasts about ten to fifteen minutes. [285]

When a war expedition is prepared in which many Indians take part, Enéma is performed on a large scale. The warriors arrange themselves in two rows, one opposite the other, so that at the ceremony they converse in twos. If their number is, for instance, 40, 20 are arranged in each row. Enéma is then performed sumultaneously by all the warriors of one row, while those of the opposite row stand still with the lances on their shoulders, accompanying the movements and words of the other party with slight gestures of the arms. Having performed the Enéma for some minutes, the men of the first row keep silence and those of the second row speak, etc.

The Enema conversation, as we have seen, implies a mutual exhortation for war and the future course of the combat is gone through, in which naturally a successful issue of it is anticipated. It is clear that we are not here dealing with an ordinary exercise with the arms. The whole thing is a magical ceremony by which the Jibaros believe they are able to ensure victory over the enemy. By performing Enéma the Jibaro warrior is

supposed to get strength, courage, and confidence for the coming fight. The war dance is, moreover, believed to enable him to escape the lances and bullets of the enemy in the combat. Besides, the enemy himself is thereby lulled into security so that he will not be aware of the danger threatening, but will be surprised by the assailants. Without Enéma preparation no war expedition is believed to result favourably. Hence also, when a house is assaulted by enemies at night, its defenders hurry to perform Enéma with each other before they go to meet the intruding enemy.

About 1 o'clock in the night, when the new day is supposed to begin, the warriors assembled in the house of the chief start to perform Enéma, which they continue until the break of day. This is repeated every night during one week."

1: Karsten--285-286 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 533 (1928-29)

"Besides this war dance, the Jibaros try to secure victory over the enemy by a kind of war song. This war song, which is called Anéndrata, is sung by the warriors in the house before they start on the expedition.
The Anéndrata runs as follows:

Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother,'
Méseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'
Wihya úchiruna chichahei, 'To my son also I have said:'
Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son,' [286]
Kákarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'
Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'
Wika misérchatinyu, 'I will not die!'
Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'
Kànárahei, kànárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'
Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)
Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

Yamai achikahei, 'I have him already!'
Mányasa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'
Watski, shuarasha winiti, winiti, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'
Winyasha mandoáti, 'And may he take my life if he can!'
Winya mandoáma assa, 'If he kills me,'
Uchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged).'
Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'

Anéndrata has much the same magical significance as the war dance enéma, it being believed to give victory over the enemy."

"The warriors, moreover, prepare for the expedition by drinking much manioc-beer (nihamánchi), as they do for all big journeys, without, however, getting too drunk. They likewise take much tobacco, partly in the form of tobacco water, which is drawn in through the nose, partly in the form of cigars, which are smoked.

The preparations of the men take place in the large ante-room of the house (tangá-masha). The women the whole time remain in the interior department (department of the women, ekinturu) and do not mix in the activities of the men. The Jibaros on the Upano told me they do not even take leave of their wives before they start on the expedition. If the chief has a wife who is particularly attached to him she may, however, come out, embrace her husband, weeping, and say: 'Perhaps you will be killed by the enemy and never return.' The chief then consoles her, saying, 'I have had good dreams; I won't be killed, but will return with the heads of my enemies. Meanwhile stay you here, quietly making clay vessels'.(2) [287]

The Jibaro chief Nayapi, on the Rio Pastaza, told me that among his people the warrior, starting on an expedition, takes tender leave of his wife, embracing her and

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"2. As if she were already making preparations for the coming victory feasts. The making of clay vessels is the principal preparation of the women for all feasts.

1; Karsten--286-287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 726 (1928-29)

consoling her, but at the same time preparing her for the eventuality that he, perhaps, will never return and never see her again."

1: Karsten--287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 789, 462, 535 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayambruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

1: Karsten--287 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726 (1928-29)

"The warriors march from the house of the chief in a single row, going one after the other, and strictly observing silence. The chief goes out last and shuts the door. During the whole journey to the scene of the war, a journey that takes several days, sometimes even weeks, the warriors are allowed to speak only when necessary, and even then not in a loud voice but in a whisper. Only the chief has the right to speak in a loud voice when at the camping places he gives his men the necessary instructions. As soon as the warriors arrive at the place where they propose to camp that night they arrange themselves in two rows, keeping silence. The chief walks along the rows and gives his instructions, exposes the details of the attack planned and, above all, tries to dispel fear from the young warriors and to inspire them with courage. Although on the march to the war the chief no longer drinks maikoa or natéma, he still pays great attention to his dreams and from them tries to derive favourable presages. Thus he may with the following words try to inspire his people with courage and confidence: 'Take courage and don't fear, for I dreamed this night that I saw the great eagle (unta pinchu) and the tucan (tsukánga). They told me that we are going to take a wakáni (a soul). You are not going to die; you are going to be victors and to kill your enemies.'"

1: Karsten--287-288 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 714 (1928-29)

"On the eve of the day fixed for the attack the warriors arrange their dress. The Jibaro always pays great attention to his dress and his orna-[288] ments, which form a part of his personality, and at the feasts the dressing has a ceremonial character.

When the Jibaro warrior prepares for an attack against an enemy he puts on his head a sort of cap made of monkey's skin, which he prefers to the ordinary head ornament made of parrot or tucan feathers (tawása). The ear-tubes ought to be as large as possible so that their ends nearly reach the shoulders. Around the neck the warrior wears a necklace of jaguar's teeth and round the waist the usual cincture of human hair (akáchu). Old warriors, however, for an attack prefer to cincture themselves with a broad belt of the skin of the great boa. The uncovered part of the body, the face, the breast, the back, the arms, and legs, are finally painted black with genipa (sua).

The hair is divided into the three usual pigtails, and they are tied round with broad bands adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, or with cotton strings which are dyed red with roucu. The Jibaros on the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians, for a battle, are in the habit of tying round the pigtails or the hair broad strips of bast obtained from a plant which the former call chipyáta, the latter chilipanga. These strips of bast, which are of bright colour, are partly used as signs by which the warriors, in the darkness and in the heat of battle, are able to distinguish friends from foes, and are also worn because of some mysterious power ascribed to them or to the plant from which they are taken."

1: Karsten--289-290 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 726 (1928-29)

"Having arrived at the tract inhabited by the hostile tribe the warriors, if possible, try to surprise and kill particular persons belonging to the tribe, who, unaware of the danger, happen to be outside the houses, working in the plantations or walking in the forest. The proper attacks are, however, according to the general custom of the Indians, made at night or early in the morning, a little before dawn. Keeping strict silence, the enemies surround the house and lie in ambush in the immediate neighbourhood of it, expecting that someone will come out and open the door. That person is then instantly killed by a lance or a rifle shot, whereupon the enemies speedily penetrate into the house and massacre the rest of its inhabitants. If it proves impossible to penetrate into the house by treachery, the enemies set fire to it by firebrands thrown upon its thatching, obliging the inhabitants to leave it and killing them during the confusion that follows. If in this way the assailants have been able to kill all the people in one house, and there is no fear of other Indians coming to the rescue, they may go to the next house and continue the massacre, for, as already pointed out, the wars carried out against foreign tribes always aim at completely exterminating the enemy if possible.

However, the enemy is not always in this way surprised and unprepared, and is not always annihilated without resistance. Thus the measures of defence described above, may, at least to a certain extent, frustrate the plans of the attacking party.

Not seldom the inhabitants of the house, through the dogs and the hens or in some

other way, get knowledge of the presence of the enemy, and the latter may then to his disappointment suddenly hear the beats of the great signal drums in the fast time which is a sure sign for friends that the people of the house are in danger. The assailants then have to choose between quickly retiring, or pursuing the attack and engaging [290] in a fight the result of which, owing to the possibility of help arriving, is uncertain."

"However, if the enemy [JKM: hostile tribe of warriors] has already surrounded the house, there is little hope for those shut up in it to be saved through the intervention of friends. Their possibility of salvation then consists almost solely in breaking through the besieging ring and speedily fleeing to another house or into the forest. Before making this desperate attempt, however, all inhabitants of the house, men, women, and children, assemble to perform, in haste, a certain dance. Holding each other by the hands they move in a circle in the house in the way customary at most Indian dances, chanting or making a noise and playing a set of flutes made of the leg bone of the jaguar, called tungüi. The words uttered, or rather shouted, are the following:

Masteitimi, 'They won't kill us!'
Mandoastatami, 'They won't take our lives!'
Wuittatai, 'They will retire!'
Hinikitai, 'We shall be able to escape!'

The object of this ceremony is to 'tire out the enemy' (shuara pimbiktinyu), so that he gives up the plan of attacking the house and retires. Sometimes it also happens that the besieging enemies who, of course, understand what the dancing and shouting in the house mean, lose courage, give up the plan of attack, and draw off.

Immediately after the dance mentioned has been performed the inhabitants of the house try to escape through one or both of its doors. As soon as the ambushing enemies

notice this, they incite each other with cries:

Shuara hiniwai, 'The enemy leaves the house!'

Awuimaipa, 'Don't let them escape!'

Ihúta, ihúta, ihúta, 'Lance them, lance them!'

During the ensuing fight it may happen that some or the majority of the people in the house are able to save themselves in the darkness and the confusion. Generally, however, some old man or some women, who are not able to run quickly enough, get into the hands of the pursuing enemy, being killed or captured. If the victors are satisfied with this spoil, or if for one reason or another they do not venture to continue the attack, they speedily retire, carrying with them one or more heads which they have cut off or some captured woman, and giving triumphant war cries:[291]

Hetéktatai, 'May they now pursue us!'

Aimiayáhei, 'Now we carry off their comrade!'

Yúhi, uyúhi, uyúhi!

Tuo, tuo, tuo! (War cries.)

It is, however, only if the attacked people have been surprised completely and know they are absolutely inferior to the enemy that they try in this way to save themselves by flight. In other cases it happens that the attacking enemy is received by a number of well-prepared and well-armed warriors who, after having in a hurry performed the

1: Karsten--290-291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 726 (1928-29)

Enéma, gallantly go out to meet the assailants. A fierce hand-to-hand fight then ensues, in which friends and enemies mix with each other in the darkness, and the noise of arms is drowned by the inciting war cries of the men, by the cries of the women and the children, and by the barking of the dogs."

2: Stirling--51-52 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"Sometimes both sides in a feud become weary of the fighting and the affair is officially terminated by means of a peace ceremony during which a lance is buried. The actual interring of the lance is done by the wishinu, who goes into the forest at night and buries it in a spot known only to himself. The lance is supposed to carry with it the animosity of the feud. Unfortunately, it usually hap-[52]pens that all of the ill feeling is not buried, so that generally it is not long before some event transpires which causes the feud to break out anew."

2: Stirling--52 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"During the lance ceremony much nijimanche is drunk, warlike songs are sung, threats are made against the enemy, and the wrongs that have been suffered are rehearsed. All of the relatives of the wronged person assemble and take an active part in the ceremony. In the dances accompanying the ceremony only lances are carried, the guns being kept apart. It is interesting in this connection to note that the chonta palm, of which the lances are made, contains tsarutama; those made entirely of chonta wood possessing more supernatural power than the lances with iron heads. The lances are frequently decorated with markings which indicate the fierce spirits whose power they contain."

2: Stirling--53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"When the wishinu has decided that the proper time has arrived for the fight, those intending to participate are notified. The day before they leave, the curaka takes natima. While under its influence the spirits speak to him and give him advice calculated to help in the combat. In the event that the curaka is too old to fight, or is sick, he names the most able fighter in his group to act in his place as a war leader."

2:Stirling--53 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 714, 726, 301

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the natima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."

2: Stirling--53 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"At dawn the dance ends and the warriors prepare to leave. Each man is accompanied by a woman bearing nijimanche in earthenware jars. From this time until the beginning of the attack no one speaks except the curaka, who does so only to give the necessary orders and advice. Only the curaka bids farewell to the women remaining in the house; the others are silent. They leave the house in single file, each man followed by a woman. The curaka is the last to leave and he brings up the rear of the file at all times on the march. When all of the war party have started the curaka closes the door of the house.

As soon as the party has gone the women remaining in the house begin to dance and sing songs of victory, meanwhile playing the small drum. This is continued until the return of the warriors. With the women are the old men and children and any others who may be incapacitated for the fight."

"When the attacking party arrives in enemy territory they walk carefully without making a sound or breaking a twig. Walking in single file, each steps exactly in the footprints of the person ahead. They do not travel on the trails but keep well to one side in order to avoid pitfalls, spring traps, and set-guns. As they approach the enemy house their presence usually is made known by the dogs, which have been posted for this purpose. The approach is made in the dark, as the attack is usually made just at dawn.

The people within the house, expecting the enemy, have kept the fires down and the house dark. When they become aware of the attackers lurking about, the defenders join hands within the house and commence a dance to the music of a flute made from the leg bone of a jaguar, which is supposed to carry with it the magical fighting force of the animal it represents. As they dance, they sing songs of defiance. The enemy are accused of being cowards, while at the same time they extol their own bravery, predicting that because of fear the attackers will run away.

Hearing these taunts, the attackers are made still more angry. They reply in similar vein, contradicting the statements of the defenders. Frequently some of the attackers, who are not particularly strong-hearted, become frightened and return home. There does not seem to be much stigma attached to such an action but it adds nothing to their prestige.

The statements and conversation exchanged on these occasions are reduced by custom to rather definite formulae. A typical exchange goes much like this: Defenders--'Come!

Come! We have the power of jaguars. The anaconda is with us also!'--then they shoot their guns in the direction of the enemy, saying, 'Take this--and this! We have plenty of ammunition! Go away! Go away! Take nijimanche in your own house!' They whistle shrilly. The attackers reply, firing their guns in the direction of the house, saying: 'No! No! We will take nijimanche in your house! We prefer it right here!'

If the attacking party feels that they are outnumbered, or if they are short of ammunition, the attack is not made directly but they will lay siege to the house, concealing themselves and firing at intervals, sometimes for as long as a week, until the defenders run short of water and food. The Jivaros rarely have the foresight to provide themselves with these commodities in sufficient quantities to withstand a siege. During the siege, if anyone tries to leave the house, they are, of course, fired upon. The besieging party are tended by their women, who bring them food and nijimanche. When the defenders have used up the last of their food and drink, an old woman or a boy is sent out to see if the besieging party is still [55] around. As a rule, this individual is not molested because the attackers prefer the defenders to think that they have deserted.

The attackers frequently resort to the stratagem of pretending to go away, sending some of their men to fire shots at a distance who then quietly sneak back to their places. It is usually after such a ruse that the investigator is sent out. When nothing happens, the women leave the house to gather food in the chacra and to get more water. At the

moment the women have left the house the attackers make a rush for the door. Sometimes they pretend to run away and those in the house run out after them. After allowing themselves to be chased until the defenders are well clear of the house they turn about suddenly and the fight is held in the open.

Another ruse utilized by a force which is outnumbered is for its various members to run rapidly here and there over a long line, firing in as many different places as possible and shouting things calculated to indicate the presence of a large force. This stratagem is usually employed by a small group of men who have been attacked in the woods by a large party.

Under normal conditions the attacking party will consider themselves of equal or superior strength to the defending party. As soon as the first light of dawn begins the exchange of taunts ceases and the attack is begun. The assault is made with as much rapidity as possible, the attackers shouting loudly in order to bolster up their own courage and at the same time to terrify the enemy. As the house is rushed, guns are thown aside and only lances are used. Once the house is entered, a scene of great confusion transpires. The dogs are barking, women screaming and crying, the fighters shouting, the old men pleading for protection and shouting advice to their defenders. Children under 7 years of age are lanced and thrown aside. All of the men possible are killed, as are the old women. Only the young and desirable women are spared. Young women are also killed if they take too active a part in the combat. The attacking party always at-

tempts to kill the wishinu first. They fear his power and their confidence is greatly increased when he has been eliminated."

2: Stirling--60-61 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 726

"As soon as notification has been received of an impending attack, dogs are tied up all around the clearing. If, while awaiting attack, a dog barks or growls, an old woman is sent out to investigate. When the attack takes place, if the defending party is victorious, they, of course, kill as many of the attackers as they can and, when the remainder have been routed, they will follow them into the woods in the hope of killing more. They do not, however, conduct a raid to the attackers' house. After the attackers have been thoroughly routed the defending party return to their own house, where tsantsas are prepared from the heads of the enemy who have been killed and a consequent celebration is held. While this is going on the wishinu takes natima in order to find out when the enemy will reorganize and [61] reattack, for the vanquished, by virtue of their defeat, have that much added to the vengeance which it is required of them to take, and, if possible, they will later make another attempt, usually with redoubled vigor."

2: Stirling--115[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In time of war an attacking party always attempts to kill the shaman or wishinu of their enemies as early in the fight as possible, so as to free themselves from possible injury by the spirits which he controls."

4: Up de Graff--247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In times of war, the medicine man accompanies the fighting men (he fights himself, too) to cast spells on the enemy, to foretell victory (invariably), and to render his comrades-in-arms immune from hostile influence. Finally, he alone can make the pots in which the fruits of battle, the heads of the enemy slain, must be treated."

4: Up de Graff--250-253 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 484

"Sweeping along under the right bank came fifty-five Jívaro canoes in single file, a huge serpent moving with perfect rhythm. [251]

Tuhuimpui, as we soon learned was the leader's name, landed on the point of the island, stuck his spear head-down in the sand, and advanced for a friendly pow-wow. His great following had shown a keen desire to overrun our refuge at his heels, but I had ordered him, at first sign of such a movement taking place, to command his party to retire to the main bank, and await the result of our parley. We were perfectly safe as long as we kept a strip of water between us. So the pow-wow began. The Aguaruna chief bore himself with conscious pride of office. His manner had not a trace of servility. He, by reason of his position and his knowledge of Inca had been elected as spokesman, and he was every bit as good as any apache.

'We have heard that you have come searching for gold,' he began. 'Here on this river are very many Huambizas, evil men, who kill the apaches and steal their women. I myself have talked with the apaches and been to Barranca, and I know. You will be killed, so we have come here to take you back to safety. The Huambizas carry weapons such as yours' (indicating by signs and sound the firing of a rifle). [252]

'I have heard,' I replied, 'of the great chief Tuhuimpui down-river, and know him to be a friend of the white man. Clearly has he proved his friendship once more by coming on this errand fraught with perils to give us his advice and protection. To prove our mutual regard, we must drink together.'

The rum-barrel is produced, and a stiff drink handed out.

It is a curious fact, and one which throws a good deal of light on the much-discussed alcohol question, that any ignorant savage in the world will appreciate to the full his first drink of rum. It would appear that there is something in the natural constitution of man that answers to the call of alcohol.

'I would have you know,' I went on, 'that we appreciate your offer, but that we fear no Huambizas nor any other; we come in peace, but if attacked we know how to defend ourselves.'

The chief retires to the water's edge, and calls across to a fellow chief to put over to the island to consult with him. In the long line of canoes the warriors sit, watching the proceedings.

'Midia, midia,' cries Tuhuimpui (come, come), and an Antipa chieftain steers his canoe across the stream.

I have joined my comrades in the shelter and we discuss my interpretation of the powwow. We decide that we must try and get the whole war-party to go up-stream with us; their help would be invaluable.

In a few moments I am back talking with Tuhuimpui, who has returned from his conference with the Antipa.

'We are a war-party, come to kill the Huambizas.' Tuhuimpui turns with childlike simplicity to this new story.

4: Up de Graff--250-253 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 726, 484

'We will help you, then, for they are our common [253] enemy,' I answered. 'Let us join forces and push on together.'

Thus we struck a bargain. We were far from being deceived as to what was the real object of our new allies. Once more that canoe-load of presents was shaping the destinies of men. But all the same it suited us to avail ourselves of their help to penetrate further up-river, laden as we were with heavy stores."

4: Up de Graff--253-254 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 152, 726

"Next morning we started. All day long we sat and watched the great rhythmic strokes of the paddles, as the canoes flew along. Our escort was composed of some two hundred men of the Aguarunas and Antipas, evidently two parties which, finding each other bent on a common mission (which needs no explanation) had joined hands. By day they mingled so that there was no distinguishing the two parties, but by night they camped apart, suspicious, probably, of each other for they are natural enemies. Each carried with him a new loin-cloth, a rouge-pot, feather ear-ornaments, a záparo (rattan basket --Inca) of giamanchi, a spear, and a half gourd for a drinking-cup. Some had blow-guns with them also. They were for the most part naked. They were an impressive-looking crowd, and they took very little notice of us white men, with the exception of their chiefs with whom we had all our dealings.

The first day, everything seemed to go swimmingly. In the late afternoon we drew up on a sand-bar and pitched camp. Tuhuimpui volunteered to provide the game throughout the journey, and he certainly made a good start that day. He advised us not to use our rifles for hunting, as they might carry news of our whereabouts to the Huambizas, which seemed to us fair enough. We had our choice of supper from a great pile of game of all kinds--turkeys, pheasants, monkeys and wild hogs, principally--and selected what we wanted [254] before the rest was removed from before our tent. After supper, the chief came along with a basin-full of giamanchi; we were to drink deep of the comforting preparation and sleep in peace, while the Indians kept watch all night! To escape from

this doubtful blessing, I mixed a cup of condensed milk as a counter offer. If there is one thing which a Jívaro abhors it is canned food in any shape or form. The trick worked, for no more was said of drinks that night.

And how could he be expected--I went on, after disposing of the giamanchi difficulty--to find the guard all night, and leave us to sleep in slothful ease? Surely to this we could never consent. We would do our fair share. Indeed he must warn his men not to approach to within fifty yards of our camp, for our sentries would fire on suspicion--and who could distinguish between enemy and friend at night? In the common cause we must take half the burden on our shoulders, and we must carry it well. Too much care could not be taken now that we were so near the enemy, and what a disaster it would be if in our zeal we killed some of our own friends! No, there was no getting away from the fact that they must be very careful not to approach our bivouac at night."

4: Up de Graff--260 (1897) 1923 Jívaro
116, 726

"On the 26th of October, no sign of the Huambizas had yet been seen. During the morning of that day we were paddling along in the usual formation, Indian file, when suddenly a commotion started among the leading canoes, followed by a 'trombone concert.' Something which had been picked up out of the water was being handed round for inspection. On pushing up to the front of the column, we found that the centre of interest was indeed worthy of attention. It was no less than a piece of charred wood. So at last we were in touch with the enemy. After a lot of talk it was decided that we should push on and try and find the probable point from which it had drifted.

Paddling ahead for the remainder of the morning, we halted on a very long sand-bar for a mid-day rest. There was a feeling of war in the air. The Jívaro party seemed to have settled down at last with a will to the prospect of attacking their long-standing enemies. There remained but one stepping-stone to be crossed before they would reach a state of white-hot zeal for the attack--the omens must be read."

4: Up de Graff--260-262 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 789

"The meal over, the Indians disappeared into the forest which came down to the edge of the sand. In a few moments they were back, each man carrying a branch from a tree which bears a small green berry. (I was never able to identify it.) Some of the berries they stripped from the twigs, and the branches them[261]selves they planted in the sand in a long straight line parallel with the river. Tuhuimpui strolled up to me unconcernedly. 'We are going to make it rain,' he said simply. 'I hope you will not bring down enough to drench us and our cargo,' I said with mock solemnity. 'Never fear,' came his grave answer, 'only a light shower. To-night it shall rain and thunder and blow, but before we summon the storm, we shall build you a house.'

I was taken aback to say the least of it, for it seemed to me that he had very little hope of success, for all the effect a row of branches would have on a clear blue sky, the same sky which had smiled on us since we turned up the Santiago from the Marañon. In deference to his gravity, however, I said nothing more. On the contrary, I persuaded Jack and the rest to come along with me and take part in the show. So we cut our branches (we were not allowed to bring any but the right kind) and planted them.

The berries which they had pulled the Jívaros put into snails' shells, and threw into the river with a good deal of tom-foolery in the way of chanting and solemn gesture. (We used to call this kind of thing 'monkey-business').

And then we simply embarked in the canoes and left the playa to itself.

Within half an hour, gentle rain fell. A light cloud had gathered I know not whence

for the first time for three weeks. Now it may be said that it was a pure coincidence, but it was at the same time very strange that Tuhuimpui's efforts should so strikingly produce a result after so many perfect days had passed. It should be remembered that the rainy season does not set in, properly speaking, until the middle of January. Even down to the smallest detail the Aguaruna chief was right. [262]

The gentlest of sun-showers fell that afternoon--enough to freshen us all up, but only enough. Morse and I discussed the process of rain-making with the Indians. We discovered that Tuhuimpui had been making a test of his favour with the god Yacu-Mámam, the controller of Rivers and Rain, and that had he left the newly cut branches planted in the playa below to wither and die, our attack would never have been made. Without the River God's help, disaster would have overtaken us; but this gentle shower to refresh the tokens planted for his favour was his answering sigh of approval and protection in their mooted ventures.

'You see the power I wield,' grinned Tuhuimpui, finally. Suddenly his manner changed. Gravely he gave utterance to the sentiment which lies closest to the heart of every Jívaro. 'Now indeed we shall return with many heads'.... But in a moment he was boasting again. 'This is nothing to what will fall to-night,' he said mysteriously. 'It will thunder, there will be lightning, a great wind will blow; a storm will rage; Yacu-Mámam will smile on me.' "

4: Up de Graff--262-263 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"By six o'clock that evening we had found what the Jívaros had been looking for since we picked up the piece of charcoal. We discovered the mouth of a stream which ran into the Santiago, covered so effectually with heavy undergrowth that it was invisible from the centre of the main river. Why, I do not know, but the Antipas and Aguarunas who guided our destiny decided at once that this was where the enemy was to be found. So a scouting party of four picked men was told off to take a canoe and spy out the land. They slid off noiselessly [263] and disappeared in the gloom of the forest vault, moving with the catlike stealth of men who know that detection means death.

The chiefs signed to the rest of us to make for the bank of the Santiago opposite the mouth of the stream. Here we left the canoes, climbing ashore with great care on logs which had fallen over the bank, so as to leave no trail. Tuhuimpui was very particular that we should land in this way, himself supervising the operation. Next, a party of Jívaros collected all the canoes, moored them to the trees with bejuco strands, and half-filled them with mud dug from the water's edge. They sank from sight one by one, until of all that gallant array of craft there was no sign left. The bejucos appeared to be but vines which had lost their hold and fallen into the river--only a tiny detail of the vast network of tangled undergrowth which chokes the forest from end to end of the Amazon basin. The Antipas withdrew in the tracks of the main party which had moved into the forest, and anyone passing the spot in dugouts five minutes later could never have suspected the presence of a war-party."

4: Up de Graff--263-264 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"Dusk was gathering by this time. Tuhuimpui, in solemn preparation for the storm which was due to rise, ordered the building of shelters for all his men and a specially well-built one for his white allies. In an hour the camp was pitched--one half for the Aguarunas, the other for the Antipas, our own shelter in the middle. Each of them was about thirty yards from us. We set to work to thin out the undergrowth all round our camp by way of precaution. There was no knowing what these friends of ours might be doing if rain fell a second time at their bidding! We felt cramped, too, and hedged in by darkness after the safety of the river and open playas. I think as a matter [264] of fact, that in their anxiety to be after the Huambizas, they had by this time forgotten us more or less, or at any rate relegated us to a place of secondary importance; we should come in handy after the Huambizas had been routed, perhaps."

4: Up de Graff--264-265 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726, 714

"We lit fires round our shelter, as the Jívaros themselves had done, and sat up for many an hour, spectators of the weirdest scene I have ever witnessed.

Tuhuimpui arrived at our shelter with a great gourd full of what looked for all the world like chutney sauce.

'We are going to paint,' he announced. A short interrogation sufficed to satisfy myself that this was huito, a kind of giant walnut, of which the outer shell contains a stain or dye, in just the same way as a butternut or a black walnut. The thorny root of a palm is used as a grater to reduce the outer shell to pulp. With this the skin can be dyed jet-black, simply by rubbing it in in the wet state. All the Jívaro tribes use it to paint themselves for battle, and are indeed loath to attack without doing so. It may be that they want a distinguishing sign so that in the excitement and confusion of the fight in close country a glance will suffice to tell friend from foe. I think, however, that this is a very unlikely explanation of the custom. [265] It is more probably a part of the usual panoply of war in which all savage tribes indulge.

The same huito is used extensively in the small towns, villages, and posts of Ecuador and Peru bordering on the Jívaro territory, by half-castes who are not as dark as the Indians, nor yet as light as the Spanish. They (chiefly women) stain their faces, necks, arms and hands with it in the belief that when it comes off it takes some of the black with it! They go about their ordinary occupations with it on, it being accepted by all as powder is on the beach. So durable is the stain that only time will bring it off; three weeks

or a month are required to efface it altogether. This temporary sacrifice of appearance is willingly made in their desire to cast off the taint of Indian blood.

We all readily agreed to paint up in preparation for the attack on the morrow. So we stripped, determined to do the thing thoroughly, and each saw to it that his companions did not overlook any odd corners. Even Jack's bald spot did not escape attention. The effect of the application of this dye is not immediately apparent. So it was not till morning that we noticed any change in our appearance. The rising sun, however, revealed to us the full possibilities of huito. Not only our skin, but even our hair and eyes seemed to have changed color overnight. We laughed till we were nearly sick. The Jívaros hearing the uproar, thought we were having a war-dance of our own. Tuhuimpui came over and inspected us, surveying with a face unmoved a scene the absurdity of which no white man could have resisted."

4: Up de Graff--265-266 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"But to return to the night's vigil. A moment after Tuhuimpui left us, he returned to tell us of the safe arrival of the scouting party. The enemy had been [266] located. The scouts had approached to within a few yards of a small settlement and had actually counted the warriors. With consummate skill thay had withdrawn unseen. Had I not had so many personal experiences of these men's amazing skill in scouting, I should not have believed it possible for any living thing larger than a humming-bird to approach within earshot of a Jívaro in the forest.

Having painted themselves from head to foot, the Indians began to prepare themselves for the war-dance. Each camp built a huge fire, and supplies of fuel for the long night were stacked beside the shelters. At a given signal every man leapt to his feet, grabbed his spear, and all joined in a great capering throng about the blazing fires; with raucous yells they danced and danced and danced, two bounding swaying circles careering round the blaze, spears shaken in grim emphasis of the threats they hurled at their unsuspecting enemies.

Now the whole crowd would be scampering round the flames, now a few tireless warriors who had outlasted their fellows; sometimes a solitary enthusiast would prance and yell to the delight of the squatting onlookers, uttering curses and vowing vengeance on the Huambizas who had stolen from him a wife."

4: Up de Graff--266-267 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 726

"Suddenly with a clap of thunder the promised storm broke on the scene. Here was everything that Tuhuimpui had predicted--one of those summer storms of great intensity but short duration which occur in the tropics alone. Once more the necromancer's spell had worked. Even as he had said, the wind raged and the rain fell in sheets to the accompaniment of the thunder and the vivid lightning. So great was the fury of the elements that we had to post a sentry outside our shelter to warn us of falling limbs. All around [267] the cave they came crashing down--any one of them enough to obliterate us and our puny cover.

In half an hour it had passed, and we were out again, uncovering the fire and restoring it to life while the dying wind swept the last drops of moisture from the forest roof. It had passed, but left behind in every Jívaro heart an undying faith in the prowess of their chief. Sure of their victory now, the savages bounded to the dance with redoubled energy, cavorting and pirouetting in a mad frenzy of hatred and battle-lust. All night long they kept it up, a pack of tireless demons. We on our part had no recourse but to sit with our rifles at hand and wait for dawn. Sleep had no charms for us while that waking delirium possessed the Indians, fanned to white-heat by the splendid augury of the storm.

It is useless for me to attempt an explanation of the prodigious success with which Tuhuimpui met that day. I cannot allow that it was merely a case of coincidence. The correctness in detail of his prognostications may suffice to confound that theory. No;

4: Up de Graff--266-267 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 789, 726

either he knew by some sixth sense which many animals possess that there was rain somewhere near (a thing almost unbelievable, since there was apparently no difference in the barometric conditions of that day and the preceding days) or else he was able to detect the coming of the rain by a minute observation of the movements of certain animals, or even insects, signs which would mean nothing to any but the most highly trained child of the woods."

4: Up de Graff--267-268 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 726

"With the coming of dawn, groups of weary savages were to be seen lying about and preparing leisurely for the fight. Exhausted by the night's revelry, they seemed but poorly fitted for the trials of battle. But our ideas [268] of battle differ very markedly from theirs. The long strain of a modern engagement is a thing undreamed of by these lovers of cunning and surprise. For us it may be a matter of days or weeks, for them it is one of minutes.

Here and there they strolled round the dying embers, busy with rouge-pots, feathers and loin-cloths, black from head to foot with the huito which had taken effect during the night hours, their black pointed teeth bared in a grin of anticipation--a band of veritable demons straight from Hell. But grouped round the fire which still burned before the central shelter of the camp was a company of creatures which fell not far behind them. Tousled, bewhiskered, stained the same ebony black, we sat and cooked our breakfast. Game, it was agreed, outstripped the rest of us in hideousness. With his mop of sandy hair, a three month's old ginger beard, blue eyes, great thick-set body half-clothed in ragged shirt and pants, every inch of skin as black as night, he was indeed a fearsome creature."

4: Up de Graff--268-269 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 726

"Breakfast over--for the Jívaros a drink of giamanchi sufficed--we all moved off to the water's edge. The moment had come for the attack. The savages with their new loin-cloths, rouged faces, tufts of lumbiqui feathers (red and yellow balls of fluff) in their ears, looked a formidable company. Quietly we raised the dugouts, and made across to a sand-spit which extended from the mouth of the stream, up which we were to go, to a point some two hundred yards down-stream, an excellent base for the day's operations. Here a party [269] composed of old men and boys was told off to guard the canoes. Of the latter I have said nothing. A few lads of nine or ten years of age accompanied the party to learn the art of war from their fathers. It was manifest throughout the trip that they were happy and proud to have been called to an apprenticeship in the chief business of life.

Led up by the scouts who had come in the night before, in a long single file, we made our way into the forest, and moved up the left bank of the stream. According to plan the savages split up into two parties, the Antipas made off into the jungle on a detour, to take as their objective the further of the two settlements which had been selected for the raid, while the Aguarunas clung to the bank of the stream, moving on the nearer. We (black) white men brought up the rear of this latter column under the personal supervision of Tuhuimpui, who lived in fear and trembling of our clumsy movements. Game alone, had he come within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before the surprise had been sprung, would have queered the pitch. It was one of his whims never to go barefoot,

with the result that he was forever the victim of his own shoes. They caught in the vine-roots, they were sucked off his feet by the mud, they slipped in the moss and they were ever half-full of dirt--an interminable nuisance which their owner could never be persuaded to abandon. Tuhuimpui protested in vain, while Game went crashing through the undergrowth with the delicacy of a tapir. At last it was too much for our chief. He stopped us. We were to wait till the attack had begun."

"No sooner had we halted than there came to our ears the whang-whang of a machete on wood. So we were actually within earshot of a settlement at last. [270]

It is at this point in my narrative that I must pause a moment to make a few comments on Jívaro methods of warfare. They are utterly distasteful to the white man--the true white man who is brought up to a code of fair play. The attackers display no bravery, the attacked have no chance to defend themselves. As a cat creeps up behind a bird which is digging up worms, so the Jívaro attacks his enemy. A square hand-to-hand fight he will not entertain. With all his paint and feathers he is, unlike the North American Indian, a coward at heart. I must have given the impression in the foregoing pages that our heart was in the business; but such was not the case. We used the war-party for our own ends--they were our only means of getting up-river with our kit, once Pitacunca had deserted us. To have left them to attack the Huambizas alone would have been to stamp ourselves in their eyes as cowards. To have turned them from their purpose would have been to place ourselves between two enemies, each waiting as anxiously as the other for our heads. So there was nothing for it but to indulge Tuhuimpui's caprice in the hope that the affair would prove to be but an incident in our onward movement.

So we sat and listened to that single distant clanging of steel on wood, the only sign of human life in all that vast forest into which a moment ago two hundred men had melted. Whang-whang came the sharp-cut noise of the blade falling on a paddle which was

never to be finished.

With a hideous yell the van of the attackers leapt from cover, a bare ten yards from the nearest of their prey. We jumped to our feet at a word from Tuhuimpui, and in a moment were rushing to the scene of the slaughter. (The moment was a tragic one for Game, who left his [271] shoes in the mud, only one of which he ever recovered.) We never fired a shot, either in attack or defence that day. When we arrived at the scene of action, we found that the settlement, a mere handful of savages, male and female, had been rushed. The game was up."

"Our warrior friends made the best use of the remaining hours of daylight to fortify themselves for the fight they had planned. They stood facing each other with spears held aloft. Backwards and forwards they moved, one step at a time, raising and lowering the spears in a series of jerky movements, at the same moment shouting out various sentences calculated to disturb the evil spirits and inspire themselves with courage. This performance, known as an-ekma or aneema, was practised many times. It is a most important part of the ceremony which precedes battle. Another part of the ritual was to smear their faces, arms and neck with the juice of a fruit called 'sua' (Genipa americana). It stains the skin a deep blue-black colour, but its effects only appear about six hours after its application. With their skins thus blackened, the warriors are supposed to make themselves less visible to the enemy.

The dressing of their long hair was yet another occupation which took up considerable time. They arranged their locks in three pigtails, one wound about the head, the others on either side of the forehead. The latter were bound up with fibre like a couple of sticks. Other ornaments of importance which must receive attention are the ear-tubes, or 'arusa' which are made of straight pieces of cane passing through the lobe of the ear. They have a saying that when wearing these, they fear no danger. Supernatural properties are ascribed to the ear-tubes in the same way that necklaces of jaguars' teeth and bands of snakes' skins are supposed to endow the wearer with the ferocity and cunning

of the respective animals. It was certainly a long business making such elaborate preparations, but obviously no chances were being taken and no stone left unturned that would help them in their task.

An Indian may go into battle fearlessly, but at heart he has a horror of 'meeting with an accident,' and it is with the object of filling himself with strength, courage and con-
[188] fidence for the combat, that he drinks natema and indulges in all the fantastic preliminaries just related. Having duly taken all the precautions that custom considers necessary, he feels that he is fortified against any eventuality."

26: Brüning--72 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 726

Suddenly one party makes a raid on the other, cutting down all living creatures, except the young women who are captured and carried off alive. The heads of the men are cut off in order to reduce them later and to be kept as a trophy of war. The whites call these raids correrías.

The enemy is never openly attacked. He is first spied upon in order to find out how he can be attacked most suddenly. If everything is prepared, they attack the house with clamor, kill everything with their spears and disappear with their booty before help can be obtained. As a rule, the raids are carried out in the morning during moonlight, after the raiders have stealthily approached the house. I asked several Aguaruna Indians to mime a sham raid for me.

26: Brüning--72 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 726

In recent times, the number of correrías has decreased; nevertheless, I was told in the Muchingis River territory that the Indians were making preparations to attack their arch-enemies, the Huambisas. The oracle, however, had not yet been auspicious. In order to find out whether the correría would be successful, they drink the narcotic decoction of a certain liana which transports them into a state of dreaming in which they have hallucinations by which they judge as to the lucky or unlucky outcome of the intended raid. This liana is called náktém in the Aguaruna language and ayahuásca (a Quichua word meaning "rope of death") by the whites.

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[6]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater loquaciousness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 774 821 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

726 774 761 [976]

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If they were failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

[789]

774 778 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power of an indefinite number of previous souls*. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

[183] By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the town, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This fact and encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[921] [961]

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, *i.e.*, any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing power

726 774

[illegible] drinking large quantities of an infusion of [illegible], beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering aimlessly, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his soul for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally – and then definitely – seen the arutam of his intended victim. This last is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forceful use of speech.[illegible] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy will return the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him hazardous.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a caqui torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Then, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his new arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting on forever and temporarily entering into the bodies of

g English *ng* as *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *u*, palatalized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
t English *th*
ts English *ts* as *cats*
v Spanish *v* (voiced like Spanish *b* when following a nasal consonant, palatalized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *u*)
y Spanish *y*

Consonant sounds (except for ultimate syllables) are syllabized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (NSF summer grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their essential pioneer work immeasurably made for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Anatomy may also be pronounced *anatomo*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1970) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro belief in the existence of anatomo souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adherents raised in mission boarding schools in the Six Tyears valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of datura (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen anatomo and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group always have smokes in order to be able to evaluate and prevent the deleterious effects of the infusion.

* The exception is the belief anatomo which only considers adults, when awake.

* Persons who have seen anatomo can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a new agent anatomo, *uwang*, whose soul is not so easily detached and does not leave the body of its possessor when such deliberations are made.

* The anatomo soul resides in the body of a person in a bodiless soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Kinships in the Jivaro are usually augmented by the ways showing which together overcome some between Jivaros of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this system can be seen in the desire of the individual to substitute his anatomo power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

* Muscle may be alternatively pronounced *mushla*.

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person for his enjoyment (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the chief's soul is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer begins to reach home before the emerging soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa manufacturing the tsantsa. I wish to emphasize that any overlap between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates origin of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and more than fifteen varieties along with their gardens.

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 698 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [66] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular • 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a best position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 distributed in those parts, that all might become blood and fire.
648 The fear of being destroyed by the Jibaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huamboyas to agree to the resolved plan; but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at
648 Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out
726 up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huamboya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the
648 preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in
727 which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba entered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations; and at the same time the implements for melting it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jests, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone; and bursting his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 175 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [562] [797] 175 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was 175 648

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thinking more of saving his family and possessions than of the common defense, it was difficult to conduct it to advantage: nevertheless, the city and royal officials tried hard to make as much preparation as was possible, intrenching the streets, and placing those under arms in the locations of the most danger, not having forces or preparation for a battle outside the city.

The officials transported all of the royal treasury and its boxes to the main church, fortifying it as a citadel and final refuge. They also fortified the church of the nuns of the Conception, cramming into it all of the women and children. At nightfall, a portion of the inhabitants of the town of Huamboya, 16 leagues distant, entered the city, having sent all of the rest to Riobamba and its environs. All of these fled, abandoning their houses and goods, because at dawn that day they learned, from a lone sick Indian who had remained, that all the people of his nation had retreated to the Cordillera de Cutillin, fleeing the Jíbaros, who were going to destroy everyone that night.

They rejoiced in Sevilla del Oro with the recruitment of those people, and passed all the night on watch, awaiting the enemy. Seeing that they neither appeared the next day, they began to doubt the existence of the conspiracy. They thus won time to complete the defense somewhat more, to bring in a supply of food from the neighboring countryside, and to gather the Spaniards sprinkled in the mining camps and small settlements of the district.

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The reason that the barbarians postponed the appointed time by 24 hours was because the Macas, who were summoned to join with them and to lead them, as guides, to the city, did not appear at their appointed meeting place. Finding the Macas to be unfaithful, they delayed the march, and sent word to Logroño to supply more troops. These arrived between midnight and dawn the next day, and together they marched against Sevilla del Oro, burning with desire to avenge themselves, not so much against the Spaniards, as against the Macas Indians, for having broken their promise.

The Spaniards worked themselves up into going forth onto the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city,
648 which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and
• 726 proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead, later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[714] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both
648 legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead
648 in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in
727 Logroño they did not exceed more than 11 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

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Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

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• 726

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Sung by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

595 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally
351 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kampanakā* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

 /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *nirwá*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[799] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
[439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kuwai* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles.

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

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723
that they are not on a hostile mission of wrath. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peacefully, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [279]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaraw* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaraw* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [798]
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [592]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaraw* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at [593]

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
925 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakawsu*, since
• 926 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135-41), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakawsu* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
901 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakawsu*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakawsu* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
921 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakawsu* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such 701
status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, in- 628
stead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually 721
send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invi- 701
tation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another 721
tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire [726] household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing [727] women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* [727] and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the [411] attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri huarā* [484] inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu huarā* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*wuilin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, 756
often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a re-
765 flection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

• 726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untá* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *uwa*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *uwa*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[2]

The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the host
[829] declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This
[226] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on
[251] fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the manioc which are
[727] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *uwai*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigo-
[789] rous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien tribe's region, strict silence is maintained and scouts are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, snake back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hostiles. The main body of men follows the scouts, but simply keeps to the trail itself. 726 •

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the scouts remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs lean-to's and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 A.M., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 2 or 3 A.M., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the scout outpost, the scouts are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former scouts go back down the trail to sleep in the lean-to's where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the scouts find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is attacked, but sometimes two may be assaulted simultaneously, and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy. [411] 727 533

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambisa attacked his house in the Río Yaupi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

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178 partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal be- 682 witchings. 754

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young 178 men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to 181 spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look 461 for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in extra-neighborhood visiting [837] and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available [571] for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but [556] informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied 178 against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional 628 Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Ji- 721 varo partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of [754] inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recog- [682] nize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and prosecuted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have 178 declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the 721 last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one [726] such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the [441]

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
• 726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from
726 which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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digging of footholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape runnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs. 178 342 411 712 726 [202]

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier. 178 251 [196] [439]

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance. 178 224 223 411 [439] [262]

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has 178 184 438 278 411 [224]

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

"On the following day, early in the afternoon, we arrived at the house where the feast was to take place. Having given in good time the necessary signal with the cow's horn we entered the house where the usual greeting ceremonies were exchanged. It was incumbent on Don Dionysio to explain who I was, what the object of my visit, and to ask permission for us to be present at the approaching great feast. The Indians of course are just as disinclined to receive uninvited guests at their feasts as are civilized people, particularly as they always fear evil supernatural influences from strangers. The fact that the host Shakaëma not only received us in a friendly way but even gave us permission to stay in the house the whole time the feast lasted, was due, partly to the eloquence of my companion, but perhaps still more to the presents I gave him and the other members of the family. Shakaëma himself got a nice machete (forest-knife), and each of his wives a collar of beads, needles, thread, and small round mirrors being distributed among the other members of the family. Shakaëma was quite pleased and declared that he had in fact known that a party of strangers would arrive, for he had taken natéma some days ago and seen us in a dream. Shakaëma was a man of about fifty-five or sixty years old, a professional warrior and sorcerer, who in fact enjoyed a bad reputation among his neighbours, and was greatly feared by his many enemies anong other Jibaro tribes. With his three full-grown sons, who also lived in the house, and a party of other Indians from among his kinsmen, he had two years before made

war upon a tribe living on the Copataza. The attack had been successful in so far as a head had been captured, and this happy incident had to be celebrated with a feast. When an attack has been successfully carried out, the victor par excellence is the warrior who has cut off the head of the enemy killed. This happy lot had fallen to one of Shakaëma's sons, a youth of 18 or 20 years, who was consequently the principal person at the feast. As is [60] the rule in similar cases, the young man was in the dress of a penitent, wore only his loin-cloth and no ornament or facial paintings and had his long hair hanging loose down the back. Similarly he had to diet himself strictly.

While we were conversing with Shakaëma and his son about the coming feast, the women of the house, that is to say, Shakaëma's two wives, two of his daughters and one daughter-in-law, were mixing the manioc substance in clay vessels partly filled with water, and handing this favourite beer of the Indians round to the guests in the house. My companions from Macas appreciated it almost as much as did the Indians themselves, but for my own part I only took a draught from the vessel offered me and return it again to my hostess. My moderation caused my hosts some displeasure, but I diverted their attention from this topic by showing them some of the things I had brought with me. Many of these as usual awakened the curiosity and fear of the Indians. My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguanchi (evil spirit)

would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed. 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaëma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father. [61]

The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the

Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report.

Having been allowed to be present at the feast, I had placed my field-bed at one of the big pillars in the middle of the house. Since, as I found later on, the chief dance during the feast was performed every night round the central pillars of the house, I had to spend my nights in the middle of the dancing Indians and consequently could hardly think of sleeping. The Indians, it should be understood, start to dance as soon as darkness sets in and continue until dawn, or about five o'clock, and they accompany their dance by constant chanting and shouting. Since the main feast lasted for six days and nights, it will be easily understood that participating in an Indian scalp-feast is really a feat of strength and endurance. The first night I had no rest at all; the ghastly dance, saturated with mystery and performed amid a dreadful noise, impressed me too much and, besides, there were many interesting things to watch and note down. The following night it was about the same. But the [62] third night I decided to sleep, put cotton wool in my ears, and gave some of it to my companions also. Tired to the utmost I really succeeded in sleeping a few hours in spite of the noisy dance going on around me. Still at five o'clock in the morning when I awoke some of the women went on dancing and chanting their monotonous óa...óa--óa-á...aó, as they had done all the night. I could not even notice that they were hoarse, which greatly struck me. At six o'clock the whole party, both men and women, rushed down to the river and had a bathe, and with this the night's ceremony was over--to begin again in the following

evening.

From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaëma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the

warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house.

Nevertheless a white man, visiting the savage Jibaros on an occasion like this, has to be extremely careful in dealing with the Indians. This is best shown by the following incident which took place at the end of the feast, and which could easily have led to most serious consequences. One of the ceremonies at the great victory feast, as we shall see later on, is the slaughter of the swine and the hens, which takes place the day before the feast ends. In the evening the hosts and hostesses were engaged [63] in cooking the meat in big clay pots placed on different fires all round on the earthen floor. I saw an Indian moving a boiling clay pot to adjust it--when suddenly he fell backwards, shouting loudly, with the pot, which was broken and poured out a part of its hot contents upon him, whereupon he dropped down on the floor and remained lying in convulsions with the mouth open. There arose a terrible hubbub and excitement. All at first thought that he had only been burned, and so I believed myself also, although the symptoms seemed to me strange. My first intention was to give the Indian what help I could, but I was warned by my more experienced companions not to do anything. They told me, what aferwards I really found to be true, that if among the Jibaros someone undertakes to cure a patient, and the latter nevertheless dies, the physician will unfailingly be made responsible for the death, the law of blood-revenge being applied to him. Such is the logic of these Indians. In any case the cause of the accident had to be cleared up,

and it was characteristic of the Indian train of thought that the worst consequences were anticipated. 'He will die, he will die', one of the women exclaimed in a heart-piercing voice. 'Why has he burned himself, why must he die', were questions which arose from all sides, and these strange questions were particularly addressed to me. Soon the questions became indirect or direct accusations. 'Why must he die'?, the host of the house asked vehemently, turning towards me. --'He has only burned himself', I answered, 'he will not die but recover.'--'No, the Indian replied, 'he has not burned himself, it was something else; what was it that flew into him in the same moment as he fell?' I began to realize the danger of the situation and my interpreter who fully understood the language of the Indians realized it still better. The Indians looked upon me as a powerful strange medicine-man and it was clear that they believed that I had bewitched their comrade. I saw them assembled in groups and conversing in commotion, now and then pointing at me and my companions and looking at us with threatening looks and gestures. Of course, I was the person against whom their wrath would turn in the first place. Several circumstances arousing suspicion were moreover mentioned to my interpreter. Thus the Indian who had been the first to tell me about the feast had shortly afterwards fallen ill with a fever so that he had not been able to be present at the feast at all.

Probably the white man had brought the sickness with him. Another Indian who had engaged to carry a part of my luggage on my return, had afterwards accidentally cut himself in the foot, causing a gaping wound, and so forth. [64]

The situation was not enviable. I was almost alone far away in the virgin forest, in the midst of fifty or sixty savage Indians, all professional murderers so to speak, all more or less drunk and excited, all well armed even with firearms, Indians whose brutality and revengeful spirit when witchcraft is in question I knew sufficiently well. The principal thing in such a situation is to remain perfectly calm and show no fear. I did not even look at my own gun and rifle which were standing in a corner of the house, and I pretended not to understand the accusations of the Indians at all, making light of the incident and declaring that the Indian would soon recover. It was lucky that my companions behaved in the same way and that my interpreter proved so clever in Indian 'diplomacy' as he did. Still I understood that my own fate very probably depended on the fate of the sick Indian. He had been carried to a corner of the house where he had ultimately fallen asleep. The Indians seemed gradually to become calmer and at last even began to dance. As for myself, it was many hours before I could compose myself to sleep, since of course it was uncertain what turn the illness of the Indian would take. The following morning, however, the condition of the patient was much better; he had recovered consciousness and the power of speech and was himself able to give an

explanation of the accident. His burns were insignificant, but he had evidently had a heart attack and had fallen in consequence. Of course, even this attack, according to the Indians' way of reasoning, had some mysterious cause; but the fact that the man did not die but recovered made the incident lose its importance, and it was quite probable that this happy issue saved my own life. It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder.

The cause of the heart attack to which the Indian very nearly fell a victim must no doubt be sought in the fact that the Indians at their feasts consume tremendous quantities of tobacco water, which is very likely to affect the health of persons suffering from a weak heart.

Experiences of this kind however made me long to get away from the house and the noisy feast as soon as possible. Happily it was to be concluded on the following day, and having witnessed the last ceremony, the 'Dressing of the victor', and the final ceremonial drinking-bout I took leave of my host and his family to continue my journey to the upper Pastaza. Shakaᵉma was now quite friendly again and behaved as [65] if he had wholly forgotten the incident, which the day before had made him look upon me as an evil witch-doctor and almost as an enemy.

Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited.

Having finished my studies of the head-feast on the Rio Chiguaza, I did not immediately return to Macas, but continued my journey towards the north, my plan being,

first to pay a visit to Canelos, and then to return to civilization for some time via Ambato. To reach Canelos I had first to pass through Arapicos, the small Jibaro village on the river of the same name, thereupon to ascend the small river Pindu, and lastly to continue on foot through the forests for about three days more. My journey, for different reasons, became extremely trying. It had been raining for a couple of days, and the ground through which we had to walk had become like a marsh and the rivers had swollen. There were two rivers that we had to cross to get to Arapicos, a branch of the Chiguaza and the Arapicos itself. The former is not very broad but extremely rapid and can only be crossed by wading. If the water has considerably risen owing to heavy rain, the stream cannot be crossed, or only with great danger. When we arrived at the river, the Indians declared, as I had indeed feared, that it was impossible to cross it then and that we must wait on the bank until the following day. This statement by [66] no means pleased me, especially since we were in danger of running short of food, which could not be obtained in these uninhabited regions. Happily the water seemd [sic] to be sinking, and on the following morning we were able to cross the stream, although with great difficulty. The same day in the afternoon we reached the river Arapicos, and within an hour had crossed over to the other side where the village is situated.

At Arapicos I met one of the Catholic missionaries in the Ecuadorian Oriente, Father

Agustín de Leon, whose acquaintance I had made before at Canelos. In his company I undertook an interesting expedition to a big cave situated on the right bank of the Pastaza about one day's journey from Arapicos. The cave is known among the Indians as the tayu-cave, after the bird which inhabits it. This is the guacharo or oil-bird (Steatornis caripensis), called tayu by the Jibaros. Father Leon and I decided to make an excursion to this cave, which had scarcely been visited by any white man before. The whole region, that is to say, the big corner bounded by the Arapicos in the north and the right bank of the Pastaza, is geographically very little known. The only human beings who are in the habit of visiting the tayu-cave regularly are the Jibaro Indians of the district. Their great attraction is the tayu-bird which they appreciate extremely both on account of its meat, which they eat, its oil which they likewise find very useful, and especially its leg-bones from which they prepare the most costly ornament they wear at their feasts, the so-called tayukunchi, to be described later on. Our guides were partly Indians from the mission of Arapicos, partly savage Jibaro Indians from the other side of the river.

The tayu-cave really turned out to be of considerable interest. There are three caves in this tract at some distance from each other, and we decided to penetrate the biggest of them which nevertheless was the one approached with the greatest difficulty. Its entrance was wide, but its position was such that it could not easily be photographed.

The cave appeared to consist of different compartments, of which the first one formed a kind of 'hall', as large as a small room. Even here we encountered some of the winged inhabitants of this gloomy place, the guacharo birds which, frightened from their nests and screaming loudly, flew about our heads. It was not, however, until we had penetrated further that it became clear to me what enormous numbers of this bird the cave sheltered.

From the 'hall' mentioned a narrow entrance, through which one had to crawl on all fours, led to the interior of the cave, which here [67] branched off in all directions into the mountain. The danger of going astray in this subterranean labyrinth was great, but we could rely upon the Indians, who were not visiting the cave for the first time. On entering it they had at once kindled their copal torches, by the light of which we cautiously went forwards, following the main branch. The farther we penetrated, the louder became the screaming of the owl-like birds which lived in the cave, and whose number seemed to be constantly increasing. The nests of the birds were high up on the shelves formed by the rocks, in funnel-like holes, and turned out to contain enormous numbers of young. The Indians often climbed up and caught them, putting them quickly in baskets which they had brought for this very purpose. I myself had brought my gun which I fired twice, killing some of the flying birds. The Indians however would not allow me to continue this, fearing lest the walls of the cave should burst in consequence

of the dreadful detonation and perhaps also believing that the mysterious spirits of this subterranean dwelling would get angry and punish us. Our stay in the cave lasted for about one hour. We did not go as far as was possible and as far as the Indians have sometimes penetrated the interior when going alone. Taking a considerable number of full-grown birds which had been killed, and a still greater number of young, partly dead, partly living, we again tried to find our way out into the daylight.

How far the cave extends into the interior of the mountain is unknown, since no one has dared to explore it thoroughly. Father Leon and I only penetrated about thirty or forty meters into it. The river Pastaza, which flows at a short distance from the mountain where the cave is situated and the waters of which still at times rise to its level, has of course had a share in its formation. The thorough exploration of the cave would be a most dangerous undertaking owing to its many ramifications. Besides the savage Indians, there is another creature which is in the habit of regularly visiting the tayu-cave, namely, the jaguar. Being a skilful climber, this beast can easily reach the nests of the guacharo birds, although they are situated high up on the rocky shelves, giving himself a nice feast on the young. The Indians who followed us on this trip told us that the last time they visited the cave they had heard the grunting of the jaguar from the interior and had hastily retired.

The guacharo bird was discovered by Alexander v. Humboldt more than a hundred

years ago in the Caripe cave in Venezuela, but is known to exist in a few other places, e.g. in the north-west of South America. In Ecuador, as far as I know, the tayu-caves on the Pastaza are the only [68] localities where it exists, so it is a comparatively rare bird. Its mode of life--the guacharo of course is a night-bird--and the gloomy places where it dwells make the Indians look upon it with superstition, which however does not prevent them from eating it. It is supposed to be an incarnation of the souls of the dead, a superstition which also accounts for the mysterious power which its fat and its bones are believed to contain.

Having returned to Arapicos, I stayed there a few more days for the purpose of making studies among the Indians, whereupon I continued my journey to the upper Pastaza, to the point where the small river Pindu empties its waters into it. Pastaza in this region is a broad and very powerful river, forming numerous cataracts and, as I have stated before, does not become navigable until it has received its northern affluent the Bobonaza. The savage Jibaro Indians, extremely skilled as they are in managing canoes, are the only ones who use the waterway when they visit one another or--as has happened very frequently--make hostile attacks on other tribes. Between the Pindu and the Bobonaza there is a third small affluent of the Pastaza from the north, the river Copataza. Here there lived a Jibaro tribe with whom the Chirapas

had been at war a couple of years before I arrived. The Chirapas had succeeded in bringing home a head--and it was this head that had given rise to the victory-feast at which I had just been present.

From Arapicos to the Pastaza it is a march of one day and a half through the virgin forest. This region is wholly uninhabited, and consequently unusually rich in game. Wild pigs, deer, monkeys, and all sorts of birds, especially the wild turkey and the curious trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans) are frequently seen and can easily be shot. Even the jaguar is common, as one may judge from the numerous tracks encountered. The first night I had, as usual, to spend in the middle of the forest in a primitive shelter made of palm leaves. In the morning my Indians found that a big jaguar had during the night beaten about our camp, without however daring to attack us. The jaguar in fact avoids man and is therefore seldom seen, although quite common in Eastern Ecuador.

We arrived at the Pastaza at the spot where it receives the small affluent Pindu from the north. Then we crossed the former in a canoe which my Indians had ready for the purpose and started to ascend the Pindu. This river, although carrying comparatively little water, is very rapid and not navigable in the strict sense of the word. To take the canoe up the many cataracts, the Indians have continually to get into [69] the water and pull it over the stones; in fact, they work as much in the water as in the

canoe. When the river is running high, which is frequently the case owing to the heavy rains, it cannot be ascended at all. Twice during my journeys from Macas to Canelos I have been delayed on the bank of the Pindu, waiting for the water to go down. The worst place to pass is a cataract called Guineo Sass by the Canelos Indians. Here the canoe has to be pulled up a rock where the water is rushing out with extraordinary force between two other big stones. On the journey I am describing I had a narrow escape from shipwreck in this cataract. I myself had been carried to the shore from where I watched the attempts of the Indians to take the canoe up the violent cataract. Two of them placed themselves above the cataract pulling the canoe by a big liana tied to the front of it, while two more Indians were pushing it from the stern, standing in the rushing water up to the waist. With great difficulty they succeeded in pulling the canoe a few feet up the rock--when suddenly the liana burst and the canoe, which the two Indians at the stern were not able to hold, began to slide down the cataract owing to the pressure of the mass of water. In a moment it was half-filled and was in immediate danger of upsetting, in which case I should have lost all my luggage, among other things all my valuable notes and photographs. My Indians however saved the situation by throwing themselves immediately into the eddy, when they succceeded in keeping the canoe on an even keel until they had pulled it to the shore. Here it was emptied of its water and a new and more successful attempt was made to take it up the

cataract. The only thing I lost through this accident was a basket with living hens which I had brought from Arapicos. When the stern of the canoe where the basket had been placed filled with water the torrent carried it away, and it was not possible for the Indians to save the hens.

The Guineo Sass has a bad reputation among those Indians and mestizos who use this water route. Some months before I made this journey one of the Fathers from the mission of Canelos had tried to descend the Pindu on his way to Arapicos. The canoe had been upset in the cataract, and the Father had lost all his luggage, saving his life only by swimming to the shore.

Having ascended the Pindu for about one day and a half we arrived at a point where there is an Indian trail direct to the villages Puyu and Canelos. I thus had to continue my journey overland and expected to reach Canelos in two days. This time, however, it took me three days [70] to get there, owing to an unforeseen accident. During my stay in the Indian house at the Chiguaza sand-flies had bitten one of my toes which became inflamed and rendered walking very difficult, and at last almost impossible. These tiny insects, almost invisible to the naked eye, are very common in the houses of the Indians and are a great annoyance to a white visitor, indeed to the Indians also. Boring into the skin, preferably under the nail, they cause an infection in a few days which, unless the insect is at once cautiously removed with a needle, may become

dangerous, especially owing to the difficulty of keeping the little wound clean while marching. My swollen and aching toe caused me great suffering during this march, being, as I was, unable to attend to it and obliged to walk wet from morning till evening. Some distances my Indians tried to carry me on a sort of litter, but since they had to carry my luggage also, this way of marching proved impossible for any length of time. Besides this, during our march through the forest we were surprised by one of the heaviest downpours I have witnessed in Eastern Ecuador, which lasted for three hours. In an extremely miserable condition I arrived at Canelos, although, on the other hand, I had no reason to be discontented with the results of my long expedition. It was eight days before I had recovered sufficiently to be able to start on my final return journey to Ambato and civilization. I arrived there in the beginning of 1918."

1: Karsten--61 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
727, 574 (1928-29)

"The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the great victory-feast of the Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring

1: Karsten--61 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
727, 574 (1928-29)

houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report."

1; Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

1: Karsten--291 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The victorious enemy wreaks his savage vengeance not only upon the fighting men, but also on old people, women, and small children, nay, sometimes even on the domestic animals. Although there are many statements--from the very time of the Spaniards--to the effect that younger women, and especially girls, are spared in the wars of the Jibaros, we must not take this to be the general rule. It is true that there is a scarcity of women in the Jibaro society and that in general they are held in great esteem on account of the work they do. But it must be remembered that the Jibaros are essentially endogamous, members of foreign tribes being detested and looked upon as natural enemies. Besides, experience has taught the Indians that full-grown women of a vanquished tribe cannot always be made to submit to a victor who has perhaps cruelly killed their husbands, fathers, or brothers, but that they retain an invincible hatred against him. There are, in consequence, instances of the wives of vanquished enemies being carried home by the victors only to be brutally massacred. Young girls can more easily be brought up to become loyal wives and members of the victor's tribe. Boys on the other hand are as a rule instantly killed. The Indians understand that a boy would not easily assimilate with the strange tribe and that, when full-grown, he is most likely to take revenge upon the vanquishers of his own tribe and family. Sometimes a victor may take boys of a vanquished tribe to his home merely to allow them to be killed by his own young sons, who thus will early be initiated into the bloody acts of war."

1: Karsten--291-292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 181 (1928-29)

"It may therefore be justly said that in their wars the Jibaros know no mercy. And although the Jibaro Indian does not particularly practise [292] methods of torturing his vanquished enemy, caught in a war, he on the other hand does not content himself with merely taking his life. He wants to shed as much blood as possible and delights in mutilating the body of the slain enemy, being especially anxious to secure his head. The scene of a battle between Jibaro Indians therefore generally offers a dreadful spectacle of a savage lust of destruction and thirst for blood."

1: Karsten--293-294 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"...the Jibaros never make trophies of the heads of such enemies as belong to their own tribe, that is, with whom they reckon blood-relationship. An Indian who did this would run the risk of being himself killed by his tribesmen, even by those neutral before. On the other hand, it is the rule that when a victory has been attained over a foreign tribe, the heads of the slain enemies are taken. Most Jibaro warriors would consider any victory over such an enemy incomplete, and the whole war expedition more or less a failure, unless they returned with one or several head trophies. Of course, it frequently happens that the Jibaro is able to kill an enemy but not to take his head, because his comrades are able to secure the dead body and perhaps to defeat the slayers. In such a case there cannot be a real victory feast. It happens, however, sometimes, that an enthusiastic Jibaro warrior invites his friends and celebrates a small feast, consisting in drinking bouts and dancing, although he has not been able to capture a trophy but only to kill his enemy.

Contrariwise, it may happen in exceptional cases that a Jibaro, although he has acquired a trophy, does not care to celebrate a feast with it, either because he considers himself too poor to procure the great supply of food necessary for the many guests at such a feast, or because he has not enough people in his house to prepare it or friends to invite to it. Thus the great Jibaro chief Nayapi, of Pastaza, had killed about 20 enemies, but had not celebrated a single victory-feast, evidently in part because his

many enemies had not given him the peace and tranquillity necessary for preparing such a feast.

The rule is, however, among the Jibaros that a warrior who has captured a head (tsantsa) must celebrate a feast. The head feast for the Jibaro opens the road to honour and fame, to material wealth, to new victories over enemies, and a long life. It is the great mystery feast of [294] the Jibaro Indians; as will presently be seen, it has in part a purely religious significance, inasmuch as the Jibaro through the ceremonies then performed believes he acquires the same benefits as most other savage peoples try to acquire by different kinds of cult."

1: Karsten--294-297 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"As soon as a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy of another tribe he at once tries to secure his head, which he cuts off as close to the trunk as possible. The warrior who has cut off the head (muka tsupikma) is the 'lord of the head' (muka héindinyu) and the first who, when the victors are many, has the right to celebrate a feast with it. When several Indians have together killed one enemy it is customary for each of them in turn to celebrate a victory feast with the trophy, which in this case is taken from one house to another.

During the speedy return which generally follows upon a successful attack there is not always time for the victors to at once begin with the preparation of the trophy. They first have to put themselves in safety lest the enemy pursue them. Thus it may happen that they carry the bloody head with them for a couple of days before they get an opportunity to 'skin' it (muka sukúrtinyu). In this work only those warriors engage who have taken part in the killing of the enemy. If the victors are many, and they have been able to acquire only one head, some of them may separate themselves from the rest, saying:'We go off to kill other enemies and to capture our own heads.'

Those who remain now start to take off the scalp. First the following small ceremony takes place. The head is placed upon a large leaf on the ground. Upon the head is placed another leaf of the forest which the Jibaros call pingi nuka, and to which certain

magical virtues are ascribed. (1) The warrior who cut off the head now seats himself on this 'seat' and receives juice of tobacco mixed with saliva from the chief, who blows it in through his nose. Then another of the slayers takes his seat on the head and receives juice of tobacco through the nose, etc., until all have partaken. This is the first of a series of ceremonies which have for their object the protection of the slayers against the revengeful spirit of the killed enemy.

The tsantsa is now prepared in the following way. Along the back of the head, from the apex downward, a long cut is made with a knife, whereupon the scalp and the skin of the face is slowly and carefully drawn off from the skull, in much the same way as is done with the hides of [295] animals for stuffing. The skinning of the face is said to be the most difficult part of this work, for here the skin does not loosen by merely drawing it off, but has to be cut from the flesh with a sharp knife. The skull and all fleshy parts that adhere to it are thrown away and the scalp obtained is further prepared. It is attached to a vine and immersed in a pot of boiling water, where it is left for a while. By boiling the scalp it is freed from microbes, contracts a little, and thickens. It is then taken out of the pot and put on the top of a stick, fixed in the ground, where it is left for a while until it has cooled.

"1. Pingi in the Jibaro language means 'nice', 'noble', 'fine'."

A ring is formed of a vine which the Jibaros call kapi, of the same size as the circumference of the finished tsantsa at the neck opening, and this ring is attached to the trophy, at first temporarily and later, as the latter assumes its final size by reduction, more firmly. By means of a needle and a thread consisting of a chambira fibre, that part of the scalp which, for the purpose of the skinning of the head had been cut open, is sewn together.

The reducing of the trophy should now begin. What is first done with it, however, has rather the character of some sort of magical ceremony. At the bank of the river three small round stones are looked for, which are heated in the fire. By means of a cleft stick one of the heated stones is taken up from the fire and put into the head through the opening at the neck. This is done by the first slayer (he who cuts off the head of the enemy), whose hand is held by the chief or an old warrior. The head is kept in motion so that the heated stone rolls to and fro within it, burning off a part of the blood and flesh which is still attached to the scalp. The stone is subsequently taken out and again put in the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third stone. The stones used are each time put back on the fire, where they are left.

Since a similar procedure is afterwards undertaken with heated sand, the use of the three small stones seems somewhat superfluous. Probably the object of this treatment

is only to mortify the soul of the killed enemy attached to the scalp, and to keep it at bay. This explanation is made more plausible by the fact that the ceremony with three stones is repeated at the great feast, and obviously without practical aim.

The proper reduction of the trophy is brought about by means of hot sand. Some fine sand is taken from the river bank and heated at the fire in a piece of broken clay pot (hakáchi). When the sand is sufficiently hot it is poured into the head so as to more than half fill it. The [296] head is kept in motion so that the sand acts uniformly upon all its parts. The object of this procedure is to remove the flesh still attached to the skin, to make the scalp thinner, and to reduce the whole trophy. This is attained by the procedure with the hot sand being repeated many times. As soon as the sand has cooled it is taken out of the head, reheated at the fire in the broken clay pot, and again poured into the head. Each time, after taking out the sand from the head, the scalp is scraped inside with a knife in order to remove from it what the sand has burned off. As the trophy dries and shrinks through this treatment the head, and especially the face, is cleverly moulded with the fingers, so that it retains its human features, becoming like the head of a small dwarf. This work is continued while returning from the war, sometimes also at home, consequently for several days or even weeks, the same sand and the same broken clay vessel being always used. These things are always kept and carried on the march by the first slayer, whose duty it is, as soon as the party arrives

at a camping place, to place the clay pot on the fire and heat sand for the moulding of the trophy.

It is considered necessary that the sand shall be heated in an old broken clay pot. An entire clay vessel, or a piece of a quite new clay vessel would not do.

By this treatment the Jibaros are able to gradually reduce the head to such an extent that it is not larger than an orange, or about one-fourth of its normal size, becoming at the same time completely hard and dry. Through both lips, shrunk in proportion to the rest of the head, three small chonta pins, about 5 centimeters in length and painted red with roucu, are passed parallel with each other, and round these pins a fine cotton string, which is also painted red, is wound. At the great feast both the chonta pins and the cotton string are removed and replaced by three twisted and red-painted cotton strings. Lastly the whole trophy, even the face, is dyed black with charcoal.

During the whole work particular attention has been paid to the hair, which is the most essential part of the trophy. Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power.

The Jibaros of to-day, in cutting the enemy's head and skinning it, avail themselves of knives obtained from the whites, but formerly--in fact, only a few decades ago--

native instruments had to be used for this [297] purpose. The head was severed from the trunk by means of a stone axe and a big knife of hard chonta wood. Again, in stripping the skin from the skull and the face they used snail's shells sharpened against a stone, and flat pieces of split bamboo (guadua) resembling knife-blades and extremely sharp. Such a native knife is still ceremonially used at least on one occasion, as related before, namely, when the navel-string of a newborn child is cut.

Since the tsantsa itself is an object charged with supernatural power, it is intelligible that many arrangements at its preparation are of a magical nature or are due to superstitious ideas of one kind or another. This holds good, for instance, of the ceremony with the three heated stones, described before. Likewise, the arrangement with the red-painted chonta pins, with which the lips are pierced, and the red cotton string wound round them, as well as the blackening of the trophy, hardly serve any reasonable practical purpose, but must be set down to pure superstition. Since the Indians ascribe a special, mysterious power to the hard wood of the strong chonta palm--a power further increased by the red paint--and red-painted cotton strings likewise play a part in their superstitious practices, it is more than probable that the real aim of the ornaments mentioned is to keep the soul of the murdered enemy under constant magical compulsion, perhaps also to paralyze the curses proceeding from the mouth of the victim. With the same view the tsantsa is at the feast generally held tied to a lance of chonta.

The preparation of the head trophy requires great skill and care, for through some slight carelessness, for instance at the removal of the scalp, or at the burning, the whole thing may easily be entirely spoiled. The young Jibaro who has killed an enemy for the first time is therefore instructed in its preparation by an older warrior. Nor can an Indian prepare the head alone. Hence, when a Jibaro warrior has killed an enemy alone and taken his head he needs the help of another man, at least for the skinning of the head. This assistant must necessarily be a warrior who likewise has earlier killed some enemy. Another Indian would not have 'a good hand' for the work and would not do.

The stronger the killed enemy has been in life, the more valiantly he has fought, the more difficult it has been to deprive him of life, the greater is the honour the victor earns by his deed, the greater is the power of the trophy made of his head. Notwithstanding this it sometimes occurs among the Jibaros that tsantsas are prepared even of heads of women."

1: Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

"But the Jibaro Indian does not make trophies solely of the heads of his human enemies but also of the heads of certain animals. There is one animal especially which in this respect plays a curious part in the superstition of the Jibaros, namely, the sloth, called uyúshi by them. Feasts with trophies made of the head of the sloth are among the Jibaros as common as feasts with human tsantsas. This fact derives its explanation from the mythology of these Indians. In primitive times, the Jibaros say, all animals--quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and so on--were men, i.e. Jibaros. They had human shape, human habits, human thoughts and passions, and human language. They also waged wars against each other, and made trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, just as the Jibaros still do. Later on this kind of folk were changed into animals, the animals which still exist. The Jibaros still have a very vivid consciousness of their supposed relationship with the animal world, a feature which especially appears in their religion and their poetry. But they especially claim to trace the ancient human qualities in the sloth. This helpless animal, according to their idea, is a direct survival from the remote period mentioned. It is still a Jibaro in the shape of an animal, but a Jibaro of a foreign tribe and consequently an enemy. He is a very old man, as

one may judge from his slow movements and from the fact that his hair is partly gray. (1) The Jibaros even profess to know what his name was in ancient times, while a man. He was then called Unúpi, his wife's name was Unúchi, and brother's Uyúngra. When, therefore, the Jibaros meet a sloth, they kill it with a lance, just as they kill their human enemies, and make a trophy of its head. This trophy is prepared in the same way as a human tsantsa, but is only reduced a little, since the head of the sloth is comparatively small. It is no doubt in part the wonderful similarity of the sloth's head to a human tsantsa that has given rise to the superstition the Indians entertain about it. In the trophy made of the sloth the fell of the neck corresponds to the hair of a tsantsa. The fell of that part is therefore preserved and prepared with care. The Indian who has killed the animal has thereafter to pass through exactly the same purificatory ceremonies as one who has killed a human enemy, and even the final great victory feast is celebrated [299] in due time with exactly the same grand preparations and with the same carefully performed ceremonies.

"1. The superstition held of the sloth is partly due to the fact that the animal is extremely tenacious of life. This the Jibaros suppose to be the case with old people in general. When a Jibaro warrior has succeeded in killing an enemy who was an old man and whom it was very difficult to deprive of life, he regards the victory as a special triumph."

There are also instances of trophies having been made by the Jibaros of the head of the jaguar. Many years ago an Indian woman was killed by a jaguar in the neighbourhood of Rio Zamora. The Jibaros regard a jaguar, which in this way attacks and kills people, as the incarnation of the soul of an evil sorcerer which has entered that wild beast with a view to harming or killing his enemies. The Indians consequently resolved to take revenge, arranged a hunt of the animal, and succeeded in killing it. They thereafter made a trophy of its head, and a victory feast was celebrated in the ordinary way.(1)"

"1. It deserves to be emphasized in this connection that the trophies mentioned above are the only ones customary among the Jibaros. It has been alleged that these Indians not only are in the habit of shrinking the heads of their enemies, but sometimes prepare their whole body as a mummy-like trophy, and I have myself seen photographs of such trophies which are even said to exist in ethnographic museums in America. I beg to point out that all trophies of this kind are pure falsifications, wholly devoid of ethnographical value."

1: Karsten--299-300 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"In regard to the diet of the Jibaro warriors, there is nothing prescribed for the time they are preparing for and marching to the war. They may then eat whatever they like. But as soon as a Jibaro has killed an enemy the fasting begins. All those who took part in the killing of the enemy are, during the return home, allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma. This food has to be cooked exclusively by the slayers themselves. No other man, and still less a woman, may prepare it. When the warriors eat they never touch the manioc with their fingers, like the Jibaros generally do, but they use small wooden pins to eat with. Their hands having been polluted with the blood of their enemies, the food would become impure if they touched it, and they expose themselves to death.

Moreover, the warriors are not allowed to bathe or to wash themselves in any way until they reach home. Dirty and soiled with blood, as they departed from battle, they should arrive home. This, of course, also holds good for their clothing, their loin-cloth (itipi) and other clothes, as well as their weapons, the bloody lance with which the enemy was killed, and the knife with which his head was cut off. It is not until later, at the general ceremonial purification at home, that the warrior himself and his weapons can be washed. [300]

From the hour when the warrior killed his enemy up to the feast which is called Suamártinyu, and which is celebrated some months later, he is not allowed either to have sexual intercourse with a woman or even to sleep in the same room as a woman."

1: Karsten--301-302 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"Immediately after their return the victor or victors have to pass through the purification procedure, connected with a small feast, which the Jibaros call Numbuimártinyu (from númba, blood, and mártinyu, to paint, to coat), the principal ceremony of which consists in their legs being coated with hen's blood. If the victors are many, this ceremony is first performed with the one who cut off the head of the enemy, and thereafter in turns with each of those who took part in the killing. Before the victors, who travel slowly and stop at various houses on the way, arrive home, a message has been sent that the warriors are coming, that a head has been captured, and that preparations for the feast Numbuimártinyu shall begin at once. This feast therefore always has a more or less improvised character.

The first slayer stops in the house of some relations in the neighbourhood of his home until the trophy is definitely prepared. It is not until then that his solemn entrance into his own house can take place. He is in the dress of a penitent, has his hair untied, and wears no body-painting or other ornaments. At his side stands the chief or some other old warrior, who will lead the ceremonies at the following feasts and in this capacity is called whuéa. Behind these two men the rest of the warriors arrange themselves in a row. The whuéa first gives the slayer juice of tobacco through the nose. Thereafter the latter disengages the trophy from the cloth in which it has been wrapped up and with the aid of the old man hangs it round his neck, over the breast. Followed

by the rest of the men, he now slowly and ceremoniously, and continually smoothing the hair of the trophy with the hand, proceeds toward the house, stopping outside the door. From within all the women come to meet him, arranged in a row and holding each other by the hands, all in festive dresses and with rattles of snail's shells round the cinctures. On each side of the women the men arrange themselves in two rows [302]inside the house. The introductory dance with the trophy which is called Ihiámbrama, and which is performed by the victor together with the women, now takes place. From among the women two step forth who have been standing at the head of the rest. Those are the wife and daughter of the victor. For the following dance the daughter grasps him from behind at the cincture with both hands; the wife gives him her hand, standing at the head of the other women. The slayer again seizes the tsantsa with the right hand, holding it up with the arm stretched out; with the left he grasps the hand of his wife. All now pass, dancing or hopping sideways, into the interior of the house, to the accompaniment of drums and the rattles of the women, and immediately return to the entrance. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice. Each time the slayer, led by the women, returns to the entrance of the house. The aim of this dance is to paralyze the danger threatening the victor from the spirit of the murdered enemy at the first entrance into the house, which is regarded as particularly critical (Pl. XXVIII)."

"The slayer now takes off the tsantsa and the latter is tied to a chonta lance which is fixed in the ground close to the door on the inner side. The lance must be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, to which the Indians ascribe a supernatural power. Another kind of lance, for instance one having an iron point, would not do. In this way the tsantsa is kept at the following feasts also during the time it is not needed for the ceremonies. The trophy being tied to the chonta lance, the spirit of the enemy attached to it is brought into subjection and kept at bay.

The whuéa lays his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer and takes him round in the house, as if to manifest that he can now move about there without danger.

Meanwhile, close to the lance with the tsantsa tied to it, two small vessels have been placed. One is a piece of an old broken clay pot (hakáchi) containing a little hen's blood, the other an ordinary small pot with a solution of genipa (sua). These three objects, the lance with the trophy tied to it, the piece of the clay pot containing hen's blood, and the small pot with genipa, seem to be sacred; no unauthorized person may touch them or even come near them.

If among the warriors who took part in the killing of the enemy two or more are from the same house, being for instance two brothers or a father with his sons, a special broken clay vessel with hen's blood and a special small pot with genipa must be placed at the lance for each of them. [303] The ceremony Numbuimártinyu must thus be performed

separately with each slayer from the same house.

The 'washing of the blood' now takes place. The slayer takes his seat upon a small round bench close to the vessel with the hen's blood and the whuéa places himself at his side. Around them the women form a semicircle, having their rattles round the cincture as before. They are led by an old woman, called oháha, who at the feasts directs all those ceremonies at which the women play the main part. The whuéa first gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the hand, brings it down to the vessel containing the hen's blood, lets him dip the index finger into it, and subsequently with the blood draw a broad line 2 or 3 inches in length along the front of one of his legs, from below upward. Thereafter the slayer, with the aid of the whuéa, applies a similar stroke with the blood to his other leg. While this is being done the women, led by the oháha, dance in a ring around them, singing a sort of conjuration, which mainly consists of the following phrase:

Whuéa heingi ikaski numbimarmai ihámbratinyu; that is, 'The whuéa, together with the oháha (ikaski), paint you with blood to start the fasting.'

As we shall see, the ceremony Numbuimártinyu introduces a time of very strict fasting for the slayer.

The slayer now in his turn does the whuéa the same service, drawing with his index finger two streaks with the hen's blood upon both his legs.

The blood-painting ceremony having been finished, the piece of broken clay vessel, together with the blood left in it, is immediately thrown away into the forest. It is an impure and harmful substance which need no longer be kept.

The whuea asks the wife of the slayer for water, and she brings it in a clay dish (pininga). The old man takes a little water from the dish with his hand and puts it upon the head of the slayer. Thereupon he does the same with the wife and daughter of the slayer, putting with his hand a little water upon their heads. All three are subsequently sent down to the river to bathe.

That even the wife and the daughter of the slayer have to pass through this purification procedure and afterwards also have to take part in various other ceremonies, is partly due to the close relationship existing between them and the slayer, but especially to the role they have played at the dance Ihiámbrama. By touching the still blood-stained hands and clothes of the slayer they have likewise been polluted by the blood of the murdered enemy, are consequently exposed to danger from the [304] revengeful spirit, and have to be purified from the blood and observe other rules of precaution. From this moment up to the time for the celebration of the final great victory feast they have thus to fast in the same way as the slayer himself, assisting at the said feast

again at the dance Ihiámbrama, which then will be repeated.

If the slayer has two wives they generally assist at the dance mentioned. If he is quite a young man, who has not yet married, it is considered obligatory that he should look for a bride for the feast. The part of the other woman in this case is played by some near female relative of his.

In the river the slayer carefully washes his whole body, as well as his clothing, soiled with blood in the battle, and lastly his weapons, the still bloody lance and knife. Together with his wife and daughter, who have also washed themselves, he then returns to the house.

On the way they break off some twigs of guayusa (Ilex sp.), called weisa by the Jibaros, a tree the leaves of which are used for the preparation of an aromatic and tonic drink, with which the Jibaros wash their mouths every morning. This drink has now to be prepared. The slayer as well as his wife and daughter together grasp a small clay pot, called yukúnda, pour water into it from a larger vessel, and together place it on the fire. As soon as the drink has boiled the whuéa takes a little of it in a small gourd, mutters an incantation over it, and passes it to the slayer who washes his mouth with it without swallowing much of it. Thereafter the whuéa in the same way gives of the drink to the wife and the daughter of the slayer, who likewise wash their mouths with it. The small clay pot is then taken off the fire and laid aside. The three persons are

now properly purified for breaking the fast.

The wife of the slayer goes to fetch the edible top of a small palm which the Jibaros call tingimi, which is put on the fire to be roasted, exactly on the same place where the guayusa pot lay. At another fire in the house beans have before been cooked, and at a third manioc, afterwards mashed, a dish called nauma. As soon as the palm top is sufficiently roasted the women move over to this fire, take a dish with beans, and another dish with boiled manioc (nauma). The three principal persons, the slayer himself and his wife and daughter, now have to break the fast after the 'washing of the blood.' The whuéa at first gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose. Then with two fingers he takes a little of the palm top (tingimi), spits on the ground, mutters an incantation over it and puts it directly into the mouth of the slayer, who [305] swallows it. Then with two fingers he takes a few beans, and lastly also a small piece of boiled manioc together with a little salt and a little pimiento or Indian pepper, and gives them to the slayer with the same ceremony. Exactly the same action is repeated with his wife and his daughter, each of whom likewise receives a little of the dishes mentioned. The vessels with the food are subsequently carried away by the other women.

Meanwhile food has also been cooked for the guests in the women's department of the house. This food consists essentially of boiled chicken. If there are swine in the house, one is also slaughtered and prepared, but according to old tradition boiled chicken is

the main dish at the feast Numbuimártinyu.

A general banquet now commences, at which the guests eat chicken and manioc, whereas the slayer, his wife, and daughter eat the palm top tingimi, beans, and manioc.

After the banquet the last ceremony takes place, which consists in the slayer being painted with genipa (sua). The slayer seats himself on a bench in front of the pot containing the black dye, and the whuéa places himself at his side, grasps his hand, makes him dip his index finger in the solution and apply a broad stroke with it over the mouth so that both lips are painted black. Thereafter the old man draws a similar black stroke over his own mouth. The women simultaneously dance around the two men, singing an incantation. The pot containing the genipa is now carried away and kept.

The whuéa finally addresses the slayer in a sort of speech wherein he points out that he himself has now fulfilled his mission to wash off the blood from the slayer, but that the latter has now to prepare himself for the celebration of the final great victory feast. He has to breed swine and fowls to be slaughtered at the feast; he must plant fields of manioc and plantain; he must in his life carefully observe certain rules of abstinence from eating certain kinds of food, etc.

When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock in the evening, a general dance commences, which is characteristic of this feast and is called Hantsemáta. This dance will be described later in connection with the Tsantsa-feast proper. The slayer himself takes

part in the dance with the trophy hanging on his back. It has to be continued during the whole night until dawn. That night no one in the house is allowed to sleep and especially not the slayer himself.

The aim of the feast Numbuimártinyu, as already mentioned, is to [306] purify the slayer from the blood which is attached to him after the killing of the enemy, and to protect him against the spirit of the latter, who is thirsting for revenge. The soul of the enemy is particularly supposed to be present in the blood. How this purification can be brought about with the two strokes of blood applied to the legs of the slayer, is something the Jibaros can not explain more closely. Nor can they explain why hen's blood must necessarily be used for this procedure, or why that blood must be kept in an old, broken clay pot. 'Our ancestors have since times immemorial proceeded in this way,' an old Jibaro, whom I asked about the custom, answered me, 'and we have to keep up and follow their customs'. That a magical power and supernaturally purifying effects are ascribed to the hen's blood is, however, clear. The same purifying effects, in a magical or religious sense of the word, are ascribed to the bath in the river and to the washing of the mouth with guayusa, the object of the latter ceremony especially being to favourably prepare the slayer for the breaking of the fast. Again, the painting with the genipa is a direct protection against the spirit of the enemy. Body-painting among the Indians nearly always serves magical ends, being regarded as a protection against disease and witchcraft, and this is especially the case with the black painting. According

to the ideas of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians there is a demon (wakáni, supai) in the black genipa paint, and when the Indian paints his body or face black this is usually a sign that he is either going to kill an enemy or has already killed one. As we shall see, painting with genipa also takes place at the feast Suamártinyu and at the final great victory feast.

In regard to the question why the hen's blood used at the purification ought to be kept in an old broken clay vessel (hakáchi), it may be mentioned that the Jibaros make use of broken clay pots at certain cathartic rites, when they try to get rid of something that is impure, horrible, and dangerous. Since the hen's blood which has purified the slayer is afterwards impure and harmful matter and accordingly is thrown away at once, it is consonant with ritualistic principles that it should be kept in a useless vessel, worthy of being thrown away, like the piece of a broken clay pot. It seems to be due to similar considerations that the Jibaros use a hakáchi for heating the sand with which the trophy is reduced at the preparation.

Again, if one asks what ideas underlie the choice of the slayer's food--palm top, beans, mashed manioc, etc.--the Indians only give the explanation that he ought to eat such light kinds of food that remain in [307] his stomach and which he does not run the risk of throwing up, which evidently would be regarded as dangerous for him. Their idea is, no doubt, that a very indigestible or irritating food could become a means through

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-9
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

which the invisible, supernatural enemy of the slayer-- the spirit of the killed enemy-- could get an opportunity to harm him, perhaps cause his death. That the guests mainly eat chicken at the feast is probably only due to the fact that Numbuimártinyu is an improvised feast, and that, therefore, such kinds of food is given them as is most easy to procure."

1: Karsten--307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"The prescriptions concerning the diet and mode of life which the slayer has to observe during the time immediately following the 'washing of the blood', or up to the feast called Suamártinyu which is celebrated some months later, are very severe and strict. He is not even allowed to dress completely, but only wears his loin-cloth (itipi), tied up with a cincture, having the upper part of the body bare. The hair is generally kept loose and is not arranged in the three pigtails normally worn by the Jibaros. Only at the neck is the hair occasionally tied up. He must not wear ear-tubes, facial painting, necklaces, or other ornaments of any kind. He cannot carry a lance or other weapon, nor handle poison (1) or other dangerous matter, nor go out hunting or fishing or on new expeditions, nor take part in feasts. When the slayer is out wandering he, instead of the lance without which normally no Jibaro leaves his house, only carries a short staff. He is also prohibited from having sexual intercourse with his wife or even from sleeping in the women's department of the house (ekinturu), but passes his nights in the anteroom or men's department (tangámasha). His diet is the lightest possible and consists only of the palm top (tingimi), which is eaten roasted, of boiled and mashed manioc

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"1. This prohibition especially concerns the arrow-poison (seasa), and the varvasco poison (timo) used in fishing."

(nauma), and of the smallest kinds of fish caught in the rivers (a sort of sardine, chumakái, and another kind of small fish, sháchma). These may be boiled or roasted, but must be eaten without the addition of other kinds of food.

The wife and daughter of the slayer must also fast. Their food during the period in question consists principally of beans and of the leaves of a forest plant wh.ch the Jibaros call épo."

"If the slayer infringes these rules the consequences for him will be fatal. He will soon die; he will not be able to kill any more enemies or to celebrate other victory-feasts. Even his nearest relatives will die [308] through sickness or accidents, one after another (1) His domestic animals, instead of increasing and flourishing, will pine away and die. The manioc, plantain, and other domestic plants will dry up and produce no fruits. In all his undertakings he will be unlucky. In one word, the effects of the trophy will be directly contrary to those generally expected from its supernatural power. All this is caused by the spirit of the murdered enemy (wakáni). The revengeful ghost, who takes no rest, follows his slayer everywhere, always looking for an opportunity to kill or harm him, and the latter believes that he meets him especially in dreams. Generally the wakáni meets him in the shape of an Indian armed with a lance, with which he is continually trying to kill him. But the spirit also appears to him in other shapes,

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"1. Every death that takes place within the family of the slayer during the time following the killing of the enemy is set down to the secret operation of the revengeful spirit (wakáni). At a feast where I was present the slayer told me that within his family seven persons had died of mysterious diseases or through accidents during the two years which had elapsed since he killed his enemy. This wakáni, therefore, was considered to have been a particularly bad one."

especially in the shape of a black monkey, a deer, (2) a bear, or some other hairy animal of the forest. This is one of the reasons why the slayer does not, during the critical time, go out wandering in the forest. The wakáni can in many ways threaten his life there. If, for instance, he wanders to the verge of a precipice at the bank of a river, the revengeful demon may take an opportunity to push him over the precipice. He may also cause a tree or a branch to fall upon him in the forest and crush him. If he wears a lance or a knife the spirit may cause his death with these weapons. If he tries to shoot a bird or an animal with blowpipe and poisoned arrows the enemy may cause the arrow to hit the slayer himself. For the same reason he has to be extremely careful in other respects. If, for instance, he has intercourse with his wife or some other woman, it may happen that the wakáni, who is constantly lurking near him, slays him, so that he dies on the spot. Besides, since there is supposed to exist an intimate connection between woman and the plants which she cultivates, the consequence of his having intercourse with his wife will be that the manioc and other fruits, recently planted

"2. The deer, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is the incarnation of a demon (iguanchi), one of the most dangerous animal demons they know. The Jibaros, therefore, never eat the flesh of the deer or even touch it with their hands."

for the feast, will not reach ripeness, but will dry up. If the slayer eats some unsuitable and forbidden food the spirit may again through this food operate against him, causing indigestion and [309] death. On the whole, the slayer must observe the principle to live as retired and hidden a life as possible, for in this way he may more easily escape his supernatural enemy. This is also the reason why he must not take part in religious feasts, or wear body-painting, ear-tubes, necklaces, and other magical ornaments used by those who enter into relation with the spirits, and through which these, as it were, are challenged.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Jibaro warrior conscientiously submits himself to the severe rules imposed upon him by society, and that the feast itself is prepared and celebrated with all the care which custom and tradition require."

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"It may be observed that the practices and rites of the feast Numbuimártinyu and the rules observed afterwards may vary in certain details among different tribes. Thus among the Jibaros of the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians the diet of the slayer after the 'washing of the blood' consists mainly of the fruit and the leaves of the plant mandi (called sangu by the Jibaros). For a whole year the slayer has to abstain from cohabiting with his wife. The lance among these Indians is not washed at the ceremonial bath in the river, but the point of it is roasted in the fire so that the blood is dried or burned.

The lance or the rifle with which an enemy has been killed is always looked upon with superstitious fear by the Indians, and is never again used in hunting. If, for instance, a wild hog is killed with such a lance or rifle, the flesh of the animal is supposed to get the same taste as human flesh, and would not therefore be eaten by anybody. The Jibaro warrior is therefore anxious to exchange as soon as possible the lance with which he has killed an enemy. The rifle he generally keeps, but no longer uses it in hunting, only in wars.

Immediately after the feast Numbuimártinyu the slayer repairs to a natural waterfall in the forest (paccha or sasa), situated at a distance from his home, and takes some baths to further purify himself. He remains here alone for three days, fasting and taking tobacco water, sleeping at night in a small shelter and paying particular attention to his dreams. After the lapse of the three days he returns to his home, but

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

passes the first two nights not in his house but in a small shelter made on the bank of the river. Thereafter he can sleep in his house, not with his wife, however, but in the ante-room or men's department of the house."

1: Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727 (1928-29)

"The feast Suamártinyu, which is held three or four months after the Numbuimártinyu, takes its name from the main ceremony performed, the painting of the slayer with genipa (sua). Even at the Numbuimártinyu, as we have seen, painting with sua took place, but that procedure is now undertaken more thoroughly and assumes a greater importance than at the feast first mentioned.

A detailed description of the feast Suamártinyu is not necessary, since the ceremonies which take place are exactly the same as those performed at the final great victory-feast. The Suamártinyu, as a matter of fact, is only an anticipation of the latter. The only difference is that the preparations for the feast Suamártinyu are less grand, fewer swine and chickens are slaughtered, and fewer guests are invited. The principal ceremony at this feast is the washing of the trophy in a magical solution, through which the spirit of the slain enemy is supposed to become the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. Then follows the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine, and the final ceremony when the whuéa or priest helps the slayer to dress himself, cuts his hair, makes him break the fast, and lastly paints his face, breast, stomach, arms, and legs with sua. The feast Suamártinyu lasts three or four days.

At the painting of the slayer's body with genipa the Jibaros formerly used a special instrument consisting of a cylindrical object, made of a special kind of very hard clay, into which certain circular ornaments were incised. The instrument was dipped into

the genipa-solution and rolled along the cheeks, arms, legs, and body, of the slayer, the ornaments incised in the instrument being thereby stamped upon his body. This instrument, which is called payánga, is still known, but it is no longer made of clay but of a kind of wood."

1: Karsten--311-312 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The object of the feast Suamártinyu is partly to give the slayer renewed protection against the spirit of the killed enemy, partly to favourably prepare the trophy for what is its proper aim, namely, to promote the material wealth of the slayer, especially for the period immediately following the feast Numbuimártinyu. In the first respect the feast is of significance for him in so far that he need no longer observe the same anxious caution and strict abstinence in his mode of life that was necessary before. Thus he may again dress completely, tie his hair in pigtails, wear face-painting and ornaments, use lances and other weapons, go hunting and fishing, take part in feasts, sleep with his wife, etc. In one word, he can in the main return to his former normal life, with the exception that he is obliged to continue dieting. Even in this respect he has, however, far more liberty than before. With regard to food he has to observe the following rules. The slayer must absolutely abstain from eating pork and fowl. He is allowed to eat all fruits cultivated by the Jibaros, the manioc, however, only boiled, but not roasted. He must [312] not eat the flesh of the tapir (pamá), of the great wild hog (unta pakki), of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called kashai by the Jibaros), or of any kind of monkey. Of birds he must not eat the tucan, the wild turkey, the paugi, or other larger birds commonly hunted by the Jibaros, but only such small forest birds as are shot with the blowgun and non-poisoned arrows. On the other hand, he is recommended to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the rodent guatusa or agouti (Dasyprocta agouti). Of fish he is

recommended to eat the large sheat-fish tungá, and the wámbi (Spanish, bocachupa), but is forbidden to eat the kánga (Spanish, bocachico), the commonest fish in the South American rivers. He may also eat small fish (chumakai). If he infringes these rules he runs the risk of falling ill and dying, and the object of the whole feast will be missed."

"The dietetic prescriptions just mentioned depend on the following ideas. The slayer must, as a general rule, avoid eating the flesh of any animal through which the spirit of the slain enemy may get an opportunity to harm him. The most important mission of the tsantsa [JKM: head-trophy] after the feast Suamártinyu is to promote the increase of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the chicken (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu), and more particularly for the final great feast. For the very reason that the power of the tsantsa is in a mysterious way effective in the domestic animals mentioned, it is considered dangerous for the slayer to eat swine's flesh and fowls during this critical period, for that power may then prove destructive to him. The prohibition especially refers to swine's flesh. If the slayer eats of it, he may fall ill and die, and that is the work of the wakáni. This superstition is seemingly supported by the fact that flesh, and especially the fat of the swine, in tropical regions easily causes affections of the liver and other disturbances of the digestive processes. With the Indians such diseases often end fatally. The danger of a diet careless in this respect must of course be greater for a man who, for many months, has observed that strict abstinence with regard to food which has been described above.

The tapir is an animal which the Jibaros in general look upon with superstition and the flesh of which they therefore rarely eat. Formerly they had almost the same aversion from this animal as they still have from the deer, of which they believe that it is an incarnation of a demon (iguánchi), a belief still held of the tapir also by the

Jibaros of the Pastaza. The flesh of the wild hog is taboo to the slayer on account of the great similarity of that animal to the domestic swine, the flesh of which is strictly forbidden to him. The paca (kashai), although nor-[313]mally eaten by the Jibaros, is looked upon as a demoniacal animal, its flesh being therefore forbidden to persons who for one reason or another are obliged to diet.

That monkeys' flesh is forbidden to the slayer is due to the great likeness of these animals to man. The spirit of the dead enemy may hide in such an animal and cause the death of the slayer if he tries to shoot it in the forest or eat of its flesh.

Similarly the soul of the enemy may temporarily take up its abode in a tucan, a paugi, or some other large bird of the forest, and in this shape threaten the life of the slayer. Their flesh is therefore equally taboo to him.

The rule that the slayer can eat the manioc only boiled but not roasted is due to the fact that at the great feast the Jibaros prepare, from roasted manioc, a sort of manioc-wine (shiki), a magical drink which is ceremonially drunk on the last day of the feast. Since the consuming of this drink forms an important part of the conjurations at the feast, it is considered fraught with danger for the slayer to prematurely come into contact even with the roasted manioc from which it is made."

1: Karsten--313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 825, 727 (1928-29)

"....the rules in regard to the diet of the Jibaro warrior are founded on the idea that by eating the flesh of certain other animals he will acquire qualities characteristic of these animals, which make it easier for him to escape his invisible supernatural enemy as well as his living relatives. From this point of view we have to explain, for instance, the recommendation for the slayer to eat the flesh of the agouti. This small rodent is very shy and runs fast, being rather difficult to catch. By eating the animal the slayer will acquire the same quality, at the time very useful to him. Similarly the fish wámbi is known as very shy and quick, great skill being required for catching it. The large sheat-fish also cunningly hides in the depths of the great rivers and lagoons, thus easily escaping his pursuers. Even this fish, therefore, possesses qualities which are useful for the Jibaro warrior who is trying to evade his enemies."

1: Karsten--313-314 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 773, 727 (1928-29)

"The prohibition for the slayer to eat the fish kánga is explained from the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to these, as already mentioned, all animal beings, even the fishes, have once been men--that is, Jibaros. Even in primitive times they used to wage war on and kill each other, to make trophies of each other's heads and to celebrate victory feasts. The fish kánga, then, in a fight was killed by one of his enemies, who later on was changed into a bird, the umbrella bird, [313] called ungúmi by the Jibaros. The ungúmi also made a trophy of the head of the fish kánga. Therefore the mouth of the kánga has still great similarity to the reduced mouth of a human tsantsa, and this is the reason why the Jibaro warrior, during the time he has to fast, abstains from eating that fish."

1: Karsten--314-315 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"After the feast Suamártinyu the slayer undertakes a short journey, just as he did after he had 'washed off the blood'. Before he can make use of the greater liberty with regard to his mode of life which is conceded to him after the said feast, it is considered necessary that the black painting applied to his body at the feast shall have completely disappeared. The black dye prepared of the fruit of the Genipa americana, owing to its richness in tannin, is very astringent, and in spite of much washing remains for four or five days. The slayer as usual retires to the forest, staying in the neighbourhood of a sasa, where he bathes repeatedly and sleeps at night in a small shelter made close by. After the lapse of some days, when there are no traces left on his body of the painting, [315] he returns to his home, where he, in the main, resumes his former normal life, the only exception being the fasting which he is still bound to observe."

1: Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

"For some time afterwards [JKM: after the feast Suamártinyu] the slayer continually has intercourse with the spirit of the enemy he has killed, whom he meets and converses with, especially in his dreams. Through the ceremonies of conjuration performed, the wakáni is now turned into his obedient slave, and is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at his disposal. The spirit gives his victor instructions and advises him as to how the swine and the chickens ought to be fed and taken care of in order that they may grow quickly, get fat and increase, or how the plantations ought to be attended to, cleaned and irrigated, in order that they may flourish and bear abundant fruit. In the dream the spirit shows to the slayer the tracks of the numerous swine which will be the result of such care, and he lets him hear the sound of their grunting. The latter also believes that he sees his house surrounded by large flourishing plantations of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, and other fruits, even they being the future result of the supernatural power of the tsantsa. The fact that the slayer, through his intercourse with the wakáni, becomes invested with an extraordinary insight into all domestic work, also explains why during this time he becomes the adviser of the women in attending to the domestic animals and in the cultivation of the fields, occupations that normally, according to the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros, are incumbent solely upon the women. With the tsantsa hanging round his neck he now and then goes out in the swine yard and gives the women instructions with regard to details of the care of the

animals, or out to the manioc plantations where he gives them corresponding instructions concerning agriculture.

During all this, however, great caution and care is still necessary for the victor. If he, for instance, is negligent in observing the rules in regard to fasting, it may happen that the result of the whole affair is contrary to the one expected. Through such negligence he not only exposes himself personally to danger, but it may also happen that the swine, instead of growing and increasing in number, will die, through the wakáni, in the shape of a venomous snake, biting them to death, or killing them in some other way. The plantations likewise, instead of flourishing and giving fruit, may dry up. All these calamities are operations of the revengeful spirit, against whom sufficient precautions have not been taken. [316]

If, however, everything has turned out well, if the swine have become full-grown and fat, if the fields have given abundant fruits so that there is a good supply of manioc, bananas, and sweet potatoes, the warrior begins to take steps for the celebration of the proper victory feast, the so-called Einsupani."

1: Karsten--317 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 104, 727 (1928-29)

"The general name for a feast among the Jibaros is Nambéra, which word, however, particularly signifies a drinking-feast. The victory-feast is, therefore, sometimes called Nambéra tsantsa.(1) The technical name for this feast is Einsupani, from ein(t)su, 'folk,' 'people,' and the word 'pani', which also seems to mean 'feast', but is only used in this and a couple of other words.(2) 'To celebrate a feast' means ihiámbrama, whereas the verbal substantive ihiámbratinyu signifies the person who makes the feast, or in whose honour it is held. The principal person at the victory-feast--that is, the slayer--is also entitled mangértoma ('the one who has killed'). As a host at the feast he is called heindinyu."

"1. The word hista, which is now most frequently used for a feast (tsantsa hista, etc.), is borrowed from Spanish (fiesta).

2. Kusúpani, 'the feast of the men,' and Yawápani, 'the feast of the dogs.' "

1: Karsten--317 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 266 (1928-29)

"The victory-feast [JKM: Nambéra tsantsa] is also sometimes called tsantsa yuoma--that is, 'the eating of the tsantsa'--which expression has special reference to the series of conjurations through which the spirit of the killed enemy is trodden under foot, mortified, and enslaved. When the Jibaro is speaking of an enemy whom he particularly hates and wants to kill he says of him: 'Yuotahei', 'I will eat him.' This expression may be a survival from a time when the Jibaros were cannibals, and as a matter of fact at the head feast, as we shall see, a ceremony formerly took place which may be regarded as a trace of cannibalism."

"The final victory-feast generally takes place about one and a half or two, sometimes even three or more years after the Suamártinyu, according to the thoroughness with which the victor wants to prepare himself for the same. One or two months before the preparations proper begin the slayer returns to that life of a penitent which was prescribed for him during the period between Numbuimártinyu and Suamártinyu. He thus is not allowed to wear other clothes than his loin-cloth, keeps [318] his hair untied, gives up all ornaments and facial painting, does not bear a lance, does not go out hunting or fishing, abstains from sleeping with his wife, etc. His diet also is much the same as then. From now until the feast is over he eats only fruits, manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, etc., but only boiled, not roasted.

All preparations for the feast are made by the slayer himself, who also acts as host at the feast. In this quality he has to attend to several representative duties.

One and a half or two months before the feast the women commence to make the many clay vessels needed, work which they continue for some weeks. Among these clay vessels there are large pots (muitsa), in which the great quantity of manioc-beer brewed for the feast is kept, and smaller dishes (pininga), used for the food and the drink.

Some piningas are made quite small, about a third or a fourth of the normal size. These are intended for certain persons, who at the feast take part in important conjurations and hence have to fast afterwards, being allowed to drink only a small quantity

manioc-beer.

A quite small pot is made with special care. In this pot, guarded by the whuéa or priest, the tobacco juice is kept which is given to the slayer and some other persons at the feast before and during certain important ceremonies. The pot is called nattipya and is provided with a small cover, from which the women taking part in the ceremonies have to drink the tobacco juice. The pot and the cover are likewise painted red with ochre.

More multifarious are the preparatory tasks incumbent on the men. At first they make a number of benches of split bamboo (guadua) almost square in form, each side about 1 1/2 meters in length, which are placed along the walls of the house and also in the middle close to the central pillars of the ante-room (tangámasha). These benches, which are called peáka, serve as seats during the day and as bedsteads during the night. For feasts some new ones must always be made for the guests who pass the nights in the house. Some small round seats (chimbui), for one man to sit upon, are also made. One of these is made with special care. Upon this stool the principal person of the feast, the slayer, will sit during the ceremonies.

The fetching of a number of large chonta trunks from the forest also belongs to the earlier preparations for the feast. They will serve as firewood at the same, and have to be brought in good time in order that they may dry. [319]

Two weeks before its commencement the younger men are sent to hunt in the forest and to fish in the small rivers. These hunting and fishing expeditions before a feast are considered very important, for a good supply of game and fish must be procured for the guests. Generally these expeditions last for 15 days. The game and fish are always brought home in a dried condition.

The fishing is carried out by varvasco poison, called timo by the Jibaros, or by another poison called masu. With this poison the water is poisoned in a certain part of the small river chosen for the purpose, the river being previously barred with sticks and stones.

Similarly, two weeks previously some heads of green bananas are hung up on the ceiling of the house, in order that they may get yellow and ripen. Ripe bananas (tsamá) form one of the dishes offered to the guests at the feast.

The last work which has to be performed by the men consists in weaving a dozen large baskets (changina), used by the women at the feast for carrying home the great quantity of manioc, camote, and other fruits needed for the daily common banquet. The work is done by the younger male members of the family as well as by their friends from other houses. The slayer himself goes round to the houses inviting the younger men, his most intimate friends, to help at the work. The youths first go out into the forest in order to collect the liana used for basket weaving, called kâpi, and thereafter assemble in the house of the feast-giver, where the work is done. It lasts for two or

three days. When it is finished the slayer expresses his thanks to the young men for their help, addressing each of them separately in a few words and at the same time inviting them to the feast.

During these days the victor has been engaged in inviting other people also to the feast, going round alone from house to house. The invitation is always made in a ceremonial way, the slayer addressing the person concerned in a sort of speech and speaking in a loud voice. While thus going from house to house, the slayer does not carry his lance, but only a staff, in observance of the rules prescribed for him as regards the wearing of arms.

A few days previous to the arrival of other guests, two old persons arrive in the house who will play important rôles at the feast. One is an old man and warrior, who himself has killed some enemies and celebrated at least one victory-feast. This man is called whuéa, and may be said to act as priest at the feast, all ceremonies being carried out with [320] his assistance. In most cases he is the same person who conducted the ceremonies at the feasts Numbuimártinyu and Suamártinyu.

The other person is an old woman, called oháha, who at the feast will conduct all ceremonies performed by the women, especially the incantations and conjurations, acting thus, as it were, as a priestess. She has also led such ceremonies at the earlier minor feasts. Both the whuéa and the oháha are paid for their services, the former

receiving from the slayer an itipi (loin-cloth), the latter a woman's garment (called tarachi). They also receive some flesh from the swine slaughtered at the feast."

"Immediately after the basket work is finished, a dance, or rather a series of conjurations, takes place, which, on account of the word uuimina ('go away!) often pronounced therein, is called Wuimchi. This dance, which may be regarded as an introduction to the feast proper, is performed during the four last nights before the latter commences, and its aim seems to be in part to paralyze the danger which is supposed to proceed from the tsantsa, in part to increase the magical power of the trophy and make it effective in different departments of the economic and social life of the Indians. With the dance Wuimchi, therefore, the victory-feast may be said to begin.

This dance and the corresponding conjurations are performed by the younger men and women, especially by the men, the nearest friends of the slayer. In the first place those youths take part in it who made the baskets. The rest of the guests do not arrive until some days later, when the feast proper begins.

As is the case with most Indian dances, the Wuimchi commences when darkness sets in, about 6 o'clock. The slayer himself, in his quality of host, goes round in the house and invites his friends to take part in the dance.

The men do not dress in festival dresses for this dance; the women again, as usual, wear the rattles of snail shells round the waist.

Wuimchi is a ring dance. All men and women arrange themselves in a circle round the central pillar of the house and move round in slow time, holding each other's hands.

The dance is accompanied by conjurations. The first conjuration especially refers to the game, the dancers enumerating all those quadrupeds and birds which are most hunted by the Jibaros. First of all, different kinds of monkeys are mentioned, which are much appreciated by the Indians on account of their flesh, their fur, and their teeth. The [322] tsantsa thus, by virtue of its supernatural power will, among other things, promote the hunting luck of the victor. From the last incantations it moreover appears that it will also exert a favourable influence upon the home industry of the Indians--weaving, basket raddling, etc.

The Wuimchi is begun with shrill whistles. Thereafter the dancers proceed to enunciate the respective names, moving round the pillar, each word being followed by a sonorous 'hej!'

The conjuration runs as follows:

Hej, hej, hej!
Yakuma a, hej!'there is the howling monkey' (Yakuma, Myletes).
Kapandinyu a, hej! 'there is the red one'; (the howling monkey is red).
Chuo a, hej! 'there is the brown monkey' (chuo).
Washi a, hej! 'there is the black monkey' (washi).
Sepuro a, hej! 'there is the long-haired monkey' (sepuro).
Tsiri a hej! 'there is the capuchin monkey' (tsiri).

Tsema a, hej! 'there is the gray monkey' (tsema).
Pakki a, hej! 'there is the wild hog' (pakki).
Kavashu a, hej! 'there is the green parrot' (kávashu).
Pusurshu a, hej! 'there is the long-tailed one' (the macaw).
Mashu a, hej! 'there is the paugi' (mashu).
Kuchi a, hej! 'there is the domestic swine' (kuchi).
Kuturama a, hej! 'there is swine's lard'.
Ayandasta a, hej! 'there is the women's clothing'.
Ikichi, a, hej! 'there is the girdle to confine the clothing with.'
Changina a, hej! 'there is the raddled basket, 'etc.

This conjuration is continued for about one hour, the dancers meantime moving alternately to right and to left. Every time they stop to move in the opposite direction they give loud whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi, chi,' as if to keep up with these shouts the continuity of the conjuration.

Another conjuration is devoted to women and the fecundity of the women. The fruitfulness of the women, consequently, will be one more of the beneficial effects of the tsantsa.

This conjuration is as follows:

Hej! hej! hej!

Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kanutpia, hej![323]
Kanutpia, hej!
Nihantsi suruchu kanutpia, hej!
Kanutpani hitia, hej!
Numbitinya, hej!
Nihirseisaka, kahetpia, hej!
Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kahetpia, hej!
Nikasneiti, hej!
Eitgamue, hej!
Pingerati, hej!
Maketi, hej!

The word noa means 'woman'. Kanutpia, kahetpia, numbintinya, nihirseisaka, are different expressions for the sexual act. Nihantsi suruchu 'may the tsantsa grant it;' nikasneiti 'may it be true'; eitgamue 'so you will do;' pingerati 'may it be nice;' maketi 'it is enough'.

Of an altogether different kind is the conjuration now beginning. It is the mysterious song to the bird kungúpi, a word therein repeatedly pronounced. The soft melody seems to indicate that the song of kungúpi is in part a prayer, in part a conjuration. The youths, while singing, dance in a ring round the pillar as before.

. . . .

Kungúpi is a mysterious nightbird which the Jibaros regard with superstitious dread, believing that the soul of the murdered enemy may take the shape of that bird and then send them sickness and death. Whether we are here dealing with a purely mythical bird or a really existing one, I have not been able to ascertain. To the mind of the Jibaros, of course, it is a real bird; but none of the Indians has been [324] able to show me the bird kungúpi or to describe it to me in more detail. Very long ago, the Jibaros told me, one of their ancestors suddenly died at a feast, and his death was ascribed to the bird kungúpi, the shape of which the killed enemy was supposed to have taken. Since that time, at every victory-feast, they sing a special conjuration to the ominous bird in order to prevent the repetition of such an incident.

Having for a while merely repeated the word kungúpi in a certain melody, the dancers continue with the phrases mana, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, and wúimina, michaki, kungúpi, kungúpi, which is a formula for conjuring away the fatal bird (wúimina go away; michaki 'may you get cold! 'may you stiffen!'--an expression frequently used in

similar conjurations).

Another conjuration of the same kind is the following chant:

Yawá nu ikyáma,	Umaná michakia,
Yawá nu ikyáma,	Wúimina michaki,
Yawártaki takarseipya,	Umaná chiangá,
Wúimina chianga,	Umaná chiasua
Huimya, huimya,	Umaná chianga,
Wúimina chianga,	Núruna chásamana,
Wúimina chianga,	Táhita chíangana, etc.

In this chant it is particularly 'the tiger in the forest' (yawánu ikyáma) that is the object of the conjuration (yawartaki tákarseipya 'tiger, don't touch us!' wúimina, míchakia--'go away, get cold!'), in order that he may not come and kill the Indians. Evidently it is believed that the tiger (jaguar) is another shape which the soul of the killed enemy may assume when trying to take revenge upon the victor.

Now a series of other conjurations follow, the general object of which seems to be to increase the magical power of the tsantsa. A number of short formulas are repeated, the exact meaning of which seems to be unknown even to the dancing Indians themselves. We are here dealing with archaic or ceremonial language which is understood by some, at the most, of the oldest Indians. The dancing youths repeat the same phrase for about an hour. Then some old Indian recites another similar formula of conjuration in

a special melody, and this is in its turn repeated for a while in the same way. Each formula is finished with shrill whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi,' and such exclamations also accompany the interruption which takes place when the dancers change from the right [325] to the left and vice versa. Examples of such formulas, unintelligible as to their exact meaning, are the following:

Mainia mainiatekana.
Kukuyukunta, kuuyukunta.
Sivu, sivu, sivahamba.
Sirumbachi wahe, etc.

The dancers thus, for instance, for half an hour may incessantly repeat the formula mainia mainiatekana, mainia mainiatekana, continuing thereafter with another formula.

Other formulas of conjuration are more intelligible, as for instance the following:

Amue sinchimaka, chikichitantani, aya, aya,
Amue sinchimaka, himeritantani, aya, aya:
'Make thee strong, make thee powerful, my only tsantsa.'

In ceremonial language the Jibaros often make use of certain Quichua words, which are very rare in their language. The word sinchi is Quichua and means 'strong'; likewise the word aya, which means 'soul', 'dead man'. In the formula mentioned the soul of the enemy, materialized in the tsantsa, is spoken to directly.

The phrases are in most cases recited quite monotonously or almost as when one speaks. In other cases they are sung in a special melody, ...

During the days that the dance Wuimchi takes place the tsantsa, enveloped in a cloth, is kept hanging over one of the fires in the house in [326] such a way that it is always surrounded by the smoke from the fire. The object of keeping the trophy in this way is partly to kill the microbes which are likely to destroy it, partly, as it seems, to mortify the spirit of the dead enemy. The spirit (wakáni), according to the idea of the Indians, always keeps in the neighbourhood of the tsantsa and now and then approaches the head in the ghostly, invisible shape of a man. During the dance and the conjurations the Indians at times move away from the chonta pillar round which they dance and make a tour of the house, when they also approach the trophy hanging over the fire and chant to it.

The slayer himself does not take part in the dance, but he is not allowed to sleep at all during the night. Sitting on a sort of chair of honour specially made for him, he merely looks on the performance, only now and then giving the young men a sign to stop dancing or to begin again. Outside the ring some old women take their stand, offering manioc-beer to the dancing men and women, who by turns step out from the ring to empty a pininga of the drink. As a rule, the women only take part in the beginning of the dance; the men, on the contrary, have to continue with it until dawn. At

6 o'clock an older Indian comes and gives three strokes with a staff to the chonta pillar round which the dancers move. This is a signal for them to finish the dance for that night. All the young men and women now run out and down to the river, where they bathe. All the dances of the Jibaros are finished with such a general bath in the river.

The dance Wuimchi is also continued during the following three nights."

"The following day, that is, three days before the feast proper begins, the manioc-beer to be served to the many guests, and also a manioc-wine which is to be drunk at the end of the feast, are prepared. The preparation of both these drinks, and especially of the manioc-wine, is of a ceremonial character. The main thing is to make them as strong as possible, this being essential for the success of the feast. The slayer himself, therefore, must personally assist in the work in order to transfer his own power to the beverages. The leading principle in the whole Tsantsa-feast, as already mentioned, is that the slayer, by virtue of the close relation established between him and the spirit of his victim, becomes invested with supernatural power and knowledge which he is trying to use for his own ends and to make effective in different departments of his economic life.

Early in the morning all the women, headed by the wife of the slayer and the priestess (oháha), go out to the manioc fields to fetch the manioc for preparing the drinks mentioned. Each of the women carries one of the baskets (changina) just made, and they are accompanied by the men armed with lances. The manioc which is to be brought home by the wife of the slayer, and of which the important manioc-wine is to be prepared, is gathered with especial care. When the woman pulls up the first stalk of manioc--which ought to be particularly large and well grown--the priestess is holding her wrist and likewise helps her to lay it down in the basket. Then she fills the basket with other manioc roots without the aid of the priestess. The women return to the

house with their baskets in about two hours, and at once start the preparations. The fruit is washed and the majority of it is peeled, parted, and boiled in various large clay pots. From this manioc, by masticating and mashing the fruit, fermented manioc substance is later prepared. [328]

The manioc-wine (shiki) is prepared in another way. For this purpose the manioc is first roasted, not boiled, a work performed by the priest (whuéa) at a big fire outside the house, with the assistance of some other Indians. As soon as a sufficient quantity of the fruit has been roasted it is taken into the house and laid on some large banana leaves. At the side of it three baskets (changina) are placed, which are to be filled with the roasted fruit. A heap of certain large forest leaves, called kachini by the Jibaros, and another heap of a smaller kind of leaf called wambá are also placed close by. On a special banana leaf there is a piece of salt and a piece of the stem of the manioc plant with the rind, wich [sic] has previously been roasted.

Now the roasted fruit has to be laid in the three baskets, and at this the slayer himself and his wife and daughter have to assist, the priest (whuéa) conducting the ceremonies. The latter, who has previously prepared some tobacco juice in his nattipya, gives some of this medicine, first to the slayer and then to his wife and daughter, the first mentioned, as usual, receiving it through the nose, the latter through the mouth. The priest subsequently grasps the slayer by the wrist and the latter leans down and

takes one of the large kachini leaves and lays it carefully down upon the bottom of one of the three baskets. Thereupon he, with the aid of the priest, takes one of the smaller wamba leaves and lays it in the same way in the basket upon the first leaf. Then the slayer, whose hand is still held by the priest, takes one of the roasted maniocs and opens it with his fingers. An older Indian holds out the leaf with the salt and the roasted manioc stem, the latter having previously been scraped with a knife, so that a small quantity of a brown powder has been obtained. The slayer with two fingers takes a little of this powder and puts it into the parted manioc fruit. Then he takes a piece of salt, bites off a little of it, and puts this small piece into the fruit. He then closes the latter with his hands and lays it carefully in the basket upon the leaves previously laid there. Exactly the same is repeated with another manioc. The slayer opens the fruit with his fingers, puts a little of the brown powder as well as a small piece of salt into it, and then lays the fruit in the basket at the side of the manioc first placed there. Thereupon he takes a large kachini leaf, as well as a wambá leaf, and lays these in the basket upon the fruit. While all these operations are being performed the wrist of the slayer is held by the priest. Now the same is repeated with the wife of the slayer, whose right hand is held by the old man. She takes a manioc, opens it, sprinkles some of the brown powder and a [329] little salt into it, again closes it, and then places it in the basket upon the leaves last laid down there. A second manioc is in like manner put into

the basket by her. Lastly, she covers the fruit with a kachini and a wambá leaf, just as was done by the slayer. Finally, the daughter of the slayer performs the same action, putting two maniocs into the basket and covering them with the leaves, the girl being in the same way assisted by the priest. In all, six manioc fruits have thus been ceremonially placed in the basket.

An older Indian now continues the work of filling the basket with roasted manioc until it is nearly full, but he does it without ceremony and is not assisted by the priest. Nor is the brown powder or the salt put into the fruit. However, the last maniocs with which the basket is filled must again be laid down by the slayer, his wife, and daughter, and with the same ceremonies as before. Each of them thus, with the assistance of the priest, again places two maniocs in the basket, sprinkling some of the brown powder and a little salt into them and covering them with the leaves. The basket having been filled, the slayer, assisted by the priest, carefully covers it with leaves and ties it over with lianas.

With exactly the same ceremonies the two other baskets are filled, the slayer, his wife, and daughter always laying down the first and the last maniocs and covering them with leaves.

At the other end of the house, in the women's quarters, a sort of shelter or broad shelf has been made of split bamboo, resting upon four poles about 1 1/2 or 2 metres in

height. Under this shelter the large clay pots in which the manioc substance is laid for fermenting are later placed upon the ground. Even the three baskets containing the roasted manioc are brought here. They are not laid on the ground, but are hung up to the roof by means of a special pole fixed in the ground. The slayer himself carries the baskets here from the place where they had been filled with the fruit, the priest holding his hands. The slayer takes the pole and fixes it in the ground close to one of the four poles upon which the shelter rests. Other men complete the work, fixing the pole more steadily in the ground and tying it to the other poles. The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, lifs [sic] up one of the three baskets and hangs it upon the pole. Thereafter, with the aid of the priest, he hangs the two other baskets upon the pole.

The baskets are left hanging here for three days until the beginning of the feast, manioc-wine being then prepared from them in a way to be described later. During these days the fruit will 'ripen' properly; [330] the powder and the salt put into the manioc will impregnate the fruit and exert some mysterious influence to the effect that the wine prepared from it will turn out exceedingly strong. To the kachini and wambá leaves, placed in the baskets, some mysterious influence is also ascribed.

While this work was being done by the slayer, his wife and daughter, and some of the men, the rest of the women, headed by the priestess, have been engaged in preparing the manioc-beer (nihamánchi). After the root has been boiled it has to be masticated,

a work which takes some two hours to perform. The masticating of the manioc for the feasts is a real ceremony and is called Nauma. Generally only the women take part in it, since the preparation of the beer is a work particularly incumbent on the women. Of the fruit, however, only a part, or at the most a half, is masticated. The rest of it is only mashed. The manioc masticated is thoroughly mixed with saliva and then spat into a number of large clay pots (muitsa). To each of these some of the mashed manioc is added and the whole substance is carefully stirred.

Generally the pots are now only covered with banana leaves and the substance allowed to ferment. For the great feasts, however, a special ferment, consisting of previously chewed and fermented manioc, is added in order that the beer may turn out stronger. A small clay vessel with this ferment is kept ready. The following operations are, in the main, carried out only by the women--first of all by the wife of the slayer, who is assisted by the priestess (ohâha). However, even the slayer himself must assist at some actions, to transfer his power to the beverage. The wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the priestess, carries each of the pots containing the manioc substance to the shelter before mentioned, where the fermentation will take place. Six or eight large pots are thus placed under the shelter in holes previously made in the ground for the purpose. In order that the pots may stand more steadily they are supported underneath by pieces of the genipa fruit. These pieces are placed under the pots by the

slayer in a ceremonial way, his hands being meantime held by the priest. The wife of the slayer, assisted by the oháha, now puts a little of the manioc ferment just mentioned into each of the pots, but before the ferment is put in the slayer has each time to taste a little of it. The pots are then carefully covered with large leaves by the wife of the slayer, whose hands are held by the oháha, and finally tied with lianas.

Some of the large clay pots are tied on the outside with strips of bast in such a way as to form ornamental figures or patterns like those formed [331] in basket weaving. The real significance of this arrangement is not quite clear. It is possible that its object is only to give strength to the pots so that they shall not burst at the fermentation of the manioc substance. But it is also possible that some mysterious power is ascribed to the strips as well as to the ornaments formed by them--a power which will promote the fermentation and contribute to making the beverage strong. This, at any rate, is the object of the genipa fruit placed under the pots. The genipa--from which the magical black body-paint is prepared--will communicate its power to the pots and the sacred substance contained in them, a power further increased by the fact that the slayer himself places the fruit there.

It is supposed to be of essential importance that the clay pots should be placed firmly in the ground, for then the fermentation also will take place steadily, and no disturbing influences will make themselves felt.

All these preparations have taken the main part of the day to accomplish, and are not finished until the afternoon. The fermentation, which in a way is the most important detail of the whole thing, however, still has to take place. In order to hurry or favourably influence the process of fermentation all the women sit down on the ground around the pots containing the manioc substance and, led by the priestess, sing a sort of chant or conjuration. With this ceremony, which lasts for about half an hour, the preparation of the manioc-beer ends.

The fact that only the women have to brew the manioc-beer--which is the rule among all Indians--is due to the same reason as makes the cultivation of the manioc fields a business solely incumbent on the female sex. According to the animistic ideas of the Jibaros, as we have seen, all plants are animated by human spirits (wakáni), some of male sex, some of female. The manioc, like most other domestic plants, has a woman's soul. Hence--according to the principle 'like is best known by like'--the women have to cultivate this plant just as, in regard to the preparation of the manioc-beer, they are believed to have a special power of promoting that mysterious and, to the Indian mind, unintelligible process of nature which is called fermentation."

"After the slayer has, in the way described, assisted in the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine, his role with regard to the preparations for the feast is finished. The following days and nights he has to spend outside his own house, making on the third day, when the feast commences, his solemn entrance into the same. The first two of the three nights he thus stays outside he passes in another house a few [332]doors away from his own; the third night, again, in a shelter made at a short distance from the house of the feast. The priest (whuéa), who always must remain in the neighbourhood of the slayer and take care of him, accompanies him on this excursion.

All the three nights that the slayer is absent his friends in the house of the feast, and particularly the young men, perform the dance Wuimchi in the same way as on the first night, from the fall of night until the dawn.

On the afternoon of the day previous to the commencement of the feast, when the slayer has been absent for two nights, the following ceremony takes place in a shelter made a short distance from the house of the feast. Some of the older Indians take the trophy which, as usual, is kept hanging over the fire, place it upon a shield and carry it to the shelter mentioned. In this shelter the slayer and the priest now stay, and they will also pass the following third and last night there. Outside it a fire is made. A chonta staff is fixed in the ground close by the fire. The priest gives the slayer tobacco

juice through the nose, then grasps his hand and makes him hang the tsantsa on the top of the chonta staff. With the aid of the priest, he places three small round stones, provided for the purpose, upon the fire to be heated. When they are sufficiently hot, the slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes up one of them by means of a stick cleft at the end, and drops it into the head through the opening at the neck, holding the trophy with the left hand. The small stone is allowed to roll to and fro in the head for a moment; then the slayer takes it out and puts it back on the fire. The priest again gives him tobacco juice, whereupon the same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third one. Every time that the slayer puts a stone into the head the priest is holding his hand, and each stone, after being used in the way described, is again put on the fire, where the stones are ultimately left. The trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta staff. The priest grasps the slayer by the wrist and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa with his hand, at the same time saying: Kakáruma, pangi ishamakaipa, --'Have courage; do not fear the great serpent'. The trophy is subsequently taken back to the house by the other men, but the slayer and the priest remain in the shelter.

As we find, the same ceremony is repeated here as was earlier performed with the trophy previous to beginning the work of preparing it. The procedure with the small heated stones seems to be merely to [333] mortify the soul of the enemy, attached to the

head, to protect the slayer against the revengeful ghost, and favourably to prepare for the important incident which will take place on the following day--the entrance of the victor into the house of the feast.

That the object of the ceremony described is essentially to paralyze the danger threatening the slayer from the dead enemy, may also be concluded from the last words addressed to him by the priest in which he is warned not to fear the 'great serpent.' The great boa serpent (pangi) is the most formidable of all demons who people the spiritual world of the Jibaros. He is the original father of witchcraft; it is from his body that the sorcerers receive the poison with which their organism is impregnated and the invisible arrow (túnchi), which they discharge at their victims. After death the souls of the medicine-men are also believed to enter into the boa. The Jibaros, like all Indians, therefore particularly fear this monster, and when they kill a boa they think that they kill a powerful sorcerer. From the above statement it appears that the giant serpent also is one of those shapes in which the spirit of the killed enemy is believed to meet the slayer."

"Those guests who have come from far arrive at the house of the feast on the eve of the day fixed for the same. They do not, however, enter the house, but pass the night in provisional shelters made outside. It is not until the following morning at 5 o'clock that the doors are opened and the guests can enter. Gradually the guests who live near arrive. Before entering the house all arrange their dress, which the Jibaro Indian always does when he is about to make a visit to another house. In a sort of net-bag (shigra), carried on the back, the men have brought with them their best clothing and ornaments, first of all a new loin-cloth (itipi). In another smaller bag they carry a comb, a small mirror, a small round gourd containing a red dye for painting the body, called mushpa or aratinyu, as well as certain other small things. At a rivulet the Indian makes his toilet; he unties his thick hair, washes it, combs it, and ties it up again in the three usual pigtails. The band with which the big pigtail at the neck is wound round is adorned with tucan feathers and human hair. On his head he places some feather ornament, a crown made of red and yellow tucan feathers, called tawása, or another ornament of yellow macaw feathers, which is tied round the head, and is called tendéarma. Older warriors are often seen wearing a sort of cap of monkey's skin or an ornament made of squirrels' tails (kunámbi). The face, and especially the region around the eyes, is painted red in different ways, some Indians simply coating the face with the paint, others applying geometrical patterns to it. A new loin-cloth (itipi) is

always put on before entering the house, a girdle of human hair (akáchu) being used to fix it with. Some additional ornaments are put on later for the dance at night.

The women always pay less attention to their dress and wear fewer ornaments than the men. The principal garment of the women is called tarácĥi, and a new one is as a rule made for a feast. Since weaving is an [335] industry exclusively incumbent on the men, they always make the clothes of their wives. On the crown of the head the women on festive occasions generally wear a red-painted cotton band, called tiringsa. In the ear-lobes they wear similar sticks (arusa) as do the men, but much smaller, and besides, in the lower lip the small pin of wood called tukúnu. Both the arusa and the tukúnu are mostly ornamented with incised figures.

For the dances the women also paint their faces, although not as much as the men. Around their necks the women wear a necklace of beads called shaúka, and the upper arms are tied round with cotton strings called patáki. For the dances they always put on a broad girdle or rattle of snail shells (kúngu); but these rattles are not ornaments but a means of conjuration."

1: Karsten--335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 576 (1928-29)

"When the guests enter the house [JKM: for the first day of the victory feast] they are received by the hosts--the father, brothers, or sons of the slayer--with a ceremonial greeting. The men generally enter three or four at a time. Each of them utters a loud: 'Winyáhei,' 'I come,' whereupon all arrange themselves in a row close to the door, with their lances stretched forth, and remain motionless until they are spoken to by the hosts. Some of the boys in the house step forward and hand a small round chair (kutánga) to each of the guests, who now take a seat, but still without uttering a word, and holding their lances between their knees. The hosts, having arranged their dress and painted their faces, take their seats, each sitting in front of the guest to whom he is going to speak, and only utter the word winiti, 'may you come.' This is the signal to the guest that he may start speaking. He mentions that he has been invited to the feast, that he has accepted the invitation and arrived to honour the victor, etc. The conversation mostly turns on the feast, the preparations made for it, the number of swine bred for the same, the number of guests invited, etc. The host and the guest speak in turns not in the ordinary conversational tone but shouting. Each conversation lasts for about 10 minutes, and each guest has to be spoken to separately by some one of the hosts. During the conversation manioc-beer is repeatedly served to the guests by the women in the house. Each guest has to empty at least three dishes (pininga) of this drink. After this ceremonial reception the guests may step forth from the door and move about in the house

1: Karsten--335 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 576 (1928-29)

at liberty; and other guests arriving are received in the same manner.

Only the men are received in this ceremonial way. The women, following their husbands, fathers, or brothers, enter without any form of salutation and are not particularly spoken to by the hosts."

"All the guests having arrived and been properly received by the hosts, preparations are immediately made for receiving the victor himself, whose solemn entrance now takes place.

Some of the oldest warriors take the trophy, which has been kept hanging in the smoke over the fire, place it on a shield and carry it to the shelter outside of the house, where the slayer and the priest have passed the third night. Here in part the same ceremony is repeated as took place on the previous day. The tsantsa is placed on the top of a chonta stick fixed in the ground. The priest gives the slayer juice of tobacco and helps him to hang the trophy on himself, over the breast. The priest takes his stand immediately behind the slayer, and behind them the other warriors range themselves in a row, armed with lances, shields, and firearms. All proceed, slowly and ceremoniously toward the house, the priest holding his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer. In front of the latter another old Indian goes, holding the chonta stick in his hand. He fixes the stick in the ground a few steps in advance of the slayer. As soon as the latter, walking slowly, has reached the chonta stick, the old man removes it and again fixes it in the ground some steps in front of the slayer, and so on, until they reach the door of the house. During this march the slayer repeatedly receives tobacco juice through the nose, administered by the priest. At the door the procession stops. The slayer takes off his old loin-cloth and puts on a new one which is held ready. Then, with the aid of the priest, he takes off the trophy, which is tied to a chonta lance. The priest

takes the lance, with the trophy tied to it, quickly passes it in through the door, takes it out again, and again passes it inside, fixing it firmly in the ground close to the door (Pl. XXVIII).

Meanwhile the other men and the women arrange themselves to receive the victor, whose entrance into the house takes place under the same ceremonial conditions as at the feast Numbuimártinyu. Now, just as on that occasion, the dance Ihiámbrama is performed, the wife and daughter of the slayer playing the principal part among the women. The women appear from the interior of the house, arranged in a row, holding each other by the hands, with rattles of snail shells round their waists. Foremost of the women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. On each side of them the men stand in two rows.

Immediately before the dance Ihiámbrama takes place, two warriors rush into the house from outside, between the rows, brandishing lances and shields and giving war cries as if they were charging against an enemy. They are followed by a third warrior brandishing a rifle, with which [337] he fires a shot in the air. These warriors are preparing the way for the victor. The latter now receives tobacco juice from the priest through the nose, and his wife and daughter receive it through the mouth. The daughter then seizes the slayer from behind at the waist with both hands, while his wife, heading

the rest of the women, gives him her right hand. All now dance into the interior of the house to the accompaniment of rattles, drums, and flutes, and immediately return to the door. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice more, but the second and third times the slayer holds the tsantsa in his right hand, with his arm stretched out, while proceeding with the women into the interior of the house. The dance Ihiámbrama is thus repeated three times, just as at the previous minor feasts.

The tsantsa is again tied to a chonta lance and the latter is fixed in the ground at the door, the usual way of keeping the trophy when it is not needed for the ceremonies.

All the ceremonies described have one and the same object, namely, to protect the victor from the spirit of his enemy. Within the house those conjurations will take place through which the wakáni is trodden under foot, mortified, and completely made the slave of his conqueror. The first entrance into the house is, therefore, believed to be particularly critical for the latter. When the victor approaches the house the spirit is believed to meet him in the invisible shape of a man, trying to kill him. Tobacco juice is repeatedly given him to increase his power of resistance against the machinations of the invisible enemy. The chonta staff fixed in the ground in front of the slayer, when he approaches the house, has for its object to prevent the wakáni from meeting him. The three warriors, who, previous to the dance Ihiámbrama, rushed into the house brandishing their weapons and shooting, were likewise trying to keep off this enemy and inspire him with terror, for the lance and the shield, and still more shots from firearms,

are feared even by the spirits. Lastly, the object of the whole dance Ihiámbrama, as we have seen before, is to secure the victor's first entrance into the house.

The ceremonies at the 'entrance' of the victor may vary somewhat in certain details. Thus at another victory-feast the proceedings were as follows. Some of the older warriors took the tsantsa, placed it on a shield, and carried it with caution to the shelter outside the house, where the slayer and the priest had passed the third night. The shield, with the tsantsa, was set down on the ground, and all the warriors started to [338]dance around it, making menacing gestures at it with their lances. Thereafter the slayer, followed by the other warriors, began slowly to move toward the house. The priest placed the shield, with the tsantsa, on the ground a few steps in front of the slayer. As soon as the latter had reached the shield, the priest again moved it a short distance from him on the ground, and so on, until they reached the door of the house. Here the slayer exchanged his old loin-cloth for a new one. The priest made him touch the tsantsa with his mouth and helped him to hang it round his neck. Thereupon the dance Ihiámbrama took place in the way described above.

With these introductory ceremonies the official part of the morning's program is finished. A general drinking-bout now commences, manioc-beer being brought in large piningas to each of the guests by the women. Food is also offered them consisting of

boiled manioc and boiled ripe bananas, as well as of meat, game and fish. Those persons who have played some particularly important part at the ceremonies are, however, obliged to fast. This, of course, first of all applies to the slayer himself, his wife, and daughter, who, as mentioned before, have to abstain from every kind of meat and are only allowed to eat certain fruits. The priest (whuéa), who assists them, both now and during the following days must abstain from eating swine's flesh. His most important duty is to prepare tobacco juice, mixed with saliva, which medicine he has continually to give to the slayer, as well as to his wife and daughter. Should he touch swine's flesh, which the persons mentioned are strictly prohibited from eating, the tobacco which he gives them would become polluted and made ineffective. Likewise, the priestess (oháha), who conducts the ceremonies of the women, is prohibited from tasting pork. Like the priest, she during the feast mainly eats chicken, together with manioc and other fruits. The two warriors who, previous to the dance Ihiámbrama, rushed into the house with lances and shields, and the third warrior who followed them firing a shot into the air, are also obliged to fast on that day on account of their having taken part in an important ceremony of conjuration. Thus they are allowed to drink only a small quantity of manioc-beer, which is served to them in small clay dishes specially made for the purpose.

Later in the forenoon the preparation of the manioc-wine, which was begun three days ago, is continued. The roasted manioc which was then hung up in the three

baskets, filled and arranged with so much care, is now supposed to have properly ripened. The slayer, accompanied [339] by the priest and other men, goes to the shelter where the baskets had been hung up. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes down the baskets one after the other and starts to open them, proceeding with the utmost care and being always assisted by the old man. The slayer and the priest both taste the fruit in each basket to convince themselves of its having acquired the necessary virtue for the preparation of the wine. The women start to masticate the roasted fruit in the same way as the boiled manioc is masticated for brewing ordinary manioc-beer. A part of the fruit masticated is then separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing a special manioc substance from it by means of fermentation. Of this substance a kind of manioc-beer will be brewed, to be drunk after the most important ceremony of the feast, the washing of the tsantsa, two days later. Again, of the rest of the fruit masticated the proper manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), to be consumed on the last day of the feast, is prepared in the following way.

A clay pot is placed on the ground, and the slayer and his wife and daughter, as well as the priest, take their stand in front of it. On a banana leaf a number of wooden pins have been laid, made from the twigs of a special wild tree which the Jibaros call shuya and which produces a sweet black fruit similar to grapes. On another banana leaf have been laid some leaves of another forest tree called apai. The slayer, whose hand is

held by the priest, takes one of the shuya pins and slowly and carefully places it inside the pot--about in the middle of it--in a horizontal position. His wife and daughter, whose hands are likewise held by the priest, also put one pin each in the pot beside the first one. Another man completes the work, putting without ceremony some other similar pins into the pot until they have been laid along its whole breadth, with a distance of about half an inch between each. Now the slayer, with the aid of the priest, takes an apai leaf and cautiously places it across the shuya pins. The wife and the daughter do the same, each laying down one apai leaf in the pot at the side of the first one. Several more apai leaves are laid down, until the shuya pins are completely covered with them. Lastly, these leaves are perforated all over with a wooden pin, so that the whole thing becomes like a sieve.

The masticated manioc substance is now laid in the pot upon the leaves. The slayer and his wife and daughter again begin the work, each of them laying down, with the aid of the priest, a small quantity of the substance. The pot is wholly filled with it, and the mouth is covered first with some apai leaves and then with some large kachini leaves [340] (Alocasia macrorrhiza) the whole thing being lastly carefully tied over with lianas. The slayer, with the aid of the priest, now places the pot upon the shelter mentioned before, where it is left for two days and two nights. During this time the essence in the masticated manioc substance will be distilled and drop into the lower empty part of the pot. This essence is the manioc-wine.

1: Karsten--336-340 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 727 (1928-29)

In the afternoon, at about 4 o'clock, two swine and some hens are slaughtered to provide food for the guests during the two following days. The proper ceremonial slaughter does not take place until the penultimate day of the feast. The flesh of the swine now killed, however, cannot be cooked until midnight, or about 1 o'clock on the following morning, and will be eaten early on the following day."

1: Karsten--340-342 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 535 (1928-29)

"When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock, the general feast dance begins which is called Hantsēmáta. All take part in it, both hosts and guests, man and women; first of all, however, the latter. The slayer himself goes round and invites the guests to take part in the dance speaking separately to each of them. The dance is conducted by an elderly Indian who previously gives tobacco water to the women. All who are going to take part in it are dressed in the proper way. The women, as usual, wear their rattles of snail shells round the waist. Some of the men put on additional ornaments for the dance--first of all a back ornament made of the bones of the bird tayu (Steatornis), called tayukúnchi, which is adorned with human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed birds of the forest with brilliant plumes.

The face and the uncovered part of the body is carefully painted with red ochre (Bixa orellana), animal figures and figures of snakes as well as geometric ornaments being the most common patterns. The older men prefer to paint themselves black in the face with genipa. Some younger men are seen painting themselves, previous to the dance, with tobacco juice, making with their fingers certain linear ornaments upon the face and breast--ornaments which, however, are hardly visible upon the brownish skin of the Indians. The body-painting with tobacco juice is supposed to be a good prophylactic for witchcraft.

The Hantsēmáta, which literally means: 'The killing of the enemy's soul (hantsa),' is a ring dance. The dancers hold each other by the hands and circle around the three

central pillars of the house, forming a large ring, or rather an elliptical figure, and moving alternately to the right and to the left. The women first arrange themselves for the dance, and foremost among them are the wife and daughter of the slayer. Then [341] follow the men, and foremost among them the slayer, who thus during the dance is standing nearest to his wife and daughter. He carries the tsantsa hanging on his back during the whole time. Next to him the other men take their stand. At the dance the Indians move about in the same way as in the dance Ihiámbrama, hopping sideways, moving first the one and then the other foot in quick time. The women hold each other under the arms, jumping with both feet at once in order that their rattles may sound more loudly. Having moved round for a while to the right, the Indians change and dance to the left for a while, and vice versa. The dance is accompanied by a chant or conjuration, and this, too, is first performed by the women. This chant principally consists of an almost monotonous refrain, 'oá, oá, oa-á-áo, 'etc., which is sung by the women in a deep and strong guttural voice, so that the whole song has a disagreeable, almost dismal, howling effect. When the dance reaches its climax the men also chant or shout, and the dancers seem sometimes almost to reach a state of ecstasy. Each time the men, during the dance, reach one of the doors at either end of the house, they stop for a moment, hop up and down on the spot, stamping on the ground and shouting in a loud

voice: 'Hysti, hysti, hysti, hysti!' At the same time the women hop on the spot, sounding their rattles, while the drums are beaten and the flutes played. This procedure is repeated for a long time. The dancers by this action are trying to keep off the spirit of the killed enemy, who, it is believed, is trying to enter through one of the doors to kill the victor.

During the dance certain words and phrases, adapted for the occasion, are also pronounced. Thus the name of the killed enemy is again and again mentioned, as are also the names of his relatives and the name of his native place. Similarly details of the war and of the battle, the lance with which the enemy was killed, or the knife with which his head was cut off, and even the canoe in which the victors went down, etc., are repeatedly mentioned. This dance, with short intervals, is continued until dawn. The men, however, do not take part in the dance the whole time, but sometimes leave the women alone. The latter, who are headed by the priestess, and among whom the wife and daughter of the slayer are the most active, first of all have to take part in the dance. The slayer himself also dances nearly the whole time, with the tsantsa hanging on his back. He is not allowed to sleep during the night.

Whereas even young girls of 8 or 10 years of age take part in the general dance, the half-grown boys seem to be excluded from it. These [342] have another task confided to them. When the older men and women arrange themselves for the dance, the boys

are placed within the ring, and when the dance commences they engage in a savage wrestling match, continually throwing each other to the ground, again rising, again wrestling, etc. This wrestling is continued for about an hour in the same violent manner, but is not repeated later during the night. As to the significance of this wrestling, the Indians only gave the explanation that it is 'part of the feast'. The boys, as a matter of fact, had previously been instructed by an older Indian. The wrestling is thus of a ceremonial nature, and forms part of the general conjurations.

The dance Hantsēmáta is continued without interruption until about 1 o'clock, when there is a short interval. The flesh of the swine slaughtered in the afternoon of the day before has now to be cooked. According to the ritual of the feast, as already mentioned, the flesh of the swine slaughtered at the feast can only be cooked at midnight. On several large fires, made in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed, which are filled with the flesh cut into pieces. During the preparations for the cooking, and while the flesh is being boiled, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued with more vigour than before, all men and women who are not tending the fires being engaged in it. Likewise some hens are killed and their flesh is boiled. The Indian who conducts the dance is seen dancing for a while with two or three recently killed hens tied round his waist. The dance is supposed to hurry on the cooking of the flesh, and probably also to exert a favourable influence upon the increase of the domestic animals in future. As soon as

the flesh is sufficiently cooked, the pots are taken off the fires and lifted up on the shelves to be preserved until morning. It is not until then that the flesh can be eaten.

The dance is then continued without interruption until the morning, being performed particularly by the women. About half past 5, or a little before dawn, all the men and women have to take part in it just as in the beginning. Having moved several times around the central pillars, all rush out from the house, continuing to hold each other by the hands, and run down to the river, where they take the usual bath. With this bath the ceremonies of that night are finished."

"At about 8 o'clock the principal ceremony of the second day, the drinking of the sacred drink natéma takes place. When the drink is prepared for the feast the slayer himself has to assist in order to transfer to it the supernatural power with which he is believed to be invested.

For the preparation of the natéma some pieces of the stem of the vine are cut off, crushed with clubs, and parted into thinner fibres, which are boiled in water for a couple of hours. The fibres are then taken out and the drink is ready. The natéma drink, which has the effect of producing in the drinker peculiar visions and hallucinations which are ascribed by the Indians to certain spirits, is generally mixed with some tobacco water, by which its narcotic effects are increased. At the tsantsa feast the second day is regularly devoted to the drinking of the natéma, and it is prepared and drunk with certain ceremonies which have now to be described.

Some pieces of the stem of the natéma plant are laid on a banana leaf on the ground. Upon another banana leaf a large and a small wooden club are laid, and with these the natéma stems are to be crushed. There is besides a pot in which the drink will be cooked. The priest as usual gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the wrist and makes him seize a club with his right hand and a natéma stem with his left and crush the stem, laying it upon the other club. The slayer divides the stem into three or four fibres and puts them down into the pot, the priest holding

his hand. Another Indian without ceremony crushes some other pieces of the natéma stem and arranges them in a ring within the pot. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, now pours some water into the pot from a water bottle and places the pot on the fire, some other men attending to the pot while it boils. [344]

At another fire close by tobacco is simultaneously being boiled, to be mixed with the natéma. A small clay pot is placed by the fire, and some leaves of tobacco are laid on a banana leaf at the side of it. The slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes a tobacco leaf and carefully puts it, first on the edge of the pot and then into it. The wife of the slayer repeats the process with another leaf, laying it first on the edge of the pot and then inside it. Lastly, a third tobacco leaf is in the same way put into the pot by the daughter of the slayer. Thereupon the slayer, assisted by the priest, pours some water into the pot and places it on the fire.

On the spot where the natéma is cooked there is also placed a piece of the stem of the manioc plant and two narrow strips of the bark of a tree which the Jibaros call samiki. The slayer takes one of the strips, winds it round his index finger, and ties it into a ring of the same size as the finger. By means of one end of the strip which after the tying of the ring has been left free, he then attaches the ring to the piece of the manioc stem. Thereupon he in the same way makes another ring of the other strip, of the size of his index finger, and attaches it to the manioc stem at the side of the first ring. With

the aid of the priest he ultimately places the manioc stem, with the two rings attached to it, upon the tobacco pot boiling on the fire in such a way that it rests upon the edges of the pot.

The object of this ceremony is to establish a mysterious connection between the slayer, who, as we have seen, is supposed to be filled with supernatural power, the tobacco water to be mixed in the natéma drink, and the manioc plant which the persons drinking of the narcotic will see in the dream. The two rings formed of the rind of the samiki tree will in this connection serve as mediums for the transference of the power. The Jibaros ascribe magical virtues to the samiki tree itself, and a little of its bark is generally mixed with the natéma with a view to increasing the efficacy of the drink. The bast strips of the tree having been formed into rings of the same size as the slayer's finger, are believed to catch his power, and thus to transfer it to the manioc and the boiling tobacco pot. The persons partaking of the sacred drink are afterwards, in the narcotic sleep, supposed to see, among other things, the manioc fields of the slayer in a flourishing state and bearing a rich crop of fruit.

At the tsantsa feast the natéma is only boiled for about one hour, whereupon the pot is taken off the fire. Similarly the smaller pot in which tobacco has been cooked is taken away, the manioc stick with [345] the bast rings having first been removed. The latter is fixed in the wall close to the door, where it is left until it is dry and half

consumed, being then thrown away.

The slayer, whose hands are held by the priest, seizes the small tobacco pot and pours its contents into the natéma pot. The drink is now ready to be consumed.

In the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast both men and women, even half-grown children, take part, all 'who want to dream' being allowed to drink of the narcotic. Even the slayer, as well as his wife and daughter, drink natéma. The drinking has throughout a ceremonial character. A number of beautifully ornamented clay dishes are placed on the ground in two rows. The priest and two or three other old men fill them with natéma and give them to the persons who are going to drink. Before they give the dish to a man or woman they each time sing a long conjuration over it, summoning the natéma spirits. The person who receives the dish quickly empties its contents, which amount to nearly half a litre. Immediately thereafter he or she goes out and throws up the quantity drunk (for the natéma at first has the effect of an emetic). Then the person again enters the house, again empties a pininga of natéma, which is given him by an old man with the same ceremony as before, and immediately again throws it up. The same process is repeated at third time. Each person who drinks natéma at the Tsantsa-feast thus has to empty three dishes of the sacred drink.

The persons who drink natéma have not previously eaten or drunk anything, and afterwards also they have to fast strictly until they have slept and dreamed. The majority of those who have drunk the narcotic leave the house and go out to sleep in some shelters

of palm leaves made in the forest at a short distance from the house. Most of these are men, but at least one of them ought to be a woman, a female relative of the slayer. The slayer and his wife and daughter, who also have drunk natéma, do not leave the house, but have their dreams inside. The dreamers remain in the forest sleeping until the afternoon. Then they take a bath in the river and return to the house, where they tell the older Indians what kind of dreams and visions they have had. Now they are also allowed to break their fast. Their food consists only of a dish of boiled and mashed manioc and boiled ripe bananas. The dreamer has to receive the dish containing this food from the hand of the same old man who in the morning had given him or her the natéma.

The object of the drinking of the natéma at the victory-feast is to [346] ascertain whether everything will turn out favourably for the slayer in the future, whether he will have a long life, attain material prosperity and be lucky in his undertakings. The slayer, as well as his nearest relatives who have drunk natéma, will see in the dream his house surrounded by large and flourishing plantations of manioc and bananas; they will see his domestic animals, his swine and his hens, numerous and and [sic] fat, etc. But at the same time the persons who have drunk the sacred drink will be benefited themselves, being purified from impure and disease-bringing matter, and gaining

strength and ability for their respective work and occupations.

The drinking of the natéma in the morning is as usual followed by a general drinking-bout--in which, however, those persons who have drunk natéma do not take part--as well as by a general banquet, at which the flesh of the swine and chickens cooked during the night is eaten. With this banquet the official part of the morning's program is finished, and hosts and guests may pass the rest of the day until darkness as they like.

At about 6 o'clock in the evening the preparations for the night's dance commence, the host (i. e., the slayer) again going round in the house and inviting the guests to take part in it. All having properly dressed themselves, arranged their ornaments, and painted their faces, the Hantsẽmáta begins and is continued through the whole night exactly in the same way as on the previous night. Even the wrestling of the boys takes place for a while. The dance is continued until about half past 5 in the morning, being as usual finished off by a general bath in the river."

"Like all ceremonies at the victory-feast, the 'washing of the tsantsa' commences about 8 o'clock in the morning, or about two hours after the dance of the previous night has been finished. The priest (whuéa) has previously been engaged in preparing tobacco juice mixed with saliva, by carefully chewing the leaves and spitting out the juice into the small clay pot (nattipya), from which he will portion it out to the persons who play the principal parts in the ceremonies. A small clay pot filled with water has, by means of some strips of bast, been tied to one of the chonta pillars in the middle of the house. From this pot the priest now and then takes a little water in his mouth while chewing the tobacco leaves. The priest having in this way provided a sufficient quantity of tobacco juice in his nattipya, the preparations for the ceremony, 'the washing of the tsantsa', begin.

The principal persons of the feast, the slayer, his wife and daughter, the priest, and a medicine-man, assemble at a spot in the middle of the house. The women arrange themselves round them, forming a ring or semicircle, all having their rattles around their waists and being headed by the priestess (oháha). The latter on this occasion wears a feather ornament on her head, which normally is never worn by the women, and also a kind of black collar prepared from the twigs of a certain tree which the Jibaros call múpish. This collar, to which the Jibaros ascribe some magical power, is hung round the neck of the priestess by the priest before the ceremony commences.

Outside the ring of the women, moreover, four warriors, armed with lance and shields, take their stand. The role which they have to play is presently to be described. The first thing to be done is to provide seats for the persons mentioned--the slayer, his wife and daughter, as well as the priest and the medicine-man--and this is done in a ceremonial [348] way. The wife of the slayer grasps her husband with one hand and the priest with the other hand from behind at the waist, and all three go and fetch the seat of the slayer, which has been placed near the wall a few steps from where the ceremony will take place. The slayer, both of whose hands are held by the priest, bends down, grasps the seat, passes his hand round its edges, lifts it up a little, immediately sets it down again, lifts it up a second time and, accompanied by the priest, who continues holding his hands, and by his wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist, carries it to the spot from which they started. Here the seat is ceremonially laid down on the earth, the slayer with the aid of the priest setting it down, again lifting it up and a second time setting it down. Now the seat has been firmly placed, and must not be touched by anybody until the slayer seats himself upon it. During these operations, both when the seat was taken up and when it was placed upon the spot where the ceremony is to take place, the women have been dancing around the slayer and his wife and the priest, incessantly repeating, in slow time and almost monotonously, the refrain: 'Chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba, chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumba... 'etc., i.e. 'Take

up the seat, set down the seat, . . . 'etc. Thereupon the slayer, his wife, and the priest go and fetch another seat upon which the priest will sit during the ceremony; and this is done in the same way as the first time, the women dancing and singing their 'Chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumbá' when the seat is being lifted up from the ground, and when it is placed on the spot where the priest will sit. The slayer's and the priest's seats are placed opposite each other. Three more seats are subsequently brought for the medicine-man and for the wife and daughter of the slayer.

The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the slayer's wife, who holds both men from behind at the waist as before, now go and fetch a shield which had previously been placed by the door and which will serve as a table at the ceremony. The shield is placed on the ground between the seats. Lastly the same persons go and take the tsantsa, which as usual has been kept tied to a lance stuck into the ground at the door. The tsantsa is carefully placed upon the shield. On the latter are also laid the small pot containing tobacco juice and a knife.

The slayer and the priest now prepare to sit down each taking his stand in front of the seat intended for him. The priest lays his hands upon the shoulders of the slayer and makes him sit down on the seat, immediately raise himself, and again definitively sit down. Thereafter the slayer repeats the same with the priest, laying his hands upon his shoulders, [349] making him sit down quickly, immediately raise himself, and

again sit down. Both men now remain sitting opposite each other. The three other persons also take their seats without ceremony, the slayer having the medicine-man sitting on his right hand and his wife and daughter on his left.

The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth, then to the medicine-man through the nose, and finally he himself also takes some. The medicine-man is now the principal person acting. Taking the tsantsa and the knife he takes some tobacco juice with the point of the latter and coats the tsantsa with it at the neck opening. He makes a cutting motion round the neck of the head with the knife as if he were cutting it off. Then he carefully loosens the cotton string attached to the three chonta pins, which have been stuck through the lips of the head (p. 296), and lastly removes the chonta pins themselves, one after the other, putting them down on the shield. Finally he gives tobacco juice to the slayer and hangs the trophy round his neck.

While the medicine-man has been engaged in these actions, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing round him and the other persons sitting around the shield, singing at every important moment of his operations, in the same slow, solemn time as before, certain refrains which are supposed to give them more emphasis. Since tobacco plays an extraordinary role at the feast, we can understand why this magical medicine is particularly mentioned. Among the refrains sung at the washing of the

tsantsa I have noted down the following as being the most important:

Chimbuyirumbá --yamáyumbá,
'Take up the seat! -- set down the seat!'
Shimbágasmé, 'May it not move' ('may it be steady!')
Styugahosé, 'Put the tobacco cautiously on the floor!'
Wakeketa, 'Unfold the leaves!'
Umbunata, 'Blow tobacco smoke!'
Urárata, 'Open the bundle'!
Chichutamá, 'Throw saliva upon it!'
Shimbanákachá, 'May it not get damaged.!
Yamámishá, 'Recently enveloped are the tobacco leaves'.
Mishákatei, 'Recently made is the head of the enemy which we are going to wash'!
Yamanhiri, 'Recently we have passed the threads through its mouth.' [350]
Mishahosé, 'Take up the tsantsa'!
Mishatákuná, 'Hold it up for the dance'!
oa-a --aó."

"Thus, when the medicine-man seizes the trophy, when he makes the cutting motion round its neck with his knife, when he removes the cotton string and the chonta pins, and lastly, when he hangs the trophy round the neck of the slayer, the women accompany all these actions by dancing, singing the refrains mentioned, and shaking their rattles. Again, the four warriors armed with lances and shields at the same time accompany the operations of the medicine-man in another way: at each of the critical moments just mentioned they hold the shield, extended in a horizontal position, with the left hand, and with their lances give it from below three or four powerful resounding strokes. This is the ceremony called Yáktinyu.

The removal of the aforesaid ornaments--the cotton string and the chonta pins--has been necessary for the washing of the tsantsa, a ceremony which will take place outside the house. The slayer has to march out to the place destined for it, performing together with the women the same dance, Ihiámbrama, which we know as one of the principal ceremonies from the first day of the feast. The women arrange themselves in a long column, the wife and daughter of the slayer as usual taking the foremost place. The slayer places himself at the head of them grasping his wife with his left hand and the tsantsa with his right, and holding his arm stretched out. On both sides of them the men range themselves in two rows. A sign having been given, the slayer, followed by the women, proceeds dancing to the door of the house, again returns to the interior,

and again proceeds dancing to the door, where he stops. He goes out, with the aid of the priest hangs the trophy round his neck, and continues a few steps toward the place chosen for the washing ceremony.

The slayer now takes a seat, placed on the ground for his use (Pl. XXXI). On another seat his wife seats herself, and on a third his daughter. The priest and the medicine-man take their stand close to them. Round these persons the women form into a ring, grasping each other by the hands. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony Yáktinyu within the house also take up positions ready for fresh action. The priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer and the two women, a procedure that is repeated three or four times during the following ceremonies, so that the said persons at last become narcotized, grow pale, and begin to tremble through their whole bodies. It is considered necessary that they [351] should be brought to such a state, since thus they are supposed to gain power of resisting the angry spirit during the important action which will now take place, namely, the washing of the tsantsa.

The medicine-man fixes a chonta stick in the ground in front of the slayer. The latter takes off the tsantsa from his neck and with the aid of the priest places it on the top of the stick. Close to the stick a clay pot, a round gourd containing water, and a piece of the root of a liana called sikimuro are placed on a banana leaf. The medicine man who will conduct the washing ceremonies receives the sikimuro root from the wife

of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom under her tarâchi. When the root is cut in pieces and rubbed in water it produces a white soap-like foam. It is with this soap that the tsantsa will be washed.

The medicine-man cuts the sikimuro root into small pieces. Then the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, grasps him by the wrists, and makes him pour some water into the clay pot from the water-bottle. Thereupon the priest makes the slayer take up some pieces of the sikimuro root and put them into the pot. Now the trophy itself has to be laid down in this solution. The priest again grasps the slayer by the right hand and makes him take up a little water from the pot, with which he wets the tsantsa. The same operation is immediately repeated; but now the slayer also takes up a small sikimuro piece from the pot and touches the hair of the trophy with it. Finally the slayer cautiously puts the trophy itself down into the pot, his right hand then being held by the priest and his left hand by the medicine-man.

The trophy having been laid down in the sikimuro solution with these ceremonies, the washing itself is performed by the medicine-man (Pl. XXXII). He rubs the hair with the sikimuro pieces and washes it with the soap produced by them. Having carefully soaked the trophy in the solution, he takes it up from the pot, places it on the top of the chonta stick, and continues washing it. Thereupon he begins to make it dry, shaking off the

water from it, beating his arms with the hair, and drying it with his clothes. Finally he combs the tsantsa, receiving a special comb from the daughter of the slayer, who has kept it at her bosom in the same way as the wife of the slayer had kept the sikimuro root. The hair having been arranged and combed properly, the trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta stick, where it is left for a while so as to get perfectly dry. The medicine-man grasps the hand of the slayer and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa; then he likewise grasps the hands of his wife and daughter and makes them gently touch the trophy. [352]

While all these operations have been performed, the women, led by the priestess, have again formed a circle round the principal persons, accompanying each of the most important actions--when the tsantsa was first touched by the sikimuro solution, when it was laid in the pot, when it was washed and combed, etc.--by dancing, chanting, and shaking their rattles (Pl. XXXII, 2). The refrains, slowly and monotonously sung by the women, are similar to those before sung in the house.

The operations of the medicine-man have also been accompanied by the four warriors armed with shields and lances, who at the critical moments have been striking their shields performing the Yáktinyu.

The washing of the tsantsa having been accomplished, the sikimuro solution is disposed of in the following way. The medicine-man seizes the pot with both hands and pours out the majority of its contents, as well as the foam produced by the root, on the

earth. The rest of the warriors start to strike the running water and foam furiously with their lances. The remainder of the solution, as well as the clay pot itself, is thrown away into the forest.

The men now make themselves ready to march back into the house. The slayer receives tobacco juice from the priest. Then with the aid of the latter, he takes the trophy hanging on the chonta stick and hangs it over his breast. Behind the slayer the other men, as usual, arrange themselves in a long row, all armed with their lances and guns. The priest takes his stand behind the slayer, holding his hand upon his shoulder. Some other older warriors also place themselves at the side or in front of the slayer, one of them holding the small pot containing tobacco juice, of which a dose is repeatedly given the slayer. The women have previously returned to the house and made themselves ready to receive the slayer.

The procession now starts to move forward, the slayer walking slowly and solemnly, followed by the other warriors, continually striking the hair of the trophy with his hands. An old warrior goes in front of him, holding the comb, with which the trophy had been combed after washing, before him. The comb, by having been in contact with the victim's hair, is charged with spiritual energy, and is therefore supposed to possess the power of keeping off the spirit of the slain enemy, which according to the belief of the Indians is coming to meet the slayer when he approaches the house, trying to kill

him.

The slayer stops at the door of the house. The priest helps him to take off the trophy, ties it to a lance which he quickly passes in through [353] the door, again takes out, and passes in once more, whereupon he fixes the lance in the ground at the door inside. Within the house, meanwhile, the women have arranged themselves for the dance Ihiámbrama, which the slayer again has to perform with the women in the way described before.

After the dance the priest takes the slayer round inside the house to manifest that he can move about in it without danger.

The object of this ceremony, the 'washing of the tsantsa,' is to 'wash off' the malignity still retained by the spirit of the slain enemy, and definitely to make it the slave and will-less instrument of the victor. This effect is first of all supposed to be brought about by the sikimuro solution, owing to the magical properties ascribed to the sikimuro root itself.

Again, the object of the dancing and chanting of the women while the washing of the trophy takes place, as well as of the ceremony Yáktinyu performed by the four warriors, is partly to keep off the malicious spirit, who is being mortified and definitely enslaved through the washing ceremony and is more eagerly than ever trying to revenge himself, partly to give more emphasis to the ceremony itself. The refrains chimbuyirumba--yamáyumbá, etc., belong to an ancient ceremonial language, and their exact

meaning is probably unknown to many of the Indians themselves. The different refrains refer to different details of the ceremonies going on within the ring of the dancing women--when the slayer puts the tsantsa on the top of the chonta stick, when he wets it with the magical solution, when he puts it into that solution, when the medicine-man washes it, when he dries it, etc.--and they are supposed to give more emphasis to the action taking place at the moment. That the efficacy of an action is enhanced when it is repeated in words is an idea deeply rooted in the minds of the Jibaros.

After the introductory dance Ihiámbrama has taken place, and while all are still standing in the rows in which they were arranged for this dance, manioc-beer (nihamánchi) has to be ceremonially drunk. This is not a manioc-beer of the common kind, but a special beer brewed of roasted manioc (p. 339), which is supposed to have a particular efficacy. In front of the men, arranged in two rows, five women take their stand, each holding a pininga filled with the manioc-beer. The first and the second of these women are the wife and daughter of the slayer. The slayer himself is the first to drink of the beer, stepping forth to the women and taking a sip from the pininga of each of them. Then he goes back to the other men, seizes the priest by the arm, leads him forward to the [354] women, and makes him in the same way drink a little from the dish of each woman, whereupon he follows him back to the place where he was previously

standing. The same is repeated with every one of the other warriors, who have to step forward and drink by turns, according to age and dignity, the oldest warriors who have killed many enemies and celebrated many tsantsa-feasts going first and the younger men afterwards. Only the eldest men are led to the women by the slayer, the younger men stepping forth at a sign given by him, or without a sign, in the order in which they are arranged.

With the drinking of the nihamánchi the day's official ceremonies are finished. They are followed by the usual general drinking-bout and by a common banquet. The principal persons of the feast and other men or women who have taken part in important conjurations, however, have to fast as before, abstaining particularly from eating pork. The four warriors who had performed the ceremony Yáktinyu with their shields and lances are not allowed to drink the same quantity of manioc-beer as the other men. The drink is served them, not in the usual large piningas, but in the small clay dishes mentioned before. These dishes are placed on the ground in a row and filled with beer, and the four warriors take their stand in front of them, ranged in a row. A sign being given them, they suddenly run forth, all at the same time seizing their piningas and quickly emptying their contents. The men thus quickly and simultaneously drinking the beer, the revengeful spirit is believed to have more difficulty in doing harm to any of them.

The drinking-bout is continued nearly the whole day, until all, both men and women,

get more or less drunk. In the same degree as the drink exerts its intoxicating effects, the Indians start to dance singly, and this dance goes on the whole forenoon. At first the priestess (oháha) dances alone with the tsantsa hanging on her back, chanting a song, which is in its nature an invitation to the younger men and women to start dancing. This song runs as follows:

Ohahaheitimi, 'Let us sing and dance!'

Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
sinseri natsamáma,
Himyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó. [355]
Tsingumimáma,
oháhaheita,
untuhára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Úntuhára
ivyéramáma,
wakimsihára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Shirimbi nóastaimi,
narángoá,
oháhaheita,
nayápiumau
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

In translation:
'Let us sing and dance!
May all of you come!
Arranged in a file may you come and dance! Arranged in a file may you come without feeling shame!
Well dressed,
having adjusted your tarachi,
having arranged your ornaments,
may you sing and dance!
Grasping one another by the hands
may you dance!
Like the swallow which, (sitting on a bough) is moving his body to and fro (as if he were dancing),
Like the hawk, which is making his circles in the air, may you sing and dance!'
In obedience to the exhortation of the priestess the younger Indians start to dance in couples, one man and one woman, the wife and daughter of the slayer being the most active among the women. The dancing couple wear the usual festival dress, the woman having her rattle of snail shells round the waist, and the man his drum, which he beats in time to the dance. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the

woman alternately moving to and from each other in slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum, the woman simultaneously chanting a song (Pl. XXXIII). At the same time other men accompany the dance by beating drums or playing flutes. In this way one couple after the other makes its appearance in the course of the day. Besides the priestess, other women also appear dancing alone, accompanying themselves with a chant or song. These songs generally have no reference to the feast, but the women sing whatever occurs to them in their intoxicated state. Thus it is common that at the great feasts the [356] women address their songs to certain beautiful birds of the forest, which are then personified and spoken to. Among these birds the tucan (tsukánga), the cock-of-the-rock (súmga), the paugi (máshu), and the wild turkey (kúyu) play the principal roles, and the dancing women address them, giving them all sorts of pet names, praising their brilliant plumage, their walk, etc."

1: Karsten--357-359 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 252 (1928-29)

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day the important action takes place which the Jibaros call Cuichi achiktahei matinyu, i.e. 'the slaughter of the swine'.

According to the ritual of the feast, the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine takes place during the night preceding the last day of the feast, or more strictly speaking shortly after midnight, 'when the cocks crow for the first time,' and the new day is supposed to begin. This hour is generally about 1 o'clock in the morning. Since it is, however, difficult both to slaughter a number of swine and to cook their flesh within a short time, the matter is mostly practically arranged so that the slaughtering of the animals takes place on the afternoon of the day before, whereas the cooking of the flesh is done at midnight. That the flesh should be cooked at midnight is considered absolutely necessary, for only in this case will the purpose of the whole slaughtering ceremony, the plentiful increase of the swine for the future, be attained. When the flesh of the animals killed is cooked early in the morning, at the first beginning of the new day, this will have as its consequence that henceforward there will be plenty of swine's flesh in the house of the slayer. The same holds good of the hens, which are likewise slaughtered and cooked during the first hours of the new day; but they naturally are of less importance than the swine.

As has been mentioned before, the swine to be slaughtered at a feast have been procured long before, when the first preparations for the feast began; and they are bred and fed with special care. The victor himself has supervised the rearing of these animals,

giving the proper women instructions which he himself has received directly from the wakáni, the spirit of the killed enemy materialized in the tsantsa, over whom he has acquired complete domination. The number of the swine to be slaughtered at a feast is not exactly fixed in the beginning. Generally a few [358] more are procured and bred than are supposed to be needed for the purpose. Moreover, for the propagation of the race it is necessary that at least a couple should be left alive. When the time for the great feast is approaching, the victor himself decides which of the swine are to be slaughtered and in what order it is to be done. Even respecting these details he receives advice directly from the wakáni, when, with the tsantsa hanging round his neck, he goes out into the swine yard and 'points out' the animals (kuchi anéikama). These swine having been slaughtered in due order and their flesh consumed at the feast, the few remaining ones will increase in number all the more. This is the main idea which the Jibaros connect with the ceremonial slaughter of domestic animals at their feasts.

For a feast at which I was present 11 or 12 swine had been bred, of which 9 were slaughtered, 2 during the first day of the feast and 7 on the day of the ceremonial slaughter proper.

According to the ritual, the slaughtering should be done by some of the invited guests specially selected for this purpose. The host or his household must not touch them on

any account, for then the object of the whole ceremony would be missed, inasmuch as the remaining swine would not increase. The slaughter takes place outside the house, but the animals are not all killed on the same spot but one here and another there, close to the different walls of the house. In this way the impression is produced that the swine killed and eaten at the feast are very numerous, and the effect of this will be that they will really be numerous in future.

The animals, according to an old Jibaro custom, are killed by strangulation, without the shedding of blood. A rope twisted of lianas is tied round the neck of the swine, and a strong stick is stuck under it, the strangulation being brought by about twisting it. As the animals are thus killed they are carried into the house, where some pots with hot water stand ready. The skin is scalded with the hot water, and the hair is scraped off, whereupon the stomach is opened and the flesh cut in the ordinary way.

Of the flesh the priest and priestess receive each one leg as a part of the payment for their services at the feast. The rest of it, with the exception of the heads and the bones, is kept on special shelves until midnight, when it is cooked. The head and the bones, again, are roasted and kept until the day of the departure of the guests, being then divided among them.

When darkness sets in the dance Hantsēmáta, as usual, commences [359] and is continued, with two intervals, until dawn. The first of these intervals occurs at about

10 o'clock in the evening, when the distilled manioc-wine is made definitely ready. The clay pot containing the roasted and masticated manioc substance which, during the first day of the feast, had been arranged for the distillation of the drink is moved forward and placed on the ground. The priest, proceeding with the utmost care, removes the kachini and apai leaves with which the masticated substance had been covered. Then he removes the manioc substance itself with the same care, laying it in another vessel. Finally, in the same way, he removes the apai leaves which had been laid on the shuya sticks collected in the pot, as well as the shuya sticks themselves, which together with the leaves are laid on a special large leaf. The dark-brown essence which has remained in the bottom of the pot is the manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki). The priest asks for another smaller clay pot and for a gourd, which are given him by the women. Then he pours the whole quantity of wine into the new clay vessel, and also a little into the gourd. The gourd is then placed over the mouth of the clay pot so that is [sic] covers it, and the gourd is covered with leaves. The whole thing is thereafter kept in a special place until the following morning, when the drink will be consumed.

This work being finished, the dance Hantsēmáta is continued until about 1 o'clock in the morning, when the cocks are heard crowing, and the host declares it to be the right time to cook the flesh of the swine slaughtered. Various fires have previously been

kindled in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed upon them, and the flesh is divided up among the pots. At the same time a number of hens are killed by wringing their necks; these are plucked and prepared on the spot, their flesh being cooked in special pots. While the cooking goes on the Indians dance the Hantsēmáta with more vigour than usual, all men and women taking part in it. After the flesh is boiled the pots are removed from the fires, put aside, and kept until morning. It is not until then that the flesh cooked can be eaten, namely, at the common banquet following the last ceremony of the feast, the dressing of the victor.

The dance, as usual, is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the customary bath in the river."

"The last day of the feast: Nambera shiákma, 'the feast is concluded'.

About 8 o'clock in the morning the last great ceremony is performed with the slayer, in which the priest dresses him in a festive dress, makes him break his fast, and lastly cuts his hair and paints his body black with genipa.

The beginning of the ceremony, the carrying of the seats, the bringing of the tsantsa placed on a shield, etc., is exactly the same as on the previous day when the trophy was to be washed. The slayer and the priest, accompanied by the former's wife, have especially to fetch each seat upon which these persons will sit during the ceremony, a special seat being likewise brought for the medicine-man. The priest helps the slayer to seat himself, and the slayer in his turn helps the priest. Between the seats the shield with the tsantsa has been placed. Upon the shield, besides, all those articles of clothing and ornaments are laid with which the slayer himself as well as his wife and daughter will be dressed. These articles, as far as the slayer is concerned, are the following: A new loin-cloth (itipi) with a girdle of human hair (akáchu); a broad band, the ends of which are adorned with tucan feathers and human hair, called itsimgama, to tie round the great pigtail at the neck; and two red-painted cotton strings with which the small braids at the temples are tied; a comb, timashi; ear-sticks, arúsa; pendants of

brilliant beetle wings to attach to the ear-lobes, called wauo, a crown of toucan feathers for the head, tawasa; an adornment for the back, made of the leg bones of the bird tayu, called tayukunchi. Of ornaments worn by the women the following are laid on the shield: a cotton string which the women tie around their hair for the feasts, tiringsa; the small ear-sticks of the women, arusa; the wooden pin which the women carry in the nether lip, tukúnu; a collar of beads worn round the neck, sháuka; and some broad cotton bands tied round the upper arm, patáki. [361]

Upon the shield, moreover, are placed the small pot containing tobacco juice, a small gourd containing red ochre (ipyáku), three twisted cotton strings, painted red with ochre, which are to be attached to the lips of the tsantsa, and a knife.

After all have seated themselves the priest gives tobacco juice to the slayer, to his wife and daughter, as well as to the medicine-man, and lastly partakes of it himself. The medicine-man takes the knife with the right hand and the tsantsa with the left and takes some tobacco juice with the point of the knife and coats the tsantsa with it at the neck opening. After this he cuts off a strip of the skin from the trophy, removing nearly the whole part which formed the neck. This strip is laid down on the shield. Into the holes in the lips, where the three chonta pins had been stuck before, he inserts the three cotton strings, which are thus attached to the lips. While the medicine-man is engaged in these operations the women dance round him and the other persons sit at

the shield chanting their usual incantations: chimbuyirumbá--yamáyumbá, etc. Likewise the four warriors at the critical moments strike their shields with the lances, performing the ceremony Yaktinyu.

The trophy is now ready. The priest thereafter begins his part, his first task being to dress the slayer. The priest, as usual, gives him tobacco juice through the nose and helps him to hang the tsantsa upon himself. Formerly it was customary among the Jibaros for the victor, before he took on the trophy, to swallow a small piece of the skin which the medicine-man had cut off from the neck of the trophy, 'in order to manifest that he was eating his enemy'. This custom is now seldom followed, and the piece of skin is generally simply thrown away. The priest thereupon grasps the victor by the wrist, makes him take the loin-cloth and the girdle, blows upon these pieces of clothing, and helps him to dress himself with them. The victor's hair is arranged. The priest helps him to comb it and to divide it into three pigtails--one large one behind and two smaller ones at the temples--as are customary among the Jibaros. The pigtails are tied round with the bands laid on the shield for this purpose. Then he in the same way receives the rest of the ornaments, the feather crown, the ear-sticks, etc., from the hands of the priest, who blows upon each article before he gives it to the victor. Likewise the victor paints his face red with ochre, with the assistance of the old man.

Even the wife of the victor is ceremonially dressed by the priest, receiving from his hands the female ornaments placed on the shield. [362]

During the whole of this dressing ceremony the women, conducted by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons acting.

The next thing that the victor as well as his wife and daughter have to do is to break the fast. In the women's quarters different kinds of food have previously been prepared. At a special fire leaves of the Ilex (weisa) have been cooked in a small pot. As soon as the drink is ready the priest pours a little of it into a gourd, mutters a conjuration over it and hands it to the victor, who washes his mouth with the solution, spitting it out thereafter. The priest makes the wife and daughter wash their mouths with weisa in the same way. All three are now properly purified to receive food.

Different kinds of food are brought on large banana leaves; on one leaf there is some swine's meat, fish, and manioc, as well as a little salt and himya or Indian pepper. On another banana leaf an entire boiled liver of one of the swine slaughtered has been placed. The priest gives tobacco juice to the victor through the nose and to his wife and daughter through the mouth. Then he takes cautiously, with two fingers, a small piece of swines' flesh, mutters a conjuration over it, spits upon the ground, and gives the piece to the victor, who swallows it without touching it with his fingers. The latter subsequently receives from the hand of the old man a small piece of fish, a little manioc, as well as a pinch of salt and pepper. Thereupon the priest, with the same ceremonies, gives a

little of the said dishes to the wife and daughter of the victor.

In return, the victor gives to the priest the swine's liver placed upon the other banana leaf 'as a tribute of gratitude for what the priest has done for him at the feast.' He handles the liver as carefully as possible, touching it merely with the tips of his fingers, and gives it to the priest, who bites off a mouthful of it. The rest of the liver is kept by the priest, who takes it to his home.

While these ceremonies have been going on, the women, headed by the priestess, have been dancing and chanting round the principal persons in the way described before.

The victor having been dressed and having broken his fast, the drinking of the manioc-wine, prepared with so much care, takes place. This ceremony is performed in the same way as the drinking of the manioc-beer after the washing of the trophy on the previous day. The men range in two rows from the door inward, standing according to age and dignity, the oldest ones nearest to the door. The wife of the [363] victor takes her stand in front of them in the middle of the house, holding the pot containing the wine in one hand and a small gourd in the other. The victor first steps forth to the woman and takes a draught from the gourd which she hands him. Then he goes back and fetches the priest and makes him drink in the same way from the gourd which the woman has meanwhile filled with wine. The same is repeated with each of the older warriors, who step forth by turns. After them the younger ones follow. However,

according to the ceremonial only the older warriors, who themselves have killed some enemies and celebrated a victory-feast, are allowed really to drink of the wine. The younger men certainly step forth to the woman, but only make a show of drinking from the gourd she holds forth and in reality do not touch it with their lips. They are not yet considered as real warriors, because they have not killed an enemy. Similarly, no one of the women drinks of the liquor. What is left of the manioc-wine is kept by the priest to be consumed after the meal now beginning.

After the drinking ceremony just described the general banquet takes place at which the flesh of the swine and hens slaughtered during the night is consumed. This banquet has the same character as the meal taking place every morning after the principal ceremony of the day. However, it is considered essential that both the guests and the hosts should eat much, so that the whole supply of meat that exists is consumed. The best pieces of the swine and the hens are selected for the victor. The meal is considered ominous for the future. Just as the victor now eats much flesh of swine and hens, so there will not in the future--thanks to the mysterious favourable influence of the tsantsa--be any lack of such food in his house.

After the banquet the priest distributes the remainder of the manioc-wine among all the men, even the younger ones being now allowed to drink until the whole supply is exhausted.

The final ceremony still remains to be performed with the victor, in which his hair is cut and his body painted black with genipa. The priest therein acts as before. Of the great pigtail which the victor wears behind he cuts off only the ends, but the smaller braids at the temples are completely removed. The hair cut off is laid on the shield and is kept by the victor. The hair cut on ceremonial occasions is used by the Jibaros for the preparation of the girdles of human hair which are worn by the men.

Thereupon follows the painting with genipa (sua). A small pot con-[364] taining the genipa solution is placed on the shield. The priest dips his fingers in the solution and coats the victor's whole face with it, drawing broad strokes along his breast and stomach, his back, arms, and legs. At this ceremony also the choir of the women, conducted by the priestess, assists.

Having finished these operations the priest addresses the men standing round him in much the following words: 'I have completed my task as a whuéa at this feast. What I have done now you may also do later when you grow old.'

The rest of the day is passed in the same way as during the previous days of the feast, drinking-bouts being held and solo dances being performed, in which the men and the women, as usual, make their appearance by pairs. Now just as before, the women generally accompany their dance with a sort of incantation.

When darkness sets in the last general night dance commences, which is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the usual bath in the river.

Early in the morning a small drinking-bout is held, whereupon the guests make themselves ready to depart and start to take leave of the hosts. The leave-taking has the same ceremonial character as the salutation at the arrival, each of the male guests addressing the victor and his relatives in a sort of speech. The words uttered, of course, have reference to the feast just finished; the splendid arrangements, the entertainment, the harmony prevailing, etc., are eulogized, and the guest in his turn invites the hosts to a visit. After this farewell ceremony, which lasts a long time, the men march off, accompanied by their wives and daughters.

After the great victory feast the Jibaro warrior generally undertakes a small journey, lasting a few days, just as he did after the previous smaller feasts. On this occasion he retires to the forest, where he stays alone, taking tobacco water, bathing every day in the waterfall, and sleeping at night in a small 'dreaming hut'. As soon as the black body painting had disappeared he returns home, where he finally drinks of the narcotic maikoa in order to see whether there are still enemies threatening him and whether everything will turn out happily for him in the future."

2: Stirling--51 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 866

"The first time a boy or young man kills an enemy in actual combat he is ordered by the others to cut off the head of his victim. During this process some experienced warrior stays by his side to instruct him in the proper technique. This adviser also stays by him later to instruct him in the preparation of the tsantsa. After this has been done and the boy has gone through the subsequent ceremony on the return of the successful raiding party he is considered a full-fledged warrior and now enough confidence is placed in him that he may be sent out to act as a spy."

2: Stirling--55-56 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 602

"When a man has killed an opponent he takes his head as soon as circumstances permit. It is customary with the Jivaros that a man, when struck, even though not severely wounded, will fall to the ground. Thus it frequently happens that the severing of the head is begun while the man is still alive. The removal of the head is usually accomplished with the lance blade. The skin is cut low on the chest in a V-shape just above the nipples and is peeled up until the lower part of the neck is exposed. The neck is severed, cutting through to the bone, and the head is separated from the body by cutting between two of the neck vertebrae.[56]

If the women of the defending party are able to conceal the body of a man who has been killed they do so quickly in order that his head may not be taken. When the battle is fairly equal they are sometimes able to do this.

During the fight a man is always exceedingly careful not to kill any of his blood relatives, who are likely to be present among the two combating forces if they live in the same region. The heads of women killed are taken, but not those of small children, their bodies merely being thrown aside.

As soon as the fight is over, assuming that the attacking party has been victorious, the curaka calls his men together for a discussion to decide which of the victims are relatives of the attacking party. Any member who has had a relative killed points him out. These are set aside, as tsantsas are not made from their heads out of courtesy to their relatives in the attacking force. During the heat of the fight, if someone notices

that a relative of his has been killed, he shouts to the victor: 'Do not take his head! That is a relative of mine!' However, any man who has killed an opponent and has not been able to take his head for this reason is entitled to make a tsantsa of a sloth's head, as will be described later. Captured women are divided among the successful warriors, the curaka taking his choice first.

All this having been decided upon, the victorious party mill around, shouting, and wrecking everything inside the house. They break the earthenware, kill the dogs, and rush about sticking their lances in the ground where they think the dead have been buried. (71) Any loot of value is taken. They then burn the house and uproot the plants in the garden. Meanwhile those who have taken heads string them on bark strips, wrap them in leaves or place them in a basket to be carried on their backs. The party is then ready to return home."

"71. The custom of burying the dead in the houses has resulted from missionary influence in some regions."

"They march back bearing the heads with them until at a distance where they are presumbably safe from pursuit. Here a camp and a temporary shelter is erected, usually on a sand bar in the river, and the preparation of the tsantsas is begun. This process requires approximately 20 hours; 12 hours for the preparation of the heads and 8 hours for smoking them. As soon as the camp has been made the heads are taken from the baskets and the leaf wrappings are removed.

A slit is made vertically in the back of the neck and each head is skinned as a skin is removed entire from a rabbit. Then any meat [57] adhering to the inside is scraped off and a fine piece of Chambira (72) fiber is used to fasten the eyelids shut. The skin is then reversed so that it is in its original position, the head forming a sack with the neck as the opening. Three pins of chonta wood are thrust through the lips so as to hold the mouth closed evenly and string is wrapped over them on the outside so as to insure the lips remaining in position during the succeeding operations.

A large earthenware pot is then half filled with water. In this is placed the juice from a parasitic vine called chinchipi. This mixture is brought to the point of boiling and the head placed in it for two hours. The astringent qualities of the chinchipi, according to the Jivaros, prevent the hair from falling out. At the end of this time the head, reduced to about one-third of its original size, is fished from the pot. It is well cooked, the skin very thick and of a rubbery consistency and pale yellow in color. As a rule, nothing is done to the eyes, although sometimes a large red-and-black seed is placed under each lid

" 72. Astrocaryum tucuina.

to bulge them out slightly. At this time, when the head has cooled sufficiently to handle, the slit up the back of the neck is neatly sewed up.

While the head is cooking the operator collects from the beach a series of rounded stones, scaled in size so as to fit the neck orifice during the further shrinking process. These stones are placed in the fire so as to be thoroughly heated when the head is taken from the pot. The operator then holds the head in the palm of one hand with the neck up and, picking up the largest of the heated stones with the aid of a pair of sticks, he drops it into the cavity inside the head. He then begins rotating the head rapidly in his hand so that the stone rolls around continuously inside the cavity. The hot rock give off a sizzling sound as it contacts the wet skin and a smell like that of burnt leather.

While this is going on the operator picks up another small stone with his free hand and with it smooths out the features, keeping them as nearly as possible in a natural position. As soon as the rock inside has cooled somewhat it is removed and another freshly heated one substituted, smaller rocks being used as the head continues to shrink and harden from the drying-out process. During the procedure the external smoothing of the features is continued. This goes on for 2 or 3 hours, when the head has become reduced to a minimum. From time to time hair is plucked from the head and eyebrows and eyelashes so as to keep the hair in proportion to the other features.

As a final process, hot sand is used in place of the heated stones, the head being about half filled at each application; this penetrates [58] into crevices and completes the desic-

cation of any niches within the head. About evening the shrinking process is completed. The reduction of the features makes the fine facial hairs or down very prominent. At this stage the operator singes off most of this fuzz with an improvised torch, being careful not to damage the eyebrows and eyelashes.

Frequently the base of the neck is sewed around with fiber. This being done, the crown of the head is perforated and a loop of string is passed through and attached to a small transverse piece of chonta wood on the inside. By this the head is hung from a rack about 3 feet above the fire. Here it remains all night over a smudge, being heated and smoked.

The men do not go to sleep but lie before the fire with their feet over a rack as they sleep on their beds at home, warming their feet over the fire at the same time that the heads are being dried. The smoke changes the color of the heads from yellow to black, and the final drying process makes them very hard.

As a last procedure, the heads are polished with a piece of cloth, much as one would shine a shoe.

At dawn a young man is sent to the village to report the victory and the number of tsantsas which have been prepared, whereupon the women in the jivaría prepare to receive them. For each head that has been taken a fowl is killed and a bowl prepared. The heads of the fowls are cut off and the blood is drained into each bowl. In the same

way a bowl filled with sua is prepared, one for each head.

While these preparations are being made the victorious party bearing the tsantsas are on their way home. As they approach the house each victor suspends his tsantsa around his neck. When they arrive they enter the house and each man having a tsantsa sticks his lance into the ground, butt down, the tsantsa being placed on the point of the lance. The women, wives or female relatives of the victors, then come up bearing the bowls of blood and sua and, while the men are standing in this position, the right leg of each is painted in spots with the blood from one bowl, while the left leg is similarly spotted black from the sua of the other bowl.

Following this, the men go to their various beds, the women following them with the two bowls. Here each man sits down and smears blood on his chest and arms, saying that this blood is the blood of his victims. When this has been done, all of the party drink nijimanche and partake of food.

Then begins a celebration of a very warlike nature, during which they dance around the tsantsas, brandishing lances and dramatizing the killing of the victims. During the dance the captured women stand by weeping. This is apparently such an important part of [59] the ceremony that, if no women have been captured, proxies are appointed from their own women to weep for each tsantsa. The dance continues all day, terminating at dark with much singing and drinking of fermented nijimanche. As soon as the dance is finished

each tsantsa is wrapped in cloth, placed in an old earthenware jar, and either put over the man's bed or buried in the floor of the house.

Each man who has taken a head now goes on a strict diet, which lasts for a period of about 6 months. During this time he must remain continent and is not permitted to eat any of the fierce varieties of animals, birds, or fish. During this period the victors never go out hunting alone."

2: Stirling--61-62 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"There is considerable archeological evidence that the preparation of shrunken heads was practiced in pre-Columbian times over a rather wide area in Peru. Representations of reduced trophy heads occur commonly in both ceramic and textile art and less frequently in carvings on stone and shell. Max Uhle in 1908 noted pottery vessels from Ica and Nasca decorated with paintings of head trophies, 'showing the custom of closing the mouth by means of sewing in the manner now used on the reduced heads produced by the [62] Jivaros.' (73) At Tiahuanaco there are carved stone figures of warriors carrying trophy heads. (74) Castelnau figures two effigy jars, one from La Paz and the other from Cusco, decorated in the art style of Tiahuanaco (pl. 34 c). Both of these have likenesses of reduced heads. Tello figures one in which a warrior is shown holding two shrunken heads by the hair. (75)

Tello states that figures of shrunken heads are common in the art of Chimu and reproduces from Baessler (76) two representations of a jaguar divinity shown in each instance carrying a shrunken human head by the hair. These were taken from Chimbote. He further makes the statement that this same divinity represented carrying the shrunken human head trophy occurs in the black ware of northern Peru."

73. Uhle, p. 263.
74. Tello, 1918, p. 23.
75. Tello, 1918, p. 24.
76. Baessler, pl. 60, fig. 240, and pl. 71, fig. 261."

"It is in the region of Nasca, however, where evidence of head trophies is most abundant. Tello illustrates numerous examples from various localities, some on textiles and others on pottery (77) (fig. 1).

As final evidence of the former use of head trophies in this region, Tello figures a number of actual examples recovered from graves. While these head trophies were not of the shrunken variety, there is much about them reminiscent of the present-day Jivaro tsantsa (pl. 34, d). The frontal bone was perforated with a circular hole and the head suspended by means of a cord which passed through this hole and on through the foramen magnum, where it was kept in place by being fastened to a transverse wooden peg. This method of suspension recalls the technique employed by the Jivaro, but the most striking comparison is to be found in the preparation of the lips, which were pulled forward and skewered together by means of wooden pegs in precisely the manner employed by the Jivaro. Tello states that these heads are from graves representing a late period and in several instances they are post-Columbian. It would appear that these trophy heads were either prepared by people who had formerly practiced the shrinking of heads or who had been in contact with such people. In preparing reduced heads it is necessary to skewer or sew the lips, whereas this would not be essential when the heads were mummified without removing the skull. Since there are so many representations in earlier Nasca

"77. Tello, 1918, pp. 34-53."

art showing what seem to be true reduced heads, it seems likely that the head trophy, prepared without removing the skull, in this region at least, developed out of the more highly specialized technique of shrinking heads. [63]

When Lubbock presented his article on Jivaro shrunken heads before the British Anthropological Institute in 1874 Franks called to his attention a specimen in the National Collection of London, which had been presented by the Prince Consort of 1853. This example is described as being about 1 inch in height, attached to a stick and dressed like a doll. It was said to have been discovered in a tomb in Pisco, Peru. (78)"

"78. Lubbock, 1874, pp. 29-32."

"There are several references in contemporary writings of the sixteenth century indicating that it was a common practice among the Incas to take the heads of enemies killed in warfare and to return with them as trophies. Cobo reports that the Inca, Tupac [64] Yupanqui, having learned of a revolt led by the chiefs of Collao, sent an army which successfully put down the rebellion. Cobo says:

> He flayed two of the most important chiefs and he ordered two drums made of their skins, with which and with the heads of those killed placed on lances and many prisoners to sacrifice to the sun, he returned triumphantly to his court where he celebrated these victories with many sacrifices and festivities. (79)

Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti says that---

> Inca Yupanqui in the war that his father Huiracacho had with the Chancas, fought with great ferocity, destroying the Ancohallos and Chancas and breaking through victorious up to Quiyachili, where he cut off the heads of the enemy generals Tomay Huaraca, Asto Huaraca, and Huasco Tomay Rima. ***(80)

"79. Cobo, pp. 168-169, cited in Tello, 1918, pp. 20-21.
80. Pachacuti, pp. 271-272, cited in Tello, 1918, p. 21."

Pachacuti states further that Yupanqui on returning to his city sent to his father presents consisting of heads of the Chancas and Hancoaillos.

Referring to Huayna Capac, Pachacuti says that after conquering those who were fortified at Sacsahuan---

> he enters the fort and takes out all the Carambis and Pastos and those who took part in the war, and the severed heads of the defeated which had been prepared for this purpose, he anoints with the blood of llamas and puts them on the spears. They display them, gloating over them as far as Curicancha. * * *.

The heads mentioned above were very probably of the type described by Tello from Nasca in which the skulls were not removed. There are, however, other references which indicate that shrunken heads prepared in precisely the manner now practiced by the Jivaros were still being made in various places in northwestern South America at the time of the Conquest."

"Estete, who went to Peru with Pizarro on his third voyage in 1527, describes the practice as it was then followed on the Ecuadorian coast.

> The heads of the dead they preserve with certain balsams in this manner: After removing the skull through the neck, the face, retaining its true form of nose, eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and hair, they cure and give it a certain confection by means of which they preserve the flesh or skin so that it does not rot, and the gristle of the nose is entire and the hair and eyebrows and eyelashes (remain) attacked to the flesh. So many are the baths that they give it, so as to cure and preserve it, that they make the face of a man to be wasted and shrunken and become quite small, much more so even than that of a newborn child. After having reduced it to a small size, they guard it in some small chests that they have in the temple, and it lasts so many years without rotting that the Indians say it lasts for two or three ages. Certainly it is a thing to admire, and one never seen before. And so it seemed to us when we[65] first saw it, holding it to be certain that they were faces of a race of dwarfs that had lived in the country, until we learned the truth of the matter. (81)

Zárate, who went to Peru in 1543, wrote in 1555 concerning the natives of Pasao (82)

"81. Estete, p. 317.

82. Cape Pasado is on the coast of the provinces of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Carágues."

near the Equator:

> In some temples, especially in the towns that they call of Pasao, on all the posts of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so well cured that they did not smell badly and fastened to the posts many heads of Indians that had been shrunken with a certain decoction until only the size of a fist. (83)

Figueroa, writing of the Itucalis of the Mainas provinces in 1665, states that when they have taken a head they insert a palm husk in an incision on the bridge of the nose, which forms an excrescence when it heals and thus indicates the number of heads each individual has to his credit. (84) Regarding the preparation of the heads he says:

> The first process they perform on the heads they bring with them, is to boil them, and having stripped the skin from the head and visage, it is stuffed with straw and dried in the smoke, thus forming a mask. (85)"

"83. Zarate, 1555, p. 465.

84. Juan de Salinas evidently refers to this mutilation of the nose, when in 1557 he encountered the Mainas and states that they were made striking by a 'device of the nose, not seen before.'

85. Skinner, 1805, p. 289."

"More details from Figueroa are given in the chapter on warfare. It is interesting to note that boiling, the most essential process in connection with head shrinking, is here mentioned for the first time, and as far as the writer is aware, is not mentioned again in any account until the present century.

In 1692 Father Lucero was with General Vaca when they captured 21 Jivaros who were surprised 'while they were celebrating with loud shouting, a solemn drunken feast because of having killed two famous wizards whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering.' (86)

Saffray, while traveling among the Cuans and Caimanes Indians on the Atrato River in northwestern Colombia in 1868, received from an old Indian by the name of Comagré the following information:

> When a chief dies his body is placed above a slow fire on a frame, until completely desiccated, then it is wrapped in cotton cloth decorated with gold, pearls, and jewels, and it is religiously cared for in a separate room. Of the common people, they preserve only the head. Comagré showed me one of these mummified heads. The bones had been taken out, and it had been dried in such a manner

"86. Chantre y Herrera, p. 305."

> that the skin, having been contracted in a uniform manner, [66] remained a perfect reproduction of the original, reduced to almost one-sixth of its original size, without wrinkles and without deformation of the features.

Saffray reproduces a crude drawing of this head which seems to be identical with the Jivaro tsantsa as it even has the string tassels depending from the lips. It seems possible to the present writer that this specimen may have been imported from the Jivaros, but if the information is correct as quoted above it is of unusual interest. (87)

Some other tribes employ methods of preserving the bodies of their enemies that suggest the technique of the Jivaros. Mendoza, speaking of the Popayan of southern Colombia, says:

> The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, are filled with coarse ashes and they have attached them to the walls of their houses like people. (88)

Lorente, referring to the pre-Columbian Huancas of the Jauja Valley, Peru, says that these natives skinned their prisoners and with these skins, which they filled with ashes, made victory trophies which they exhibited in their temples. (89)

"87. Saffray, 1873, p. 103.
88. Colección Documentos Inéditos, vol. V, 1866, p. 489.
89. Lorente, 1860, p. 82."

At the time of the Conquest similar practices were followed as far north as the Panuco River in Mexico. In the Huastec country the Conquistadores on visiting a native temple found that the heads of their captured companions had been skinned and tanned and then placed on the walls of the structure. It was a common practice in Mexico to skin the heads of sacrificial victims and exhibit them on poles. These heads were described by the Spaniards as being dried, wrinkled, and shrunk to the size of the heads of small children. (90)

The stone monuments at Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa in Guatemala display numerous carvings depicting warriors holding human trophy heads which apparently have been reduced. There are many indications that Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa was subjected to Nahuatl influence. Fowler (91) describes the practice of head shrinking reputed to be carried on by Indians in the interior of British Honduras. The account, however, emanated from Father Pozzi, who had previously spent a number of years in the Jivaro country, and it is obvious that his descriptions apply to the Jivaros of Ecuador and not to any Honduran tribe."

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90. Thompson, 1933, pp. 124-125.
91. Fowler, 1879, p. 16."

"Several of the sixteenth century travelers in the Jivaro country refer to the practice of these Indians of taking heads and dancing with them, but the first to attempt a description of the actual process of their preparation was Prieto, writing in 1815. Prieto, who made an expedition in search of the ruins of the ancient city of Logroño, [67] became well acquainted with the Jivaro Indians. Concerning the preparation of shrunken heads, he says:

> * * * they committed atrocities, taking the heads of many infidels in order to dance with them, which was done in this manner: When they have killed the infidel, they cut off his head from his shoulders and take out the interior, leaving only the neck, the hair, nostrils and ears; then they introduce hot stones, and thus keep it 20, 30 or more years in some earthenware jars, from which annually they take out many heads in order to dance with them and celebrate for 15 days the anniversary of their victories, preparing beforehand with many foods and beverages. (92)

Among the writers of the early part of the last half of the nineteenth century, the first to give a brief description of Jivaro tsantsas was Villavicencio. Writing in 1858, he says

"92. Prieto, in Compte, 1885, p. 65."

2: Stirling--66-67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

In their wars these Jivaros are accustomed to cut off the heads of their enemies and to carry them home with them in order to have a celebration with the skin of the face and scalp which they remove intact and dry by moulding it with hot stones; they strip the long hair from their enemies in order to make braids and tie them to their naked waist, for the purpose of showing their courage and to terrify the enemy. (93)"

"93. Villavicencio, 1858, p. 361."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 175, 727

"Europeans first became acquainted with Jivaro shrunken heads in 1862 when Maiz presented before the Anthropological Society of Paris an example which had been sent to him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. The specimen was said to have been found in an old tomb located in the territory between the Chinchipe and Pastaza Rivers. The repost of this meeting of the society is interesting as it gives a very good idea of the type of speculation concerning tsantsas which has characterized discussion on the subject even among scientific bodies. In describing the example, Maiz said:

> Simple inspection of this head makes it clear that these Indians were very skillful in the art of taxidermy. They have removed in a single piece all of the skin of the face and of the cranium and of the upper part of the neck; then they have desiccated it with so much skill that it shrank uniformly so that the head became in volume the size of that of a newborn child, still preserving perfectly all of the contours and even small features of the face.(94)

After expressing the opinion that Peruvian mummies were often preserved naturally by burying them in the dry sands of Peru, he quotes Dr. Lorente's opinion that the Indians 'make in the hot sands of their countries some pits where the corpses are buried for some time in order to be exhumed later.'

"94. Moreno-Maiz, 1862, pp. 185-188."

2: Stirling--67 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 175, 727

He then misquotes Villavicencio as saying that---

The skin is dissected and separated from the bone and put on molds of earth, where it is baked and dried at a high temperature."

2: Stirling--68 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 175, 727

"At the conclusion of Dr. Maiz's presentation different members gave opinions on the procedure of preservation. M. de Quatrefages thought that some pieces of skin had been removed and that thus was explained the small size of the head. M. Broca remarked that this explanation could not hold because the slightest trace of an incision would be visible on the surface of the skin. M. Trelat believed that an exterior mold must have been employed, desiccation in the free air or by artificial heat never permitting such perfect preservation of form. M. Gratiolet said that chemical action had been necessary, without which the dermestes would have invaded and destroyed the skin at the end of a short time.

The following year, 1863, Bollaert described a tsantsa which had been secured by José Felix Barriero and sent to Bollaert in 1860. Barriero sent a letter with the specimen in which he briefly described the process of preparation as follows:

> After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims, a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process. (95)"

"95. Barriero, in Ballaert, 1863a, p. 112."

"Barriero's description of the ceremonies carried on in connection with obtaining the tsantsa are more complete than his description of the method of preparation. Bollaert apparently was not convinced of the accuracy of Barriero's description, for he says later:

> A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mold of clay. (96)

In the same year, 1863, Merritt presented two examples before the American Ethnological Society of New York, which with eight others had been obtained in the vicinity of Macas. Merritt says:

"96. Bollaert, 1863a, pp. 114-115."

There is a tradition among the Indians, that these heads were originally taken from 'Huacas' (97) belonging to their ancestors, many generations ago, and that since they have been kept in their huts, preserved with great veneration, and jealously guarded as household divinities.

How these heads in question were contracted to such a diminutive size, I can only repeat rumors; one is, that they were contracted by hot stones or pebbles, which were put into the cavity of the head after bones were removed; another is, that they were contracted by a process which occupied a year. (98)

After quoting from Bollaert's article, he describes in detail the specimens in his possession. In this account Merritt expresses the opinion that the tassels depending from the lips of the tsantsas may have some connection with the old Quipu records of Peru. (99)

"97. Tombs. It is evident that the practice of burying trophy heads with their owners was commonly practiced in ancient Peru as described earlier in this chapter. The Jivaros appear now to have abandoned the custom. If Karsten is correct regarding the motives in preparing tsantsas this would seem to indicate a different attitude in earlier times.

98. Merritt, 1863, p. 13.

99. Merritt, 1863, pp. 14-16."

2: Stirling--68-69 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-3
116, 175, 727

From this time on, descriptions are so numerous that it would be impracticable to mention them all. Both Rivet and Saville give lengthy bibliographies of the literature referring to shrunken heads, where most of the later references may be found.(1)"

"1. Rivet, 1907; Saville, 1929."

2: Stirling--72 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

"When during a raid an individual is killed who happens to be related to a member of the opposite party, Jivaro custom does not permit that a tsantsa be made of the victim's head. It also happens that a Jivaro will sometimes succeed in killing an enemy but will be compelled to retreat before he has had the opportunity of taking his victim's head. Sometimes during the heat of a battle the friends of slain Jivaros have an opportunity of concealing the bodies or taking them away before the enemy can secure them. In such instances the Jivaro victor later prepares a tsantsa from the head of a sloth, which serves as a substitute (pl. 33). There is a reference by Barriero which seems to refer to this practice:

> If pressed by the enemy so that the Jivaro does not have time to cut off the head of his dead enemy, the traditional ceremony takes place anyway and the tsantsa is replaced by the head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy. (3)

This must have referred to the sloth and Barriero probably misunderstood his informant."

"3. Barriero, in Bollaert, 1863a, p.113."

"In the origin myth of the Jivaros, Uñushi, the sloth, is represented as the first Jivaro and, when the original blood revenge feud took place, the sons of Mika and Ahimbi cut off Uñushi's head and from it made the first tsantsa. (4)

The writer had an opportunity of witnessing a portion of a ceremony of this nature at the jivaría of Cahaka on the lower Upano River. Several years previously one of the wives of Nakata, a brother of Cahaka, was persuaded by a man of the Achuales tribe by the name of Ungucha to run away with him. Nakata followed them to Ungucha's jivaría, where he succeeded in killing Ungucha and recapturing his wife, whom he brought back with him. As she had been an accomplice in the affair, he cut off her ears and her nose and then with a machete cut off both her hands before the other women in the jivaría as an example to them, and he threw the body into the river.

Ungucha was a relative of Nakata, for which reason his head was not taken at the time of his assassination. After several years had elapsed Nakata killed a sloth and the ceremony was performed in Cahaka's jivaría. In general, the ceremony is very similar to the regular tsantsa feast, except that the head is shrunk in the jivaría [73] and the ceremony of leg painting is omitted. In this instance the sloth was prepared during the night in Cahaka's house, where it was hung from a pole. A large number of visitors were

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"4. See p. 128."

present, representing numerous jivarías in the vicinity, including some who had been enemies as a result of the killing of Ungucha. Enough time had elapsed that these had temporarily at least become friends.

The head was hung over the fire from a lance, the butt of which was planted diagonally in the ground. The ceremony lasted for 4 days until the food and nijimanche was exhausted. Cahaka, as head of the household, played the large wooden drum, while Nakata played the small drum or tambo. At the conclusion of the ceremony the head was placed in a closed basket and hung from the rafters of the house. Shortly afterwards the writer secured this head (pl. 33)."

2: Stirling--75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 778

"To understand the motives behind the preparation of tsantsas it is necessary to realize that the tsantsa possesses tsarutama or magical power in much the same manner as did the prepared scalps or the sacred masks of the North American Indians. Properly cared for, they were agents for the good of the possessors. Improperly treated, they were powerful factors for misfortune. Anguasha, the famous head hunter of the Yaupe, explained that the tsantsa was a trophy which indicated that the maker had properly fulfilled the obligation to his lineage in taking blood revenge and therefore possessing it would act for his good fortune as it would please the spirits of his ancestors."

2: Stirling--75-76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 769

"The ceremonies held with the tsantsas are in the nature of an exhibition for the benefit of departed relatives in order to show that the Jivaros are fulfilling their obligations of blood revenge. The severed head, previous to its preparation as a tsantsa, is looked upon as inert and impotent. The ceremonies and processes attendant upon the preparation of the head, transforming it into a tsantsa, charge it with magical powers so that it becomes animated with tsarutama, much in the same manner as ceremonial masks and other paraphernalia are vitalized in the pueblo area of the American Southwest. (6) [76] Because of this fact, it is necessary in making a tsantsa to follow these rituals carefully and to continue to comply with certain observances, which link the tsantsa with its maker on the one hand and his lineage on the other, for a stated period of time following the preparation.

Most of the early tsantsas that came to the attention of Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century were looted from burial sepulchers of the Jivaros. There is no doubt that in former times it was the custom to bury the tsantsa trophies with the warrior who had prepared them, and this is probably done in some sections of the Jivaro country at the present time. It seems very improbable that a Jivaro would desire to have the bottled-up ghosts of his enemies interred with him in the same tomb. The preparation

"6. This interpretation differs considerably from that of Karsten, who says that the principal reason for the preparation of the tsantsas is to paralyze the spirit of the dead enemy attached to the head so that it cannot escape and take revenge upon the murderer."

of a tsantsa is considered a definite insult to the enemy. Because the ghosts of relatives are feared more than those of enemies, tsantsas are never made of relatives killed in fights or battles."

2: Stirling--76 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 439

"In concluding this discussion of shrunken heads, a word should be said concerning counterfeit tsantsas. It is probably safe to say that the majority of specimens now in private collections, and even in many scientific museums, are of fraudulent origin. Formerly it was not easy to induce the Jivaros to part with their tsantsas. However, in recent years, the more or less standard price of a gun for a head became established between traders and the Indians. To discourage this traffic, both the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Governments have passed laws prohibiting their exportation. Nevertheless, as might be expected, a good many are smuggled out. The majority of the heads which leave the country, however, were never in the hands of the Jivaros but were prepared by various individuals from the bodies of unclaimed paupers to supply the constant demand of tourists and travelers."

2: Stirling--76-77 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 439, 727

"The trade of manufacturing imitation tsantsas has been pursued for at least 75 years at various places in Ecuador, in Colombia, and in Panama. The first reference to this profitable form of taxidermy is by Philippi, (7) in 1872, who calls attention to the activities of a white man living on the borders of the Jivaro country. This man, having learned the method of preparation from the Indians, had made and sold two such heads which Philippi had seen. Philippi's description and illustrations of an acknowledged fraudulent specimen shows the difficulty, in some cases, where Jivaro techniques are closely followed, of detecting spurious examples. [77]

Ambrosetti, (8) in 1903, published another less clever imitation, and Rivet, (9) who discusses this matter at some length, illustrates an example which he secured in Quito, made by a student in Loja."

"7. Philippi, 1872b, p. 343.
8. Ambrosetti, 1903, pp. 519-523, pl. IV.
9. Rivet, 1908, pl. I, fig. 1."

"In most instances it is not difficult to detect the frauds. The Jivaros have a somewhat stereotyped method of distorting the features by pulling out the lips and spreading the nostrils, producing a false prognathism and giving the impression of a retreating chin. The forehead is compressed laterally and at the level of the temples there are two depressions, probably resulting from the technique of grasping the head at these points while preparing it. Most of the counterfeit heads reproduce the features much more naturally than the genuine specimens, preserving the aspect of the features more nearly as they were in life.

Many of the false specimens do not have the facial down removed, nor are they polished. The Jivaros usually singe off this fine hair and polish the skin. Likewise, some of the counterfeiters fail to blacken the skin. This black color is superficial, however, and in old or worn specimens the yellow color of the skin is often exposed.

On most of the genuine examples there is a median posterior incision extending from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed. Sometimes there are two lateral cuts going up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and Rivet (12) describes

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"12. Rivet, 1908, p.80."

one in which the posterior incision does not disjoin the cervical section but is in the form of an occipital buttonhole.

The nature of these incisions is not a safe criterion in judging specimens, as similar techniques are employed by the counterfeiters. However, the method of sewing the incision may often tell the tale. [78] The counterfeiter usually does a more skillful job of sewing than the Jivaro, having finer tools, and generally uses a much finer fiber than the Indians, or he may even substitute thread.

The Jivaros invariably pierce the crown of the head with a circular hole through which the suspension cord is passed. Sometimes there are two such holes placed along the median line of the crown. The counterfeiter usually omits these perforations.

The Jivaro specimens likewise have the lips perforated vertically; as a rule with three or four holes made by passing through the chonta pins to prevent the mouth from warping during preparation. Sometimes the pins remain in place with cotton cord lashings; sometimes they are removed and the lips tied together with cotton strings, often with long ornamental pendant tassels. During the present century, in order to enhance the 'showiness' of their products, it has become the frequent practice of counterfeiters to decorate their tsantsas with feather headdresses and similar ornaments, a practice never followed by the Jivaros. The only decorations ever seen on genuine tsantsas are the lip cords, which sometimes have a few beetle wings or feathers attached, and occasionally small toucan feathers are attached to miniature tubes in the ear lobes, but not through the rims of the

ears as is done by one counterfeiter.

Occasionally, as Up de Graff has indicated, counterfeiters shrink an entire body after the fashion of a tsantsa. Most of these specimens have evidently originated in Panama. Von Hassel states that a tribe exists in the region of the Cusicuari, Rio Negro, and Orinoco who reduce entire bodies in this manner. However, if his information in this regard is no more accurate than it was when he recorded that the Aguarunas reduce human heads to a fifth their size, more or less with hot stones and the smoke of a bonfire of the roots of certain palms, saying, 'This smoke, which has the same quality as alum, contracts and reduces the head to the size they desire', we may well discount the former statement.

Rivet encountered an Ecuadorian who told him that in exchange for an old gun he had persuaded a Jivaro to shrink an entire body for him. This brings up a final type of counterfeiting most difficult of all to detect, namely, occasional shrunken heads prepared by the Jivaros for trade or to order, which are not actually tsantsas at all."

3: Simson--387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Pintuc Indians do not come under the Spanish denomination of 'bravos;' they offer no violence to strangers of gentle purpose, but they ally with their half-brothers, the Canelos and Sarayacu Indians against the more aggressive Jívaros on the right bank of the Pastassa, and near the Morona, or Paute. They have a most perfect and finished method of scalping, by which the victim's head is reduced to the size of a moderately large orange, maintaining tolerably well all the features. Only the lips, point of the nose, and all the thicker fleshy portions, of course acquire too much prominence. To produce these ghastly objects, the skin is cut round the base of the neck, and the entire covering of the skull removed in one piece. This is then dried gradually by means of hot stones placed inside it, until the boneless head shrinks to the required size. They also wear their slain enemies' hair in long plaits round the waist."

"A victory on the battlefield is for these Upper Amazon Indians the signal for the most hideous, the most significant of all their rites to be begun. On that never-to-be-forgotten day the whole scene was enacted before our eyes, an experience which it has, perhaps, never been the lot of civilized beings to undergo before or since. That is a sweeping statement, and at the best I am only assuming the probable, but I can only say that neither I nor my fellow explorers were ever able to discover, directly or by hearsay, that this ghastly performance was ever witnessed by any other white men. Certain it is that in all my conversations with prospectors and rubber-hunters, I have never heard of any but the most conflicting conjectures as to the mode of preparation of the Jívaro heads.

The comparatively little that has been written about the process through which they pass--and they are relics of war which are unique in all the world--has been invariably, as far as my study of the question goes, based on the hearsay evidence, often incorrect in essential details, of the white or half-caste planters or priests whose lives are spent at stations situated on the fringe of the real Jívaro head-hunters' country, the basins of the Marañon and Santiago within a radius of some three hundred miles from Borja. [273]

It would seem that this rite is so closely guarded a secret, by reason of the inter-racial hatred between white man and brown man, and the obvious natural obstacles in the way of him who would explore these regions, that the ceremony is destined to be observed only by a very few. It must indeed be a strange set of cirsumstances, in which

chance must play no small part, which will combine to show a white man what we were compelled to observe.

Thus my account of the events of that day constitutes, if I may presume to say so, an authentic description of a process which has baffled many a commentator on the subject."

4: Up de Graff--273 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"Those of the Huambizas, then, who had been fortunate enough to escape from the spears of the raiders had fled to the shelter of the largest of the little group of houses which had been attacked. There cannot have been more than ten or fifteen of them shut up within its walls, but the Aguarunas had not the spirit to attack them now that they were aroused. That is the Jívaro way.

The enemy having left their dead and dying behind them in their flight, the victors dashed forward to seize the most highly treasured of the spoils of battle--the heads of the enemy slain. With stone-axes and split bamboo knives, sharpened clam-shells (rubbed to a keen edge on sand-stone), and chonta-wood machetes, they went from corpse to corpse, gathering and stringing their gruesome emblems of victory."

4: Up de Graff--273-274 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"I must mention that no delicate considerations of sex are allowed to interfere with these rites; a woman who fights, or a woman who refuses to accompany the victorious war-party to their homes and serve a new master, exposes herself by the acknowledged code of warfare among these people to the risk of suffering the same fate as her men-folk. Indeed I myself happened to watch [274] the fate of a Huambiza woman who had fallen in the fight wounded by three spears. Little did we imagine what the ultimate issue might prove to be, when we attacked that morning.

The woman lay where she had been borne down by the spear-thrusts. The Aguarunas, eager to collect her head, went to work while she was still alive, though powerless to protect herself. While one wrenched at her head another held her to the ground, and yet another hacked at her neck with his stone-axe. Finally I was called upon to lend my machete, a far better implement for the work in hand. This was truly an act of mercy, to put the poor creature out of her misery as soon as possible. It was a truly hideous spectacle. But it must be remembered that had we attempted interference, we were but five in a horde of fiends, crazed by blood and lust. When at last the head was severed, it was strung with the one other which had fallen to the lot of our party."

4: Up de Graff--274-275 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"Stringing of the heads is in itself an art, the object of which is to facilitate their transportation. They are strung on thin lengths of pliable bark stripped from some nearby sapling, which make a first-rate substitute for the hempen cord of civilization. These bark-ropes are passed through the mouth and out at the neck.

The party then set to work to loot the houses from which the occupants had been driven. Nothing escaped the raiders. I was there in one of the houses with them, and well remember the motley collection of things that we found. There were Peruvian coins, china cups and saucers, a butcher's knife, a number of red bandana handkerchiefs, all evidently looted from Barranca, a Jívaro hand-loom with a half-finished piece of cloth on it, an iron spear-head, and a number of small Jívaro household objects which are to be found in any settlement. Nothing was too small to escape the Aguarunas' atten[275] tion. They cleaned out the house from end to end, every man keeping for himself all he could lay hands on. Then they fired the roof, and in a moment the whole house was ablaze, the great heat roasting the decapitated body of the Huambiza woman."

4: Up de Graff--275 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727

"It will be remembered that a party of Antipas had separated from the main body, as agreed between the Indians before the attack, to storm another group of hutments further up the creek. It was at this moment, then, that we decided among ourselves to push on after them and see how they had fared. We had not gone more than a few yards when we were met by the same party returning, laden with dripping heads. No less than nine they brought; some tied in pairs by their own hair and slung round the neck of one of their conquerors, others slung with bark-ropes. This gruesome procession was led by a short, fat savage; laden with his share of the spoils, grinning in triumph, with his teeth stained black and filed to a point, his thick-set shoulders spattered with the blood of his victims, he was a diabolical-looking creature."

4: Up de Graff--275 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 727

"It seems superfluous to mention that these people, like all cowards, are absolutely devoid of pity. However, they do not indulge in the worst habit of the old North American Indians, that of torturing their prisoners."

4: Up de Graff--276-282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The ceremony commenced with the placing of the heads in the sand, face upwards; each naked warrior in turn seated himself on one of them and the medicine men, of which there were two with the party, commenced to chew tobacco (borrowed from me, I remember). Approaching from behind, one of them took a half-Nelson on the seated warrior, drew his head back, took his nostrils in his mouth, and forced a quantity of tobacco juice up his nose. This strange procedure is not without explanation; it is the local equivalent to an anti-toxin against the baneful influence of the enemy's medicine man, a form of protection which the natives firmly believe makes them immune from the disasters and plagues to which their foes can subject them. (I may mention that my firm resolution to take a personal part in the ceremonies faded before the nauseous picture of this, the first degree of that wild brotherhood. Jack aptly termed this performance 'The Bull's Eye Degree.') The effect which this treatment had on the warriors was [277] at once exhilirating and overwhelming--the former on account of their unshakeable faith in its merits, the latter because of its natural physical results.

Recovered from their choking and gasping, the privileged few who had merited this nicotinous inoculation by reason of their having participated in the killing of the victims and dipped their spears in their blood, proceeded to peel the heads.

This is done by carefully parting the hair straight down from the crown to the base of the skull, slitting the skin down the line formed by the parting, hard on to the bone of the skull; turning it back on both sides, and peeling it from the bony structure just as a

stocking is drawn from the foot. At the eyes, ears, and nose, some cutting is necessary, after which the flesh and muscles come off with the skin, leaving the skull clean and naked but for the eyes and teeth.

The incision or slit from the crown to the base of the neck, was then sewn together again, with a bamboo needle and palm-leaf fibre (the chambira from which the hammocks, ropes, fish-lines and nets are made), leaving untouched for the moment the opening at the neck. The lips were skewered with three bamboo splinters, each about two and a half inches long and lashed together with strands of cotton fibre, which held them tightly closed, in the same manner as the sheets of a sailing boat are fastened to the cleats on the deck; tassels being afterwards formed by the frayed ends of the fibre. The eyeholes were closed by drawing down the upper eyelashes. The eyebrows were held from falling by small pegs or props of bamboo, vertically set between the outer rim of the eyelashes (thus effectively holding them in place) and the shoulders of the corresponding eyebrows. The holes of the nose and ears were temporarily plugged with cotton. [278]

The purpose of these several operations was to hold the features of the face in position and to seal the openings, so that the head could again be expanded to its normal proportions by filling it with hot sand and thus permit an even contraction of the whole in the further process of curing. The meat at the base of the neck was 'basted' with chambira, to prevent its wearing and wasting away by handling in the succeeding operations.

In the meantime, several large fires had been kindled and numerous earthenware crocks

filled with water were placed in readiness.

A description at this point of the ease with which the Jívaros start a fire by means of their primitive methods may be of interest.

A hard-wood stick is made to revolve at high speed by means of a bow whose string is wrapped about it, its lower end resting on a piece of pith. The necessary pressure on the stick is obtained by bearing on a flat stone which fits on the upper end of the stick, held in position by means of a small round hole which serves as a socket. The pressure of the stick on the pith sets up sufficient friction to cause the latter to smoulder, when it is easily blown into a flame. This simple equipment is packed with every party as we carry matches. But also, on short trips, the Jívaros carry with them a smouldering hornet's nest, at the end of the branch on which it was originally built, which serves the double purpose of a kindler and of a protection against the swarming myriads of sand-flies and gnats which infest the shores of some rivers during the summer months.

The crocks which are used on these occasions have been made with the utmost care by the medicine men in person, far removed from all human eyes and under auspicious lunar conditions; they are brought carefully [279] wrapped in palm-leaves to ensure the impossibility of their being either touched or seen by any unauthorized person until the moment for the ceremony arrives. For every head there is one of these red, baked clay, conical pots, some eighteen inches in diameter by eighteen inches deep; the apex of the cone rests on the earth, the sides being supported by stones; in this way the fire has

ample access to the greatest possible surface.

The pots were filled with cold water, straight from the river, and the boneless heads filled with sand placed in them. Within half an hour, the water had been brought to a boiling-point. This was the critical moment. The heads must be removed before the water actually boils, to prevent the softening of the flesh and the scalding of the roots of the hair, which would cause it to drop out. The heads, on being removed were found to have shrunk to about one-third of their original size. The water, I noticed, was covered with a yellow grease similar to that which forms when other meats are cooked.

The pots were cast away into the river, too holy to be put to any further use, and the fires were heaped up with fresh logs, to heat the sand on which they stood. For henceforth the sand played an important part in the proceedings.

Meanwhile, those who had been treated, or initiated by the medicine men, namely the participants in the actual kill, were privileged to hold a special ceremony of their own; the naked skulls were taken off, and each group retired a short distance to hold the sacred rites which follow the boiling of the flesh-heads. We were not allowed to participate, as is to be supposed, and furthermore, the temper of the Indians at that particular moment was not conducive to too close an observation of their doings on our part; we were, indeed, convinced by this time of the very real desire which shone through [280] the eyes of our brothers-in-arms to add five more heads, as well as five rifles and a canoe-load of presents, to the day's booty. It would appear that some form of muttered

parley took place, a serious business in comparison with the wild caperings which follow when the skulls are brought back to the main party. The interpretation of these rites was undiscoverable by reason of the fact that the Chief, the sole interpreter among the Jívaros, was far too busily occupied with an attempt to persuade me of the absolute necessity of our going down-stream not more than one white man in any single canoe! The childlike simplicity of these people's natures, the blatant transparency of their ruses, is only another proof of their close proximity to animals.

So the skulls were brought back and stuck on spear-heads, the spears standing upright in the ground, and around them took place a dance, celebrated by all and sundry with wild yells, and the throwing of spears across the skulls from one warrior to another. We had to play our part, leaping and shooting our rifles into the air--but not more than two of us at a time exposed ourselves to the obvious risk of some accidental spear-thrust! With all of us in the ring together, the Indians would have made short work of the party.

By now hot sand had been prepared in large quantities. This was poured into the heads at the neck-opening and while thus filled they were ironed with hot stones picked up with the aid of palm-leaves. This process, which began that day on the sand-bar, is continued in the ordinary way for some forty-eight hours until the skin is smooth and hard and as tough as tanned leather, the whole head gradually shrinking to the size of a large orange. The resemblance to the living man is extraordinary. Indeed, the reduced heads,

when skillfully made, are exact miniatures of their former selves. [281] Every feature, hair, and scar is retained intact, and even the expression is not always lost. When perfected, they are hung in the smoke of a fire to preserve them from the depredations of the multitudinous insects which would attack and demolish them. As I noticed that afternoon, however, the preservation of the features in their former shape is not always the object of those who prepare them; some of the Aguarunas were to be seen deliberately distorting them while they were still flexible, as if in mockery of their enemies. They took a particular pleasure in distending the mouth, which accounts for the expression to be seen on many Jívaro heads.

Into the late afternoon the careful preparation of the heads continued. By this time, all were working with a will to cure them, so that a start down-stream could be made that evening. Time and again the cool greasy sand was poured from the half-dried heads, giving out the odour of an evening meal, only to be refilled with a fresh hot supply. Flat stones were always in the fires, being heated for the constant ironing to which the faces were subjected; they slid easily over the skin, like a flat-iron on linen, due to the natural oil which exuded from the contracting pores.

Hot coarse pebbles were substituted for sand in the final process, the heads being constantly tilted from side to side to prevent them from burning the meat, as dice are shaken in a box. The small amount of oil still exuding on the face was now wiped away with fresh cotton as fast as it appeared and the operation continued until all the fat and

frease [sic] was 'fried out' of the head when it was considered 'cured' or mummified, shrunk to the last diminutive size attainable.

Even the captive children were playing round the fires, innocent of the hideous import to them of this, the most tragic moment of their lives. Little did they [282] realize that in a few years' time they would themselves be called upon to kill and behead their own kin. Already they were friends with their captors into whose family they had been merged forever.

Thus ended a day unique, I verily believe, in the history of exploration."

4: Up de Graff--282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 595

"I will add a few remarks concerning the ultimate fate of the trophies whose early history I have told.

The Jívaros never take adult male prisoners, but the women and children who are caught in the periodical raids are given the same standing in the victorious tribe as those who are born into it. Polygamy is forced on the Jívaro peoples by the constant drain on the male population caused by the incessant inter-tribal warfare. But for polygamy they would soon become extinct."

4: Up de Graff--282-283 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"What the scalp is to the North American Indian, the battle-standard to the civilized warrior, the heads are to the Jívaro. But the comparison is only true up to a point. For whereas the glory of the battle-standard and the scalp is undying, that of the Jívaro heads endures only to the end of the great Festival of Rejoicing with which they are honoured on the return of the war-party to their homes

During the absence of the warriors their women have made ready vast quantities of giamanchi. This preparation contains just enough alcohol to inebriate when taken in enormous quantities, as the savages do on these occasions. Unlike civilized intoxicants its only action is stupefying. The tom-toms are brought out, and men and women throw themselves into the business of dancing and drinking themselves to sleep. The rhythmic beats of the drums resound through the woods for many a long hour. Only the soporific effect of the liquor suffices to bring the orgy to an end.

Afterwards the heads are shorn of their hair, which [283] is converted into permanent trophies in the form of belts to be worn round the loin-cloths of their distinguished owners in battle or at the feast. The possession of such a trophy singles a man out for special regard. But the heads themselves have now lost their value, as surely as pearls which have died. It is curious that the fanatical jealousy with which they are guarded up to the time of the festival should give place to that complete indifference which allows them to be thrown to the children as playthings and finally lost in river or swamp."

"We were by this time ourselves the object of many a greedy pair of eyes. Those battle-heated savages were in a nasty temper. They were becoming bolder every minute, approaching in groups of five or six in an attempt to borrow our rifles and not always remembering to leave their spears behind them even then. One who was too persistent in his desire to disarm Jack received the butt-end of his Winchester full in his chest, an incident that did not tend to smooth matters over. We were rapidly losing our self-control, much as we wanted to avoid another massacre. There was a lull in the trouble however, when Tuhuimpui came up to pow-wow, still insisting that he 'thought it would be as well if each of us captained a Jívaro dugout, at intervals throughout the long column, to inspire his men with confidence. Our prestige was very great, our power greater. We could save them [286] from disaster, should the Huambizas give chase. We should be a tower of strength to them in the gathering darkness.' All this was highly complimentary, but of course merely served to conceal the crafty designs of that smooth-tongued old scoundrel who coveted our heads and our outfit.

If we were to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations we must walk carefully. With infinite patience, then, through a conversation lasting, perhaps, a quarter of an hour, I persuaded Tuhuimpui that the most we could do would be for four of us to go two and two, while the fifth took a third canoe. Scarcely veiling his disappointment but forced to give way before our determination not to be massacred singly, he went off at last, and gave the necessary orders. Had we been all separated, doubtless at a given signal, the crew

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 152, 484

of each of our canoes would have capsized their craft, themselves diving with their spears, and precipitating us and our Winchesters into the water, where the Jívaros are as much at home as on land, but where our arms would be at a great disadvantage. In a moment we should have been stuck like common paichi."

4: Up de Graff--287-288 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 727

"The grinning skulls of the victims of our raid stared a hideous last look at us from the strand, their naked eyeballs bulging, their dry tongues lolling in a mute farewell. Theirs would never be the good fortune to be buried; disgraced before their fellows they would lie gaping at the sun until the kites and buzzards picked the bones and the dry skulls were swept away by the rising waters to their last resting-place.

In an hour we had made a sand-bar where it was decided to stop for the night. Indeed, by the time my canoe arrived the fires were already blazing, the vanguard having had a few minutes start of us. With the same care as ever, we pitched our camp at a safe distance from that of our 'allies.' Restrained by our show of determination not to be fooled into taking a false step they left us in peace that night. We on our part held another council. Were we to turn back or not?... The boldness of the Jîvaros since their successful raid convinced us that but one thing was wanting to convert a great 'victory' into an overwhelming triumph. A single watch would have been none too safe. All night long the savages sat around their fires, putting the finishing touches to the heads, chattering and gesticulating in the light of the flames.

Next morning we were away as usual with the sun. Once more Tuhuimpui tried to make me see the wisdom of adopting the formation he suggested. Once more [288] I staved him off. So the long line swung down river in the same order, an interval of perhaps a mile between the van and the main body, and the same between the main body and the rear-guard."

4: Up de Graff--288-289 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 609

"For an hour we floated along, nothing but the wash of the paddles to break the silence except the occasional squawk of a parrot. In the stem of my canoe sat Tuhuimpui steering. The three paddlers in the bow swayed to and fro with the ceaseless rhythm that knows no fatigue. Game and I amidships, seated back to back with our rifles across our knees, smoked in silence, never losing sight of the Indians for a moment. Tuhuimpui had received his orders--our dugout was on no account to move up from its place in the rear. We were taking no risks that morning.

Two shots from around the long curve down-stream in quick succession roused us from our reverie. In a flash I had swung my rifle to the right and fired full into Tuhuimpui's stomach. The chief wilted and slid into the bilge-water in a heap. I turned to see Game grappling with the nearest of the canoemen, his Winchester gripped at the muzzle by the savage. Before I had time to jump to his assistance, he too had fired and put an end to the scuffle. In a trice the remaining two slipped into the muddy torrent and disappeared. Meanwhile the canoes stretched out ahead, seeing what had happened, shot forward in a suddent [sic] effort to escape our fire. A few shots sent after them convinced them of their folly, and they took to the water, swimming and diving like a school of porpoises at sea. Once in the water they presented a very difficult target. Swimming below water, they would feel for the surface with one hand, bob up for an instant to take a breath, and disappear once more. And so they made their way ashore, abandoning everything in panic-stricken flight. [289]

4: Up de Graff--288-289 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 609

Jack and Ed. were safe, we knew, for from down-stream came the sound of their firing, the heavy discharge of Jack's .450 followed by the sharper report of Morse's lighter weapon. Anxious to join forces with them, we left the now vacated flotilla of lighter canoes to drift along, and paddled ahead as hard as we could. The alarm had been given, and it was our first duty to see what had befallen our companions after making sure of our rear.

Foreseeing trouble, we had arranged on the night before that in case of a hostile move on the part of the savages, the signal should be two shots fired in rapid succession. It was agreed that they should not be fired without due cause, but that once the alarm was given, each of us would exterminate the Indians in his vicinity. There was to be no hesitation, for, much as we wished to avoid trouble, if trouble came we must meet it instantly. So when the signal shots were fired, we turned on the Jívaros like a flash, knowing that our friends were in great peril, if not already dead."

8: Dickey--201 [4] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 727, 775

"Why do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

Believers in metempsychosis, they are of the opinion that a warrior--and all the intrepid explorers to the contrary notwithstanding, none but the heads of warriors captured in battle ever are shrunken--if allowed to go to the spirit world with his head, comes back to earth with the head of a jaguar. If he goes without a head, the puzzled spirits, who of course have to send him back in some form, give him a head of a rodent or some other harmless animal. As a jaguar he is a menace; as a rat he's harmless. All beautifully logical."

8: Dickey--202-203 (1936) 1936 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"How do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

The answer to this--one of the great mysteries, according to my intrepid friends, and really so great a mystery that there isn't a child of over ten years of age in Ecuador who doesn't know all about it--is based on personal observation.

First, of course, you have to catch your victim and kill him. He has stolen one of your wives--and this is the most frequent cause of internecine wars among the Jivaros --so, you start a war against the reprobate's tribe, with the results described supra.

Now a semicircular incision is made in the cadaver, extending from one shoulder to the other across the chest, and another is made across the back. Now you must be very careful--and you need two assistants in the chore--in dissecting skin, fascia, and flesh, front and back, up past the neck and over the skull, which remains attached to the vertebrae. You now have a sac, consisting of part of the chest, part of the back, all the flesh and skin and hair of the head. And this is wrong-side out. You, with your assistants, have pulled the whole mass over the top of the skull, just as you might pull a glove, wrong-side out, off your hand. When, during your dissection, you reached the occipital protuberance, at the back of the skull, you encountered hard going. The ligaments there held fast. This compelled you to make an incision at this spot on the scalp and carefully to dissect it off the protuberance. In all legitimate shrunken heads--and judging by the tourist trade in the article this means about twenty percent of those which reach the United States--you will notice that the back of the head frequently has been su-

tured. The artist who made those had trouble at the occipital protuberance. He had to cut into the back of the head and then, in order to make a clean job, sew it up.

You have removed the head, and portions of the chest and back, from the body. You now clip the excess--the parts of chest and back which were needed for leverage in pulling the mass over the top of the skull--leaving about three inches of neck attached to the head. The head, still wrong-side out, is now placed in a strong solution of bark of the tamajagua tree--a bark which contains much tannin--and left in the solution all night.

The next morning you turn your specimen right-side to, that is, to the position it enjoyed in life, and pour hot sand into the orifice at the neck, filling the hollow head com[203]pletely. This process is repeated hour after hour during ten days. The hot sand cools, more hot sand is placed in the head. During the first applications of hot sand, moisture exudes from the face of the specimen as though it were perspiring most profusely. The quantity of moisture diminishes, of course, after a while, and finally, when the normal 85 percent of the fluid which human flesh contains is exhausted, you have a miniature head about the size of a base-ball. And the features have been won-

derfully preserved, for an assistant, during all the ten days, has been molding the ears and cheeks and mouth so that each may retain its relative shape.

You sew up the lips of your specimen with native twine, that the evil spirits contained in it may not emerge--why you think they can't get out at the neck I do not know --and you decorate it with earrings of plumes or beads, or, if you are a member of the Maynas tribe on the remote river Corientes, you place a crown on the head and decorate the long tresses with the iridescent wings of beetles. Maybe you'll stuff wild cotton in the nostrils, and tree bark inside the head--and maybe not.

Of course you have a feast in celebration of your accomplishment. You dance and drink gallons of chicha mascada. And so to bed."

10: Anthony--149-150 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Jivaro has his own peculiar method of celebrating the successful coup against an enemy and in many respects this custom might be compared with that of the North American Indians in taking scalps. The Jivaro cuts off the head of his enemy and, when he has returned to the safety of his own hearth, [150] converts it into a lasting trophy by removing the skull and shrinking down the skin into a miniature head about the size of a man's fist. The process whereby the head is prepared is described in a separate article in this issue by Mr. Charles W. Mead. As a culmination this trophy is used in a ceremonial dance, which generally occurs within a month of the time when the head was taken. The event is in some respects the counterpart of certain scalp dances. The victorious Jivaro dances with his trophy to celebrate his bravery in overcoming an enemy. His friends attend the ceremony and drink quantities of an intoxicating liquor, making much of the occasion. Until this ceremony is consummated, the Jivaro cannot be persuaded to part with the head, but afterward he will trade it for a sufficient inducement, such as a rifle, or in the absence of such a consideration he may hang it up in the hut. The possession of several heads fixes the standing of the owner, although the acquisition of each new head makes the retention of his own more uncertain, for the relatives of the slain man will assuredly attempt vengeance."

11: Mead--161 [2] (No date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The head, with a small part of the neck, is severed from the body. A cut is made from the base of the skull down through the skin of the neck. Through the opening thus made the bones of the head are carefully removed, and the skin and remaining soft parts are dipped into the juice of the huito fruit, which stains them black.

The skin is now ready for the shrinking process, which varies somewhat in different localities. In some divisions of the Jivaro tribe a number of hot stones are put into the cavity, and the whole is constantly turned in order to bring them in contact with all parts of the inner surface. When one Indian tires, the head is passed to another. It is said that the process sometimes continues for a week or more before the head is reduced to the desired size.

In other localities a single stone, nearly the size of the head, is first used, then a smaller one, and so on until the work is completed. In still other localities hot sand takes the place of stones. Long, pendent cords usually fasten the lips together, and one is run through the top of the head to suspend it. The cut in the back of the neck is then sewed up, and the trophy is finished."

13: Rivet--69-70 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

The custom of the Jíbaro is quite different: as soon as he has killed an enemy, he cuts off his head in order to make a mummy. [70] The name of these human trophies has been noted differently by travellers, who have transcribed it according to the phonetics of their native language; so one finds various authors writing: Shanza, Shanja, Zhanzha, Chancha, Zansza, Zanza. After having heard this word pronounced by different people, and living for a long time in Jíbaro country, the true phonetic orthography seems to me to be tsantsa.

Here is the method of preparation: first the savage separates the head from the trunk by a cut which, as nearly as possible, begins very low in back at the level of the shoulders, and descends in front almost down to the chest. Then he cuts away the scalp and the skin of the face from the underlying bones, through a median and posterior incision which begins at the forehead and usually descends to the base of the neck. Exceptionally, he uses a double lateral incision rising toward the mastoid region. Thus the whole cranial and facial skeleton is quite easily removed.

This skin is immediately put to boil in water in order to asepticize the tissues and the hair. To this water, doubtless to increase the disinfecting power of the solution, the Indian adds certain herbs from the forest (1). This operation finished, the skin is placed over a mould consisting of a round, very hot stone, this is replaced by a smaller one, and so forth, the last used being the size of an orange, while with the aid of another equally hot stone, the Indian smooths over the skin on the exterior as with an iron (2); the lips have been pierced with three openings meeting each other and are carefully fastened together so as to prevent the mouth from opening while the dessication is going on; it appears that upon certain tsantsas, the same precaution has been taken for the

1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 29.

2. Juan Ansola Martinez. Del pais de los Jîbaros (Blanco y Negro. Madrid, June 1, 1906, no. 839).

eyelids. Little by little, under the action of the heat, the skin shrinks, hardens and takes on a very characteristic deep brown color. The posterior incision is then carefully sewed up, after the stone on the inside has been taken out, and a hole is pierced in the top of the head, for the purpose of attaching a suspension cord.

The preparation does not require more than one day (3). [71] Some of the hair, which is too thick for the reduced surface of the scalp, is shaved off and used to make the girdles of which I have spoken, then the head is combed and decorated with some ornaments. In order to make the tsantsa more durable, they fill it from time to time with very hot sand, and expose it to the heat of the fire (4).

Such is the current procedure employed by the Indians of Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora. The missionaries say that a warrior never leaves on an expedition without carrying with him in his shigra the necessary stone for making the mummies: This is probably the last stone used, the size of which determines the final reduction of the mummy, or perhaps in case of a distant expedition, the Jíbaro contents himself with a single stone instead of the complete set which he usually uses.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 63-64. Reiss is wrong when he tells that the procedure lasts eight days; according to the German traveller, during this time, the one performing the operation should not use his hands for any other work, and he should be fed like a child: Reiss, op. cit., p. 335.

4. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 159.

I have every reason to believe that among the other tribes the procedure does not differ to a great extent. However, a tsantsa described by Colini seems, as we shall see, to have been made by a more complicated procedure. In any case, one cannot repeat too often that the Jíbaros do not use any secret. In Quito itself, a medical student from the city of Loja made some imitations with subjects from the ampitheater, as small as the original pieces, according to the method I have just described. Dr. Wilhelm Hein has made similar attempts successfully in the pathological-anatomical Institute of the general hospital of Vienna (1). In the report that he made on this subject he shows four mummies made with the heads of one woman and three men, and for purposes of comparison three authentic tsantsas belonging to the Imperial and Royal Museum of Natural History of Vienna. The shrinking was done with the aid of warm stones; on the other hand, an attempt to desiccate the skin from a woman's head by use of the sun failed completely. It has therefore been shown that mummies can be made by the process indicated, with fairly great ease.

1. Wilhelm Hein. Die Kopftrophaen der Jíbaros (Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vol. XXIII, 1893. Sitzungsberichte, page 28).

13: Rivet--71-72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 435

The first tsantsas coming to Europe had their hour [72] of renown and attained extraordinary prices. In 1865, one of them was sold for 1500 francs (1). Ten years ago another was sold at auction for 500 francs at the Hotél Drouot (2). Actually, these objects are much less rare and have lost a part of their commercial value. At Macas, at Gualaquiza and at Zamora, the whites buy them directly from the Indians for ten sucres, that is 25 francs, and take them to Cuenca, Riobamba and Loja, where they resell them for 30 to 50 sucres, that is 75 to 125 francs. In Europe, the best examples are worth 200 and 300 francs and there is not an important museum that does not possess at least one. In Paris, the Museum of Natural History has five of them, the Anthropological Society one, the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadero three, the Army Museum one, and also there are a good number in private collections.

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1. Pozzi, op. cit. page 359.
2. D. Les Tetes Momifiees des Incas (La Nature, 20 Octobre 1900, No. 1430, p. 336.

13: Rivet--72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 175

These trophies have always given rise to the most fantastic theories. A tsantsa sent in 1862 to the Internation Exposition in London by the Chilean Consul, Don. R. de Silva Ferro, was exhibited there as an Inca head (!) (1) In 1882, Barbosa Rodrigues attributes the specimen that he describes to the Mundurucus (2). The anonymous author who published one of the specimens shown by Ecuador at the World Exposition in 1900, reports that the Inca warriors had the custom of suspending the heads of their enemies from their saddles (?) (3); and only recently the tsantsas were presented by the Berlin papers as heads of pygmies from the Congo. (4) These errors are all the less explicable since for a long time serious ethnographers have known that at present they are the work of the Jívaros.

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1. Bollaert, op. cit., page 114, note 1.
2. J. Barbosa Rodrigues. Tribu dos Mundurucus. Cabeca mumificada (Revista da exposicao anthropologica, Brazileira. Rio de Janero, 1882, page 39).
3. D. Les Têtes Momifiées des Incas, op. cit.
4. Je sais tout, 15 Février, 1907.

It seems, however, that before the conquest and in the years that followed, other Indians also made these objects. In fact, here is what Zarate says of the natives who inhabit the region between the Cordillera and the Pacific on the present territory of the republic of Ecuador: "In some temples, especially in the towns that they call de Pasao, on all the pillars of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so [73] well cured that they did not smell badly, and there were nailed up many heads of Indians that had been shrunk with a certain decoction until they were the size of a fist" (1).

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1. Augustin de Zarate. Historia del Descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Pérou, Séville, 1577. Liv. 1, chap. 4, page 3. I can only find on the actual map of Ecuador, Cape Pasado, of which the name recalls the locality mentioned by Zarate. This cape is on the coast of the province of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques.

13: Rivet--73 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
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Some other tribes emply methods of preserving bodies of their enemies that are similar but not identical. For instance, an ancient Spanish writer tells us of the Indians of Popayan (Southern Colombia): "The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, filled with coarse ashes, they have set up against the walls of their houses like people." (Luis Torres de Mendoza. Colección de documentos ineditos del Archivo de Indias. Madrid, tome V. 1866, page 489.

Lorente, speaking of the Huancas, a Pre-Columbian tribe that lived in the Jauja valley (Peru), reports that they skinned their prisoners and with these skins, filled with ashes, made victory trophies that they exhibited in their temples. (Sebastian Lorente. Historia antigua del Perú. Lima, 1869, page 82).

At present, the Jívaros alone have kept the monopoly on the making of mummified heads.

It was the Fathers Manuel Sobreviela and Narcisso y Barcelo, who, in the work that I have just cited, were the first to indicate the method of preparation of these war trophies and to mention the celebration which took place over them. In 1815, Father Prieto also gives a short but excellent description (1). These details [74] that one finds in Villavicencio (2) are still unknown to European ethnographers. W. Bollaert was the first to possess an example of the Jíbaro art of taxidermy which he had received in June, 1861, from M. Cassola, but the publication he made on this subject did not appear until 1863, and the year before Moreno Maiz presented to the Anthropological Society of Paris and described a specimen which had been sent him by M. Galvez, Minister from Perú to France. Since then, quite a number of publications have been made on tsantsas and I give here as complete a list as possible in chronological order.* [75]...A general type stands out, of which I will try to describe the characteristics.

Most of the Jívaro tribes are represented in collections: Pastazas, Tambos or Tumbas, Jambas, Gualaquizas, Achuales, Antipas, Macas, Muratos, Aguarunas, Zamoras.

1. Prieto. Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros, etc. op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., Tome II, page 63.

2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 361.

* See original source for this bibliography.

So obviously this is a very general custom in all the Jívaro country.

As a general rule, mens heads were used; however, one of the tsantsas published by Lubbock was feminine. It is possible that this was a question of an exceptional case, explicable perhaps by the status of the victim, who was the wife of the chief of the Achuales (1).

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--75-76 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
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It is impossible to determine exactly the age of the victims. It seems, however, that most of the tsantsas are skins of men in the prime of life. White hair has only been found on two of the mummies described by Colini and on my specimens (e) and (f); but it is important to note that the Jívaros, like all the Indians of Ecuador, [76] rarely have white hair. (1) A tsantsa described by Virchow, which came from an individual about 50 years old, showed no trace of it. (2)

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1. In Ecuador, I have often heard the following saying. "An Indian with white hair is more than a hundred years old".

2. Virchow. Eine prüparirte Kopf- und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

The first characteristic that strikes one on examining these mummies is their smallness. The following table, in which the average measurements of tsantsas are contrasted with the measurements taken of two Jívaros, gives an exact idea of this reduction:

Measurements	Tsantsas Max.	Tsantsas Min.	Tsantsas Av.	Living (av. of two measurements)	*[see below]
Horizontal circumference	275.0	200.0	238.0	560.0	42.5
Super-circular transverse curve	170.0	125.0	144.0	———	———
Maximum anterio-posterior diameter	95.0	72.0	84.3	181. 0	46.6
Maximum transverse diameter	70.0	45.0	55.1	150. 0	36.7
Total height of the face	82.5	67.0	75.9	191. 0	35.0
Maximum bizygomatic diameter	64.0	39.0	49.9	142. 0	35.1

* ratio of the dimensions of tsantsas to those of the living=100

Thus it appears clearly from this comparison that the cranium is obviously more shrunken transversely than anterio-posteriorly; the face is reduced more symmetrically and to a greater degree than the cranium; there is a disharmony between the two parts of the head; the various parts of the face have not kept their relative proportions; the nose and the lips appear enormous; besides, at the level of the cheeks there appears a

transversal flattening as definite as that of the cranium, which is even more striking because at the level of the zygomatic arches, the natural proportions are almost preserved.

The hair in general is very pretty; its length varies from 32 to 65 cm. The hair usually hangs loose but sometimes is braided. It is smooth, coarse and strong, but also [77] supple. It always shows a tendency to a certain waviness without ever being curly. Usually it is jet black, shiny. Sometimes it is very dark chestnut, rarely light auburn. Sometimes it shows red lights, but I am not sure whether this coloring, which is always found near the roots and parts next to the face should be attributed to an impregnation of the red coloring which they use in tatooing. Virchow has made a very careful study of the hair of a tsantsa. I quote from his memoir (1) the following details, "Although to the naked eye the hair was ebony black, the microscope revealed quite a number of light hairs with little color. Certain hairs were large and yellow, and showed, beneath a thin, colorless layer, a light yellow substance in which were found very small yellow-brown grains of pigment in short rows, usually fuseform, and in the center an abundant medullary substance of rather angular shape, slightly more granular, and usually of brown-yellow color. Most of the hair, on the other hand, had a completely colorless cortex. Small black isolated grains were scattered through it uniformly in the center, more com-

1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit. p. 79-80

pactly on the periphery; the cuticle was a little thicker, and instead of a medullary substance there was often only a series of clear spaces. It was only in isolated examples of especially thick hair that a dark brown medullary substance occurred. In general, this was small and in no case really black. Only a few rare examples appeared completely black or brownish black; but even with these the pigment was more compact at the periphery. On the darkest examples, there was only a narrow transparent circle around a very small and black medullary substance.

"The hair varied a great deal in diameter. The finest examples were circular in cross-section; the coarsest examples were oval, flattened, [78] lenticular or reniform in cross section; and quite a number had triangular cross-sections with rounded angles: these were almost always coarse specimens with a brownish black marginal zone, a lighter center, and a smaller dark medullary substance. The medullary substance of the oval or flattened hairs was either quite small or quite light.

13: Rivet--78 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 142, 727

The skin is usually like oiled black leather, but sometimes it is deep brown or even light brown; in cross-section it has a light brown pigment. Extremely tough and resistant, it is not brittle. Frequently one sees reddish areas or lines of tattooing. Moreno Maiz, on his cross-sections made transparent by turpentine treatment, observed that it had preserved all the anatomical elements (sudoriparous ducts and glands, pilose roots, sebaceous glands, dermis, and epidermic layer) (1). Generally, there is neither beard nor moustache. Sometimes however, there are some stiff, rough hairs on the upper lip and cheek, and Example B even shows a little moustache and a short beard.

The eyebrows are quite often long and thick. On Example E, some hairs measure 2 cm. They are almost always black, but sometimes they are chestnut.

The eyelids are inverted and closed. Quite often the traces of a seam sewing them together are visible. One can sometimes perceive a few black eyelashes.

The nasal-buccal region is always projected very far in front like a snout. The nose, the end of which is turned up and often flattened, is widened, and there is a break at its root, as if it had been jerked forward and upward. The nostrils have wide openings, pointing almost directly forward, allowing the fairly numerous hairs within the cavity to be seen; sometimes they are completely obliterated by a kind of pitch. Rarely, there is a perforation in the septum and immediately below this a mediae orifice.

1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 187.

The large and strongly projecting lips are always pierced with three holes directed downwards. Strands of unbleached cotton pass through these holes and fasten the lips by three loops joined together with a transverse thread. To these strings are attached some little cords of the same kind which hang in a fringe 45 to 50 cm. long. Certain authors have said that the strings indicate the number of warriors killed at the time the head was shrunken (1) [79, 80]: in this case they would really be quipu, a result, perhaps, of Peruvian influence, an influence that certain ethnographers believe probable (2). The number of strings varies from 24 to 36, neither are they uniform in size, and the point of attachment of the strings is not always the same. Some are fastened to the vertical loops, others on the horizontal connecting bands; it seems, according to my observations, that the median vertical loop always has two. It is remarkable that perfect symmetry is never observed. (One may also note, on the diagrams on the opposite side (fig. 23), the various arrangements that I have observed on my specimens.) I would not dare at this time to commit myself as to whether this fringe is a simple ornament or has the significance of a quipu.

1. Exposition Universelle de 1867. Republique de L'Equateur. Notice et catalogue par Th. Mannequin. Paris, 1867, pp. 58 and 61.
2. Ratzel. Volkerkunde, tome III, p. 713.

13: Rivet--78-80 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

Giglioli mentions a tsantsa made by the Aguarunas, in which the lips had been pierced by three pieces of chonta instead of the customary string (1).

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1. Giglioli, op. cit., page 202.

In general the ears are very well shrunk and delicately bordered. The lobe is always perforated and sometimes in this perforation is placed a little peg of wood or even, as the example published by Lubbock, a tube of bamboo similar to those that I have described as ear ornaments. The chin appears retreating because of the projection of the nasal-buccal region.

The forehead is laterally compressed and at the level of the temples there are always two depressions, usually very well marked, into which the fleshy part of the thumb fits very easily.

Sometimes the cervical cut passes very near the chin, sometimes a centimeter or two of the skin of the neck is spared. Sometimes the cut is stitched to a hoop of wood in order to preserve the circular form (1), but most often the opening is laterally flattened. On most of the mummies, there is a medial posterior cut from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed; this is the trace of the incision necessary for the preparation; an exception is my Example K, which shows two lateral cuts up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and on my Example E, the posterior incision does not meet the cervical cut and is in form, of an occipital buttonhole. (1)

1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

The vertex is pierced with either one or two circular holes visibly placed [81] one before the other on the median line. In the last case, the anterior opening is useless; but the posterior opening or the single opening always is used for a strong double string, held inside the head by a little stick which is placed across the orifice when the tsantsa is suspended. On my Example B, three skins of calistes [trans. humming birds ?] are attached to this string; sometimes its lower end extends through the opening of the neck and is decorated with a small tuft of feathers. Example E has, suspended from the labial strings, two garlands of the wings of Mallaspis antennatus [trans. a beetle]. Sometimes similar ornaments are put in the ears (examples G and I). Hamy has described a tsantsa wearing a small tayucunchi (2).

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2. Hamy. Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jívaros, op. cit., note 1, p. 58.

There are, I believe, the principal characteristics of the shrunken heads of the Jívaros.

Certain tsantsas published by other authors differ a little from the type which I have just described.

These differences may depend on their origin: these objects have always been acquired directly from the Indians, and been passed on to Europe. Only the tsantsa described by Moreno Maiz came from an old grave (huaca) located in the Jívaro territory (1), and it had suffered from its stay in the ground. It is probable that this head had been put at the side of a dead Jívaro chief, since, as a consequence of decomposition and time, it was little by little buried under the detritus from the hut or grave itself, which makes one believe it had been buried. In any case, it is an isolated occurrence.

More interesting are the morphological differences.

At the time of Lubbock's article, Franks mentioned a mummy which was part of the national collection of London, presented by the Prince Consort in 1853. This example, which unfortunately has not been described in detail, was only a thumb high and was placed on a stick and dressed like a doll. It was discovered in a tomb in Pisco (Peru)(2) to my mind, because of its origin and characteristics, this object should not be identified with the tsantsas.

1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 185.
2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.

The authenticity of one of the mummies published by Colini can not be doubted, even though it differs appreciably [82] from the current examples (Plate I, fig. 3). Here is the detailed description that I quote from the learned memoir of the Italian ethnographer (1): "This head came from the Muratos; the horizontal circumference at the level of the forehead is 26 cm., at the level of the mouth 31 cm.; the height of the face is from 12 cm. on a median line, to 8 cm. 5 on the sides; the width from one ear to the other is 11 cm. The dark chestnut hair is 25 cm. long. The head is much flattened laterally and the face projects forward, especially its lower half, in the region of the nose and the mouth. The lateral frontal-temporal depressions are deep. The eyebrows are thick, long and very black; at the inner angle of one eye, one can see the trace of stitches made apparently with black thread. The eyelids are completely hidden. There is no beard; inside and at the entrance of the nostrils there are numerous hairs. In the ears one sees traces of large holes which served to hold ornaments. The chin is contracted; although the skin is black and glossy, one can nevertheless distinguish large reddish stains everywhere.

1. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., p. 28-29. This tsantsa was given to the Prehistoric-Ethnographic Museum in Rome by M. Lucioli; it is numbered 26800.

The principal characteristic, which distinguishes this head from all the known examples, is the presence of a long chonta point, with a maximum diameter of 1 cm., penetrating under the nasal septum and coming out by the vertex, at the place where the suspension cord is usually placed; this point sticks out 3 cm. in front and 4 cm. 5 behind. Two cotton cords are fastened around the front end of the stick, passing parallel to each other across the nose and forehead, and wound around the back end; 55 cm. of the length remains free and hanging.

Another peculiarity of this head is the existence of three little chonta points, 6 cm. long, stuck vertically through the lips, at the spots where, on the other examples, were found the three holes for the cords that bound them together. Cotton threads are rolled around these sticks, passing alternately above and below the mouth, so that the lips are kept tightly closed. Then another sharp stick is fixed in one of the ears, at the entrance of the auditory canal, at the [83] place where a small hole occurs on some specimens. This head has preserved a part of the skin of the neck about 2 cm. long, covered with black hairs. The neck section is affixed to a circle of wood by a strong stitching of black thread."

On the subject of this truly very curious tsantsa, Colini advances the very rational and seductive hypothesis that here we have a mummy in the process of preparation. The nasal-sagittal stick and the cord fastened to it are probably for the purpose of compressing the portion of the face which, because of the presence of thicker fleshy parts,

is the least sensitive to the action of hot stones and would remain too prominent. Moreover, while resting on the nose, the cord keeps it well opened, but also deforms it by compressing the extremity. The labial sticks probably serve to keep in place the threads which assure the closing of the mouth. As for the little stick in the ear, it was probably for the purpose of keeping the auricle close to the head (2). I would not hesitate in agreeing completely with Colini's opinion, which also explains the very characteristic fracture that all the tsantsas have at the foot of the nose because of the action of the anterior cord, if one constantly found the sub-nasal hole on the shrunken heads; doubtless it is far from being rare; it existed on the two tsantsas described by Hamy (Specimens A and B) and it appears clearly on the print that Lubbock published; the second head described by Colini also shows it; but among all the other authors who, before or after the memoir of Colini, have described similar trophies, none mention the presence of this hole; since this might be an omission on their part, I have systematically searched for this characteristic on my unpublished specimens and I have not found it on any of them; in Example E a doubt exists, for the nostrils are filled with a black resin which, in running over the upper lip, might cover the hole. Also I have never observed the perforation located at the entrance of the auditory canal which Colini believes to have found again on his second example. It is therefore impossible to consider this method of preparation as general;

2. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 29.

it is not even peculiar to one tribe, since one can find the sub-nasal hole on tsantsas coming from the Jambas, the Achuales, the Gualaquizas, the Macas and the Muratos. However, I think it is now an exceptional procedure [C4] which perhaps used to be general, but is tending to disappear in order to give place to a quicker and simpler procedure.

After having described the general type of the tsantsas, and the authentic pieces distinguished by certain characteristics, I must speak of the false tsantsas, were it only to put collectors on guard, for they are frequently found in Europe, and just recently a Parisian naturalist displayed three in the window of his store.

Philippi (1) is the first who called attention to the strange business which certain whites living in the Jívaro country were carrying on, having learned the method of manufacture from the Indians. The example he published was the work of one of these unscrupulous individuals, by acknowledgment of the seller. According to the description given by Philippi and the pictures accompanying the article, the skill of the counterfeiter was not inferior to that of the Jívaro himself. The procedure employed was evidently identical and I think that it would have been difficult, without knowing, to discover the non-authenticity of the piece. It is the head of a woman, but we have seen that Lubbock has described an authentic feminine tsantsa. The lips, perforated in three places, do not have the cotton thread fringe, and in the holes are found small pieces of wood, but we have seen that one tsantsa of Giglioli possessed the same peculiarity, as well as one of the samples described by Colini. On the other hand, one can note on this shrunken head the exaggeration of a characteristic found on authentic pieces: it seems

1. Philippi, Menschenköpfe als Trophäen, etc., op. cit., page 343.

that the amateur maker did not know as well as the Indians how to make the heat act on the fleshy parts of the face, particularly the lips and the nose; but this characteristic would not have been sufficient (2), I believe, to discredit the authenticity of the object.

2. According to the print accompanying Philippi's article, it appears that the suspension cord is missing. The text does not mention this matter.

The same difficulty does not occur with another false example, published as such by Ambrosetti (1). The mummy was made not with a Jívaro head, but with the head of a half-breed; the hair is short, coarse, rough, stiff, and forms a peak on the forehead; the beard is slight on the sides of the [85] face, but the almost blond moustache is large and drooping, and the chin is covered with coarse, stiff hairs. The cheek-bones are very prominent, the nose a little flattened, the eyebrows very marked; the lobes of the ears are not perforated. The shape of the face is better preserved than on the real tsantsas, the forward projection of the whole nasal-buccal region with the fracture at the base of the nose, so characteristic of the real tsantsas does not exist. Along each side of the neck there is a lateral incision, ending at a place behind the ear; the suspension cord, the fringe and the lip perforations are absent. Moreover the neck was closed with a mass of fresh wax and the inside of the head filled with narrow bandages, cut alternately along the edges, of a shiny black cotton material of European origin. All these characteristics easily prove that this object is not the work of Jíbaros having killed a half-breed, but of a counterfeiter less aware of the original procedure than the one who made the tsantsa of Philippi. This head strangely resembles the false mummies that I have lately seen exhibited, as I have said, in the window of a Paris naturalist.

I have procured for myself in Quito a tsantsa made by a student in Loja, which I will speak of later (Platel, fig. 1).

1. Ambrosetti, op. cit.

The head seems to have belonged to a male or female Indian from the mountains. It has been shrunk even more than a real mummy; its anterio-posterior diameter measures 59 mm., its transverse diameter 50 mm., the horizontal circumference 185 mm., the super-auricular curve 105 mm., the total height of the face 57 mm., the bizygomatic diameter 45 mm. The harmony of the proportions of the face and the cranium is perfect. There is no lateral flattening. The chestnut hair is 12 cm. long., it is finer, more supple and more curly than Jívaro hair. The skin is dull black; it is thin, fragile, brittle, and yields to slight pressure: as the result of a fall, the whole right side of the face is broken. The sample is much lighter than the real Indian trophies.

It has neither beard or moustache, but on the forehead, the cheeks, the chin and the upper lip, there is a fine down. The dark chestnut eyebrows are well developed, the eyelashes are perfectly visible.

The traits of the physiognomy are much better preserved than on real tsantsas. The nose does not have the fracture at its base, the [86] lobe is not widened but quite flattened at its end. The nostrils are narrow; their openings not gaping and forward-facing. Only the width of the interorbital space is clearly exaggerated clearly. The forward projection of the nasal-buccal region is very slight. The lips are fairly thin and well outlined. The form of the chin is exact; the shape of the cheeks and of the throat is very well preserved. The neck is 1 cm. high; the cut is circular; at this level the skin is coated with pitch.

The ears are very well reduced, the lobes are not perforated. The lips do not have the three customary holes, and no hole exists at the vertex. The temporal-frontal depressions are also absent.

The incision, instead of being in back, is double and lateral, going up as far as the mastoidal region. The seams are hidden under a thin coating of resin.

A ball of resin which originally blocked the cervical opening rolls around like a rattle inside the head.

To sum up, this mummy is distinguished from the tsantsas by a great many characteristics, and even the perfection of the reduction, which makes it a real miniature human head, distinguishes it at first sight from the ordinary examples of Jívaro taxidermy.

In order to complete this monograph on the tsantsas, I must mention one curious specimen that I procured. It is a sloth head (probably Choloepus didactylus, Lin.), shrunk and treated in the manner of a human head, which a Jívaro wore suspended by its hair (Plate I, fig. 2). The only author who, to my knowledge, has pointed out that the Indians sometimes practice mummification on the remains of animals is Barriero (1). "If the Jíbaro is pressed by the enemy, says he, so that he does not have time to cut off the head of his slain adversary, the traditional celebration takes place nevertheless and the tsantsa is replaced by a head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy". It is possible that the object that I am about to describe was made for the same purpose.

The head of the animal is appreciably shrunk, if one compares it with the stuffed examples in the mammology hall of the Natural History Museum. The neck was cut by a slanting stroke, [87] high in back and low in front: the distance between the lips and the neck cut is 63 mm. on the ventral surface and 121 mm. on the dorsal surface. Two little sticks penetrate the interior of the head through the cervical opening and seem to have been for the purpose of giving rigidity to the strip of dorsal skin. The long, perfectly preserved hair of the animal completely hides this opening. A hole made at the top of the cranium allows the passage of a double suspension cord. The huge lips, projecting in front, are pierced with the three openings characteristic of tsantsas. From

1. Letter published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

the snout to the end of the hair, the object measures 22 cm.

Lubbock (2) reports that women made prisoners are generally killed at the end of a certain time, in order to make tsantsas with their heads. Might not these feminine mummies have a representative value like the sow head of which Barriero spoke, and doubtless like this sloth head that I have just described?

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2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

All the feasts that I have just described are of very little importance compared to the one of which I am now going to speak: the feast of the tsantsas or tsantsa-tucui (1). After a warrior has killed one of his enemies, he knows that he ought to prepare to celebrate the killing: if he does not, a thousand misfortunes will come upon him, his seeds will not sprout, his animals will not prosper, his family and he himself will die, and the annoyed soul of the dead person will not allow him any rest until he has performed the traditional ceremonies. As soon as he returns from the war expedition, the Jíbaro celebrates first with neighbors and friends the feast called de entrada, in which the old man presiding at these performances gives him the concoction of tobacco to drink. This ceremony is naturally the occasion for a drinking feast of several days. After this, the possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (2), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the

1. Ordinaire. Les sauvages du Perou, op. cit., page 318.
2. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus.--De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.

upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (3). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (4).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seeing him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (5) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaros observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (6).

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 56.
4. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, p. 215.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., p. 116.
6. ibid, p. 119.

At Gualaquiza, the ritual is as follows(1): The old man directing the ceremonies seats himself in the middle of the house, and the Jíbaro enters armed with his lance, carrying the tsantsa in his left hand. The old man stands up, takes the head and plunges it successively into a decoction of tobacco, into a jar of chicha, and then into pure water; then he makes the hero of the day sit down and in turn presents him with these different liquids (fig. 24). This ceremony is for the purpose of "breaking the fast" and thanks to it, the man believes himself free of all obligation. He gets up, takes his trophy and suspends it from the principal house post, which is decorated with flowers, stuffed birds and numerous other trinkets. The old man then begins to talk, improvising a violent panegyric of the victor, whom he calls "a brave Jíbaro, skillful in avenging an injury", heaping the victim's tribe with invective, insulting him and ridiculing him: "Why, "he says, "did you not watch? Why were you surprised? Why did you not rub your eyes with pimento in order to have keen sight?"(2) This harangue over, the men take each other by the hand and form a long chain in the interior of the house, and they dance, jumping and walking (fig. 25). In Macas, the women make a similar concentric

1. Bulletin salesien, August 1896, page 175.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 216.

chain to that of the men; only the wife of the hero of the feast is admitted into the men's chain. Each time the latter dances, the old man detaches the tsantsa from the post and suspends it around his neck (3). Sometimes the dance takes place half [247] inside and half outside the house, the chain of dancers entering by one door and leaving by the other, always singing and shouting, and each individual making a kind of genuflection in passing before the trophy. (4).

Finally the old man distributes the bananas and the food among the merrymakers. The piningas of chicha are passed around. The dancing and drinking continue for six days in the midst of an infernal uproar. In fact, the Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing. During all the time that the feast lasts, the invited guests live at the expense of their host. Every morning, about 3 or four o'clock, each family receives a jar full of boiled chicha and a plate of fish.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 54.
4. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misioned dominicanas, op. cit., Fifth letter, page 49.

In the middle of the night on the sixth day, ten very fat hogs (sometimes more) are killed; an excellent bouillon is prepared, of which each one takes his share at daybreak, then each guest [248] receives a big piece of uncooked meat from the old man, the last gift, which is the signal for departure. Everyone leaves that morning. (5).

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5. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 55.

13: Rivet--248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727

Certain details of this feast seem to vary according to the tribes: in Macas, the old man does not wash the tsantsa but paints it black, and "breaks the fast" by putting into the mouth of the owner a piece of hog and making him drink the decoction of tobacco (1).

Barriero (2) and Lubbock (3) report that, in the same tribe, the possessor of the trophy, after having suspended it from a post above the tsantsas brought by the merrymakers, insults it vehemently; the old man answers in the name of the victim. At a given moment, the victor carried away by anger hits the mummy with his lance, then sews up its lips in order to condemn it to silence. I have not been able to obtain confirmation of this account from my informants; all have told me that the sewing up of the lips has no other purpose than to prevent the mouth from opening during the desiccation.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 54 and 56.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.
3. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--248 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796

According to Barriero, the conqueror suspends the head from a stick in the open air; his favorite wife, holding him by the belt, accompanies him in this procedure. This is the greatest honor which can be conferred on a Jíbaro woman. Behind her, all the men, holding onto each other in the same manner, form a long chain.

According to Reiss (1), the house in which the ceremony has been celebrated, especially built for this purpose, is immediately abandoned, as after a death.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

13: Rivet--249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727

Formerly the Jíbaros, after the celebration of the feast, suspend the trophies on posts along the roads, after having cut the hair, so that time will destroy them (1), or else preserve them in jars in order to decorate themselves in certain victory anniversary feasts (2), sometimes at the end of many years, they throw them into the rivers (3). They part with them with great reluctance, and Barriero tells how he had to use a ruse in order to obtain a specimen (4). At present, the tsantsas have become a real object of commerce for the tribes in contact with the whites.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre los misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 48.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 33.
4. Lettre published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 112.

The meaning of these trophies is thus rather complex. Among the Aguarunas, the possession of a tsantsa is indispensable to admission into the warrior class and the possession of wives (1). This requirement of initiation seems peculiar to this tribe. No where else does one find classes among the Jíbaros. However, according to Father Prieto, the Indians of Gualaquiza designate under the name Cocarama those among them who have distinguished themselves by the number of enemies killed (2). Perhaps there was then a true warrior class, as among the Aguarunas.

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1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 63.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.

13: Rivet--249-250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 293, 301

The girdles made with the human hair from the tsantsas seem to play a role very similar to the tsantsas themselves. They serve as ornaments only in feasts and on war expeditions. A Jíbaro man will never consent to lend this object, which is the visible proof of the number of his exploits, and upon his death, his relatives encircle [250] his body with it. (1) In case the deceased does not have a tsantsa to leave to his sons, the girdle is preserved by them as a souvenir of his valor (2).

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1. Colini. Osservazion etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 30; Collezione etnografica degli indigeni dell' alto Amazzoni, op. cit., page 35.--Simson, op. cit., page 387. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 37.

2. Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell' Equatore, op. cit., page 102.

16: Skinner--71 (no date) 1921 Jivaro
116, 727

"The Museum has recently obtained from Mr. Lewis B. Ager, formerly of the Panama Canal Zone, one of the most remarkable, if indeed, not the most remarkable, shrunken head ever collected among the Jivaro Indians of the Province of Oriente on the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains in Ecuador.

This grizzly war trophy, shown in figures 39 and 40, is the venerable head of an elderly white man who possessed a thick crop of curly, snow white hair. Who he may have been, and the history of his death at the hands of the Jivaro warrior who took his head, we will probably never know. In all probability he was some hardy member of an adventurous party of rubber hunters. At any rate, whatever his business in the tangled tropical forests of Oriente, his last venture came to a sudden end, probably by a poisoned blowgun dart or by a spear thrust."

17: Anonymous --2 (no date) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727

"Four human heads, slashed from the bodies of victims by head hunters among the aborigines of Peru and Ecuador, and shrunk to the size of oranges for preservation as trophies, are on exhibition in Case No. 5 in the Hall of South American Archaeology and Ethnology (Hall 9).

A field for speculation is opened by the possibility that one of these heads is that of a white or partly white woman--at least, the features are marked by a European cast. Who she was, and how she got into the hands of the savages to meet this tragic fate will, no doubt, always remain a mystery. Another of the heads appears to be that of a man who also may have had European blood in his veins; the remaining two are typically Indian."

20: Dyott--188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"The Jivaro, so Kuashu told us, preserves the head of his adversary in order that he may acquire strength and prosperity as the just reward of his efforts, and the greater the tenacity of life displayed by the vanquished, the greater the virtue which the victor reaps from his conquest. It is precisely the same with ourselves--the more ferocious the beast, the more daring the deed. The Jivaro tells with pride of the conflict, entering into all its gory details, and then produces the head as indisputable proof of his prowess. We, on our part, point to the head of a tiger, relate the story of the hunt and glory in the combat; our self-satisfaction being in proportion to the difficulties of the chase and the risks run. This is likewise true of the Indian. He never preserves the head of an Aguti, neither do we consider a rabbit's furry scalp worth bragging about."

20: Dyott--188 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727

"For our entertainment, Kuashu displayed a basketful of trophies which he had collected at one time or another. Amongst them we noticed a couple of reduced heads, one of a sloth, the other that of a man. Our curiosity was aroused, and we asked many questions as to how he came by them and what object he had in preserving them.

I never see one of these grim tokens of war without wishing that the custom could be introduced into our own country, if only for a short time. I know so many people whose heads I should like to display in a shrivelled state in my hall. After all, we bring back tigers' heads from India, so why not human heads from Europe? There is really no difference, so far as I can see."

20: Dyott--189-190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The taking of a human head, or tzantza, as the Jivaros call it, is with them in the nature of a religious rite, and the ceremony following the victory is sometimes described as rather involved. Personally, I have never been able to get to the bottom of all these stories, for so many statements have appeared in print which do not tally with my personal observations. I am inclined to think that the various rites connected with custom differ considerably in different parts of the country, but one main feature seems to stand out, and that is an Indian's memory is of short duration, and the killing of an adversary might easily be forgotten or even doubted by others interested in the killing. The shrunken head, therefore, remains as tangible proof that the man is dead and out of harm's way, while a certain amount of kudos and spiritual benefit comes to the doer of the deed. I believe I am right in saying that it is only the heads of enemy tribesmen that are taken and shrunken into diminutive form.

My observations lead me to the conclusion that women's heads are never preserved. There would be no virtue in slaying a woman. The women never fight unless absolutely driven to it in defence of their home. Even then, the impulse is always to flee to the jungle, out of harm's way, or else to summon assistance from some neighbouring family. The idea that women's heads are shrunken has probably its origin in the fact that tzantzas have long hair like women, but it must be remembered that the Jivaro warrior lets his hair grow long, longer even than that of his women folk, for, like

20: Dyott--189-190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 727

Samson of old, he derives strength from so doing. To him, the hair is the seat of all vital [190] energy, and supernatural properties are ascribed to it. In the process of head-shrinking, the hair retains its original length and therefore, by comparison, looks longer than it did on the original man."

20: Dyott--191-192 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 727

"We were all astir the next morning at an early hour, and before the sun made its appearance the warriors came home. They shouted out their tidings of victory as they approached the house, and we were soon listening to all the details of the encounter. Everything had worked perfectly. The victim had walked into the trap, and Mihanda had finished him off with one spear-thrust. Not a trace of the combat remained behind. The body had been immediately cast into the swiftly flowing stream, where the chances of its being found were very remote. In this way one more [192] Indian 'met with an accident,' and the Jivaro sense of justice was satisfied. 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' is their motto, and they adhere strictly to the principle. On no account are two men killed to avenge the death of one. The Jivaro is at any rate just in his dealings.

Kuashu embarked upon a long discourse as to the many benefits his son would derive from performing the sacred duty entrusted to him. 'Now that the spirit of your father's brother has been satisfied,' he said, 'your influence will become great amongst your fellow men. Your yuca will bear fruitful crops, your bananas will produce abundantly, and your family will increase and prosper.'

Secouta looked with pride at her husband, a happy smile illuminating her usually expressionless face. Mihanda seemed to pay little heed to his father's oration or his wife's looks of approval. He took a large bowl of nija-manchi that was handed him, drained it, spat on the floor, and then casually scraped the blood off the end of his spear.'

21: Davar--359 (2) (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 727, 555

"I refer to the custom among the 'Jivaro' Indians of making a ghastly trophy out of the heads of their decapitated enemy, by treating it to a process which causes the head to shrink to less than one-third of its original size. The martial ambition of the Jivaro Indian is not satisfied with merely slaying his enemy and recording his victory by adding a feather to his cap. He goes a step further and wants to preserve a concrete record of his victory in the shape of the shrunken head of his unfortunate victim."

21: Davar--360 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 727, 157

"To have strayed into the regions inhabited by these primitive occupants of the Amazon basin was no small piece of good fortune for us. I was counting upon securing a shrunken head or two by way of an interesting trophy and to witness, if chance permitted, the ceremony, or learn from the natives the secrets of this curious process which is as much a mystery to the civilised world, as the mumifying process used by the Egyptians to preserve the mortal remains of their dead.

But the Jivaro Indian cannot be induced to part with his secrets at any cost. He is extremely tenacious in holding to silence as regards this process, and guards his secrets as he would his life. Because of this, no explorer or traveller of the civilized world has, as far as I know, managed to learn the details of process, and notwithstanding the assertions of Dr. Rafael Karstein to the contrary, I seriously doubt if there is a single living being in the civilised world, who knows exactly what these shrinking ingredients consist of."

"....I was not totally unfortunate in this respect. I did manage to procure a couple of these dwarfed heads and was even able to witness partially the ceremony which accompanies this dwarfing process. 'Ceremony' is not at all the wrong expression to use in this connection, for to the Jivaro Indian, this process has a touching religious significance. After all my efforts at collecting facts, I am in a position to give a brief account of this head-shrinking process. [361]

In the first place the head is severed from the trunk, well down on the neck. The skin is then cut open from the hair-line on the fore-head, and along it, right down to the back of the head and neck. After this gruesome process is over, the flesh is stripped from the cranial bone. Next the whole cranial skeleton is removed, and the first stage of the process closes here. As the cranium bone is no more of use, it is either buried or thrown away. But not unoften, it is hoisted on a pole, and used to decorate the owner's hut or 'bohio'.

....As soon as the hard cranium is got rid of, the skin is filled with hot sands and pebbles. It is stitched up with cord and parboiled in a vegetable pickle, whose contents are known only to the Jivaro Indians. After parboiling, the head is removed and again filled with hot sand and pebbles, but this time the neck is closed up with grass. The next move is to roll the head in a bejuco bag containing more of hot sand and pebbles. From time to time it is taken out and allowed to remain for a period--about two hours--

in a cold pickling solution. The rolling motion, combined with patting the head with hands, constitutes the chief part of the shrinking process. When finally the head emerges out of the process, it has shrunk to a size about three inches in length and two in breadth--a dwarfed piece of human anatomy, a miniature likeness of the wretched victim."

22: Hamy--391-392 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"We have said that the ethnographic documents, as limited as they are, confirm the viewpoint just presented. The information of this type, whose [392] value should not be exaggerated, have, for a comparative study of human groups, a great importance. As regards South America in particular, they have such characteristic usages, such special customs, mores so peculiar to certain races, that when they are met even among distant peoples who preserve no memory of their common origin, one is almost justified in placing them in the same ethnic group.

Among these characteristics, there is one which we are going to describe in the Jivaro, and which is common to almost all the Guaranis: it is that which consists of the fabrication, with the aid of processes yet little known, of these hideous preserved heads, which we are beginning to see in certain number in our European ethnographic museums. From Para and Cumana to the Cordillera, all the Guarani savages make with the chief of the vanquished enemies trophies ornamented with plumes, with bird skins, etc., and which do not differ from each other except in the details of preparation.

Cajas, Mauhès, Mondurucus, Gentios Bravos, etc..., preserve in their own manner, the souvenir of their victories. And these are the spoils of a hostile general prepared in a slightly different manner by the Jivaros who have contributed the most to making known this fierce Indian family."

22: Hamy--392-393 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"Already in the last century, Manuel Sobreviela has remarked that the savages which he just visited in eastern Peru 'boil the head of their enemies. They then remove the skin, which they stuff and dry with smoke to form a masque. The teeth they use to make necklaces, and they suspend the skulls from the roof of their dwellings.'

He added that on a certain day they celebrated the tribal victories with the greatest pomp in the house of the chief, and that the boys come to the feast carrying by the hair the masques he mentioned....[393]

These are the masques, or rather the skins of the face and cranium separated from the bones which they recover, which, transported to Europe, have principally attracted the attention of ethnographers to the Indians, heretofore ignored, of Marañon. Father Pozzi tells us that a head similar to those we are going to describe was sold in Paris for a curiosity at the enormous price of 1,500 francs, some 8 years ago...."

22: Hamy--393 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"The heads prepared by the Jivaro are today less rare and less sought after: our collections include up to three specimens, and two others have been brought to our attention in England. The first sent in 1861 by Mr. Cassola to Mr. W. Bollaert, is briefly described in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London...; it comes from a hut on the banks of the Pastassa, and it is supposed that it is the head of an enemy chief, 'carried as a talisman in combat.' The skin [teguments] detached from the bones form a small head which appears to be reduced to a quarter of its original volume. A cord is fixed at the top of the head; another passed through the perforated lips and hangs in front. The ears are pierced and the nostrils filled with a black resin. Mr. R. Owen has proffered the opinion that it is the tanning of the skin which caused the reduction in volume. Mr. Bollaert believes it is dried before the fire over a clay mold.

A second sample of the taxidermic industry of the Jivaros, described by Mr. Barriero..., was exhibited at the universal Exposition of London in 1862, the gift of R. de Silva Ferro; it came from a tribe which Mr. Barriero named Tambo or Tumba. Mr. Barriero has furnished, concerning this piece, interesting details of the drying agent (a store heated in the fire and introduced into the skin of the head), on the triumphal feast, on the superstitions attached to the possession of this type of trophy or chancha, transformed, says the author, into an idol, an oracle, a talisman when it comes from a warrion renowned for his bravery."

22: Hamy--394 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"The details collected by Mr. Barriero were yet unpublished when a third head was offered on April 17, 1862 to the Society of Anthropology by Mr. Moreno Maiz, who held it from Mr. Galvez, Minister of Peru at Paris.... This specimen, found in an ancient Jivaro tomb, led Mr. Moreno Maiz, contrary to the opinion of the historians of the country and of Sobreviela in particular, to believe that it could be a relic of an individual of the tribe, preserved for religious reasons. Certain texts of Herrera, which he could have cited, support this viewpoint, opposed, one can see to that of Mr. Barriero.

The sojourn of the specimen in a tomb had, however, partially damaged it. A loss of substance near the right temple, a deep depression in the corresponding region on the left side, several tears, all that combined with the small volume of the head (horizontal circumference 21 to 22 centimeters; cephalic measurement [cranio-sus-auriculaire] 15 centimeters) leads one to believe that we do not have a specimen comprising all the cephalic teguments, and one is left only with the discussion of the mumification procedures which the Ethnological Society of London has not yet made known, and the study of several of the external characters revealed by this ethnographic curiosity. Long, black hairs, 35 to 38 centimeters in length, mixed with several brown hairs, or red shading sometimes to blonde, eyebrows still very apparent and appearing to have been thick, no trace of beard: such were the only physical characteristics which could be conscienciously used. One cannot distinguish eyelids; the skin, thick and black like wax has retained none of

its original aspect; the nose and chin were deformed; the two lips, thrust forward, revealed three large holes; all the face was flattened sideways and the corresponding fluting having certainly contained cords formed a ligature; the ears were partially destroyed, but one could see in a lobe on one side the trace of a hole intended for some decorative ornament. A double hole for suspension perforated the vertex..."

22: Hamy--394-395 (No date) 1873 Jivaro-1
116, 727

"A fourth head sent from Ecuador to the Museum in 1864 [395] by Mr. Fabre, consul general..., has shown that, contrary to an opinion given out following the communication of Mr. Moreno Maiz, these shrunken heads are certainly complete and that their small volume is attributable solely to the skillful process employed by the Jivaro.

Mr. Fabre received this specimen from the province of Macas, and from the nieghborhood of the volcano Sangai; it was the work of the Jivaro or Zibaro, named Jambas. Like the previous ones it is an adult head, extremely shrunken, since they measure only 9 centimeters and a half in length by 7 in width, the horizontal circumference is 26 millimeters and its sub-auricular transverse curve does not reach 17. It has long hair over 40 centimeters, generally very black, mixed however, like the preceding head, with a small number of brown or red hairs. The face, flattened laterally, is thrust forward on all sides toward the mouth, tied this time, like that of the previously mentioned photograph by a triple cord fixed on three holes pierced vertically in the thick part of the two lips, and which carries a long fringe formed of 36 strings of unbleached cotton of various thicknesses.

The eyebrows, very black, are rather long and well planted; there is no beard whatsoever; the skin is a veritable black and glistening leather. The palpebral creases are stripped of hair; the nose, deformed as in the preceding specimen, has large open nostrils, with a hole pierced in the membrane dividing them. Another hole penetrates perpendicularly in the sub-membrane, at the beginning of the upper lip. The ears, shrunken

like the rest of the skin segments [teguments] appear to have been naturally small, and their lobe not deformed is wide open. Finally two orifices pierced in the vertex serve to pass a string destined to suspend the hideous little head.

The existence of these holes for suspension, as well as the presence of the fringes fixed to the mouth which one finds on the trophies of war of the Guarani, have persuaded us for a long time to consider them as veritable spoils of a hostile general, to which are attached certain superstitious ideas, these specimens for which Mr. Moreno Maiz has proposed another interpretation, when the documents of Father Louis Pozzi arrived at the Museum, thanks to the initiative of one of the procurers of the missions of the Jesuit order, Father Tailhan."

22: Hamy--396 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"It appears from the letters of Father Pozzi that the heads prepared by the Jivaro are, like all the warlike tribes of the Amazon, veritable trophies. 'They allow their hair to grow, says the missionary, and they make with it a long tress to which they attach the plumage of a bird killed by them. When they go to war, and also during solemn fetes, they hang on this tress the heads of the enemies killed by their hand.' In support of this opinion, Mr. Pozzi has sent one of these heads accompanied by the skin of the birds which decorate it. He had secured without too much difficulty all this ornamental equipment from the hair of a neophyte of his mission of Gualaquisa, brought gently by the missionary to renounce this barbarous custom.

The anterior-posterior diameter of this head of Gualaquisa, which does not differ from that of the Jamba except that its volume is a little less and in other minor details, being 83 millimeters. Its maximum transverse diameter is 60; the horizontal circumference is 25 centimeters; the sub-auricular transverse curve is 15 centimeters and a half. But a specimen annexed by Father Pozzi from his interesting envoy permits us to understand in a fairly exact manner the reduction achieved by the taxidermic process. We possess in effect, the crown of woven straw, ornamented with black, red and yellow feathers which the young warrior wore whose head figured among the ornaments of the neophyte of Gualaquisa. And the entire circumference is a little more than 56 centimeters; if we compare this figure with that of the measure of the circumference of the trophy, we see that this curve is diminished in the ratio 56 to 100."

22: Hamy--396-397 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 727

"We have said that the Gualaquisa specimen differs a little from that of the Jamba. The hair, very long is 65 centimeters and recalls the memory of the Indios Pelados of whom the earliest Spanish explorers spike; the skin is a tawny brown; several large hairs are apparent in the nasal cavity; the eyebrows are longer and thicker; long black lashes garnish the eyelids, closed with the aid of a large stitch visible at the internal angle of the fold. The victim has this time a little beard, which forms a small mustache and a very small goatee [barbiche]. It is exactly what Mr. Marcoy notes among the natives of Ucayali, and that Barrow has seen formerly among the Guaranis of Brazil.

The mode of suspension is identical to the preceding specimen; the same holes... etc. And the [397] spoils fixed, as has been said, to the hair of the conqueror, is ornamented with the skins of 3 magnificent humming-birds [oiseaux-mouches].

The study of this curious trophy, the exact notion which we possess on its origin destroys definitively the hypothesis of Mr. Moreno Maiz, and furnishes, as we have already said, arguments of considerable strength in favor of assimilation of the Jivaros with the Guarani race..."

23: Turner--57 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 727, 435

"The macabre nature of the shrunken head trophies (tsantsas) of the Jibaro Indians has long assured them a ready sale to curio-hunters. As Stirling has pointed out in a valuable paper, (1) this demand has given rise to a considerable business in the manufacture of counterfeit tsantsas, with the result that a large proportion of the specimens in private (and some public) collections are in fact the heads of unclaimed dead from hospitals and pauper asylums prepared by taxidermists. The laws of Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil prohibit the export of tsantsas, but numbers are surreptitiously hawked to tourists along the Pacific coast from the Panama Canal southwards. The prices asked may range from £2 to £10 or more, according to the estimated means of the customer. While some of these may be authentic, the majority certainly are not."

"1. Stirling, M: W:, Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology: Bulletin 117. Washington, 1938. Cf. also Rivet, P., 'À propos 'de Tsantsa,' Journ. Soc. Américanistes de Paris, N:S: 24, 1932, pp. 213-14."

23: Turner--57 (No date) 1944 Jivaro-1
116, 727

'The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, possesses two such forgeries, purchased in Ecuador and presented in 1936. One of these has now been placed on exhibition alongside the genuine tsantsas, with a label drawing attention to the features which mark it as false. Most of these features are apparent in Pl. C (fig. 1), which also shows an authentic Jibaro specimen (fig. 2) for purposes of comparison.

In the counterfeit tsantsa:

(a) the head is less thoroughly shrunk, the integument being consequently not so thick and continuing to exude a certain amount of oil;
(b) although slight prognathous distortion is present it is not sufficient to give the characteristic snout-like appearance seen in fig. 2; further, the dome of the head is high (reaching well above the upper edge of the head-band) instead of low and elongated, and the usual depressions in the region of the temples are lacking
(c) the lips show no signs of perforation by the chonta-wood pins used by the Jibaro during the shrinking, and are sewn with light threads in place of the normal heavy fringe of cotton string;
(d) the top of the head is not pierced for the suspending cord;
(e) the posterior median incision is carried much farther forward over the crown of the head than is done in authentic specimens;

(f) the lobes of the ears are not pierced, as is done by Jibaros of both sexes early in life; instead, bone ornaments have been thrust through the rims of the ears, which does not accord with Jibaro practice;
(g) the facial down has not been singed off, nor the skin polished (the shiny surface being due to grease);
(h) the feathered head-band of beaten palm-bark is of a type not worn by living Jibaros, nor are genuine tsantsas ever provided with any kind of headgear;
(i) the hair is of finer texture than in most Indian specimens; it is less abundant and the short side-locks affected by most Jibaros are absent.

It is realized that the last detail is not definitive in that the Jibaros may still occasionally take heads from non-Indian victims (Stirling mentions a successful attack on a settlement in 1925), but considered in relation to the other foregoing points of variation it may be taken as strengthening the assumption that the head is that of a female European or mestiza hospital casualty. As final confirmation it may be added that part of a Quito newspaper of 1936 was found wadded into the crown in a manner suggesting that it was used to preserve the shape during reduction."

"The second counterfeit in the Pitt Rivers collections is nearly identical in form and decoration with that illustrated, but is further adorned with two long pendants of the elytra of the beetle Mallaspis antennatus, tipped with feathers and human hair. Similar pendants are frequently hung from the ear-lobes of genuine tsantsas (see fig. 2) but in this specimen they are attached to the back of the head-band.

The above-mentioned particulars correspond closely with the criteria given by Stirling for distinguishing spurious from genuine tsantsas. The same author suggests examination of the stitching of the posterior incision which makes possible the removal of the skin from the skull. The professional taxidermist with his superior equipment tends to make a rather neater seam than is usually to be found in the Indian article,[58] although this is not invariably the case. It should be added that the work of some counterfeiters is a good deal harder to detect than are the two examples described above.

Not all non-genuine tsantsas have been made for commercial purposes. Rivet (2)

2. Rivet, P., 'Les Indiens Jibaros.' L'Anthropologie, XVIII-XIX. Paris, 1907-8. (Chapter entitled 'Têtes 'Momifiées ou Tsantsas,' Vol. XIX, pp 69-87)."

illustrates a passable counterfeit made by an Ecuadorean medical student, and in 1893 an Austrian doctor named Hein (3) described four which he had prepared from the heads of deceased patients. In both these cases the motive was to test the technique of reduction as reported by travellers. Hein's attempt to shrink a fifth head by drying in the sun failed completely."

'3. Hein, Wilhelm, 'Die Kopftrophäen der Jívaros.' Mitth. Anthrop. Ges. Wien, XXIII. Sitzungsberichte, p. 28. Vienna, 1893."

23: Turner--58 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116,-727, 602

"Mummified animal heads, usually of monkeys or sloths, are sometimes seen in collections. Of these the sloth heads are likely to be genuine. The Jibaros are elaborately careful not to take the head of a victim who is related to the slayer, however long adopted into the enemy band. In such cases, as also when a vigorous resistance prevents the securing of an unrelated victim's head, the slayer may at some later date take the head of a sloth (Choloepus didactylus) and prepare a token trophy, called uñushi. Generally similar ritual procedure accompanies the preparation of the uñushi. Finished trophies display the lip-fringe and suspending cord seen in tsantsas, but the degree of reduction is proportionally less. Some other animals may be similarly treated when one of their number is supposed to have caused the death of a Jibaro.

Stirling persuaded a Yaupe Jibaro to reduce the head of a monkey, but this was done without ritual and simply as a demonstration of the shrinking technique. Preserved monkeys' heads seen by the writer have certain features in common with the counterfeit tsantsas and it is to be doubted whether they are of Jibaro origin. Even where this should be the case they probably represent nothing more than purely commercial examples of Indian taxidermy."

23: Turner--58 [2] (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 114, 727

"Since the foregoing was sent to press, [KS: Counterfeit 'Tsantsas' in the Pitt Rivers Museum] Mr. Stirling has drawn my attention to a journalist's account of a domestic workshop on the outskirts of Quito where 'shrunken heads' are made in quantity from goat- and dog-skin shaped over clay moulds and shaved in the appropriate places. One diagnostic feature of these counterfeits is that the hairs of both eyebrows necessarily run in the same direction. (Ludwig Bemelmans, 'The Head-Hunters of the Quito Hills.' The New Yorker, April 12, 1941. New York.)"

25: Vigna--47[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 727

Once the enemy is overcome, they quickly return to the houses where they drink chicha in abundance. If vengeance is complete, the victim will lose his head under the knife of the avenger. This trophy is carried with great huzza to the house of the hero; the women will then empty out the cranium and reduce it to the size of a fist; the mouth is sewn with thick hemp. When the head, which is called "Tzantza" is thoroughly dry, great feasts are arranged for a not too distant period in honor of the hero. Friends and acquaintances from distant regions are invited to this fiesta, and eating and drinking goes on for whole days.

It is noteworthy that the old men who are not able to participate in these reprisals, encourage and cheer the young to proceed with valor and ardor in vengeance.

26: Brüning--72-73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

When, on July 2nd, the rise of the Marañón forced us to stay a few more days in the Puerto Meléndez, we were able to make the return voyage through the Pongi de Manseriche not earlier than July 10th, 1902. In the middle of this Pongo we met with a family of Aguaruna Indians, a man, two young girls, an elderly woman with an infant, two older children, and the unavoidable dogs. We could see that they had gone hungry. They had been without food for eight days, since the River had carried off their canoe while they had made an overnight stop. A second canoe with other members of the party had continued the voyage and was prevented from returning by the strong currents.

An Augustine monk, who was in our party, told us that these Indians had moved to Barranca about a year ago. During their stay there one Huambisa Indian woman, a prisoner of an earlier raid, had escaped. The Indians whom we met in the Pongo participated in an [73] expedition to recover this woman, though they had not succeeded in this. Thereupon they raided the first house they could find, killed the father and abducted the young girl, who was about 10 - 12 years old. (She was one of the young girls whom we saw in their party.) The Indian who had killed her father now was to become the husband of the daughter. She had evidently become accustomed to the idea and regarded it as the natural thing. While we were carrying our canoe for a stretch over land --the rapids were too strong here--, the second Indian canoe arrived in order to rescue the shipwrecked family members.

26: Brüning--73 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 727

The cut-off heads of the enemies are reduced in the following manner: the skin in the rear of the head is cut open, and the skull is removed so that only the skin and the flesh of the face remain. The latter is mounted on a stone, somewhat larger than a fist, and hung in smoke so that all soft parts can shrink gradually. Finally, the stone is removed, the skin is stitched together in the rear, and the lips are contracted with a piece of string. Then, in order to dry it completely, the head is once more subjected to the smoking process. In this manner the head in the end is not larger than a fist, and the face looks like that of a monkey. The hair is kept at full length. A bundle of colored strings is fastened between the lips.

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 539, 727

"On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador...

TRANSLATION

To the Secretary of the Spanish Legation, Quito.

Ecuador, Macas, 2nd Dec. 1860.

Sir, ---I received your letter of the 15th of August, in which you request information about the idol head of the Jívaros; how I obtained it, and how it had been prepared by them. What I now communicate to you, is the result of more than two years research.

A Jívaro of the Tambos tribe was baptized, when he undertook the commission to procure one of these idols; however, the first year he was unsuccessful. The following year he put the following plan into execution. He made a Jívaro believe that his idol wished to travel a little, for being in a sort of imprisonment, it would do nothing for its owner, suggesting that the idol should be handed over to him so as to make a trial. The baptized Indian brought it to me, returning with many presents to the owner, who then went on a hunting expedition, which turned out well. The fame of such success may facilitate the journeying of more of these idols.

After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims [the skull and its contents of course being removed--W. B.], a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process.

When the head is prepared, the tundui or war drum is sounded; this calls the tribe together for the feast of triumph, which has to be celebrated before nine days have passed since the fight, otherwise the spirits of those (of their party) who had fallen would not be satisfied, neither could the head be deified. On the tenth day the feast begins; the Jívaro who has an idol head suspends it with those of others on an upright pole in the centre of a habitation, the idol head of the feast having a prominent position. The invited are dressed in all their finery, the females especially. They seat themselves far or near from the idols according to their rank in the tribe. [113]

When they have feasted, the priest takes the head of the victim, and holding it up by a string, makes a long speech, eulogizing the feats of arms the owner of the head had done in his lifetime, the valour he showed at his death, the fame of his ancestors, that it was worthy of adoration, etc., etc., concluding with certain gesticulations. After a brief silence the priest utters a piercing cry, when all rise on their feet, making a loud noise.

The head is again tied to the pole, when they all take their seats, excepting the victor; he remains near the head armed with a lance, and abuses the head roundly, to which the head is made to reply in similar terms, the anger increasing on both sides to its utmost extent; the priest being the spokesman for the head or chancha, who concludes

his part shouting in the name of the head, 'Coward! when I was in life thou didst not dare to insult me thus, thou didst tremble at the sound of my name, coward! Some brother of mine will revenge me.' The Jívaro has been unable to support this speech against his bravery, and raising his lance he strikes and wounds the head of his enemy in the face; after which he sews the mouth up, and thus condemns his idol to eternal silence. From this moment the idol is speechless, excepting as an oracle, questions being put to it when the inquirer is under the spell of some strong narcotic.

Now commences the dance. The victor suspends the idol (on a pole) in the open air, and the female he most esteems follows him to perform this act. This is the greatest honour that can be conferred on a Jívaro. She holds on to the waist of the victor, all the men joining in a similar manner, forming a chain. The women dance apart. Each plays upon some musical instrument or other, wildly singing the song of triumph. They go on dancing round the interior of the habitation, with short intermissions, for two, three, or more days.

The Jívaro who may have given the victim the second wound, after a year of severe fasting, repeats the scenes of the first feast (excepting the first part of the ceremony); and if three or more have assisted, they have successively their feasts.

It sometimes happens that, being hard pressed by the enemy, they have not the time or opportunity to cut off the head of a fallen foe; in this case, the ceremony is performed upon the head of a sow, which is adored as if it were an idol head.

When the fruits of the earth are not abundant, and their stock of domestic animals does not rapidly increase, the women commence the feast of supplication, in which they alone dance, holding on by each other, the old priest or capito carrying the idol. If the head does not work a miracle, the hair is shaved off, and the head thrown into the woods.

The preceding is what has appeared to me the most interesting [114] of the savage customs of the infidels inhabiting our eastern Cordilleras. I may, however, add that, of those they kill in battle, they do not make idols of all, but only of such who have shown themselves most brave; from these they tear out the heart, and the extracted brains they eat. This custom is common among the tribes of the Tumbas, Mendes, Pastaza, Jurumbaini, Tutamagosa, Chiguavida, Achmiles, Guambinima, Guambisa, Huamboga, etc., as well as the inhabitants lower down; also by those on the Morona, with this difference, that those of the Morona are really cannibals.

(Signed) José Felix Barriero.
General Secretariat of the Provincial Government,
Quito, 2nd January, 1861.

The above signature and rubric are those of the present political chief of Macas.

(Signed) R. de Anambi.

Spanish Legation to Ecuador.

The above signature and rubric are authentic, and as used by the Secretary-General of the Government of Ecuador.

The Chargé d' Affairs of H. M. C. M.

(Signed) C. de Sanquericio y Ayua.

The preceding has been translated by the undersigned.

Wm. Bollaert.

London, January 15th, 1862.

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro
116, 727, 777

"In June 1861, Professor Cassola, on his way from Ecuador to Italy, showed me in London, in all probability, the first specimen from the Jívaro country of the peculiarly reduced cutis of the idol head. It was reduced to about one-fourth the natural size, preserving somewhat of the features. All the bone had been removed, only the skin and hair remaining. Of this head Professor Cassola told me, that a party exploring the river Pastasa observed it in a small temple, and at night stole it. It was supposed to be the head of a hostile chief, and was worn in battle as a charm.

A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mould of clay."

28: Tessman--355-356 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727

Much has been written about their war trophies, the mummified human heads. See Category 727. The most complete and the most reliable information on this subject is in Karsten in his Blood Revenge, where he also discusses [356] the preparation of these heads and the ceremonies connected with them. The Chiwaros have also heads of sloths which are preserved in a similar manner. See Plate 63.

28: Tessman--359 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

Aside from human tsantsa there are also the mummified heads of sloths. See Plate 63. Karsten (Blood Revenge, p. 33) explains this custom by assuming that at a time when all humans were animals, the sloths had been the enemies of the Chiwaros. Rivet, however, points out (loc. cit., p. 86) that the mummified heads of the sloths are substitutes for human heads if the latter are unobtainable. Farabee, finally, assumes that the sloth-head gives the children a chance to practice. Karsten received his explanation from the Chiwaros, and it must be taken with a grain of salt, since the sloth is a very innocent creature that does not harm other animals. I incline to the belief that, while certain practical considerations may play a part, the sloth must have a certain significance in the Chiwaro religion.

Once precautions were taken not to offend their sensibilities, we prepared our apparatus certain of being able to gather the documentation of their characteristic and barbarous custom, the fiesta of the "tchantcha."

We were not wrong, for around the Jíbaro cabin which we reached after a fatiguing march, this fiesta, which many of the Jíbaros still practice, was in progress. As soon as the designated victim falls under the thrust of his lance, the Jíbaro cuts off the head which for him represents his most precious trophy and carries it to his house on the point of his lance.

From this moment preparations for the fiesta of the "tchantcha" begin. In the meantime the women make plans for providing a great quantity of smoked flesh of pigs, chickens, turkeys and fish, as well as chicha which is their predilect drink and which is prepared exclusively by the women; they masticate the root of the manioc and then spit it into clay vessels, leaving it to ferment several days until it is converted into a delicious drink which is very alcoholic and nutritive.

29: Vité--16-20 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The hero of the fiesta meanwhile prepares the "tchantcha"; this consists of mummifying the severed head of the enemy, and, after a series of manipulations known only to them, to convert it into a little head, which although reduced a tenth of its normal proportions through the removal of the bones, preserves its primitive features perfectly and marvelously.

First they wash the head, and sew [20] the lips using a fiber strung on a thorn; then they place the head in a bowl of boiling water in which they have cooked beforehand leaves of various plants that grow in places only they know. The head remains for less than two minutes in the boiling water and emits a penetrating and very disagreeable odor.

Then an expert begins the operation of extracting the tongue and the muscles and the flesh around it. He carefully extracts all the bones, making use of knives of different shapes and sizes, while at the same time pulling the skin outward.

Next they fill the head, which has been stripped of bones, with a pap made with the soft part of certain roots, taking care that the contours of the skin retain their form. Finally they place the head, thus prepared, in a bowl with a kind of boiling oil made with seeds of other plants. After this proceeding, the head is reduced to a tenth of its natural size and mummified in an astonishing manner.

29: Vité--20-22 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 126, 727

The expedition witnessed the fiesta as a privilege, for no stranger has ever been admitted to it. It was viewed from a height and the filming apparatus was disguised so that the savages would not suspect the true object of our presence. And so we were present at the fanatic exaltation of the hero, who, seated in the middle of a circle formed by relatives and friends, has in his hand the "tchantcha" and the homicidal lance. Children are excluded from this circle, but the women take part.

After the witch in ceremonial dress has purified the soul of the killer by his exorcisms [22] the orgy commences. It lasts several days and at times for weeks until the provisions prepared for the fiesta are gone.

29: Vité--22
116, 727, 609

(1934) 1935

Jívaro

While the frenetic dance continued and the piercing and rending shouts of the savages reverberated in the air to the mournful sound of the "dúndulos," we decided to retire, for given their great xenophobia, it would not have been strange for these Indians to have been overcome by a sudden access of fury against us, --profane spectators of their fiesta.

We withdrew cautiously and readied for any emergency, by no means at peace with the echo of the "dúndulos" which made it clear that the orgy of blood followed its normal rhythm, --a sign that the Jíbaros have not preoccupied themselves with us.

In the dead of night, we arrived exhausted at the most interior of the Salesian missions where we were received fraternally and surrounded with affectionate attentions.

30: Franco--140 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 171

"These reductions [KS: mummified heads] are one of the mysteries and secrets of our Indians and another of the coincidences of this race with the mummifiers of the other East. There is no one who does not marvel at this art of the forest dwellers. Our Jí-baros have the fame and "beat the record" of mummifiers; however they are not the only tribes who practive it in America.

30: Franco--140-141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 764

The making of the tzhantzha is not only for vengeance or for trophy; it appears to have something of a religious nature through the rites that precede its preparation from the severing of the enemy's head to its complete desiccation, and in the other solemn and festive ceremonies which follow in the especially named 'fiesta of the Tzhantzhas.' They are certainly trophies of war, but they are not limited to this. There are tzhantzhas and even entire bodies that are mummified of whites and of blacks. God knows what unfortunate adventurers, explorers, missionaries or rubber workers fell the victim of some imprudence of aggression or sexual assault toward some Indian woman, since the savage is atrociously suspicious and vengeful not only toward his fellow creatures but even more so toward the intruders of his forest. The Museum of the 'Heye Foundation' of New York, as well as tzhantazhas, possesses two rare examples of entire bodies: one of a Negro and another of a white with heavy beard of a Spanish or Austrian or Italian type; and, likewise, the head of an aged white man with thick [141] curly and gray hair. The entire bodies of the two have been reduced and preserved in admirable proportions to their size, being dolls of some 70 to 75 cms. Only the hands are a little large in proportion to the new body and the feet are a little deformed by the flexion of the toes upward.

Our Museum possesses two well made tzhantzhas, one of a man and one of a woman, still a girl, both natives. Unfortunately the second has begun to decompose and is somewhat worm eaten, but our constant care appears to have arrested the process. Probably the haste in the acquisition, or the concealment to which these species of contraband are exposed produced a counteraction to mummification which ordinarily would not have happened in the hands of the macabre artificer. What is very mysterious is the proportion in which the hair, the eyebrows and eyelashes and all parts covered with hair remain. It is not understandable how the hair can also be reduced in quantity and length in proportion to the new diminutive dimensions. It is all very well that the skin despoiled of all boney armature contracts gradually, and by means of the manipulations preserves its smoothness and form. But we have no explanation for the fact that a perimeter of 60 cms. of hair, for example, on being reduced to ten and crowding the pores, does not make motley disproportionate brushes of the hair, eyebrows and eyelashes on the compressed skin. Some say that the preparers pull the hair proportionately during the process. We do not believe this, because the eyebrows and eyelashes refute the statement. How is it, that the hairs of the eyebrows and eyelashes from 5 to 7 mm, for example are reduced not only to the proportional number of eyebrows of a new born, but, what is more admirable, at lengths of 2 or more mm only and the thickness of down of a child--

30: Franco--141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro-2
116, 727

likewise of the down of the beard, of the length of the hair itself, of the down of the nasal fossae, or wherever it may be? Mysteries... ..

30: Franco--141 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The appearance remains unaltered. There have been cases of immediate recognition in the tzhantzha of the person to whose cranium it belonged. A North American gentleman told us in the Museum this anecdote: 'A traveler succeeded in obtaining a tzhantzha and it turned out to be that of a white man. In the midst of the horror this unhappy sight produced in him, he was tempted to smile when they asked a large sum for it.

'I knew this man, he said. He was a Yankee carrilano, evil beyond imagination, a scoundrel for whom the penitentiaries would perhaps have given a good sum to carry to the electric chair. After one of his last infamies, he fled, and to be sure, flight and conscience drove him to the Eastern forests of Ecuador. Who knows whether he may not have accomplished there another of his deeds, or have died of hunger or by the arrow, but this is without doubt his head. Poor man....he was worth nothing in life, but is now valuable as a museum piece. The savages have given his head a value it did not have while he was living.'

30: Franco--141 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The head of the man that we have here appears to be of an elderly person for there are some gray hairs. He may not be a Jíbaro, but may belong to some other less cleanly tribe, for, in his hair, one can see great quantities of louse eggs and larvae which are also mummified, the poor things. The head of the female lends itself to reflection and detracts somewhat from the affirmation that the tzhantzhas were exclusively trophies of war, that is unless the ferocious warrier had carried his vengenace so far as to kill the wife of the vanquished; or perhaps it is the head of an adulteress punished with death. Ours is a girl of 12 to 14 years in appearance; it is well known that the marriages between these tribes are very premature. Because business-- now understood by the Indians in regard to the barter of guns, machetes and other weapons that the foreigners offer them--has whetted their natural malignity and made them lose respect for their natural dead, they avail themselves also of these heads in order not to have to await the late and dangerous event of a victory over their enemy, or the adultery of one of their odalisks.

30: Franco--141 [4] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The tzhantzha has an almost black or deep reddish-ochre color perhaps because of desiccation at the fire, perhaps because, as some say, their preparers as a last touch give them an unction of pulverized charcoal. The masculine tzhantzha of this Museum is elegantly adorned with a crown of diminutive feathers of pretty colors embedded in a band of very fine skin of some small rodent. They have placed some attractive little earrings of colorful feathers in the ears and at the neck a tiny necklace of beads. That of the woman does not have any decoration. The large perforations which the Jíbaros make in order to insert the little rods of bamboo or cuyel as earrings are not observable in the ears nor is the perforation in the lower lip of the woman, for the same purpose, observable here. The perforations in the lobes of the ears appear to have been almost as small as those of civilized women. This may be one proof more that the victims were not members of the Jíbaro tribe.

Through a white mountaineer, we have had the opportunity to see the reduced heads of cats, sloths, and other animals without horns, for those with horns do not lend themselves to reduction because of the irreducibility of these weapons.

30: Franco--141 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 778

The tzhantzha, we have said, fulfills a religious purpose; although its precise meaning is very difficult to interpret. The tzhantzha is a fetish that guarantees abundance, fertility, good fortune of the kindred and tribe, victory over enemies and evil to its owner, his family and friends; it bestows immortality, and serves as oracle to whomever interrogates it drinking the 'natema', an overstimulating and dream-producing vegetal liquor. If in repeated instances it fails in its power, the hair is shaved off and the head is thrown in the forest or river.

30: Franco--141-142 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

The 'tzhantzha-tucui' or fiesta of the tzhantzha [142] is described by our orientologists as follows: When the warrior has killed his enemy he knows that he must prepare for the celebration of the fiesta, under pain of suffering a thousand evils that fate will bring him, personally, and in house and chacra. For this reason, from the moment he severs the head until its complete desiccation, he goes through all the rites and secret ceremonies, since the deceased himself will not leave him in peace if he fails to. As soon as he arrives with the trophy, an old man specialized in these functions, gives the Jíbaro an emetic infusion of tobacco to drink; this starts a period of fast previous to the fiesta and feasts of several days. Then the owner begins a rigorous fast that sometimes lasts months and even several years and that consists in not eating zahino killed by arrow, or certain birds or other animals. He can only eat certain little birds killed by blowgun, yucca, bananas without pepper and smoked fish. He paints his body with black lines with the dye of Genipa; on his face he paints a black stripe from ear to ear, passing under his nose. He makes the sacrifice of going without his lance and abstains from sexual contact. The preparations are: to sow two or more chacras of yucca and bananas. In the course of the preparation of the field, the sowing, the gathering, etc. a year or more must pass. After the harvest the larger quantity of chicha is made; much hunting and fishing is done and the meat and fish are stored in leaves and dried in smoke. All these are provisions for the many guests and several days of festivity. The expense is so great that sometimes several relatives or friends unite to cooperate on the cost, or sometimes various owners of tzhantzhas unite to share the fiesta.

30: Franco--142 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

On the day appointed friends and neighbors come, some having made a ten days journey. They all wear their fiesta dress. As the initial rite, an ancient master of ceremonies sits down in the middle of the house. The Jíbaro enters now armed with his lance and carrying the trophy by its hair in his left hand. The old man rises, takes the tzhantzha and summerges it successively in a decoction of tobacco, in a receptacle with chicha, and in another with pure water. He makes the hero sit down and serves him these three liquids to his gratification. Thus, the fast ends and the hero is now free of all obligation to the deceased. He rises, takes his trophy and hangs it from the principal pillar of the house which is adorned with flowers, foliage, feathers, etc. etc. The old man begins to speak and launches upon a harangue in praise of the Jíbaro whom he calls 'brave and skilfull avenger of an offense' and full of insults and reproaches to the dead. When this is ended, the men take hands, form a circle around the head; at times as a very high honor the wife of the hero is admitted to this circle; then the enormous circle breaks to dance and unusual sardana inside the house, while other circles are forming outside, or the same but much extended circle enters through one door and leaves by another, encircling the house. The women also make their circles. From time to time the old man takes down the tzhantzha and hangs it on the neck of its owner, and the dancers pay homage to it on passing in front of it. All this goes on in the midst of the extravagant, shrieking clamor of the tundui, the drums, flutes and trumpets, etc.

30: Franco--142 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727

Immediately following the old man distributes the provisions, and the 'piningas' filled with whitish chicha circulate. The orgy lasts for days. When the Indian is intoxicated, he withdraws, takes an emetic, bathes himself and returns stronger and fresher than before to the hubbub and the saraband. For these days the guests live at the expense of their host. On the evening of the sixth day great bowls of excellent broth, in which they have boiled ten or more fleshy hogs, are prepared. Each takes his portion and in the morning he receives a piece of raw meat as final refreshment and remembrance which he will carry to his house or take on the road.

30: Franco--142 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 555, 766

The warrior who has the greater number of trophies acquires the title 'Cocarama'. Cinctures for adornment in war and in the fiestas only are made with the hair of the tzhantzhas; and the owner never presents it or trusts it to anyone. His relatives bury him with the cincture when there is a lack of tzhantzhas; they do not keep the cincture, in this case, as a sacred remembrance of the valorous relative.

30: Franco--142 [4] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 171, 727

The custom of making tzhantzhas has not been confined to the Jíbaros. Its existence is evident in Tiahuanacu, in Pirdo, in Manab; and the conquest observed some mummified Inca kings. This proves the contact and perhaps unity of the present Jíbaros with the ancient tribes who were civilized. The puruhaes sacrificed to the Chimborazo twice a year a young and handsome Indian girl, as well as the first born; they they embalmed them and preserved them with great veneration in their houses in beautiful vases made for the purpose.

30: Franco--142 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 175, 727

Ancient chroniclers say that Huáscar had sworn to make a vessel for drinking out of Atahualpa's head, and that when Atahualpa triumphed, it was he who did so with the head of the vanquished chief. Velasco denies this, bearing in mind the delicacy and grace of Atahualpa who from an early age had been the idol of his parents and who was educated in exaggerated cleanliness and elegance. In these things Atahualpa was so demanding and lordly that he would not put his feet in their sandals of gold on the floor unless the floor was swept before him; he did not spit but in the hands of some great dame, and he only ate and drank select dishes prepared with the greatest cleanliness.

794 795 future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[16]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[16] If one simply dies of contagious disease [961] or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This [682] soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill [589] instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the [727] corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three [776] types of *iwanTI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non- [961] human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous [825] snake (*makanTI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*papi*) [829] which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of [177] firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items [812] to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted [754] wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always [961] believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanTI* kills the murderer, it sometimes ap- 776 pears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper 787 tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at [811] night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanTI* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[10] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the new feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

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soul, the *muinak* omits power, but it is believed that the *muinak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the trophy aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muinak* is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muinak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a true sloth. The true sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a *muinak*. Because the true sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *ashi-wakani*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

from natural forces of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1950: 156) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . remain powerful nonentities." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Pirjiri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954: 26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaro have no belief in a personal Raingod Pirjiri." Actually, *pirjiri* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their canoes cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the *arutam* and *muisak* souls. Karsten (1954: 31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Yamahamu" (see Steward and Metraux 1948: 620), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935: 12) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*wapui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. Nor (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935: 176).

In regards to the *muisak*, Karsten (1935: 69) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the *tsantsa*. He (1954: 29) is wrong when he states that the dark shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954: 36): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging *ekal* or spirit. While he notes (1935: 74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsantsama," when it is really power emanating from the *muisak*.

Karsten fails to distinguish the *nikki wakani* and thus, since he uses the term *wakani* alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935: 57) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to be souls (although a few specific plants have souls and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to have some kind of *tsarawak*. Stirling never mentions *wakani*.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at [231] the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in connection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

● 727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 48 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself, each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[729] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in semeless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendermas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the finger of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available nanras, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repair.

336. A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Ilvano retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Flames

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INTRODUCTION

101
Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 195
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to re-
conquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the untamed *heart* of
eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained uncon- [135]
quered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the
fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest
placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 195
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, tsaras, found their way to the mar- 648
kets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers [729]
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individ-
ualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and un-
willing to be subservient to authority, even among them-
selves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordil-
lera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered
and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style.
This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

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175 distributed in three parts, that all might become blood and fire.
698 The fear of being destroyed by the Jibaros caused the two faint-hearted nations of Macas and Huambo-yas to agree to the resolved plan, but only in appearance, and without intention to co-operate in the massacre, except to keep the secret and to put all of themselves out of danger.

175 The fatal day came with the arrival of the Governor at
698 Logroño, without any aspect of the conspiracy having leaked out
726 up to then. The Spaniards slept quite without worry in the unfortunate city when it was taken cautiously, at midnight, by the enemy army. This exceeded 20,000 Indians, according to recorded report, outside of the troops who had already marched to Sevilla and to Huambo-ya. Surrounding the city, they invaded and occupied all of its sections simultaneously, so that the Spaniards would not be able to unite, and they were forced to die in their own homes.

175 The principal chief, Quirruba, who had carried out all of the
698 preparations with great cunning, took possession of the house in
727 which the Governor was staying. Surrounding the house, Quirruba covered it with sufficient troops, carrying all the gold that his nation had amassed for the celebrations; and at the same time the implements for making it. They killed all the people who were inside, except for the Governor, who was in a state of undress because of the surprise. They told him that it was now time for him to receive the tax of gold which he had ordered prepared.

They stripped him completely naked, tied his hands and feet; and while some amused themselves with him, delivering a thousand castigations and jeers, the others set up a large forge in the courtyard, where they melted the gold. When it was ready in the crucibles, they opened his mouth with a bone, saying that they wanted to see if for once he had enough gold. They poured it little by little, and then forced it down with another bone; and burning his bowels with the torture, all raised a clamor and laughter.

With the completion of this horrible sacrifice around dawn,

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all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and loaded all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 175 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [562] [797] 175 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was 175 648

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175 adjacent plain to see if they could stop the invasion of the city,
648 which the barbarians surrounded at daybreak, as conquerors and
726 proclaiming a victory ahead of time. They were received with a volley that made them halt their advance. The initial impetus was checked for a while because of the many dead; later, observing that the shots of the guns, the only weapons they feared, were continually becoming less frequent, and knowing that the Spaniards were short on powder, they made bold so that, wielding their lances, they compelled the Spaniards to retreat to the trenches of the city.

[714] The Jíbaros did not fear the swords, pikes, or lances, protected by a kind of buckler and very strong round shields. All day they made so many assaults of such a furious nature that, fighting hand to hand, they succeeded in piercing the trenches and in taking possession of almost all of the city. The confusion and massacre of thousands grew here and there in various small battles in the streets and plazas, until with the arrival of night the barbarians were satisfied to set fire to many portions of the city, and to make their withdrawal.

175 One Jíbaro, unable to follow the rest because he had lost both
648 legs, was found among the dead. This was the only person through whom it was known afterward that which has been recounted with regard to the conspiracy and tragedy of Logroño: because he was one of those being from that same city, who helped in the sacrifice of the unfortunate Governor. It was not known then or later what the Jíbaros did in the town of Mendoza, not finding in it either Spaniards or Indians.

175 Neither could it be known with certainty the number of dead
648 in the two cities. It appears by the minimum calculation that in
727 Logroño they did not exceed more than 12 thousand inhabitants of all kinds and ages, because it was a medium-sized city; but of all of them none was spared except the serviceable women, who would have preferred to have died than to be carried off as captives by the barbarians. Of the capital of Sevilla del Oro, which is on record as having been large and populous, with

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175 648 727 175 648

more than 25 thousand inhabitants, between citizens and merchants from the outside, it is said that not a fourth remained, this being almost all women and children, with very few men.

Upon the pitiful fall of this government [of Macas], the total ruin of the territory of Yaguarzongo followed as a consequence, and the almost total ruin of Jaén, of which I shall tell you in due time; and that of Loja and Quijos, which I have already reported. Even the highest and most secure provinces of the Kingdom [of Quito] experienced notable unrest on the part of the peoples upon notification of the horrendous catastrophe: it reached even to the barbaric nations of Popayan, and caused them, by its bad example, to commit the insolences and destructions to which I referred in speaking of its cities.

It was a special providence of Heaven that at nightfall the triumphant barbarians unexpectedly withdrew from Sevilla del Oro, the reason being unknown, they being able to have easily consummated the slaughter of everyone. The wretched remnant, informed of all that had happened in Logroño, remained fearing the return of the barbarians at any moment; and no longer capable of resistance, they only thought of saving themselves. Small parties of children and women, with an occasional man, were leaving on foot with a thousand hardships, and without any food, to take refuge in other cities of the Kingdom; and not a single person would have stayed, if an opportune relief had not shortly arrived from Quito.[19]

Those Spaniards who stayed retreated north to the upper Río Upano Valley and founded the refugee settlement of Macas. Some years later these people of Macas (commonly referred to as Macabeos) made sorties southward to mine the old placer gold deposits, but apparently these attempts ended in failure, due to attacks by the Jívaro.[20]

From 1599 until almost the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jívaro apparently had only intermittent and generally hostile contacts with whites. Some missionary and military

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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, 175
but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in 648
permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures [797]
reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when [431]
they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which [765]
included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been [727]
killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no mem- 173
ory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

A very long time ago there were the *ai apačī* ["*ai*" white men]. 173
They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to 829
their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *šuarä* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the 174
knees and elbows of the *ai apačī* was something like the [173]
shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such 701
status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, in- 628
stead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually 721
send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invi- 701
tation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another 721
tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire [726] household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing [727] women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* [727] and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the [411] attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri šuarā* [484] inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu šuarā* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwišin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, 756
often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

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•727
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21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

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776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *muisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
• 727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *muisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *muisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *muisak* cannot see out," thereby

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

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774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it
778 is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nampet*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to term-
682 inate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
[431] accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
754 sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
562 is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
278 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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684 Cleardy defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense
[628] and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
685 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
428 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor
593 mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things
[587] to give to a future wife.

Offenses involving material property are not common.
685 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
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685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
• 727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
[674] which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
untsuri šuarā. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an addi-
tional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly,
however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eld-
est does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however,
the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's posses-
sions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any
formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder
brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
423 and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that
he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the
artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has
gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested,
the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there
is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A
woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her
house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or
communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or
part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being
cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in
this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is
owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural
state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting,
fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or
household level except in one type of apparently very rare
situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a re-
765 flection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untá* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untā*. There may be two war chiefs if the neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the ex-
[554] pedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
602 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
628 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another
726 expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien tribe's region, strict silence is maintained and scouts are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, snake back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hostiles. The main body of men follows the scouts, but simply keeps to the trail itself. 726

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the scouts remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs lean-to's and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 A.M., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 2 or 3 A.M., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the scout outpost, the scouts are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former scouts go back down the trail to sleep in the lean-to's where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the scouts find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is attacked, but sometimes two may be assaulted simultaneously, and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy. [411] 727 583

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambisa attacked his house in the Río Yaupi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

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727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsaŋram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipï* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery
[776] cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kumaí* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *muisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

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532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight
765 aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
• 727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
796 man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with
[554] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara.
[342] The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*nampen*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his
[765] *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

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765
When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers 727
return to their separate homes and begin to make prepara- 796
tions for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will 244
host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food 574
are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally
has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to
plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these [231]
two celebrations, named *tsamak*, normally takes place no
sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing
and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as
for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting.
Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a [342]
new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often
two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men 727
who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long 796
distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or
ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic 805
system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able 824
to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests 765
at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might
be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each 224
hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same 574
stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for
the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully
ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration.
The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk
to those invited guests living at some distance so that they,
too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a 574
month later, by the third feast (*napin*). This is the largest of 796
all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days.
He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the 765
[727]

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578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Cuwi[3] tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Cuwi tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jívaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[342] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed
[712] palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round
[714] wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremo-
[727] nial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.

[727] In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only
178 women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
278 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
411 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
824

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000 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.
[123]

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.
439 177 765 532 727 778 [825]

000 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.
[551]

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

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701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

• 728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

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Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*muisak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *muisak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jívaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
[431] accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
754 sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
562 is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
278 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untä*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untä* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

721

"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
802 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

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came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. 175 Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as 648 individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[33] probably [411] contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been [487] built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province [797] of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed [411] the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, [465] particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists [423] arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley [731] population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
[101] the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
[161] lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguasa region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
[619] planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
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101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jívaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jívaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jívaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jívaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the eld-
[123] erly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jívaro coming back from Peru." The Jívaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jívaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

1: Karsten--88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
413, 751 (1928-29)

"Very frequently a comb of Indian manufacture is stuck in the hair on the back of their heads, being regarded at the same time as an ornament and as a magical amulet."

1: Karsten--91-92 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
751 (1928-29)

"At feasts the men frequently have the back, shoulders, and breast covered with a large ornament consisting of the pepper-like seeds of a tree, strung together in many rows and very [92] fragrant. These ornaments are called payaśhnya, and owing to their fragrance and other properties are regarded as a magical protection for the body against disease and witchcraft. A decoction of the same seeds is taken by the Indians as a remedy against fever. Other and smaller bundles composed of the same peppercorns, of vanilla sheaths, certain dry fruit shells, and other things, are not regarded as ornaments or decorations at all, but are simply amulets the object of which is to protect the wearer against disease. These 'medical' ornaments are called mamuťa; they are worn only by women who fix them at their breasts."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
751, 826 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 854, 751 (1928-29)

"Since children are always delicate and liable to fall ill the Indians try to protect their sucking babies by, among other things, different amulets consisting of animals' teeth and claws, 'medical' collars of fragrant seeds, shells etc. Still more common is prophylactic body-painting with roucou mixed with certain other ingredients, and accordingly called karawira, áratinyu, etc. Since small children are very liable to fall ill through witchery, the parents generally take care not to show their babes to strangers visiting the house, lest they should be harmed by the 'evil eye' or in some other mysterious way. As a rule the Indian woman never leaves her sucking babe alone in the house when she goes out, but takes it with her wherever she goes, carrying it at the breast if it is quite small, on the back when it is a little bigger. Thus when she goes to the manioc plantation to fetch manioc she nearly always has her babe with her, carrying home both the heavy basket with manioc roots and her child. "

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

"Exactly the same may be said of many other ornaments of the Indians, for instance of the big ear-tubes, arúsa, the armlets of iguana skin, súnday, and of other adornments worn on the breast, round the neck, the arms, or the legs. Thus a Jibaro warrior is of opinion that the ear-tubes make him strong and valiant and therefore wears them as big as possible. For their great feasts the Indians especially adorn them-[427]selves in different ways since at the dances and other ceremonies thereby performed they enter into relation with the spirits. Thus both the feather ornaments, tawasa, the magnificent ornament for the back called tayukúnchi, and the large collars of fragrant seeds called payáshnya, used both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of magical charms and are believed to give their wearers power of resistance against the spirits. To illustrate this fact I may mention that at one of the most important ceremonies of the victory feast, the 'washing of the tsantsa', the priestess, when she has to officiate, wears both a feather crown on her head and the necklace called múpish, which are put on her by the priest before the ceremony begins. Normally the women never wear feather crowns, nor the necklace múpish. The small bunches of dry fruit shells, animals' teeth and claws, fragrant seeds and herbs which are worn at the breast by the Jibaro women and called mamúta, have exclusively a medical and magical significance: they are believed to protect the wearer against catarrhs and other illnesses. Such charms are also frequently hung round the neck or

1: Karsten--426-427 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 751, 301 (1928-29)

at the breast of small children for the same purpose. Collars of jaguar's teeth, worn especially by warriors and medicine-men, are--like the ear-tubes, the pigtails, etc. --supposed to impart strength and courage to the wearer."

1: Karsten--427-429 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 751, 302 (1928-29)

"Besides the dress and all those fixed or detachable ornaments to which the Indians pay so much attention, there is another ornamental arrangement which likewise is chiefly of a magical or religious character, namely the facial and body-painting. It is only in exceptional cases that body-painting has--from our point of view--a practical aim. Thus my Indian baggage bearers frequently used, before starting for a journey, to paint the nether part of their back with genipa so as to give the skin more resistance. The juice obtained from the genipa tree (Genipa americana) is very astringent and causes the skin to contract as if it were curried. For the same reason the Indians also are in the habit of painting their face with genipa before canoeing, since it affords some protection against the rays of the sun. But in all other cases both the black painting with genipa and the red painting with roucou has a purely magical significance.

There are four kinds of red painting, but the chief ingredient is always the roucou (Bixa orellana). Very frequently the Indian paints himself only with pure roucou (ipyáku), i. e., with the seeds directly taken from the shrub and mashed. Another kind of red paint is the muspa mentioned before (p. 214) in connection with the magical plant simaika which forms [428] its chief ingredient. A third red paint is called karawira and prepared in the following way. The leaves of a certain plant called tai are dried, pulverized, and mixed with the seeds of the roucou. The mass is passed through a sieve consisting of a piece of linen, the juice or essence of it is collected in a small

clay pot, and the pot placed on a fire where the liquid is allowed slowly to dry up. The powder left in the pot is further dried in the sun and then put into a small gourd, which the Indians generally keep in the bag called uyúna. --The fourth and last red paint is the one called áratinyu and consists of mashed roucou seeds mixed with the oil obtained from the oil-bird tayu (Steatornis).

The Indians seem to use these four kinds of red paint indiscriminately, although in certain cases pure roucou (ipyáku) is preferred.

The fundamental idea underlying the custom of painting the face and the body is the same as that of the majority of other ornaments, namely, that it gives the body strength and affords an efficacious protection against disease and witchcraft and evil influences in general. Thus among the Canelos Indians facial painting, whilst having nearly always a magical or mysterious significance, is applied for various particular purposes. It is believed to protect the Indian against disease, for instance against the 'evil wind', huaira ungüi, that is, the illnesses which according to the idea of the Indians is carried about by certain winds. It is regarded as a powerful charm against witchcraft in general and especially against the evil eye, just as on the other hand it may act as a love charm which makes the Indian capable of seducing women. Further, as we have seen, the Canelos Indians regard the red painting as a hunting charm; it attracts the game and gives good luck in hunting. Hence, before the men start for a hunting

expedition, their wives always paint them red in the face with roucou; otherwise, it is believed, they would not be able to kill any game. Even the hunting dogs are profusely coated on the back with crude roucou before starting. The savage Jibaros, although they do not regard facial painting particularly as a hunting charm, still in the main have the same ideas about its wonderful power of strengthening the body. When the Indian is in a state of taboo and is consequently forbidden to wear the ordinary dress and ornaments, to tie up his hair, etc., he is also forbidden to paint his face, and looks pale and sick. For religious dances and feasts, on the other hand, the Indians never omit to paint their face with care, enhancing thereby the natural magical power of their body. The medicine-men and sorcerers especially, when exercising their art, are always, for the same reason, painted black or [429] red in the face. Sometimes the cheeks and other parts of the face are simply coated red or blackened, but more frequently special ornaments are applied. The latter will be dealt with in the chapter on Indian art.

I may add in this connection that the Jibaros are also in the habit of blackening their teeth by using the leaves of two plants. The one is calle piu and grows wild, the other, which is a cultivated vine, is called nashúmbi. I have not received positive information as to the ideas underlying this custom.

We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a

magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguanchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

1: Karsten--456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 761, 751 (1928-29)

"As I have stated before, the savage Jibaros never consider death natural. Death to them is always something 'unnatural', that is, it is always explained as the direct or indirect result of a wicked action, as a murder committed by an open or secret enemy. This is why the Jibaros annouce [sic] a death in the same way as they announce an approach of their enemies--by beating the big drum (tundúi) in that particular way which tells their friends that they are in danger. This is the ceremony Pakínmawae, mentioned before. Experience has taught the Indians that one death is frequently followed by another, and this is explained by the theory that the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient is moving about looking for fresh victims among his kinsmen. Small children are especially liable to be 'caught by the disease-demon'. Hence, when in the other houses the beats of the tundúi are heard, the family-father at once takes some water in a gourd and wets with it the crown of the head of each child. This 'baptism' is supposed to protect the children against the disease-demon, i. e. the contagion."

1: Karsten--510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 751, 515 (1928-29)

"....Indian hygiene is very defective, although it is evident that these children of nature generally have much more resistance against infecting microbes than a white man. In certain other respects, on the other hand, they give evidence of a natural hygiene which may serve even civilized people as an example. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, like all forest Indians in the Amazon region, are cleanly. Thus both men, women, and children take a bath every day in the little river on the banks of which their home is situated, but frequently they bathe twice a day. All dirt and waste is carefully removed from the house by daily sweeping, nor are any dirt or refuse heaps tolerated in the neighbourhood of it. Superstition itself has in some cases tended to develop the hygienic sense of the Indians. On this point I beg to refer to the fact that after a death all those clothes, eating plates, etc., which have been in intimate contact with the defunct are destroyed by burning and that, in the case of an epidemic, the whole village is destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants."

3: Simson--388-389 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 827, 751, 262

"The Jívaros of the Pintuc, and most others, have the habit of vomiting nearly every morning, by the aid of a feather--a practice similar to that of the Piojés of the Putumayo--arguing that all food remaining in the stomach overnight is unwholesome and undigested, and should therefore be ejected. It has been asserted that their remarkable health and prowess is partly attributable to this habit; certain it is that it obviates some of the bad effects of the not unfrequent 'gorging' in which Indians after long fasts are so prone to indulge. However, the Piojés, who treat themselves in the same manner, are certainly not more healthy--and less brave--than most other similarly placed [389] tribes. If it is a fact that the Jívaros are generally healthier and more robust than the rest of their race near the Equator--more astute and fearless they certainly are--it would seem reasonable to attribute this to the simple fact that their habits of work and rest are more regular, and they are much more provident than other tribes in keeping themselves supplied with food of good quality."

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
778 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
721 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
774 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

1: Karsten--120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 784, 752 (1928-29)

"A full-grown Jibaro man has a special reason for avoiding salt. Salt is regarded as an antidote against arrow-poison and the Jibaros therefore are of opinion that if a man eats salt, the arrow-poison he uses in hunting will become useless. Children, on the other hand, have a special liking for salt, and when they get it, they may be seen eating salt with pleasure just as children among civilized peoples eat sugar."

1: Karsten--152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
752 (1928-29)

"Salt and sugar are antidotes against the poison or are, at any rate regarded as antidotes. If an Indian has accidentally been wounded by a poisoned arrow, a small quantity of salt is dissolved in water and given him to drink. The Indians assert that in this case the harmful effects of the poison will fail to appear.

The same holds true of sugar. Real hunters among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians abstain entirely from chewing sugar cane and eating sweet things, because they believe that they will lose the power of catching animals and birds of the forest with poisoned arrows."

2: Stirling--120 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 752

"It is also the duty of the wishinu to treat natural diseases. The remedies used are generally herbs or extracts taken internally or applied externally according to the nature of the trouble. In the case of broken limbs, chicle is put around the injured member as a cast after first setting the bone. Leaves are wrapped around this and wooded splints placed over the leaves and fastened by means of vine wrappings."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

10: Anthony--158 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 825, 752

"These people have a very wholesome respect for the snakes of their jungles and with good reason, for there are several venomous varieties among them. It is said they have an antidote for snake bite, using some plant which counteracts the venom. Because they go about barefooted, they are often bitten but, thanks to this plant, seldom killed by a snake. Among the material collected during a day's work I had a small coral snake (genus Micrurus) which was alive although somewhat incapacitated through rough handling in capture. At the time I judged it to be a non-venomous species, but nevertheless retained enough caution to handle it by the back of the neck so it could not strike me. A Jivaro who was standing over our table, very much interested in everything that was transpiring, displayed some apprehension when I showed him the snake coiled up in a small can, and beat a very hasty retreat when I took it out in my hand, acting in much the same manner as might a timid girl in the presence of a mouse."

On the other hand, wounds received in war or in hunting are frequent. I have described the procedure of asking the iguanchi for a cure in these serious cases. It is very probable that the Jíbaros do not have any efficient remedy for snakebite. Rimbach (1) described the treatment given one of his oarsmen who was bitten by a venomous snake, as follows: he took a little round wooden bowl, filled it with tobacco and, having put it up to his mouth, he began to sing night and day into the interior of the bowl some unintelligible phrases following a certain melody; he evidently believed that by these songs he would make the poison pass from his body into the tobacco, for from time to time, he burned it and immediately resumed him monotonous chant; he did not undergo any other medical treatment.

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1. A. Rimbach. Reise im Gebiet des oberen Amazonas (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, V. XXXII, 1897, p. 360-409) (with one map), p. 381.

25: Vigna --40 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 752, 825

When a Jíbaro is bitten by a snake, special, empiric, and superstitious cures are utilized. The patient is not allowed in the common house (He must make for himself a little hut of branches and leaves outside of the house), or, in the house they keep him apart by means of leaves and branches. They fear that the "evil eye" is acting on the patient and making the poison more efficacious. Snake bite is cured with infusions of the leaves of the "Huaco" and enemas of water and very strong pepper.

When someone knows that a Jíbaro has been bitten by a snake, he hurries to bite a machete or some iron as preservative. As soon as the sick person recovers, a great fiesta is organized in the house. All who participate, including the patient, paint their bodies a black color and in the form of a snake. This will serve to prevent bites in the future.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[774] [775] future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[10]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease [961] or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This [582] soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill [589] instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the [727] corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three [776] types of *iwanII* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous [761] snake (*mukawII*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*payi*) [725] which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause [724] him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of [771] firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items [412] to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted [754] wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always [761] believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwanII kills the murderer, it sometimes ap- [776] pears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper [787] tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at [411] night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwanII fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hanse-*
[273] *matā*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group
[535] interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his
[251] wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently,
[273] and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respect-
[235] able beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand.
[273] Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has
[752] survived snakebite.

527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for
534 a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the
535 women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin
527 to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around
[373] while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night
533 or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance
535 opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *iwanči*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*ma-*
kanči). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*paṇi*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
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787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby

1: Karsten--80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
609, 753 (1928-29)

"Knowing that fear of 'disease' which is particularly characteristic of the Jibaros, I was surprised at the unprejudiced attitude which the Aguarunas assumed towards me and my Indian companions. It may have been because they realized at once that we came from afar and not from any disease-stricken village inhabited by the whites. On the whole I was lucky during this expedition. If I had not encountered these Indians on the river by chance, it would have been very difficult for us to find the way to the region inhabited by the Indians alone. The friendly attitude of the Aguarunas was due to particular reasons. During the last years they had waged war against the Huambizas living between the Morona and the Santiago. They were closely related to these Indians, it is true, but this fact did not by any means prevent the two tribes from being mortal enemies. On the contrary, it is a peculiarity of the Jibaros that precisely the different sub-tribes wage sanguinary wars against one another. Exactly at the time when we visited them the Aguarunas were fearing an attack of the Huambizas. This fear may have been exaggerated. But the consequence of it was that at any rate for the time they wished to live in peace with the whites, who might even help them in the event of a hostile attack of their own tribesmen. As to the Canelos Indians whom I had with me, they had no fear of them. But there is no saying what would have happened if I had visited them in the company of real Jibaro Indians from Ecuador!"

1: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft (tunchi) and disease (súngura). The illness of a patient is generally attributed to witchcraft when it consists in violent pains in some part of the body, especially when the pain is accompanied by swelling of that part. Thus, for instance, headache, rheumatic pains, and colic are ascribed to witchcraft. On the other hand, to the category 'disease' (súngura) the Jibaros set down especially such illnesses as have originally been brought to them by the whites and which are not particularly accompanied by pains, like dysentery, smallpox, and most other fevers. Now, if somebody has 'brought sickness', i.e., contagion, to the house of another Jibaro so that some member of the family falls ill and dies; that person is also exposed to the revenge of the relatives. They are perhaps ready to admit that he has not caused the evil intentionally, but this circumstance does not free him from responsibility and from the obligation of at least paying a material compensation for the positive loss he has caused to the family which through him has been deprived of a useful member. In a case like this, therefore, compensation may occur instead of blood revenge. In the same way the Indian is apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases also where the evil has not been caused wilfully--for instance, when somebody in a state of drunkenness or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause [271] of another person's death. If, on the other hand, the doer refuses to pay compensation, blood-revenge is likely to be carried out

1: Karsten--270-271 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 753, 627, 177 (1928-29)

against him.

Again, in cases where the evil intention is prominent, the moral indignation aroused by the deed is so much the greater, and particularly witchery is regarded as so grave and unpardonable a crime, that it can be atoned for by blood only."

1: Karsten--394-395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian, however, makes a definite distinction between what he calls 'witchcraft' (tunchi) and 'disease' (súngura). Tunchi, properly speaking, signifies the 'arrow' or small material object which the sorcerers throw at their enemies. The illness caused by it is particularly an Indian evil; upon a white man it would not have any effect. The Jibaros even declare that white people do not at all comprehend the thing that the Indians call witchcraft. The symptoms of this mysterious evil are, however, quite characteristic. When the Indian's whole body aches or he feels intense pains in some particular part of it, and especially if the pains are accompanied by a swelling of the corresponding part of the body and the evil strikes him quite suddenly, he is convinced that he has been bewitched. Head-ache and rheumatic pains--what we call 'fairy dart' etc.--suppurating wounds, colic accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, painful diseases of the heart and the liver, are typical instances of evils caused by witchcraft. Feverish diseases are generally referred to the category súngura. However, the malarial fever, although it is not connected with pains, is frequently set down to witchcraft. When among the Jibaros of the Rio Upano, whose land is comparatively healthy, a case of malarial fever occurs, the Indians declare that this evil is sent to them by the sorcerers among their enemies, the Achuares on the Rio Pastaza, who live in a malaria-stricken country.

Although the tunchi, when let off against a person by a sorcerer, or extracted from

the body of a patient by a medicine-man, always appears in the shape of some material object, yet it is at the same time regarded as a living demoniacal being. If death follows in consequence of sorcery, this demon is conceived of as a real iguánchi, who at the same time is vaguely identified with the soul of the sorcerer from whom it proceeds. [395]The demon of the tunchi at once begins its work of destruction in the body, and if it is allowed to complete it, that is to say, if no other medicine-man is able to drive it out and to extract the tunchi, the patient is bound to die. After his death the demon remains in the body and tries to lay hold of his soul as well, the latter being then identified with the demon that caused death. This is the reason why the departed are so often feared as revengeful spirits, even when they were, perhaps, respected and loved in life: it is the spirit of disease and death that the Indians fear, the demon being supposed to look for fresh victims among the surviving relatives."

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

"On the other hand, in the category 'disease' (súngura) most illnesses are reckoned which are not particularly connected with pains and which the Indians have learnt to know through the whites; first of all fever and infectious diseases such as small-pox, scarlet-fever, dysentery, and venereal disease. Whereas the Indian medicine-men are often able to cure witchcraft sent by other medicine-men, they are completely powerless against 'disease' imported by the whites. Thus when an epidemic of small-pox--a disease that has at times made terrible ravages among the natives of South America--breaks out in an Indian village, the inhabitants generally see no other way to rid themselves of the evil than to burn and abandon the whole village, or at least to leave it for some time. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the anxiety with which the Indians always, when a strange white man arrives, ask whether he 'brings disease' with him (súngura itáches?). A traveller who falls seriously ill while staying in an Indian house incurs great danger. If the Indians feel sufficiently strong they may kill him; if not, they will at least go off and leave him alone in the house. The first visit of white men among Indians living in unexplored parts of the country is, for the same reason, particularly critical: the Indians think that the strange new-comers infect their houses and villages by their mere presence. By their personal contact as well as by their clothes, their medicines, and the many other mysterious things that they bring with them they are believed to spread germs of death-bringing diseases.

1: Karsten--395 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 164, 177, 753 (1928-29)

Just as the evil of witchcraft is caused by a demoniacal being, perhaps a death-bringing iguánchi, so 'disease' (súngura) is also caused by a spirit, namely, the spirit of a white man. The Jibaros, however, can say nothing more particularly about this disease and death spirit, and they know no other way of protecting themselves against his visits than by trying to avoid him."

1; Karsten--396 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"Although the category 'disease' nowadays chiefly comprises illnesses that have been introduced by the whites, there is also a kind of súngura which is endemic among the Indians and which they have thus known before the white man arrived. This kind of súngura arises directly from their own evil iguánchi. Such a case of 'disease' came under my notice among the Indians of Arapicos, where several young persons and children had been attacked by an insidious fever, apparently epidemical, which made them slowly pine away. The demons always outdo living men, even the most experienced sorcerers, as senders of supernatural evils. The medicine-men, therefore, generally profess their inability to cure the kind of súngura which is sent by the iguanchi."

1: Karsten--396 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753 (1928-29)

"Although 'disease' (súngura) does not directly arise from the sorcerers, they are still supposed to have a certain influence even upon this evil. They are, for instance, believed to be able, by means of their magical arrows and imprecations, to cause an epidemic, raging in a village, not to cease or leave the place, but remain stationary there, gradually exterminating its inhabitants. Thus when the village of Puyo, situated at a small affluent of upper Pastaza, was visited by a ravaging epidemic of dysentry in 1918, the Indians declared that the disease had certainly been brought to their village by the whites, but that its unusually obstinate character was due to the magic art of the famous sorcerer Palati at Canelos, who wanted to annihilate his avowed enemies the Puyo Indians. There is thus practically no evil and no kind of illness for which the Indians are not able to blame, in one way or another, their enemies, the sorcerers of other families or tribes."

1: Karsten--396-397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 164, 753 (1928-29)

"THE CANELOS INDIANS make exactly the same distinction between what they call chunta (magic arrow) or nanai ('pain', 'evil', caused by the chunta) and ungüi, 'disease', originally introduced by the whites. As to the latter the Canelos Indians, who have at times suffered terribly from small-pox and other epidemic diseases, have much more realistic ideas than the wild Jibaros. 'Disease', they say, enters their villages in the shape of a white man, 'carrying a bag on his shoulders'. He may be a real man or only a spirit; in any case he is believed to bring illness. 'Disease' knocks at the door of an Indian hut, and when some one goes to open it for him, the spirit will 'catch' him (ungüi hápin). One Indian having thus been caught, the relentless strange demon will look for more victims among the rest. Hence, when in one way or other the Indians have got the idea that 'Disease' is approaching their village--for instance when a party of white men are arriving--the [397] women start to cry loudly and lament just as they do when mourning for the dead. In this way, they believe, 'Disease' will be frightened away or anyhow induced to retrace his steps and leave the inhabitants in peace. This idea explains the strange welcome, consisting of ceremonial crying and lamentation, which white travellers sometimes receive when arriving at Indian villages. Again, when a contagious disease, for instance an epidemic of small-pox, breaks out in a place, the inhabitants generally see no other way of ridding themselves of the unwelcome guest than by leaving it and migrating to another part of the country. In such

cases they are in the habit of blocking up the path along which they go with sticks and branches of trees, 'in order that the disease spirit may not be able to follow in their footsteps.'"

1: Karsten--397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"Disease, and especially death, are to the Indians the great sources of taboo. The precautions which are considered necessary after a death will be related later on. Here it may be proper to add that disease or sickness of any kind is supposed to pollute a house to such extent that at any rate the Canelos Indians deem it necessary for the nearest relatives of the patient to fast. After the medicine-man has taken natéma to discover the origin of the sickness he generally gives the relatives certain instructions in this respect. The father, mother, brothers, and sisters of the patient are not allowed to eat salt or Indian pepper during the two first days after the member of the family fell ill. The patient himself is allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc plantain and certain small fish called umbúni, tugshi, chuti, shigli, and challúa in the Quichua language. When the sick person is near death, the relatives too can only eat boiled and mashed plantain. When the patient is recovering, he is by and by allowed to eat small birds (shot with unpoisoned arrows) and thereafter certain other kinds of meat. The big sheat-fish (sungarápu) is strictly forbidden to a sick person because the whiskers of this fish are often used by sorcerers when bewitching people.

Only the nearest relatives of the patient are obliged to observe these rules, because of the mysterious connection which is supposed to unite all members of a family. If these eat some unsuitable food it will according to the belief of the Indians, necessarily react upon the patient whose condition will be made worse. Other more distant relatives

or strange people, who happen to stay in the same house, are not obliged to fast."

1: Karsten--397-398 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros,...at any rate those living on the Upano [398] and Santiago, do not consider it necessary to diet on account of a case of sickness, but only after a death. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, however, a person bitten by a venomous snake must avoid exciting spice like Indian pepper, and strong drinks. The latter, besides this, also in such cases abstain from eating salt and manioc, which according to their assertion would render the recovery more difficult for the patient."

2: Stirling--116-117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 628

"In discussing the matter of shamanism it is necessary to understand something of the background of the system of blood revenge as practiced by the Jivaros, because many shamanistic practices result directly or indirectly from this basic custom. The Jivaros make a distinction between evil caused by witchcraft and ordinary disease. If a man is afflicted with localized pains in some part of the body the trouble is attributed to witchcraft. However, there are a number of ailments, particularly those which have been brought to the Indians by the whites, which are looked upon as natural ailments.

If someone brings sickness to the house of a Jivaro so that a member of the family becomes ill and dies, that person is considered responsible for the death and is liable to blood revenge by the relatives of the victim. They may be willing to admit that the disease was not brought intentionally, but this does not excuse the responsibility. However, where the culprit is not considered morally liable, in most instances he may free himself from the blood revenge system by paying compensation to the family of the person who has died.

In the same way the Jivaros are apt to recognize extenuating circumstances in other cases where the crime has not been caused willfully, as for example, when someone in a state of intoxication or under the influence of a narcotic drink has been the cause of another person's death. However, in any of these instances, if the [117] evildoer refuses to pay to compensation asked, he becomes liable to blood revenge."

2: Stirling--118 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753

"The first of these spirits [KS: disease spirits] is Minura, the spirit of the cashpa, or ray fish. This is the strongest of all of the disease spirits and consequently the most difficult for the wishinu to remove. In order to call Minura, the sasango leaves are waved persistently after the wishinu has taken natima, during which time he calls upon the spirit by name, asking him to come forth. He sings songs addressed to the spirit, meanwhile playing upon the small shaman's drum."

2. Stirling--119 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"The second of the disease spirits is called Amaron. This is the spirit controlled by napi, the snake. He is called out in cases of snake bite or other poisonous bites of similar nature. The method of treatment is exactly the same as in the case of Minura, excepting that this spirit responds more easily and the wishinu does not have to work so hard nor so long. The songs which are used in calling are, of course, special songs to Amaron. In addition to the magical treatment, the patient who has been made sick by Amaron is also given an enema of crushed red pepper. The wishinu fills his mouth with the fiery liquid and by means of a bamboo tube blows it forcibly into the rectum of the patient. In order to send Amaron into the body of anyone he deisres the wishinu goes into the forest and calls the spirit in the same manner as described for Minura, using, of course, the appropriate songs."

2: Stirling--119[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 842

"The third disease spirit is Yabi. This spirit is described as appearing but rarely. It is said to have no face and is 'like a door.' The wishinu in calling it addresses it as a door, calling upon it to open. Yabi causes barrenness in women. The method of procedure in controlling this spirit is the same in general as the others.

A fourth spirit is Chingi. This spirit is controlled by the toucan (Tsucanga) and by the woodpecker (Tatash). All stomach troubles are caused by Chingi. The beak of the bird pecks at the entrails, thus producing the illness."

2: Stirling--119-120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"All localized aches and pains in various parts of the body other than in the stomach are caused by a fifth disease spirit known as [120] Morovi. This spirit is possessed by the night-bird which the Jivaros call by the same name. The treatment of these sicknesses is as before described. When the wishinu wishes to send the spirits of Chingi or Morovi to someone else he goes into the forest and calls them by blowing tobacco. Such parts of the forest are selected as are known to be occupied by the birds which represent the spirit.

The sixth disease spirit is Tunchi, the spirit of the biting insects, such as ants. This spirit produces all rashes, itches, and skin eruptions. Tunchi is controlled by the wishinu in a similar manner to the other spirits."

2: Stirling--120 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753

"Not all diseases are caused by spiritual invasion. Colds, fever, dysentery, and others are regarded as natural sicknesses in which no spirit is involved. The Jivaros are very much afraid of contagious diseases. Whenever a man develops a cough or symptoms of some contagion the other Indians abandon the house and disappear into the bush, where they will have no contact with him. In the same way, they will avoid all persons who have been in contact with the sick person after he contracted his illness."

4: Up de Graff--197-198 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 753, 152

"While preparing our canoe to cross to our new home, Game happened to pull up his trousers to scratch a bite. His leg was a mass of old scars made by the constant scratching of sand-fly and mosquito bites during the first weeks of our expedition. Many of them had been reopened and were infected, the result being a nasty mess resembling a rash. One sight of his leg, and a general stampede set in. The whole tribe disappeared. In a moment it became clear to us that they feared the small-pox scourge.

It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded the chief to return to within a few yards, from which distance he could be shown that Game was not a victim of the disease; we had to make a long practical demonstration to convince him, but at last he summoned his [198] people to return and we made across to the island."

12: Rivet--601-602 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 753, 276

A superstitious practice observed at Macas, and perhaps generally, shows the importance the savage attaches to remaining always in a perfect state of training. Believing that when he has sold his blowgun to a white man he has lost the strength of his lungs, he submits to the follow operation in order to regain it: he takes a bamboo tube 20 to 25 cm. long and 2 1/2 cm. in diameter, stuffs it with tobacco, and lights it. A friend places the lighted end in his mouth and blows hard into the tube. The smoke which comes out in abundance from the other end is swallowed by the patient who, with his mouth wide open, is seated opposite the apparatus (fig. 21). [602] Soon the sufferer falls narcotized, with abundant vomiting and in a real state of prostration, but a few hours later, he feels well and thinks he has recovered the power of his breath.

13: Rivet--251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 164, 753

Illnesses are rare, because of the robustness of the individuals and the healthy life that they lead, and, as the savages say, thanks to the daily washing of the stomach. Against smallpox, which so often burst out in deadly epidemics in Christians' settlements, the Indians know only one remedy, dispersion and abandonment of the sick. The Aguarunas, however, take care of their sick in little houses separated from the communal habitation.(1)

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1. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 81.

26: Brüning--68-69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 753, 827

In general, the Aguaruna Indians seem to be healthy. In the case of sickness, a small hut is erected far from the settlement at a solitary site in the forest, and here the sick person remains until he recovers or dies. This is the information obtained from the rubber collectors. I have not been able to get any information as to nursing practices.

The Indians are most afraid of coughing and bloody diarrhea. The rubber collectors have constantly warned us of coughing, as the Indians would withdraw if they heard us cough. We had one experience with this on our downstream voyage on the Marañón. We had been told that in the Indian settlement Chipe we would be able to barter some chickens, bananas, and yucca. As we were just about to land, [69] we heard shouting; the women took up their children and fled with them into their houses; the man talked with unfriendly gesticulations, and we were forced to continue our voyage, without knowing the cause for the Chipe reception. None of our three crewmen knew one word of Spanish. When we met some Indians later, Indians who knew a little Spanish, we were told that the chief of the rubber collectors had spread the rumor that we were sick and had the coughing. This rubber collector was very jealous and wanted to preserve his autocracy in that territory; thus he did everything to keep outsiders away. This was perhaps one reason why he did not teach any Spanish to the Indians.

28: Tessman--357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 753

Magic is believed to be responsible for death caused by undetermined inner diseases and for death as a result of old age. All other deaths, deaths through drowning, snake-bite, wild animals, and accidents are regarded either as magic or as natural. According to Karsten (The Religion, etc., p. 310) the Makas Indians distinguish between sicknesses caused by magic and straight sicknesses (sungura). Karsten is not too clear on this point. On page 309 he states that there is no natural death, on page 310 he says there is, though only in isolated cases, a normal death caused by old age in addition to the magic death. It seems to me that the Makas Indians attributed magic qualities to such deaths as were caused by unknown inner diseases (this included blood-poisoning).

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101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jívaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jívaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jívaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jívaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the eld-
[123] erly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jívaro coming back from Peru." The Jívaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
[161] World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jívaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

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told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid. 863 [868] [481] [861]

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor. 867

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jivaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in 866 867 609 186 [753] • 186 203

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756 776 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 554 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to [431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shot- [177] guns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspa*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 776 554 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
901 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucin-
756 ogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *nuisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular
776 kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison,
or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
• [753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753] •
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical
weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also en- 774
dorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the 778
society. 771

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *musiak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *musiak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jivaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the 753 •
vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically [164]
the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*tsuwa*), normally of an epidemic nature,

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*uwishin*) are of two types: bewitchers and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
276 Jivaro name is *natema*, in order to enter the supernatural
987 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yaji*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natema* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethylkryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushrooms.

Shamans prefer to use *natema* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
987 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemā*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance, does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemā* drink among the 756
Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemā*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsuṇi, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nanurā*) which are [778]

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weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemú*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances. 754 778 276

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful. 755 778 753

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemú*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23). 755 276 787

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun, 755 778

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiči*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [592] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*ašue*) by women. A few Achuara
576 terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

1: Karsten--35 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
754 (1928-29)

"If one asks Palati about his power in practising witchcraft he pretends to know nothing about it. 'Jesús Maria, I am a Christian', he answers, devoutly making the sign of the cross. Witchcraft, it should be understood, is one of those superstitions of the Indians which the Catholic Fathers are most anxious to eradicate, and the Indians in fact only practise their magic art in secret. However, to a white man in Eastern Ecuador whom he knew well Palati had spoken very frankly. 'I am so hard that no magic arrow is able to harm me', he had said, 'and this is the reason why I have grown so old. On the other hand, I have not seen the Indian who was able to resist my own chunta arrows.'"

1: Karsten--149-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 754 (1928-29)

"The poison cook is not an ordinary medicine-man, he is nevertheless a kind of sorcerer, since the making of the poison, as we shall presently see, is a sort of magical or religious ceremony. It is clear that the poison can only be prepared by a man who possesses the necessary knowledge and experience. Among the Canelos Indians the poison cooks are generally two men, both elderly, who know how to influence the particular demons active in the poisonous plants. The cooking cannot take place in the house, but only in the forest, where the sorcerers can enter into direct communication with the spirits of the plants. Similarly, the pots in which the poisonous ingredients are boiled must be specially made for the purpose by the cooks themselves. Pots which have been previously used [150] for other purposes, for instance for cooking food, will not do. Ordinary cooking pots would also be useless because of the salt which the Canelos Indians put into their food, for salt, which is regarded as an antidote against the arrow-poison, must not come into contact with it. The poison cooks prepare themselves for their work by fasting one day previously, being allowed to eat only roasted green plantains without salt. Nor can they have intercourse with their wives.

The cooking takes place in a shelter of palm leaves made in the interior of the forest about half a day's march from home. At a short distance from this shelter, nearer to the home, there is another shelter. The latter may be visited by other men and even boys who help in the work by carrying pots and fuel, and especially by bringing

the enormous quantity of material of all sorts of lianas, roots, fruits, and rinds from which the poison is prepared. Into the second shelter where the cooking takes place, only the two poison cooks may enter. Women again are strictly forbidden to come near either of the shelters and must keep away from the work as much as possible.

Four large new clay vessels, like those used for brewing manioc-beer, are necessary for the boiling. These are brought to the second shelter by the poison cooks, who also carry thither the different plants required, and these are already partly prepared.

The cooking requires a period of eight days in all. The first two days are for the preparation of the material, since, as we have seen, the numerous plants, roots, and lianas have first to be cleaned, peeled off, mashed, and so forth. This rough work is mostly done in the first shelter and, as already mentioned, even boys may assist at it.

The cooking can only take place at night, and the fuel used must consist solely of the hard wood of the chonta palm; only thus, it is believed, will the poison be effective. Towards the night of the second day the fires are kindled, the boiling begins and continues the whole night until dawn. Nothing further is done during that day, but on the following night the cooking is continued. After the poison has thus boiled for two successive nights, there is an interval of two days and two nights during which it is untouched. Then the cooking begins again and continues for two successive nights, when the cooking is finished and the poison is ready.

During the whole of the boiling only a small fire is kept burning; the process must be slow and gradual. When different poisons are boiled together in the big pot, the boiling is done over a slow fire until part of [151] the liquid evaporates and it becomes as thick as syrup or honey. The colour of the arrow-poison when boiled is dark brown.

All this time the cooks remain in the forest. They have to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only two roasted green plantains a day without salt; they are also allowed to drink manioc-beer. This food, however, must be consumed in the first shelter whither it is brought by a man; in the shelter where the cooking is done they may not eat or drink anything. If they do not fast strictly, and particularly if they eat salt or sweet things, the poison will be useless. During the work the cooks chant conjurations and incantation formulae by which the demons (supai) of the poisonous plants are summoned and favourably influenced. Besides this, they may speak only when absolutely necessary and then they must talk in a subdued voice.

Those days when the cooks are not engaged in boiling the poison, they are busy carving the arrows for which the poison is to be used.

They are strictly forbidden to have intercourse with women, and the latter, as pointed out before, are not allowed even to come near the place where the important ceremony is being performed. If a woman does come near, the poison will be completely spoiled, and if the woman has a sucking babe at home, the babe will die. The

poison cooks retire to the forest partly in order to be safe from the curiosity of the women.

The Indians believe that each of the plants used in preparing the arrow-poison is inhabited by a spirit or demon (súpai) to whom its poisonous properties are due. It is this demon that kills the victim when the poisoned arrow pierces his body. This is why the arrow-poison is also called súpai hámbi, 'the devil's medicine'. The spirit inhabiting the plants is influenced, as it were 'developed', compelled to concentrate its power, by the way the poison is prepared, and by the conjurations and incantations pronounced, just as, for instance, the spirit of the manioc plant is concentrated in the fermented manioc-beer. The poison cooks are thoroughly convinced of this fact, and the precautions they observe as well as the secrecy in which they veil their operations are due to this very belief. The spirit which is conjured and coerced is very angry and tries to harm its subduers. The poisonous gases which rise from the boiling pot are an expression of the anger of the tormented demon. The cooks therefore try to avoid, as far as possible, inhaling the harmful vapours which, they assert, make them ill. When they come home from the forest they are in fact pale and weak and behave as if they were more or less sick because they have had intercourse with the demons [152] of the poisons. It is probable, however, that their weak state is due more to the strict fasting than to the effects of the poisonous vapours.

1: Karsten--149-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 278, 754 (1928-29)

As soon as the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested upon a frog, which is shot with a poisoned arrow. If the frog soon dies, this is a proof that the poison is strong, since frogs are tenacious of life.

Salt and sugar are antidotes against the poison or are, at any rate, regarded as antidotes. If an Indian has accidentally been wounded by a poisoned arrow, a small quantity of salt is dissolved in water and given him to drink. The Indians assert that in this case the harmful effects of the poison will fail to appear.

The same holds true of sugar. Real hunters among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians abstain entirely from chewing sugar cane and eating sweet things, because they believe that they will lose the power of catching animals and birds of the forest with poisoned arrows.

Only edible animals can be brought down with poisoned arrows. If some 'demoniacal' or otherwise useless animal, bird, or reptile--for instance a vulture of a snake--is shot with it, the poison will completely lose its efficacy and it will be impossible to bring down any game with it.

The poison works only when it enters the blood where it brings about an instant coagulation and a paralysis of the muscles, and the Indians realize that--just as happens with the venom of snakes--it spreads rapidly round the whole body through the circulation of the blood. If the poison does not penetrate into the blood it does not

cause death, at any rate not so quickly; it is even possible to swallow an insignificant quantity of it without risk, if only the person doing it has no wound in his mouth or in the intestines. When the Canelos Indian buys poison and wants to try whether it is active and strong, he takes a little of it on his tongue, to form an opinion as to its quality from its taste.(1)"

"1. The sample of the arrow-poison of the Canelos Indians which I brought to the Gothenburg museum has recently been physiologically examined by Professor C.G. Santesson in Stockholm. See his 'Pfeilgiftstudien. Eine Kurareprobe aus Ecuador' in Skandinavisches Archiv für Physiologie, 1934. Band LXVIII. --The great number of different plants used by the Canelos Indians in the preparation of the arrow-poison, of which at any rate the majority are poisonous, clearly stamps as erroneous the opinion held by many toxicologists, that the alcaloid existing in the Strychnos species is the only really effective ingredient in the arrow-poison. See my articles 'Notes on South American Arrow-poison' in Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Comment. Human. litt. VI. 4. 1933, and 'Addenda to my Notes on South America Arrow-poison' Ibid. Comment. Hum. Litt. VI. 7. 1934, the latter article being a reply to Santesson's article 'Bemerkung über südamerikanisches Pfeilgift', Ibid. VI. 5."

1: Karsten--155 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 224, 754 (1928-29)

"Certain demoniacal animals and birds, like snakes, the nose-bear, vultures, owls, and hawks, are never shot with poisoned arrows. The poison in that case would entirely lose its efficacy and it would become impossible to bring down any edible animals and birds with it. The animals mentioned, it should be understood, are particularly detested by the Jibaros because they believe that the witch-doctors are in the habit of sending off their magic arrows by these very animals. This superstition of the Jibaros will be further dealt with in the chapters on their religion.

Nor are poisoned arrows nowadays used by the Indians in war. If a human being is killed with a poisoned arrow, that poison can no longer be used for hunting animals that are eaten. An animal killed with such poison would assume the same taste as human flesh, and no Jibaro Indian would dare to touch it."

1: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

"In studying the Indian blowgun in detail and the ideas connected with the arrow-poison, one is necessarily led to the question of how the Indians of tropical South America originally came to invent such a thing as the poisoned arrow and to use it in the way they do. An answer pre-[160]sents itself to any one able to enter into their theory of witchcraft and magic in general. In this respect there are three phenomena especially which greatly influence the imagination of the Indians: the first is the bite of the venomous snake, the second the mysterious magical arrow which the wizard lets off against his victim, causing his death, the third the poison he himself uses to bring down animals and birds. That to the Indian mind there is an intimate connection between these three phenomena becomes clear to everybody who is acquainted with the magical ideas or 'superstitions' of the Indians. Moreover, there can be no doubt as to which of the three was the primary link in the association series: it is the bite of the venomous snake. In all parts of tropical South America the venomous reptiles occupy the same important place in the native's world of demons; few others of the surrounding natural phenomena have stirred the imagination of the Indians in the same way as these. The venomous snake attacks its victim noiselessly, the wound inflicted by it is quite insignificant and yet causes death. In the whole action there is something mysterious or, to the mind of the Indian, supernatural. As a matter of fact, all Indian tribes in different parts of South America seem to have the same idea about poisonous snakes: with the venom of

the reptile an evil demon enters the body of the person bitten and causes his death. This demon is called súpai by the Quichua-speaking Indians, wakáni or iguánchi by the Jibaros. But they go still further in their theory: the súpai or wakáni in question is in reality nothing else than the soul of an evil wizard, perhaps still living, who temporarily takes the shape of the reptile in order to kill or harm an enemy. The bite of the snake was only the magical arrow of the sorcerer, the súpai or wakáni which killed the patient was really his demoniacal soul, identical with the poison permeating--according to the Indians--his whole organism. I found this belief among all the Indian tribes I studied, and I have no doubt that it is common to all tribes of tropical South America. These primitive ideas will be further elucidated in the part dealing with the religion of the Indians. In this connection I only wish to point out that there is also an interesting parallelism between the operation of the sorcerer and that of the Indian hunter who, with his 'natural' poisoned arrow, brings down the creatures of the wood. The Jibaros, for instance, call the poisoned arrow tsinsáka, and they give the same name to the mysterious invisible magical arrow used by the wizards, although there is also another name for it: tunchi. The magical arrow (tsinsáka) of the sorcerer, it is true, may assume different forms, but mostly it is sup-[161] posed to be like a small arrow. The wizard shoots his arrow from his mouth by blowing and a movement with his finger, just as the Indian, shooting with his blowgun, lets off his poisoned arrow by blowing it out.

In short, the venomous snake inflicting a deadly bite on his victim is nothing but an evil wizard operating through that snake, and vice versa, the Indian wizard, in his mysterious manipulations with the invisible magical arrow, is imitating a snake. On the other hand, the Indian hunter, who noiselessly lets off his poisoned arrow against an animal and kills it without inflicting any visible wound on it, is also a kind of wizard, since the poison with which he operates is believed to possess supernatural demoniacal effects.

The Indians, like primitive folk in general, are keen observers. It seems highly probable that precisely the mysterious way in which the venomous snakes operate, when by an insignificant bite they bring death to their victim, has suggested to their mind the idea that they may imitate them and invent a weapon which will act in the same way as the snake's poison. The thorough knowledge they possessed of the poisonous properties of certain plants helped them in their endeavours to construct that weapon, and it is evident that the arrow-poison is meant as an imitation of the venom of the snake. It is significant that according to the statement of the English traveller Waterton --the first, I believe, who studied the ourali poison of the Guiana Indians--the Macusis in preparing their arrow-poison not only used vegetable ingredients like the Strychnos toxifera, but also certain animal ingredients, namely, the fangs of the counacouchi and

labarri snakes, two of the most venomous snakes of tropical South America, which were pounded and mixed into the poison. When the Macusi Indian killed one of these snakes, he always extracted the fangs for use in the preparation of the arrow-poison. (1) This of course was pure superstition, but the association of ideas is interesting and shows what part superstitious ideas in general, and especially those prevailing in regard to venomous snakes, has played in the invention of the Indian arrow-poison."

"1. Cf. Waterton, Wanderings in South America, London, 1828, pp. 55 sqq."

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
754 (1928-29)

"A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

1: Karsten--209-211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 754, 845 (1928-29)

"The ceremonies practised on the wedding-night itself are of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians custom forbids the bridegroom to spend the first night with his bride. That night is spent by him not only in another room but even in another house. The practice is due to fear of evil, supernatural powers. If the bridegroom spends the first night with his young wife, it is believed he will soon die, and his wife too is exposed to supernatural dangers. The Indians of Canelos know a sort [210] of jus primae noctis, but the 'right' in question is not claimed by the medicine-man or chief but by the evil demon, called supai, and the bridegroom, fearing the revenge of the demon, voluntarily cedes the right to him. However, the following night is also critical, since it is believed that the demon wants to continue having the woman and is jealous of her husband. The first nuptial embrace, which takes place in the presence of the whole assembly invited to the feast, is therefore, at any rate in some cases, arranged in the following way. The bride is placed in the bed which is made of split bamboo. On her bosom two bananas are placed in such a way that they easily fall down at her movements. These bananas represent the first children to which the woman will give birth and which, it is feared, may possibly be twins owing to the interest taken in the woman by the supai. The bananas are therefore called palánda huahua, i.e. 'the banana babes'. Under the bed a little boy is placed. When the young couple embrace each other the bananas fall to the ground, one after the other, and the boy hidden under

the bed at once catches them crying out, 'Now the babe arrived '! Then he comes forth and presents the first banana to the assembly, the other one being thrown away. A man steps forward and offers himself as comparu (god-father) of the newborn child. He receives the banana which is carefully wrapped in a cloth, and gives it a name. The 'banana babe' is afterwards placed above on the roof of the house, where it is kept until the real firstborn child arrives. Then the same Indian presents himself to be the god-father of the child, and the same name is given to it as was before given to the banana.

In order to understand this curious custom we have first of all to take into consideration that the Canelos Indians have a superstitious dread of twins, owing to reasons which will presently be explained more fully. By thus dramatically representing the very thing they fear may happen, namely, that the bride shall first bring forth twins, where the supai or demon is the father of the second child, the Indians hope to prevent that ominous eventuality. The incident has in mimicry been anticipated in the arrangement with the two bananas and will not therefore take place in reality. The fact that the first nuptial embrace is public in the way we have seen, is due to the idea that thus the evil spirit may be prevented from harming the couple.

The ceremony at the wedding-night is not always the one just described, when two bananas are used to represent twins. In some cases the Canelos Indians by the

ceremony in question only aim at neutra-[211]lizing in general, the possible harmful effects proceeding from the demon, and to secure a happy first delivery. Instead of using two bananas, they only use a manioc root which is wrapped in a piece of linen and placed on the bride's bosom, just as is in [sic] done other cases with the bananas. The rest of the ceremony is the same, a boy being hidden under the bed, who has to catch the manioc and present is [sic] as the 'first-born babe', and so forth.

It is not only the first nights that are believed to be critical for the newly-married pair. Generally the demon is supposed to continue molesting the young woman for some time, visiting her at night in dreams and trying to have intercourse with her even though she sleeps with her husband. In the morning the woman tells her husband that the supái has molested her in a dream. The husband summons a medicine-man, who first drinks the narcotic aya huasca to ascertain the true nature and origin of the importunate demon. Thereupon he prepares a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called pétun cara, and gives the decoction to the woman to drink. This medicine is supposed to kill the demon and thus to rid the woman of his nightly visits.

The decoction of the vine shigshi huasca or the rind pétun cara is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have

been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition.

For the husband himself there is, owing to the jealousy of the demon, the constant danger that he may die on the spot on having intercourse with his wife, and this is particularly supposed to be the case if the woman is young and pretty. Sometimes the danger is not believed to be wholly over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.

As I have stated before the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

1: Karsten--235[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 754 (1928-29)

"When the first teeth of the child get loose, they are not thrown away but carefully kept on the roof of the house 'in order that the rats or other animals may not eat them'. This custom is due to the belief in a mysterious connection between the child and the detached teeth."

1: Karsten--269-270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 627 (1928-29)

"Since supposed sorcery is nearly always the nearest cause of murders within the tribe, it is clear that the professional sorcerers or medi-[270] cine men are those members of Jibaro society which are most frequently exposed to the revengeful attacks of their enemies. As a matter of fact, in large Indian societies sorcerers are very often assassinated, or at least threatened with death, by their enemies. When a medicine-man has undertaken to cure a sick person and the latter dies in spite of the treatment, the 'doctor' is also generally made responsible for the death, the relatives of the dead reasoning that the medicine-man, instead of curing the patient, on the contrary used his art to kill him. The unsuccessful curer is therefore murdered unless he escapes by flight. Since the Jibaros, on the whole, do not recognize what we call a natural death but always attribute a death to supernatural causes, any death among them tends to give rise to a murder, the relatives of the deceased considering it as their duty to take revenge upon the supposed author of the accident."

1: Karsten--270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 887 (1928-29)

". . . . among the Jibaros the professional medicine-men are not the only persons who know about sorcery and witchcraft. Most old men, and especially the chiefs, are more or less initiated in the art."

1: Karsten--275-277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 619, 721, 754 (1928-29)

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called túnchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would,

gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 754 (1928-29)

"When among the Jibaros a family father, especially a chief or a great warrior, dies, and a medicine-man, by drinking natéma, has established not only that death has been caused by witchcraft but also who the wizard is, it is incumbent on his nearest male relations, and first of all on his sons, to take revenge on the supposed assassin. At the death-bed of the father they make a solemn promise to fulfil this duty. Often the sons alone carry out the sanguinary business. If the sorcerer has many supporters they join the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased. Sometimes the conspirators also ask the advice of the chief of the tribe, but the latter generally does not take part in such a private feud unless he has some personal interest in it."

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians: they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wakáni or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

1: Karsten--399 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"From what has been stated about the medicine-men in the previous pages, for instance in connection with the demons appearing in the shape of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, we may conclude that they form a class of extraordinary importance in the Jibaro community. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-man is the physician of the community, not a priest. His chief bussiness [sic] is to kill or harm other people--his own enemies or those of his tribe--with sorcery, and to cure evils sent by enemy sorcerers. He is not particularly a 'weather-doctor', i.e. a man that professes to influence the weather for good or evil. Although magical practices of this kind occur among the Jibaros, they can be performed by any member of the community and do not form part of the special functions of the medicine-men. Nor do they concern themselves with such ceremonies as are of a marked religious character, as for instance the rites and incantations performed in honour of Nungüi and her husband Shakaĕma for agriculture. Divination consisting of drinking the narcotics natéma or maikoa is continually practised by the medicine-men, but chiefly in connection with their medical treatment."

1: Karsten--399-400 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"I frequently use the expression 'medicine-man and sorcerer', indicating thereby that these conceptions are not exactly synonymous. A medicine-man is certainly always a sorcerer, but a sorcerer need not necessarily be a professional medicine-man. Thus old warriors and chiefs are generally more or less initiated in the magic art; in fact, they [400] fight their enemies not only with their natural weapons but also with their magical 'arrows' (tunchi). Yet they do not exercise the art of sorcery professionally and are seldom seen curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers. In this account I shall as a rule use the words 'sorcerer' or 'wizard' with reference to black or nefarious magic, whereas 'medicine-man' is a general appellation for a person practising the magic art. The Jibaros have only one word for denoting a medicine-man or sorcerer; wishinyu."

1: Karsten--406-407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"As we have seen, the function of the medicine-man includes, on the one hand, the infliction of evils upon other people by witchcraft, on the other hand, the curing of people bewitched by other sorcerers.

First we shall examine how the medicine-man proceeds when bewitching his enemies.

To throw the magic arrow or bewitch another person is among the JIBAROS called waweátinyu (the inf. form; 3 pers. sing. wawéama).

When a wishinyu or medicine-man wants to bewitch another Indian he prepares himself for the operation by fasting for five days. During these days he contents himself with the same scanty food as was prescribed for him at the time of initiation, eating only some boiled green plantains, mashed in water. He abstains from drinking manioc-beer, but repeatedly takes tobacco water through the nose, the leaves of the plant being boiled in a small clay pot partly filled with water. Every evening he drinks the narcotic natéma in order to see the spirits and be instructed by them in regard to the kind of 'arrow' he ought to use and other particulars. The action always takes place in the dark, when the demons move about. When ready to shoot his tunchi, the sorcerer takes tobacco water, coughs and hawks up something which he seizes with his fingers, mutters a sort of conjuration, addressed to the arrow, whistles, and makes a peculiar movement with his finger. The name of the Indian to be bewitched must be mentioned in the conjuration. Supposing that his name is Andiche, the medicine-man addresses the tunchi in the

following words:

Amuesha, tsinsáka,
Andiche numba umárta,
namánkisha yuota
kuránta matinyu. [407]

that is:

'You arrow,
may you drink the blood of Andiche
and eat his flesh,
so that he may die quickly!'

The wizard subsequently shoots the arrow with a blowing movement. He may be quite near his victim, or he may hit him at a considerable distance. Thus a person may be bewitched while he sits quietly in his house in the evening, conversing with other people. The hostile sorcerer steals to the house, covered by the darkness, and shoots his invisible arrow through a crack in the wall. At the same moment the victim inside the house will feel an acute pain in the chest, give a start and say to his comrades: 'I feel ill, something has happened to me, I must have been bewitched'. The wizard, having accomplished his deed, sneaks away."

1: Karsten--407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, when a sorcerer wants to discharge his 'chonta' at an enemy, he fasts for two days previously, eating only green plantains and taking tobacco water in repeated doses. Every evening he drinks aya huasca in order to communicate with the demons. Sorcery is practised at night. The wizard secures a black wasp with a poisonous sting, fixes three small chonta thorns to its abdomen, and sends it off with the following formula: 'Chai runáta yaicugri; cutin tigramúngi; chapashámi chishi; allita mikushca shamúngi, nyúca nishcáta pactachispa. i. e. 'May you enter into that man (the name of the Indian is mentioned); may you return later on; I will wait for you at night; having nicely eaten his flesh may you return after executing my order'.

The invisible arrow of the sorcerer is supposed to enter into the victim through his throat or his chest, just as if he were hit by a real arrow. If a medicine-man is not able to extract the arrow, he will grow worse and worse and die within a few days. The demon, having left the 'arrow' in the patient's body, returns to his master."

"Frequently, however, the sorcerer hits his victim while the latter is far away in another village or part of the country. In such cases he does not generally shoot his arrow at him directly but through the mediation of some demoniacal animal, bird, reptile, or insect. The latter are, among the JIBAROS, called tunchima or 'bewitched'. A medicine-man may thus hide his tunchi or his own demoniacal soul in a jaguar, [408] a nocturnal bird, a venomous snake, or a poisonous insect like a wasp or a scorpion. These creatures he sends away, with the usual formula of conjuration, to distant places where they will encounter his intended victim. Birds are, by their flight, believed to be especially able to carry the tunchi far away, but the success with which a medicine-man is able to use such agents of the animal world naturally always depends on his own skill and experience. The very fact that for instance a jaguar or a venomous snake assumes an aggressive attitude towards man, killing or harming him, is regarded as a sufficient proof that the beast or reptile is tunchima, i. e. has been sent by an enemy wizard.

The following instance may illustrate the Indian idea of 'bewitched' or demoniacal animals. A wife of the Jibaro sorcerer Shakaĕma on the Rio Upano one day went out to fetch manioc from the plantations. While she was engaged in the work she noticed a black vulture which came flying towards her from the north in such a way that it at once attracted her attention. The vulture alighted on the ground at a little distance from the

woman, looking at her. At the same moment she felt an acute pain in the chest, as if she had been hit by an invisible arrow. She got frightened and was at once seized with the suspicion that she had been bewitched. She tried to chase away the fatal bird with her machete, but it only flew a short distance and alighted again, steadily looking at her. The pain in the chest increased. The woman hurriedly returned home and told her people what had happened to her. A medicine-man drank natéma in order to find out the nature and origin of the evil. He declared that the woman had been bewitched by the vulture, which was tunchima. The bird had been sent by a sorcerer among the Jibaros who live in the north on the Rio Copotaza, a hostile tribe against whom Shakaëma had made war some time before. All attempts to cure the woman proved futile. Her condition grew worse and worse, and a few days later she died."

1: Karsten--408-409 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791, 763 (1928-29)

"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros, when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

1: Karsten--409-410 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

'Quite commonly sorcery is performed through the eyes. The Jibaros believe in the 'evil eye' (tuna hi), an experienced sorcerer being credited with the power of sending the tunchi not only from his mouth, but also from his eyes. The eye to the Indians is the 'mirror [410] of the soul' in the most real sense of the word.(1) Since it is from the medicine-man's soul that his magic poison comes, we can understand how he is believed to be able to send his tunchi merely by a penetrating look. The effectiveness of the evil eye is increased by the red face-painting. The Jibaro Indian seldom enters a strange house without having the face painted red, the painting being both a protection for himself against the treacherous 'arrow' of his host and a means of eking out the effectiveness of his own occult powers. A red dye often used in similar cases is the one called múspa, composed of the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and the dried and pounded leaves of the plant simaika. The cheeks and especially the parts round the eyes are painted with this bright red dye before entering, with a view to increasing the magical power of the visitor's look. This kind of face-painting is said to act particularly as a love charm, the visiting Indian being thus able to attract and entice the women when they

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"1. In the Jibaro language the word for 'eye' (hi) is the same as the word for 'fire'."

step forth and offer manioc-beer to the guest. Generally, however, the evil look of the sorcerer entails illness and death for the person on whom it falls."

1: Karsten--410-411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"The 'evil eye' operates in different ways. Thus the Jibaro sorcerers commonly avail themselves of apparently insignificant wounds and send their arrow into the victim merely by looking at him. A small wound accidentally caused by a knife, for instance, may thus at first be looked upon as only a 'natural' wound. But should the wound not heal within a few days in a normal way, should it, on the contrary, get infected, begin to ache, and cause the swelling of the whole limb, the medicine-men will in most cases declare that these unexpected complications have been brought about by the evil eye of a sorcerer. The following case may illustrate the Indian ideas on this point. A son of the great Jibaro chief Nayapi at Puyo was once brought to me to be cured of a mysterious illness. He showed a small wound on the groin, the origin of which the Indians could not explain and which, in spite of a prolonged treatment by different medicine-men, would not heal. On the contrary, the patient grew worse; some internal disease, accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, set in, and after some days of suffering the young man died. A medicine-man, having drunk the narcotic natéma, gave the following declaration as to the nature of the illness:--the small wound in the groin would not by itself have caused death;[411]but some enemy sorcerer had looked upon it with an evil eye and sent his tunchi into it. The 'arrow' had taken the form of a small boa serpent which had penetrated from the groin into the venter where it had grown, causing the swelling of the stomach and ultimately the patient's death. In cases of snake-bite

the same explanation is not seldom adhered to. There are, as we have seen, 'natural' snakes and snakes that are tunchima, 'bewitched'. The bite of the former does no particular harm to the person bitten, whereas the bite of the latter often ends fatally. Now in many cases where a snake-bite has unfortunate results, leading to the death of the patient or to serious complications, the Indians reason in the following way: the bite itself would not have caused death; but some malicious person had happened to look at the wound with an evil eye and thus caused the catastrophe. Hence when, among the Jibaros, some one is bitten by a snake, precautions are taken that no suspected person should get an opportunity to see the patient. In fact he is immediately taken to the forest where the medicine-man stays with him alone whilst curing him."

1: Karsten--411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"A sorcerer may operate all by himself, or he may cooperate with an iguánchi. These demons not only send disease in the way described before, but also shoot with magic arrows like the human sorcerers, and they do it in a more skilled way than the latter. When a sorcerer cooperates with an iguánchi, therefore, there is no remedy for the victim. The demon will deliberately shoot arrow after arrow at him so quickly that no medicine-man is able to extract them, and the patient is certain to die."

1: Karsten--411-412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Of the different kinds of magical 'arrows' used by the sorcerers some are regarded as more effective than others. The most dangerous tunchi consist of crystals and bright stones known under the name of kaya wincha, and of which the sorcerers make frequent use when bewitching people. If the victim is hit on the head by such a stone he is supposed to be doomed to certain death; few medicine-men are able to cure such patients. In accordance with this idea such bright stones are almost universally found among the namúra or magical objects of the medicine-men.

When used against a white man the tunchi as a rule is supposed to have no effect whatever. White people are immune against the sorcery of the Indians. There is, the Jibaros say, only one way of charming an apáchi or white man, namely, by shooting at him with an 'arrow' made of a hen's bone (atáshi kúnchi). This idea is, no doubt, connected [412] with the fact that the hens were originally introduced among the Indians by the whites."

1; Karsten--412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Women and children are most liable to sorcery, and a wizard, when desiring to harm an enemy family or tribe, therefore prefers to attack these weaker members of the community. Small children are, on account of their delicacy, especially exposed both to the evil witchcraft of Indian sorcerers and to 'disease'. The Jibaros consequently very unwillingly show their babes to strangers and never take them to the houses of Indians whom they do not know well or with whom they do not stand on a perfectly friendly footing. It may happen that in the strange house some malicious Indian sorcerer looks upon the child with evil eye in consequence of which it will fall ill and die. A man always has more power of resistance than a woman or child, and the older he grows the more 'hardened' he becomes against evil spirits and witchcraft. Old sorcerers and chiefs--even though they be physically decrepit--are among the Jibaros, as among other Indians, most feared on account of their supposed skill in managing their formidable supernatural weapon, the tunchi."

"As an example of the type of episode which frequently produces serious trouble as a result of a visit by strangers, an incident occurring the following night is also recounted. At 4:30 in the morning we were awakened by a sudden uproar when Caneros took his place at the women's end of the house, facing the men, and began shouting in a rhythmic manner, stamping his feet and making warlike gestures with his lance, which he brandished in his right hand. Occasionally his head wife would put her head out from her cubicle and contribute a few words. Caneros continued in this manner for well over half an hour. When he had concluded, Yerenu, who appeared to have considerable influence in the household, took the floor in his place and orated in similar fashion, stepping back and forth as though going through a dance. He likewise talked for more than half an hour while various of the seated men interjected occasional remarks, creating a terrific uproar; not unlike the effect produced by an evangelist haranguing his congregation, punctuated with the Amens and Hallelujahs of his listeners.

About 7 in the morning the discourse died down and Tsamagashi, one of the curakas with us, said a few words. It developed that an old woman had taken sick during the night. It appeared that Tsamagashi was formerly a wishinu. Caneros was accusing him of having caused the old woman's sickness, and stated that unless she got well promptly he would declare war against Tsamagashi and his household. His wife occasionally joined in saying, 'Yes, we will dig up the lance!' Yerenu took up the talk in the same vein and others of Caneros' group put in a word now and then indicating that they would support.

Tsamagashi then replied that he was now an old man and had lost his power as a wishinu and denied being responsible for this sickness. He further volunteered the information that in his opinion, we, the whites, had been the cause of the illness. Caneros refused to accept this explanation and denied our responsibility.

After the excitement died down Tsamagashi and his wife, who had accompanied him, left for about an hour and then Tsamagashi returned alone. During the rest of the day the attitudes of Tsamagashi and Caneros gave no indication that anything unusual had transpired. [99]

Fortunately, the old woman felt much better and evidently no further action was taken. There is little doubt that had the woman's condition taken a turn for the worse, serious trouble would have developed."

One other important cause acts in the same way. For the Jívaro there is no natural death (1). All sickness, all death are considered as the result of an evil spell laid by an enemy using a sorcerer as an intermediary. Each tribe possesses its sorcerer or huishinu, and, since the one who is able to cause illness ought to be equally capable of curing it, this individual is also the doctor: in Jíbaro, the same word describes the two functions. These huishinu have considerable influence and power over the life of the savages. They are feared and surrounded by the attentions of all, they are loaded with presents, but their situation is not free from dangers; [240] of all the individuals in a tribe, the sorcerer is the most exposed to a tragic death, either by neighboring people who accuse him of having caused the death of one of their number by witchcraft, or by his own tribe, if he is suspected because the children have a sickness which he does not know or cannot cure even if it is in his own family. The renown of certain huishinu sometimes extends beyond the limits of the group to which they belong, and there is no hesitation in bringing them to the death bed of a person of distinction, eight to ten days' journey away (2). It seems that this function is not the privilege of certain families:

1. Suicide is exceptional. A single traveller points out its frequence among the Aguaruna women. In two months, two committed suicide in the tribe where he was staying. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 82.

2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 147.

13: Rivet--239-240 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 754, 555

rather, the most intelligent individuals are attracted by the advantage of the profession, and gradually acquire prestige by their skillfullness and astuteness, in the little circle of people among whom they live.

20: Dyott--174-175 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 754, 761

"The confused jumble of voices about us made it quite impossible to grasp what was happening, but slowly we caught a few odd phrases which told us that this was no ordinary drinking bout, as we had supposed, but an impromptu gathering, assembled to discuss a startling piece of news--Kun-gupi's brother, who lived on the other side of the river, had come to an untimely end.

It was generally known that this man had been troubled with evil spirits for some weeks past, but at noon to-day, he had unexpectedly drawn his last breath while seated quietly on his rack. It was obvious that he had died a natural death, but Indians attribute every misfortune to the agency of some demon working under the direction of a personal agency. In this case, there was a good deal of discussion as to who the responsible party might be. Someone must have been to blame and a reasonable explanation had to be given. With Indians an explanation must {175} always be forthcoming for everything that happens, and their line of reasoning is often just about as sensible as our modern way of making plain the wonders of nature, which are still incomprehensible to our finite minds. The dead man had had no recognized enemies in the district, otherwise they would have been the first to be suspected. Failure to fix the blame on some fellow tribesman would cause attention to be focused on a stranger, and this is where Johnston and myself came in. Under such conditions, it would not need very much to implicate us in the affair, especially if we had been guilty of some indiscreet act such as photographing the man against his will."

20: Dyott--175-176 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 754, 761

"I knew some of the strange ideas Jivaros have about death, for I was living in a house once when a young warrior succumbed to a severe malady. I asked the father if many Indians died in that part of the country, and was told in a rather superior tone that Indians never die.

'But how about this poor fellow here?' I asked, pointing to the corpse. 'How do you account for his condition?'

'He didn't die,' replied the father; 'he met with an accident.' They hold the extraordinary view that people never die from natural causes, and that a man would live for ever if it were not for the baneful influence of some malignant spirit. Even when the body has 'met with an accident,' they fully believe in a continuation of existence in the spiritual state.

While yet the discussion ran high, another visitor squeezed his way in through the narrow portal and joined the excited group of men inside. He announced that a party of strangers had been seen in the district that very morning--two men carrying bundles, accompanied by a woman. Kuashu was quick to sense complications which might involve him and his family, so we hurriedly bade the neighbours good-bye and were soon streaking home to [176] advise Napi that his life might be in peril if he remained much longer with us."

25: Vigna--40 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 761, 754

Natural death, through infectious sickness or natural human exhaustion, has no explanation, nor do the Jibaros admit of one. The witch who is the supposed author of the death of a Jibaro, will sooner or later be the victim of inexorable vengeance on the part of the members of the family of the deceased. In cases of necessity, these will leave the vengeance as heritage from father to son.

25: Vigna--40[5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 754

They fear witchcraft and tremble before the sinister glance of a Jíbaro whom they do not know, believing that he is a witch. [41]

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *nalem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakáram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

partnerships often link together four or five or more shamans in the same neighborhood, the higher partner supplying *tsentsak*, and his lower partners reciprocating with native and Western trade goods (*kuit*). Since bewitchers can create only bewitchers, while curers can create both bewitchers and curers (see pp. 155–56), the local hierarchies tend to have the forms shown in Figure 4.

Ex-shamans have testified that intra-neighborhood shaman partners who are bewitchers sometimes even go to the length of mildly bewitching disliked neighbors so that their curing shaman partners can profit in trade goods from treating the induced illness. The bewitching partner expects his curing shaman associate, in turn, never to tell a layman that the former was responsible for an illness or death. The curing shaman may even give his bewitching partner an occasional gift from his accumulated store of wealth, thus reversing the usual flow of *kuit* (see Figure 4, B). More frequently,

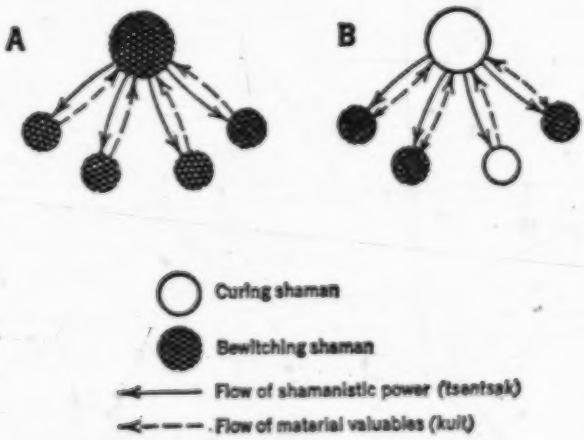

FIGURE 4
Schematic diagram of local shamanistic hierarchies

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
778 the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
• [754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jívaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
[721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy at-
721 tempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natemā*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical
weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in betwitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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774 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
• 754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of con-
761 tagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two
[763] is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the
[821] moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

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776 756 778 823 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

757 Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

• 754 776 756 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 778 776 276 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 756 778 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*

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to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaucī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peyer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tuncī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

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778 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemā*.
276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

• 754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
628 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal
721 assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemā* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
276 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to re-
778 gurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754 •

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754 776 825 [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [828]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemā*, sees the
776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

• 754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
[787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemā*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956 969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemá*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances. 754 • 778 276

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful. 755 778 753

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemá*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23). 755 276 787

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun, 755 778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
776 regularly, he must drink *natemi* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemi*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Generally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who
[276] lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
• 754 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *pasu* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemi*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

low. A shaman who has had his *nemtak* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natema. The sudden loss of his *nemtak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *nemtak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

538

I was born to die fighting.

Jivaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the interior Jívaro as to what is correct, normative social behavior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them. 626 183

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis among the Jívaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic illnesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed 754 682 626

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626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to termi-
682 nate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
728 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
[431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished.
He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they
attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will
have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assas-
sination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
• 754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally,
the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery
is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sor-
cery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more
proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation
is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they
alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When
a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not at-
tempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of
a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
[593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanc-
tion is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however,
the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed re-
sponsible. They usually have to wait several years in order
to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison
him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
[727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done
at the large *tsantsa* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient *hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.* 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiki*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [572] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara
576 terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
754 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
756 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
773 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
{276} become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
{824} uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
{756} have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
{755} Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás tsukani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tuputi, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of
• 754 adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jívaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jívaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jívaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

1: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

"Now let us see how the medicine-man proceeds when he has to cure a patient suffering from an evil sent by other sorcerers.

In order to be able to operate with success the medicine-man has to prepare himself in a certain way, the preparation as usual chiefly consisting in fasting. The treatment of the sick person takes place in the evening, after sunset. Only in the morning of the same day can the medicine-man take some food and drink manioc-beer. After noon he eats nothing, but instead of food takes tobacco water in great quantities through the nose. Pork is supposed to be particularly harmful to him, and he carefully avoids not only eating but even smelling it. If he eats pork before the operation he will awake sick the following morning. In the evening the medicine-man has to drink natéma which has meanwhile been prepared in the patient's house. A pot containing pieces of the crushed stem of the liana Banisteria caapi as well as of another liana called iáhi has been boiling the whole day on a slow fire, so that the main part of the water has gradually evaporated, only a small but exceedingly concentrated quantity being left. This is the natéma medicine.

As soon as darkness sets in, the medicine-man goes to the house of the patient taking with him the magical bag containing his namúra as well as a bundle of certain magical leaves called shingi-shingu, which he makes use of when treating the patient. His face is generally painted black with genipa. Tobacco water has previously been prepared in

a pot by boiling the leaves, and a large pininga (clay dish) is now filled with this decoction. As soon as everything is ready all lights and fires in the house are put out, for the medicine-man must operate in complete darkness. He begins his treatment by taking the pininga with the tobacco water and chanting over it a long conjuration. The spirit of tobacco (tsangu maso mari) is summoned to take possession [414] of the medicine-man and to help him to find out the origin and nature of the evil troubling the patient. The invocation being finished he drinks some tobacco water, without emptying the dish. Thereupon he fills a small cup with natéma and empties its contents at a draught. Then the doctor leans over the patient who has been stretched out upon a bench in the middle of the house, and starts to sing his conjurations. After a while, during his chants and other actions with the patient, he takes a second dose of natéma, sometimes with some more tobacco water. This is repeated a third, sometimes a fourth time, according as it is found necessary. The principal thing is that the medicine-man gets intoxicated (nambikma), for otherwise he cannot conjure forth the demons and his whole treatment is of no avail. This state of mind, however, must not be provoked suddenly and all at once, but gradually, in order to avoid too violent outbursts of spiritual ecstasy; that is the reason why the medicines are only taken in small doses.

In his conjuration the medicine-man invokes all those demons who are suspected of having sent the evil. Since the sorcerers, when bewitching people, preferably avail

themselves of certain demoniacal agents of the animal world, in which they hide their disease and death-bringing tunchi, we understand why most of the demons invoked are animals, birds, reptiles and even insects. It is a leading principle in the Indian conjurations that the remedy must be sought where the evil has its origin, in other words, that the same spirits that have caused the illness must also be compelled to cure it.

To conjure illnesses caused by sorcery is called tsinságrinyu kantámsama, or kantamára umbuártinyu, 'to cure sickness by singing'. The stem-word for tsinságrinyu is tsinsáka, 'arrow'. Kantámsama (kantamára), again, means 'to conjure by singing'.

The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámaru, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,

tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.

I am blowing. I am blowing!
avanketná, avanketná.
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body
like a hook),
ayámsatná, ayámsatná
in order that you may get relief!'. --
and so forth.
[416]

....

The medicine-man always begins his conjurations, of whatever kind they may be, by repeating the word, we, we. 'I, I myself', thus emphasising his own personality and the will power by which he masters the spirit world. Amárun is the Quichua wordfor the great water boa (Eunectes murinus), called pangi in the Jibaro language. In their conjurations and incantations the Jibaros sometimes make use of Quichua words which are, as it were, international among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The water boa, as we have seen before, is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, and is therefore naturally invoked first. It is the same with his 'brother' tsungi, another water monster of obscure origin but equally important as an author of witchcraft. Other demons of the animal world that frequently send the fatal 'arrow' are the tiger (yawára), the river dolphin (apupa), which is supposed to bewitch people when it emerges to the surface of

the water to breathe, and the ray (kaspa) which emits an 'arrow' with its poisonous death-bringing sting. That the spirit of tobacco (tsangu) is invoked is easy to understand since it is to a great extent by its aid that the medicine-man succeeds in overcoming the evil troubling the patient. --Again, avanketná is the same as avankatukáhei, 'to disengage a fish from the hook', with which it has been caught. In the same way the conjurer will disengage the patient from the arrow which has been fixed into his body. Ayamsatná is the same as ayámsatahei, 'to rest', 'to get relief'.

The spirits just mentioned of course are not the only ones invoked by the Jibaro medicine-men. A number of other demons also figure in their conjurations, most of these being animals, birds, or insects, some even local nature spirits. As to carnivorous beasts, not only the common ounce (Felix onca) but all animals of the feline family--for instance the great black jaguar (soacha), the puma (Felix concolor), and different kinds of tiger cats--may serve as agents of sorcerers and are therefore invoked by the medicine-men. The tsingu-tsangu yawá, is probably only a mythical beast: 'a tiger-like animal which lives in the trees'. Of water monsters, in addition to those already mentioned, the caiman (kanyátsa) and the great water otter (wangánimi) are of special importance. Birds, as we know, frequently carry the 'arrow' and are therefore [417] invoked. Among these the tucan (tsukánga or kuánga), the yellow and the red macaw (yambúna, takúmbi) the mango (chui), and the cock-of-the-rock (sumga)

are the most important. It is a curious fact that most of the animal and bird demons which are thus believed to send disease and invoked by the medicine-men also figure among the arútama, who were originally ancestral spirits. --Insects possessing natural 'arrows' --stings etc, --may also be invoked by the medicine-men. Among these there is a big hairy larva called wambángu which, when caught with the fingers, is able to inflict a stinging pain and is therefore sometimes used by the sorcerers for bewitching purposes. --Again, of nature spirits the demons of the hills are especially invoked (neindya, neindya, winiti)'demons of the hills, may you come (to draw out the arrows you have sent'!) The high hills and cordilleras, as we know, are believed to be inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers.

Apart from the conjuration itself, there are certain interesting operations with the patient to which we must direct attention. I have already mentioned the bundle of leaves called shingishingu, which forms part of the magical equipment of the medicine-man, and which is used as a sort of rattle. The leaves, those of a special plant credited with mysterious properties, terminate in a long point. These points form the most essential part of the whole thing, as far as in them the soul of the plant (wakáni) and its magic power is concentrated. The points are called inéi, i.e. 'tongues', and they are supposed to be identical with the tongue of the sorcerer, who is said to give it this peculiar

pointed form--more or less like a snake's tongue--at the moment when he shoots off his 'arrow' (tunchi) against an enemy. The points of the leaves, therefore, are at the same time identical with the tunchi itself, the mysterious object which it is the medicine-man's task to extract from the [418] body of the patient. These ideas fully explain the importance attached to the shingi-shingu rattle. During his operations the medicine-man from time to time rises and shakes the rattle over the patient and particularly over that part of his body where the evil is, just as if he were fanning him with a fan. This procedure is repeated several times, alternately with other operations. Sometimes the medicine-man interrupts his conjurations to start another treatment. From his magical bag he takes out one of the white stones (kaya wincha), and after having filled his mouth full of tobacco water he puts the stone into his mouth and then rubs the bad spot with it. By this treatment he is supposed to prepare that spot favourably for extracting the tunchi. Then he leans down over it, blows and spits upon it and ultimately, having again filled his mouth with tobacco water, starts to suck it vigorously. After some moments he pretends to extract something from the body and holds up a small object which in the darkness cannot be clearly perceived. 'I have found the arrow', he says to the bystanders, 'it is a chonta thorn', (or a pebble, a worm, the hair of a paca, etc.). 'But this', he generally adds, 'is not the only arrow that there is in his body. There are several of them, but I will gradually draw them all out'.

In this way the medicine-man continues his operations for a long while, often for several hours, alternately chanting his conjurations and invoking the demons, shaking the shingi-shingu rattle, spitting and blowing, rubbing the bad spot with his namúra, etc. He frequently takes tobacco water and also repeatedly drinks a small quantity of natema, thus gradually working himself into a state of ecstasy, so that ultimately he starts to dance round the patient, stamping on the ground and chanting in a loud voice. This is the highest degree of possession, the state in which the medicine-man 'sees' the illness and discovers its causes. About midnight he interrupts his operations for that night, but since there is generally more than one arrow in the patient's body to be extracted, the treatment is in most cases continued for several successive nights.

In the narcotic sleep produced by the natéma and the tobacco water the medicine-man will afterwards find out the ultimate origin of the sickness, the evil sorcerer who has sent the tunchi. The author of the trouble having thus been discovered, the medicine-man may try to send the tunchi back to him, and the relatives of the patient may decide to wreak vengeance upon him. Generally, however, vengeance is not [419] decided upon until one or several deaths through sorcery have taken place within a family."

1: Karsten--419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a medicine-man who cures people bewitched by chunta-throwing sorcerers is called hámbic runa or only hámbic, 'a man curing by medicines', the word hámbic being derived from hambi, 'medicine'. When preparing for his operations, which take place at night, the medicine-man has to fast the same day, taking only tobacco water through the mouth and the nose, just as is customary among the Jibaros. In the evening he takes aya huasca in repeated doses before and during his operations. The latter are of much the same kind as among the Jibaros. However, the demons invoked in the conjurations of the Canelos medicine-men are to some extent different from those of the Jibaros, corresponding to the particular ideas held by the former Indians as to the spirits that send sickness. These spirits have been mentioned before in connection with the religious beliefs of the Canelos Indians. Only the great water serpent, amárun supai, and the tiger, puma supai, hold equal positions in the superstition of both peoples, each of them being also regarded by the Canelos Indians as an incarnation of the soul of a wizard and consequently as an author of witchcraft. The medicine-man moreover, like the wishinyu of the Jibaros, makes use of white stones and other magical objects for curing the patient, as well as of the rattle of leaves, which at Canelos is called ilupánga."

"Besides the ordinary cases of witchcraft, which can only be cured by a medicine-man, there is one more evil the treatment of which is of particular interest, namely, snake-bite. As mentioned before, venomous snakes which attack and harm people are generally looked upon as tunchima, that is, as temporary reincarnations of the souls of evil sorcerers. With the snake's poison the 'arrow' penetrates the body of the Indian bitten by it. Where such an idea prevails, it is clear that only a man initiated in the magic art can properly treat the person bitten. However, among the Jibaros the person most competent to cure a snake's bite is not the ordinary medicine-man, but a man who has himself once been bitten by a venomous snake and survived. Such an Indian is consedered to be 'hardened' against snakes and therefore to possess special qualifications for curing other men attacked by the demoniacal reptiles.

As soon as an Indian has been bitten by a snake, therefore, a man [420] is summoned, if possible, who has himself once been cured of the consequences of a snake-bite. Special precautions are taken on such occasions. No strange person, not even any of the nearest relatives of the patient, is allowed to see the little wound. A secret foe may look upon it with an evil eye and send his 'arrow' into it, with the consequence that all sorts of dangerous complications ensue. The Jibaros generally have recourse to this explanation when a snake-bite which, perhaps, in the beginning seemed slight suddenly gives rise to a serious illness and causes the patient's death. Hence no one

but the curer is allowed to treat the sufferer, and the cure takes place, not in the house, but outside in the forest, whither the 'doctor' cautiously leads the person bitten by the snake. In the forest he has been attacked by the evil demon, in the forest, therefore, the same demon must be conjured and the effects of his attack neutralized. A small provisional shelter is made, and the curer stays there alone with the patient during the whole time that he is treating him. The treatment consists in conjurations and operations of much the same kind as those practised by the ordinary medicine-men. The medicine mostly employed is juice of tobacco. The doctor repeatedly takes the medicine into his mouth and thereupon vigorously sucks the wound caused by the snake. He sings certain incantations, summoning the demon operating in the venomous snake.

Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called piri-piri. Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called napi piripiri (snake's piripiri). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (Capsicum). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through

the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself.

Although all these medicines may in themselves have beneficial [421] effects, they are used by the Indians chiefly because of the magical or supernatural properties they are supposed to possess. The Indians believe that by using them they are able to drive out the evil demon from the patient's body.

The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

1: Karsten--421-422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a person is cured of the consequences of a snake-bite much in the same way. The medicine-man takes tobacco juice into his mouth and sucks the wound with it, singing conjurations. From time to time he interrupts these operations to fan the patient with the branch of a tree called chini papaya or ahuirintsúma. This tree is much like the ordinary Carica papaya, but its branches are provided with large soft spines to which the Indians ascribe magical properties. When the patient is fanned or lightly beaten with this magic branch, the treatment is supposed to disperse the evil and to expel it from his body.

On the fifth day, independent of whether the patient has recovered or is about to die, the following ceremony takes place. Five round or somewhat oblate stones are looked for on the bank of the river, and arranged in a row from the house outwards, with a distance of about one foot between each stone. Now the medicine-man, either alone or with the assistance of another man, makes the patient slowly walk along these stones, passing from the house outwards and back. By this procedure, it is believed, he will be relieved of the consequences of the snake-bite. The cure is due to the magic virtues ascribed to the stones.

When a Canelos Indian has been bitten by a snake and the reptile escaped before the Indians were able to kill it, the following ceremony is performed. They take a stick of palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria) and paint it with red rings and spots all round so as

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

"When treating a patient the wishinu at intervals sucks the afflicted part of the patient and if successful in his efforts, which may last for many hours or even days, the spirit will enter the mouth of the wishinu, who then rushes out of the house, gagging and retching while he spits or vomits the spirit out of his own body. After this has been done, with many gesticulations he orders the spirit to leave and not to enter the house again. He makes a complete circuit of the house, pausing at intervals to repeat the performance. As he [119] does this, he is helped out by the people within the house, all of whom are shouting for the spirit to go away. The treatment is always carried on at night and in the darkness, no lights being permitted in the house while the wishinu is operating. The spirit Minura is described as looking like a bearded warrior. Because of the difficulty of calling this spirit, it is necessary for the wishinu to take natima three or four times in order to give him extra power for the purpose.

When the wishinu desires to send Minura into some person in order to give him the sickness he goes alone to the river where the cashpa lives. The spirit is called out by blowing tobacco smoke toward the river and when Minura appears to the wishinu he sends him by means of the blowgun dart tsensac into the body of his intended victim. The same songs are sung as are used in calling him out from the body of a patient. Because of the difficulty before mentioned of calling out this powerful spirit, the wishinu charges exceptionally high rates for his treatment, sometimes as much as a gun. If the neophyte

shaman does not succeed in producing Minura's appearance during his training he will be unable to do so as a practitioner. The same holds true of all the other spirits."

13: Rivet--240 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 755

Besides exorcism is always accompanied by the administration of infusions of medicinal plants or secret remedies, and clever sorcerers risk undertaking a case only when it seems curable.

This is how the huishinu generally operates: in the obscurity of the night, he pretends to take a narcotic infusion (doubtless natema) which gives him a special power; he pretends to be possessed by a spirit (probably the iguanchi), he sings, repeats certain special phrases, makes certain gestures, speaks to an invisible being, and at the same time massages, kneads, bites or sucks, the affected part of the body. These manoeuvers last a long time, then suddenly, as if astonished himself with the result obtained, he cries out: "Here it is!" has the lights lit and shows the astonished family a spider, a frog, an ant, a chonta spike, or some other analogous object, saying: "Here is the cause of the illness your relative was suffering; he will get better now unless it is necessary to take out some other things from him in the following days"; then he names the author of the witchcraft (1). And there is war in prospect, for the sick Jíbaro or his children, if he succumbs, will not rest peacefully until the culprit has fallen under their blows.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 143.

".... Mihanda had a bad swelling on his left arm which, judging from its ugly appearance, must have been extremely painful. Napi [KS: medicine man] was called in for consultation. He examined it critically, nodding his head to and fro as if to say, why that is easily cured. He did not express himself one way or the other in words but stepped out of the house for a few moments, returning with a handful of leaves which I could not identify. These he chopped up carefully, as if making mint sauce, [177] and then put on one side. Once more he examined Mihanda's arm, rubbed it, squeezed it, punched it, and generally went through the usual movements of an experienced masseur. His patient put up with the rough handling stolidly and without flinching. The medicine-man's next move was to suck the wound with his mouth. For some minutes he continued doing this, pausing to take breath and then returning to his task with renewed vigour as if he were having quite a struggle to withdraw something from his patient's arm. Suddenly he stopped and sat back as if his efforts had been successful. 'Look,' he said to Mihanda, 'no wonder your arm was sore. Just see what I have taken out of it.' With which he took out of his mouth a fair sized pebble and handed it over for the astonished Mihanda to examine.

The treatment did not end here, for next the wizard took the minced-up leaves, smeared them carefully over the sore spot, then taking a stick from the fire, one end of which was so much red-hot charcoal, he proceeded to touch the patient's arm and so

cauterize the wound. The pain must have been excruciating but Mihanda did not utter a sound; he only made a wry face.

Napi's methods might sound a trifle crude to the modern doctor, but it shows, nevertheless, that he had a wonderful fund of knowledge. First of all, note the manipulation of the arm; secondly, the removal of undesirable matter by the simple process of suction. The trick played on the patient's credulity is exceptionally interesting, because it indicates that Napi vaguely realized certain fundamental laws of suggestion. The stone had not come out of Mihanda's arm but out of Napi's wallet which he had slung over his shoulder. I have seen beetles, sticks and all kinds of things taken out of wounds before now, so I was used to this part of the procedure. The final application of the herb and the cauterizing of the wound showed that Napi [178] was not only a good conjurer, but one who understood the medicinal value of plants and the need of making the wound antiseptic. When we last saw Mihanda, thirty-six hours later, the swelling had subsided, the inflammation had gone, and the wound was healing over nicely."

25: Vigna--39 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 755

The Yhuanchi instructs, prepares and gives the necessary science to the "Witches" for the curing of illness and for malefic influences. In order to obtain these favors, the Jíbaro who is initiated in this life must fast rigorously, abstain from certain foods and drinks, and follow a certain strict regimen. The Yhuanchi orders and directs the bellicose reprisals of revenge on an enemy, although this may be merely an assumption as happens in the majority of cases.

25: Vigna--40 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 755

The power of the witch "Huisin" is the chief superstition among the Jíbaros. The witch cures and heals illnesses through gestures, contortions, songs, and sucking of the afflicted part, after drinking a narcotic called "Natem." If the patient recovers, the witch, as fee for his intervention, will have the right to demand everything that stimulates his greed in the house of the sick man. Alas for those who deny him some of his pretensions! If the patient dies, the fault and cause of his death will be another sorcerer, who through envy, and from afar, practiced witchcraft on the patient and caused his death.

25. Vigna--40 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116. 755

When the witchdoctor realizes that an illness is slight, and the patient easily lends himself to suggestion, he will suck the sick part and draw out of it a spider, worm, insect, arrow, or anything that may be blamed for the malady.

It cannot be excluded that from time to time preternatural forces do intervene in these cures. Certain instantaneous cures of illnesses in which suggestion could play no part, or in illnesses of the nervous system, cannot be explained in any other way.

26: Brüning-- 69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755

The ordinary sicknesses are cured by the brujo. This is the general Peruvian name for quack and sorcerer. I have not been able to find out what the Aguaruna term was. In a tambo in Huaracayo I had an opportunity to watch a brujo at work. One evening we were assembled in the house of several rubber collectors when we heard a strange singing from a nearby Indian tambo. I was informed that this meant that a brujo was at work. Immediately I went over to witness the procedure. The tambo was completely dark. Nothing could be heard except the forceful voice of the brujo mixed with the whimpering of a woman. I was told that the woman had pains in the leg. The brujo sang with a loud voice. Next he smoked a strong cigar, inhaling the smoke. In between he sucked the aching part of the woman's leg. Then he gnashed his teeth, pretended that he had to vomit and spit, as if to give the impression that he had sucked some foreign matter from the leg. I can not tell how often he repeated this, nor how long the treatment lasted. The brujo acted so realistically, that I was sickened by it and had to leave the hut in order not to vomit myself.

26: Brüning--69 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755, 787

The same brujo --his name was Kuja--had thought up a little stunt at our expense. Due to the rise of the Marañón we had to stay longer in Meléndez. Since our return was delayed, the brujo said that he had seen it in a vision that all the travellers, the Indian crew included, had died of small-pox. Since our crew came from Huaracayo, the inhabitants of this settlement were in mourning and had already started to prepare for a mortuary feast. Upon our return we found a great multitude of Indians to receive us. The brujo, whose calculations we had upset, was slightly embarrassed, kept himself aloof, faintly smiling from time to time.

28: Tessman--358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

The healing sorcerer, in a cloud of tobacco fumes, sucks the spine out, chews it up and throws it away so that the spine may not return to its owner. The healing sorcerer does not use this spine for magic purposes, since every sorcerer has his own brand of spines.

28: Tessman--358-359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

Excellent material concerning the healing practices is once more given by Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 323 ff.). The treatments are administered in the darkness, after the sorcerer has prepared himself by fasting, the drinking of tobacco juice and of kaapí. [359] The sorcerer has put on black body paint. He conjures up the spirits that could have sent off the spines. He does much rattling with a bundle of certain leaves. He returns to the owner the spine which he has sucked out. The spine may also appear in the shape of a worm, etc. It is the task of the healing sorcerer to find out who the attacker is. In a state of trance he "sees" the attacker. He gives the name of the presumed attacker to the family of the patient. If the patient dies, and should additional victims perish, that is to say, in serious cases, blood revenge is the consequence.

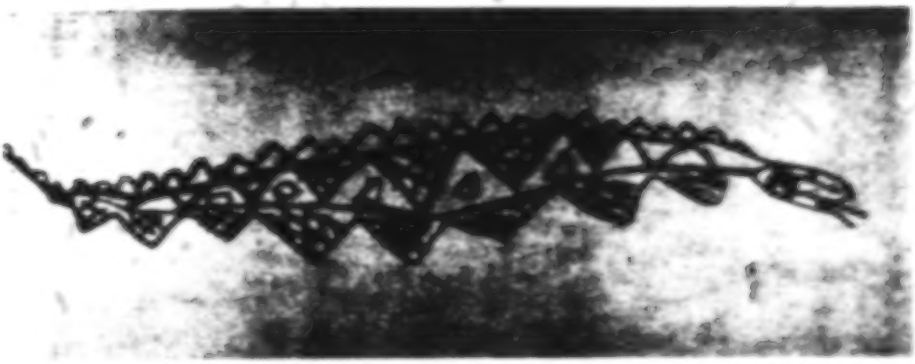
34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *amigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or 756 magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and 776 are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of [755] these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore 756 most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those 776 belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)- 648 speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the 177 Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *paŋü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *paŋü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *huar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-



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23. Snake *tsentsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natemá*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natemá* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

• 755 Jívaro shamans (*uwišin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose Jívaro name is *natemä*, in order to enter the supernatural
787 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemä* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemä* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemä*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemä* drink among the 756
Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemä*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*namurä*) which are [778]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaučī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peyer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself. 754 756 778

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer. [834]

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunčī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability. [755]

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of 778 276 787

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754 776 825 [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [828]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemá*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances. 754 778 276

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful. 755 778 753

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemá*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23). 755 276 787

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun, 755 778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 he alerts his *tsentsak* by whistling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing. A shaman's curing songs tend to be self-encouraging exhortations such as the following:

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I, I, I, I, I,
I, I, I, I.
I am like Tsunji.[14]
I am like Tsunji.
When I drink *natemä*
All my body becomes cold.
And I easily suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds,
And thus I have power.
I drank *natemä*.
I drank enough to have power.
All my body is cold.
Therefore I have power to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

There is a very large body of water.
Thus I am like a great body of water.
I have a crown, but of gold,
Brilliant.[15]
How beautiful it appears
When I drink *natemä*.
Therefore it is easy to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds.
Therefore I cure easily.
I have the *tsentsak* of *natemä*.
I am seated, but I am very cold
And there are many breezes.[16]
I, I, I, I.

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755 539 778

My *tsentsak* are like birds
And the wings and bodies are dreams.
With these I am now ready.
My *tsentsak* are sitting all over me[17]
And as I become cold
I shall have power.
I can easily suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am like some *panü* of the Río Napo.[18]
Therefore I have power to suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

Wait, wait a moment.
Now I am going to become dizzy.
I will see when I am intoxicated.

When he is ready to suck, the shaman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak*, it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak*. He then "vomits" out this object and dis-

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34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have
778 sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which
755 he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their
778 supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the
276 influence of *natemä*, and he sees them as a variety of
787 zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his
776 shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemä*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemä* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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natemā, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemā*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
776 regularly, he must drink *natemá* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemá*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
[276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
754 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *panü* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemá*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
{276} become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
{824} uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
{756} have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
[755] Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás uskanï*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tuqura, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

1: Karsten--46 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
756 (1928-29)

"This was Shaua's 'official' opinion of our visit. His real estimate of the Achuares appeared to be somewhat different when on the return journey we were discussing our impressions of the visit. My Canelos Indians had consented to accompany me to these savages of bad repute chiefly because they had combined certain business interests with the visit. The Canelos Indians have developed the making of drums into a real industry, whereas the Achuares are particularly skilled in making blowguns. Shaua had taken with him two drums of his own make for the sake of bartering with the Achuares. In his own opinion however, he had made a very bad bargain and with vehement gestures and curses gave vent to his discontent with our hosts on account of their greed. However this may have been, I knew that my Indian companion had done good business in another way: he had appeared among the Achuares as a medicine-man and had had several patients, and since such services are among the Indians paid just as scrupulously as a physician is paid by his patients in a civilized society, I understand that the visit had in fact been quite remunerative to him. Instead of the two drums he had taken with him, he returned with four blowguns, although one blowgun is generally paid for with one drum."

2: Stirling--50[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 756

"The following information regarding war practices and the preparation of tsantsas was obtained directly from Anguasha, a veteran warrior of the Yaupe River who had participated in many raids. While this description may be said to apply particularly to the Yaupe group of Jivaros, it may be regarded as typical of the whole Jivaro territory, save for minor details.

When a man dies or when he is seriously ill the shaman of his group takes natima. (70) While under the influence of the narcotic the source of the man's illness is revealed to him. Then, in the event that death occurs, a raid is made upon the house in which the offending shaman lives."

"70. Banisteria caapi."

2: Stirling--53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"When the wishinu has decided that the proper time has arrived for the fight, those intending to participate are notified. The day before they leave, the curaka takes natima. While under its influence the spirits speak to him and give him advice calculated to help in the combat. In the event that the curaka is too old to fight, or is sick, he names the most able fighter in his group to act in his place as a war leader."

2: Stirling--115[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 774

"The practice of shamanism among the Jivaro Indians is basically conditioned by their religious beliefs and conceptions of life and nature. The impersonal magical force which gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants, or natural phenomena is called by the Jivaros tsarutama, more or less the equivalent of the Iroquois orenda, the Siouan wakonda, or the Polynesian mana. Possessing this force or quality are a large group of spirits, usually of an animistic nature, as well as all of the animals and plants which are mentioned in the sacred origin myth. Certain birds, fish, insects, reptiles, and plants contain tsarutama, each of which is responsible for producing certain important effects upon the welfare of man."

2: Stirling--115[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In time of war an attacking party always attempts to kill the shaman or wishinu of their enemies as early in the fight as possible, so as to free themselves from possible injury by the spirits which he controls."

2: Stirling--115 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 577

"Not only is the wishinu respected for the power which he wields, but he is likely also to be the wealthiest man of his group, because of the high prices which he charges for his services in curing. He may also draw pay for sending sickness for someone who desires revenge upon another person. There can be no doubt that the wishinu believes in his powers. He is thoroughly conscientious as a practitioner and spends many long sleepless nights working with his patients. He is regulated by a code of ethics whereby he will respond to a call however inconvenient it may be for him to do so. This conscientiousness may be partly determined by the fact that the wishinu is held personally responsible in the event his patient dies, and being so responsible, is liable to either compensation or blood revenge. As a curing doctor, it is the task of the wishinu to identify the particular spirit which has invaded his patient and then, through his knowledge of the method of controlling this spirit, to call it forth."

2: Stirling--117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756

"To illustrate the manner by which a man becomes a shaman and how he performs his many duties, the experiences of Tendetsa, a prominent wishinu of the Yaupe River, are related (pl. 22, b). Tendetsa first determined to become a wishinu through his interest in watching others operate in curing the sick. It so happened that among his relatives there was not one to look after those who became ill and he felt a desire to perform this service.

After making up his mind that he would attempt to become a wishinu, he went to consult Usatcho, an old wishinu of the Yaupe tribe. A bargain was reached whereby Usatcho agreed to train Tendetsa. It was necessary for Tendetsa to pay a high price for this course of training. He gave Usatcho many things, including gifts of food, ornaments, clothing, and other articles of considerable value. The period of training lasted for one month, beginning and ending with the full moon.

The principal function of a wishinu is that of a curing doctor. In order to be able to cure sicknesses he must learn how to gain control of the various spirits which cause different classes of illness. Once in control of these spirits, he likewise has the power to send sickness into people as well as the power of calling it forth, a fact which makes wishinu the most feared and the most respected member of his tribe."

"Sickness is carried on an allegorical blowgun dart called tsensac, which is identified with the thorn, tunchi, of the magical chonta palm. One of these darts exists for each class of illness. This is a widespread belief in northwestern South America. During the process of becoming a wishinu it was necessary that Usatcho give Tendetsa control of each tsensac. The course of instructions took place in the house of the pupil, Tendetsa. Before beginning his instructions, in order to determine his eligibility, he was sent out by Usatcho at night to catch a small type of fish called chumagaie. He was given bait which Usatcho previously rubbed under his armpit and was instructed to throw in the hook with closed eyes, not looking until the fish was caught. He obeyed these instructions and succeeded in catching the fish, which Usatcho then told him to eat. Then Usatcho went into the forest and collected a bunch of leaves called sasango. These, when waved in the air, make a swishing sound and are used for the purpose of calling the spirit desired.

The first day of his initiation Tendetsa fasted, but, with Usatcho, took quantities of piribri (an herb which is chewed and mixed with water, in which form it is taken as a drink which has a narcotic effect). The two men sat facing each other during the entire time. [118] On the second day the same routine was followed excepting that the narcotic mycot was taken instead of piribri. On the third day the drug was changed to ahinhibri. On the fourth day sango (tobacco) is made into a strong liquid infusion which is snuffed up the nose, each blowing the liquid up the nose of the other in large quantities. On the

fifth day natima is taken. During the next 5 days this cycle is repeated, beginning with piribri on the sixth day and ending with natima on the tenth day. During all of this 10-day period no food whatever is taken. On the close of the tenth day the initiate ate two ripe plantains, mashed and mixed with water, and later he ate two green plantains, roasted or boiled.

At the close of the tenth day, before taking the food they blew into the air calling to Pasuca, the spirit of the blowgun dart. After 10 days of taking quantities of drugs without food they were very light-headed, especially the initiate. They sat waving the sasango leaves and blowing, repeating songs to Pasuca until he appeared finally to them in the form of a bold warrior. When Tendetsa saw him he called out to Usatcho, who began to massage his body vigorously. During this operation he became unconscious. When he recovered his body was sore from head to foot and he knew then that the spirit of Pasuca had taken possession of him.

During the next 20 days they ate only a few boiled green plantains each day and drank a little carefully strained nijimanche. During this period they also ate cameron, a small reddish fish. For another month the diet of the last 20 days was followed, excepting that they ate only snails in place of cameron. The green plantains and the nijimanche were taken as before. During the last 20 days of the first month Tendetsa was instructed in the method of controlling the various spirits of disease which are borne by Pasuca."

2: Stirling--120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 262

"It is interesting to note that when a wishinu has sent a disease spirit into a man he does not have the power to cure this individual, although a cure might be effected by another wishinu.

After the first month of training, during which the new wishinu has learned control of the spirits, he undergoes a strict diet for another month and thereafter a number of foods are taboo to him. He cannot eat deer, armadillo, peccary, wild pigs, tapir, cholo monkey, manatee, peanuts, chonta fruit, and many other animals, birds, fish and vegetables. The reason for this taboo is that all of these possess tsarutama. Should he eat any of these foods their tsarutama would enter him and neutralize or confuse the particular class of tsarutama that he might be attempting to isolate for his particular purpose."

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 756, 554

"The wishinu has many duties apart from his function as curing doctor. In fact, while this may be considered the most important of his occupations, it comprises considerably less than half of his duties. When a young man wishes a particular woman to become enamored of him he calls upon the wishinu to prepare a love potion, which requires the mixture of several articles containing the requisite tsarutama and which can be prepared only by the wishinu. He [121] also has control over the great body of nature spirits. He is able, when necessary, to contact Piribri, the rain spirit, in order to produce storms and floods or to stop them as the case may be. In order to call Piribri he blows smoke in the direction of the spirit's dwelling place, using the proper songs, much in the same fashion as he calls upon the disease spirits. Likewise, if he wishes to call on Pangi in order to overturn the canoe of some enemy or to control the river in any way, he can do so. All sudden storms or floods are attributed to the activity of some enemy wishinu. The wishinu is also called upon to determine action in many tribal matters; for example, when a curaka dies the wishinu is called upon to take natima in order that it will be revealed to him who the successor should be. The wishinu also plays an important indirect function in the conduct of warfare. If a man dies in his group, he takes natima and by this means determines which rival wishinu sent the fatal illness. This, of course, applies only to death brought about by the disease spirits and not to deaths from natural causes. Occasionally a Jivaro desires to join some tribal unit other than his own. In this case his eligibility is determined by the wishinu of the new group.

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 756, 554

Because of the lack of real political organization among the Jivaros, the wishinu, on account of his ability to control supernatural forces, is the most influential individual of his group. Frequently a wishinu is also a curaka, but this is not typically the case."

4: Up de Graff--244-245 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 787

"Among all the Jívaro tribes the medicine man is omnipotent but short-lived. He lasts as long as his [245] prophecies are not too disastrously wrong. Sooner or later he leads his people (of whom he is virtually chief) into disaster, having made a bad guess, and is sacrificed by those who before followed his every word. Plain proof of the blind credulity of his followers is to be found in the manner of his qualification for his office. Some ambitious old fake with his eye on the coveted post takes a reed-flute (the only instrument except the tom-tom known to the people) and (according to his own story) goes off down the river at dead of night, alone, for many miles, where he seats himself on a sand-bar and plays till the anacondas come out of the water and dance round him. Many times he tries, until at length one morning he walks into the settlement and announces that his great powers have at last prevailed, and he has enticed the serpents to his very feet. And so his authority is born. In times of peace he is the official weather-prophet and astrologer, indicating the proper phase of the moon in which to plant; he is the one and only jambi-chemist; he is the doctor, with a forest full of remedies at his command, and it must be added, in all fairness to him, that he understands the use of ipecacuana, quinine (béllacacara in Inca), and a number of the natural drugs which he extracts from the forest, some known to modern science and some not."

4: Up de Graff--247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In times of war, the medicine man accompanies the fighting men (he fights himself, too) to cast spells on the enemy, to foretell victory (invariably), and to render his comrades-in-arms immune from hostile influence. Finally, he alone can make the pots in which the fruits of battle, the heads of the enemy slain, must be treated."

20: Dyott--176 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 756, 787

"Mihanda and We-suma had already returned when we got back. We found them busily engaged cutting up the branches of a certain vine, known as natema (Banisteria caapi) which they had collected in the forest. They were scraping off the rind and placing the chopped-up stalks into a big earthen pot full of water.

It is customary for medicine-men and warriors alike to drink a concoction prepared from this plant prior to any warlike undertaking, or whenever the spirits have to be consulted on matters of importance. It produces strange hallucinations for those who drink it, and while under its influence they are supposed to be visited by the great spirits who advise them who their enemies are and if the time for attacking them is auspicious or otherwise.

The drink was simmering away in its last stages of preparation over the fire when Napi slipped in through the front door. He had already heard about the sudden death of Kun-gupi's brother, and deemed it wise not to linger in the district. There was yet another reason that made it doubly necessary for him to clear off early the next morning--he was a medicine man of considerable skill himself, and as such would certainly have been accused of practising witchcraft.

We watched him give an impromptu exhibition of his art as we sat around the pot of boiling natema."

28: Tessman--356-357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 756

The soul is called wakaní. At the moment of death the soul leaves the body and goes to heaven, where it leads a better life (has plenty to eat, etc.) in the company of other souls. [357]

The souls of sorcerers enter animals, plants or some natural object, thereby becoming demons. This is at least the belief of the Makas Indians. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., p. 125) this is also believed of the souls of enemies that have been killed, evidently to the extent to which these enemies had been regarded as sorcerers. The souls are then called iguanchi, but at the same time still being regarded as wakaní. From Karsten's treatise I was not able to learn to what extent the thought prevails that the spirits in question are the souls of deceased sorcerers and to what extent these spirits have already a truly demoniac character: demons are always undetermined spirits, perhaps the souls of deceased persons. Wakani, according to Karsten, also means "shadow, image" and finally "higher being."

28: Tessman--357 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 562, 756, 789

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called ananténts̆o or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

28: Tessman--357-358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 276, 784

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, kaapí (naté ma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (tsintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcercer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

28: Tessman--358 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 789

What Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 318 ff.) has to say concerning the magic of the Chiwaro-Makas Indians is very interesting and very important. Preparations are necessary for this magic. Aside from the personal monistic magic, which I have described there is also a transmission of magic through animals. In this case, the sorcerer has handed over the spine to a certain animal, or as Karsten put it, "the sorcerer has allowed his soul to enter the animal." The expression "soul" evidently refers to the magic substance, part of which was perhaps given to the animal. Other forms of magic are: to shoot the spines (rays) out of the eyes at any time, even in daytime. (Originally, the evil eye idea!) Another form: to put the spines into the food and drink of the victim; to hang the spines in bundles somewhere in the proximity of the enemy, so that the latter would accidentally come in contact with them. Certain preventives are in use. Against the evil eye, for instance, they grind up a medicinal plant and smear it on to the body with Bixa red. Preventive measures are also taken with regard to certain places where spines may easily have been planted. For instance, the roof of old forest huts may be removed and replaced with a new one, so that the spines that may have been hidden in the old palm leaves have no chance to drop down on the sleeping person.

Demons are also able to carry out acts of magic by sending off spines.

Sorcerers, while still living, have the power to transform themselves into jaguars in order to approach other people with magic.

28: Tessman--360 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756

The medical practitioner is called wuišínŏ (Atschual); he is always a sorcerer.

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes

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554 While the concept of the *untā* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
• 756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement re-
ceives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untā* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *untā*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jivaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

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own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law. 901 628 721

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jivaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation. 701 721 [726] [727] [727] [711]

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri huni* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jivaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsawa huni* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jivaro expedition to pass down the Rio Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Rio Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche. [484]

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*wizalin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The 756 •

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• 756 bewitching shamans (*wawek*, or *yabauli wuiim*: bad shaman) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*peyer wuiim*: good shaman) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

[556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables.

[465] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a distant patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[431] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

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Several cases were encountered in which men gave their 756 daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary [583] bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given [431] gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually [431] not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, [574] and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more 756 often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly recip- 476 rocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure ex- 756 clusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing [776] shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*) makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

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icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *amigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)-speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *paŋü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *paŋü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *huar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *paŋii* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

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The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *paŋii* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *paŋii!* Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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756 776 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 554 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to [431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material [177] valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shotguns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspā*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 776 554 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods. 756 776 554

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and *parallel hierarchies* culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual. 756 184 648 554

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3). 756 554

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret 756 [162] [463] [562] [554]

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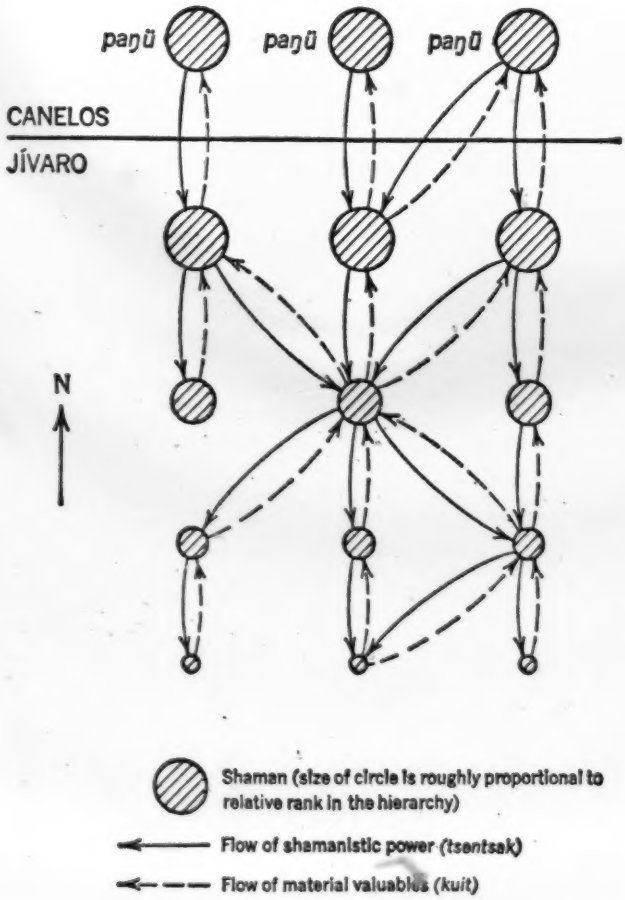

FIGURE 3

Schematic diagram of inter-tribal shamanistic hierarchies

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partnerships often link together four or five or more shamans in the same neighborhood, the higher partner supplying *tsentsak*, and his lower partners reciprocating with native and Western trade goods (*kuit*). Since bewitchers can create only bewitchers, while curers can create both bewitchers and curers (see pp. 155–56), the local hierarchies tend to have the forms shown in Figure 4.

Ex-shamans have testified that intra-neighborhood shaman partners who are bewitchers sometimes even go to the length of mildly bewitching disliked neighbors so that their curing shaman partners can profit in trade goods from treating the induced illness. The bewitching partner expects his curing shaman associate, in turn, never to tell a layman that the former was responsible for an illness or death. The curing shaman may even give his bewitching partner an occasional gift from his accumulated store of wealth, thus reversing the usual flow of *kuit* (see Figure 4, B). More frequently,

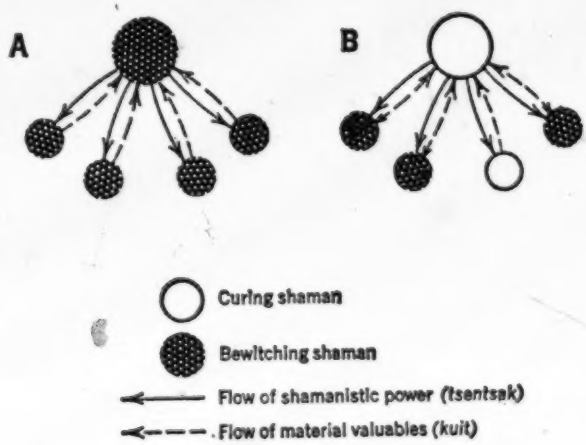

FIGURE 4
Schematic diagram of local shamanistic hierarchies

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
• 756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
701 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucin-
• 756 ogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakanī* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakanī*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

774 *Arutam wakanī* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular
776 kind of vision or apparition. *Wakanī* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakanī* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison,
or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemä* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

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definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical
weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in betwitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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774 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he
761 cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two
[763] is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the
[821] moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
• 756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*uwišin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose Jívaro name is *natemä*, in order to enter the supernatural
787 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemä* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemä* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemä*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemä* drink among the 756
Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemä*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright ana-
condas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*namurä*) which are [778]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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756 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
778 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
823 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are
776 contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
276 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.
754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
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to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaučī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peŋer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself. 754 756 778

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer. [834]

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunčī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability. [755]

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemā*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of 778 276 787

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756 776 276 787 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, sees the *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

754 778 825 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 778 276 [787] About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test involves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
776 regularly, he must drink *natemā* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

• 756 While curing under the influence of *natemā*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
[276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
754 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *pañi* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemā*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

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bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natema. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

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women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death. 682 562 278 [727]

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jivaro as the guilty party. 682 756

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination. 682 593 441 [701]

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher. 754 683 [682] [756]

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma- 684

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amich*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [572] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of a men's term of reference (*ewe*) by women. A few Achuara
576 terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
• 756 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available. 178 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
[276] become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
[824] uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
[756] have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, fami-
[755] lies tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

1: Karsten--119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
757 (1928-29)

"Salt to them [JKM: Jibaros] has value exclusively as a remedy, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is especially used as an emetic."

1: Karsten--509-510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 757 (1928-29)

"These are only some of the most important plant medicines used by the Indians. But although they have no doubt made important discoveries in this domain and possess actual knowledge of valuable remedies, I on the other hand have no high opinion of their ability to use these remedies. Their practical therapeutics leave much to be desired. The many stories current among white settlers about miraculous cures of Indian medicine-men in my opinion ought to be accepted with [510] some scepticism, although I do not of course deny that in some cases they may have achieved remarkable results. The development of the medical art of the Indians has been too much hampered by their superstitions and other peculiarities characteristic of a primitive mind. There may exist really skilled healers among the Indians, but they are in any case very scarce. The average Indian can only with difficulty be persuaded to subject himself to a lengthy and systematic treatment for a disease. A medicine ought to cure at once, otherwise it is of no avail. Very frequently, as I found during my travels, the Indians could not even make up their mind to use the remedies they possessed, or they simply did not understand how to use them. As to my own remedies, powders, pills, etc., the Indians regarded them as powerful 'medicines' and poisons, and when I showed them they generally asked for them, but it was well nigh impossible to make them take for instance a tablet or a pill; they might die on the spot. But they carefully kept them somewhere in the house, evidently believing that their mere presence there would be sufficient to

effect a cure.

The natural apathy and fatalism of the Indians also proves an obstacle to rational therapeutics. If the medicine-men declare that they are not able to cure the patient, or if otherwise he himself and his relatives get the idea that his last hour has come, they give up any attendance and only wait for his death, although there may be no real danger of his life."

4: Up de Graff--221 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 164, 757

"All the men and women we meet are strong and healthy, for although once in the hands of the medicine man thay have but a poor chance of recovery (he generally starves his patients to death), they have little need of his services, being absolutely free from diseases, except smallpox and one other of which the chief symptom is a cough, but which I was never able to identify."

4: Up de Graff--221-222 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 757

"I am reminded of an incident which took place when I was with the Antipas. One morning, there was brought to me a warrior who had been wounded by a Huambiza with a shot-gun loaded with powder and pebbles and fired at short range (surely part of the booty of the Barranca raid). The bone in the upper arm was shattered, the limb dangling useless. The man was so emaciated that he could hardly stand, and the wound was septic. I syringed him with bi-chloride of mercury and dressed his wound for him. On enquiring as to the diet on which he had been put by the medicine man, I found that he was forbidden to eat anything but green bananas! [222] However, persuaded by the rapid progress that he made under my care, the local oracle gave in, and the man was permitted to take proper nourishment. He recovered completely as I found on my return from the Santiago."

4: Up de Graff--245-247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 757

"He [KS: the medicine man] is at his best as a curer of ills. Several times we had occasion to call in Pitacunca himself and he made speedy and efficacious cures, albeit with a great deal of hocus-pocus on the side. Once Morse was suffering from an ulcerated tooth, and 'Pete' volunteered to cure it in a few minutes. We had much ado to persuade the patient to allow the treatment to commence, and still more to allow it to go on. Morse was stretched out on his back on the sand, and the [246] 'doctor' sat down by his head and commenced a chant. At the end of each verse he sucked his patient's cheek noisily, and proceeded to produce from his own mouth an ant, a shell, a good-sized spider, a snail or a small crab, after which he would show us what he had 'extracted' and go into a fit of violent vomiting. Then another verse commenced with the same result; and so on, until he had produced a hatful of insects, dead or alive, after chanting some twenty verses. Meanwhile it was all we could do to keep Morse down. Finally the 'doctor' chose a live coal from the fire, blew it to a red heat, and asked Ed. to open his mouth. The latter took one look at the offer and jumped to his feet. After it had been carefully explained to him that he was not expected to swallow the burning embed, but only allow it to be held, in a mussel shell in his open mouth, he assented. Then came the real cure. Pitacunca broke up into powder some fine leaves (I didn't learn what plant it was) and scattering them on the hot charcoal, held the latter in Morse's mouth so that the fumes from the leaf powder passed round the bad tooth. The pain left him within five minutes and never returned. If it was a coincidence, it was a very remarkable one.

4: Up de Graff--245-247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 757

On another occasion, I myself had been bitten by a fly which deposits an egg under the skin which grows into a fat worm. I was suffering from the repeated attacks of the grub, which was embedded in my back. Once more Pitacunca volunteered assistance, which I gladly accepted. He asked for a cigarette, which I rolled and proffered him. He smoked it and blew through a fluff of cotton causing the nicotine to condense. The usual incantations commenced, and continued for about ten minutes (as many verses sufficed, apparently, to extract a worm!). With his [247] mouth close to the spot where the worm lay, he made a funny indescribable noise understood by the worm to be the only tune worth coming out to hear, applying the cotton at the same time. Well, out he came, sure enough (driven out, no doubt, by the nicotine, to whose cleansing qualities I have referred before)."

5: Reyes and Teran--105 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 262, 757

"The Jivaro Indians are very fond of the flesh of the pig, which they eat roasted and also boiled. They also extract the lard, but they use it only as a remedy for dysentery. (1)"

"1. 'Album-guía de la Region Oriental Ecuatoriana,' por Alfonso Rumazo González."

13: Rivet--250-251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 757

I have already spoken of the method for recovering the breath after the sale of a blow-gun. Most of the supposed medical secrets [251] of the Jíbaros are merely similar superstitious practices. However, there is no doubt that their pharmocopoeia is still poorly known, and in addition to their exorcisms the huishima use certain remedies (plant infusions, etc.). The decoction of tobacco appears to be a veritable panacea for the savages. In addition the Jíbaro are acquainted with bleeding, which they practice 10 cm. above the bend of the elbow in inflammatory infections. (1)

1. Colini. Osservazioni etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 19.

26: Brüning--69-70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 757, 824

To cure their sicknesses the Indians use various herbs. I have made a collection of these herbs in Huavico. But when our boat was wrecked on our voyage up the Marañón and when we were forced to cross the forest from Nazaret to Bagua Chica on foot, the collection had to be abandoned in Nazaret since we did not have enough porters. Here is a list of my collection:

pihipí - the bulb of a sort of reed; used against insect bites by rubbing the wound caused by the sting.
sapáta - nut of a tree, called avila by the whites; used against toothache.
asángo - seeds used against diarrhea.
otuntú - the decoction of a plant used internally and externally against snake bite.
angpángban - leaves against snake bite.
kúnakip - leaves against snake bite and diarrhea. [70]
maikuá - given to children from time to time to purgate them even if they are not sick.
zángu - tobacco plant.

Unfortunately, I am not able to give more detailed information. The notes that went with each plant were lost with the collection. These brief annotations come out of my glossary.

28: Tessman--352-353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 787, 757

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tessman--353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 757, 463

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

28: Tessman--360 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 757

The most important Chiwaro medicine is the rinsing of the bowels with a purgative. They begin with this at the age of boyhood to prevent sicknesses and to make the body strong. Purgatives guarantee longevity; in Loreto they are know as lavativas. They drink, for instance, a solution fo salt in warm water, and add the juice of sugar cane. Capsicum pepper is also regarded as a medicine in case of indigestion. Guayusa is another purgative. To tobacco they ascribe likewise healing powers. Tobacco is used after one has dreamt of a friend: they chew the leaves and spit them into the eyes of the friend. According to Karsten, the Chiwaros are very fond of enemas.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 756 778 823 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuṇi.

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they • 757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 776 756 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 778 776 276 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemā*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemā*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 756 778 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 844
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 846
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tsentsemä* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucin- [774]
ogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival.
If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri šuarā* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization. 178 797 [114] [508] [191] [875] [758]

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri šuarā* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order." 178 797 648 721

/p. 210/

1: Karsten--64 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
761 (1928-29)

"It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder."

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
761, 726 (1928-29)

"But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly,[sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu,

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians: they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wakáni or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

1: Karsten--456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 761, 751 (1928-29)

"As I have stated before, the savage Jibaros never consider death natural. Death to them is always something 'unnatural', that is, it is always explained as the direct or indirect result of a wicked action, as a murder committed by an open or secret enemy. This is why the Jibaros annouce [sic] a death in the same way as they announce an approach of their enemies--by beating the big drum (tundúi) in that particular way which tells their friends that they are in danger. This is the ceremony Pakínmawae, mentioned before. Experience has taught the Indians that one death is frequently followed by another, and this is explained by the theory that the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient is moving about looking for fresh victims among his kinsmen. Small children are especially liable to be 'caught by the disease-demon'. Hence, when in the other houses the beats of the tundúi are heard, the family-father at once takes some water in a gourd and wets with it the crown of the head of each child. This 'baptism' is supposed to protect the children against the disease-demon, i. e. the contagion."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

20: Dyott--174-175 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 754, 761

"The confused jumble of voices about us made it quite impossible to grasp what was happening, but slowly we caught a few odd phrases which told us that this was no ordinary drinking bout, as we had supposed, but an impromptu gathering, assembled to discuss a startling piece of news--Kun-gupi's brother, who lived on the other side of the river, had come to an untimely end.

It was generally known that this man had been troubled with evil spirits for some weeks past, but at noon to-day, he had unexpectedly drawn his last breath while seated quietly on his rack. It was obvious that he had died a natural death, but Indians attribute every misfortune to the agency of some demon working under the direction of a personal agency. In this case, there was a good deal of discussion as to who the responsible party might be. Someone must have been to blame and a reasonable explanation had to be given. With Indians an explanation must [175] always be forthcoming for everything that happens, and their line of reasoning is often just about as sensible as our modern way of making plain the wonders of nature, which are still incomprehensible to our finite minds. The dead man had had no recognized enemies in the district, otherwise they would have been the first to be suspected. Failure to fix the blame on some fellow tribesman would cause attention to be focused on a stranger, and this is where Johnston and myself came in. Under such conditions, it would not need very much to implicate us in the affair, especially if we had been guilty of some indiscreet act such as photographing the man against his will."

20: Dyott--175-176 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 754, 761

"I knew some of the strange ideas Jivaros have about death, for I was living in a house once when a young warrior succumbed to a severe malady. I asked the father if many Indians died in that part of the country, and was told in a rather superior tone that Indians never die.

'But how about this poor fellow here?' I asked, pointing to the corpse. 'How do you account for his condition?'

'He didn't die,' replied the father; 'he met with an accident.' They hold the extraordinary view that people never die from natural causes, and that a man would live for ever if it were not for the baneful influence of some malignant spirit. Even when the body has 'met with an accident,' they fully believe in a continuation of existence in the spiritual state.

While yet the discussion ran high, another visitor squeezed his way in through the narrow portal and joined the excited group of men inside. He announced that a party of strangers had been seen in the district that very morning--two men carrying bundles, accompanied by a woman. Kuashu was quick to sense complications which might involve him and his family, so we hurriedly bade the neighbours good-bye and were soon streaking home to [176] advise Napi that his life might be in peril if he remained much longer with us."

25: Vigna--39 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 761

Another divinity, --if the Principle which informs all the activities of their life according to their concept, can be called divinity--assists and provokes death, when this is not violent and caused by war.

25: Vigna--40 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 761, 754

Natural death, through infectious sickness or natural human exhaustion, has no explanation, nor do the Jibaros admit of one. The witch who is the supposed author of the death of a Jibaro, will sooner or later be the victim of inexorable vengeance on the part of the members of the family of the deceased. In cases of necessity, these will leave the vengeance as heritage from father to son.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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THE Jivaro peoples (Indians) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-rooted belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs, with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[2]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935, Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[4]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for two and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sopa; the Rio Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusimi; the Rio Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were *Wakampi*, *Tsakimpi*, *Chief Akaña*, *Kagaff*, and *Cura Akaña* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Waña* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hinial* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Hwayd*, *Tupi*, and *Nasa*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 280-282 — Cmm 1957]

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the *Jívaro* must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.*

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his home, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old *Jívaro* man who says to him: "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to be an common other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or injury. Many of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is armed with a *tsantapa* dart to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The men women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or water.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his *arutam* leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing *arutam* souls separately

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

powerful winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11] 726 774 354 [356] [202] [551]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve. 726 774

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless. 182 [554]

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness. 774 [354]

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery. [356] [354]

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of 774 775 [761]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[9]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanŦ* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mokowŦ*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pugi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanŦ* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanŦ* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall off the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed." 844

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting. 846 [854] [837] [761]

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemi* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [276] [824] [854] [774] [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakamse*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
[761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakamse* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakamse*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakamse* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakamse* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 998
The waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 987
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and [761] •
it is firmly believed that truth above causality is to be found
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 987
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient spectre." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

/p. 134/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
701 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
756 and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *nuisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
776 specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
• 761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761 •
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

774 Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
778 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

778 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
774 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. 774
As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his 778
arutam leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a 721
wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[9] The [821]
departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to [761] • kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 influence of *natemi*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of *wayusa*.

774 The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he
• 761 cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of con-
[763] tagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *new arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the
[821] moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[6]

774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*wuisak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *wuisak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft. 674 682 [186] [761] [775] 682 628

According to Jívaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible. [721]

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 682 628 728

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common punishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

4: Up de Graff--216 (1897) 1923 Jívaro
116, 762, 278

"It is this same barbasco juice [KS: poison used for fishing] which the Jívaro women drink to commit suicide."

13: Rivet--239 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
762

For the Jívaro there is no natural death (1).

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1. Suicide is exceptional. A single traveller points out its frequence among the Aguaruna women. In two months, two committed suicide in the tribe where he was staying. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 82.

26: Brüning--50 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 762

The Indians are very sensitive with regard to both kind actions and insults. During our trip down the Marañón we found a grave, not very old, in the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracaiyo. When we inquired, we were told that this was the final resting place of one of the wives of the Curaca: she had hanged herself a short time ago because her drunken husband had slapped her in the face. A rubber collector told us of a similar case that had happened a few months earlier at another place.

28: Tessman--362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 762

A woman is never asked whether she wants to marry a man or not; in most instances she is much too young anyway. The future husband, who has selected her, arranges the thing with the father or the brother of the girl. This explains why women hang themselves when they are forced to live with a man who may treat them badly or for whom they do not care. If the girl's family agrees to the marriage, the son-in-law-to-be goes on a one-week hunting expedition and collects game, which he turns over to his parents-in-law. The latter prepare a great feast, and the bride is handed over. The husband has no other obligations. Older girls who are not yet married are never virgins, and virginity is not expected anyway.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

682 The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

762 593 684

husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

628 728

Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untä*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untä* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

721

"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge

1: Karsten--408-409 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791, 763 (1928-29)

"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros, when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

1: Karsten--466-467 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 763, 533 (1928-29)

"Wailing at Canelos is about the same as among the Jibaros. Similarly it is customary that visitors arriving at a house where a death has recently taken place are received wailing. The Canelos woman always wails singing, but since she sings violently sobbing, the melody is somewhat difficult to render. It is characteristic of this song that it always begins in a high and strong falsetto tone; then the voice gradually diminishes and the last tones are only heared[sic] as a low, distant murmur. The following is the usual mourning song of the Canelos woman:

Nyuca curilla,
Nyuca cusalla,
Imamant' saquishcani,
Imamant' hichuscani,
Imata tucushcani? [467]

In translation:

'My dear one, (1)
my dear little husband,
why have you left me,
why have you abandoned me?
What will it become of me?'"

"1. Curilla (a diminutive of curi, 'gold') literally means, 'My little gold.'"

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 influence of *natema*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he
774 cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of con-
761 tagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two
[763] is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the
[821] moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natemä. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body 766
is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A 764
palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is [778]
interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her 764
snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging 765
above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and 774
a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and [262]
beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakanï*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untä* with renown as 763
a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he 774
wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, [701]
which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is en- 766
tombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 774

1: Karsten--456-458 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The first feelings which a death arouses in the relatives of the defunct are therefore those of anger and despair. The women--especially the widow or widows, if the deceased was the family-father--start wailing and crying, shouting loudly and tearing their hair, whereas the men shake their fists and pronounce curses on the evildoer, such-and-such enemy sorcerer being mentioned as the probable author of the death. These imprecations and violent outbursts of sorrow last for a long while and, of course, assume to a certain extent different forms according to the sex, age, and position of the deceased. Similarly, the mode of burial varies according as it is, for instance, a child, a woman, or the family-father who has died.

Wailing in the proper sense of the word is the duty on the women, i.e. the nearest female relatives of the dead person. If the family-father dies, it is of course the duty of his widow or widows to wail, and this wailing, at least in part, has a ceremonial character. Nevertheless the pathetic way in which the Indian widow laments over her deceased husband, speaking to him and giving him all sorts of pet names, praising his good qualities, reminding him of episodes in their life together, and deploring her own forlornness, makes a powerful impression upon a listening stranger. These mournful monologues of the Indian widows [457] in fact form part of the lyric poetry of the Indians and they are always sung, and accompanied with crying. Their contents seem to be in the main always the same. The following is a typical instance of these

mourning monologues.

The corpse is stretched out on a bench in the middle of the house and the widow moves about it the whole night, incessantly addressing her deceased husband in much the following words:

'O my dear husband, why have you left me alone, why have you abandoned me? How happily we have passed the years together in harmony, until cruel fate and the tunchi of the treacherous enemy separated us! You will never again wake me in the morning with your speech, when you were cooking your tobacco water and guayusa at the fire! I shall never any more hand you the pininga with manioc-beer and bring you your meal. Never any more will you send me out to the fields in the morning to fetch manioc and sweet potatoes, or remind me to take care of the swine and the fowls and the hunting dogs! And when friends came to visit us, who was it that always used to call me to welcome them with nice, fresh nihamánchi? Who will hereafter fell the trees for me and clear the ground to make the manioc and banana plantations, or help me with cleaning and tending the fields? Who will hereafter make a red-striped tarachi for me for the feasts, who will bring me game from the forest or the gaily-coloured birds which you used to shoot with your blowgun and your poisoned arrows? All this you did for me, but now you lie there mute and lifeless. Your mouth has ceased speaking, your arm is paralyzed for ever. O, dear me, what will become of me?'

Amidst all these bitter remembrances another sentiment suddenly comes to her. She recollects who is really responsible for this bad luck, since from the beginning it has been clear that the sickness and death was not due to any immutable laws of nature but to the secret art of some wicked sorcerer. She will then continue in somewhat the following way:

'And there he sits in peace, the cursed wizard who took the life of my husband with his treacherous arrow, and rejoices over his deed, whereas I, whom he made a widow, am here in an agony of sorrow! Woe to you my sons, if you do not punish the blood-guilt and take revenge upon the evildoer! Why have I brought you forth, why have I tended you and educated you, if you forget your most sacred duty to your father and allow the criminal to escape his righteous punishment?'

This wailing takes place more especially immediately after the death and at the funeral, but it is occasionally repeated for a long time after-[458] wards when, in one way or another, the woman is reminded of the defunct. Early the following morning the corpse is buried. The mode of burying, as I said, may vary. The Jibaros practise all modes of burial except cremation, but earth-burial and platform burial are those most common. A family-father, before he dies, frequently gives his own people instructions as to how he wishes to be buried, and these are carefully respected since the spirits of the dead are generally feared and may reappear as revengeful ghosts if their

orders and the attention due to them are neglected. The remains of the dead family-father are therefore treated differently from those of others, but one main principle is that as a family-father and the owner of the house he shall remain there after death, which entails the house being afterwards abandoned by the family. One custom, commonly practised, is that the dead Indian is placed in a sitting posture upon a kutánga, a small bench used by the Jibaros, and tied to one of the central pillars of the house, leaning his head upon his hands. He is not, however, left in this way above the earth, but under it, a pit being dug in the ground close to the pillar sufficiently large to take the corpse in this sitting position. Thereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled, so that the food and manioc-beer, the lance, a basket, and some other things which the deceased is supposed to need in the other world can be placed there. The food is renewed every day for one week; after that no further attention is paid to him, but the house must be abandoned."

1: Karsten--459-460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"Still more common among the Jibaros is platform burial. In this case the corpse is generally placed in a sort of coffin consisting of a hollowed trunk, which is then closed by means of pieces of bark and vines. The coffin is then placed upon a frame on high poles in the middle of the house. Naturally the house is abandoned as in the first case. When one of the other members of the family dies, for instance a wife or a son or daughter, his or her body is disposed of in the same way: it is placed in a hollow tree trunk, and this new 'coffin' is placed beside of the first one on the same frame. Thus real 'family graves' arise among the Jibaros, which of course only exist for a limited time, since both the house and the coffins are liable to rot away in a few years. When this has happened, the surviving relatives simply bury the remains in the ground, without any particular ceremonies.

I have also heard of other modes of disposing of a dead family-father. Thus at Rio Zamora, I was told, a dead Jibaro man had been simply wrapped in a bast mat and tied to the door post of his house in [460] a standing posture, with his face turned towards the interior of the house as if had been entering the same. Such a primitive and repugnant way of treating a corpse, however, I think is rare."

1: Karsten--461-463 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The fear of the death taboo has given rise among the Indians to certain other precautions, some of which are of a very peculiar nature. First, the female relatives of the defunct, and especially the widow or widows, have to cut their hair short immediately after the death takes place, and they likewise abstain from wearing ornaments. A widow is not allowed to remarry until her hair has again grown long, or in about one year. Further, she is purified by the smoke from a termite nest set on fire, in the way related before (p. 212). Other members of the family too have to pass through a certain purification ceremony, mainly consisting of tobacco water or strong Indian pepper being squirted into their eyes. Among the Jibaros living at Yaupi, a small tributary stream of the upper Morona, this purification is connected with a curious game of blindman's-bluff and is performed in the following way. The corpse is buried on the second day after death. On the same day the surviving relatives must abandon the house, a rule always observed among the Jibaros when the family-father dies. Everything is packed into bags and all is ready for the departure. Before the Indians leave the house, the following ceremony takes place. An old woman has made ready in a small gourd a mixture of Indian pepper (hīmya) and water, and the surviving members of the family will be 'prepared' with this medicine. All of them arrange themselves in a circle in the middle of the house, and the old woman hangs round their necks a peculiar collar consisting of a cotton string to which a small chonta thorn is tied. This

detail of the ceremony is called yupingrama and is known to all Jibaro tribes. Thereupon the old woman goes round and injects a little pepper-water [462]into the eyes of each member of the family, even those of the children. The strong liquid makes the people temporarily quite blind, and they are unable to open their eyes. The old woman now goes away and hides in a corner of the house, or behind one of the chonta posts supporting the house. The rest of the party start to look for her, feeling round with their hands. If someone hits upon the woman, the latter explains to him: 'You would probably have been the first to die of the same disease'. Again, if after a long search no one finds the old woman, she declares : 'It is all right, nobody else of the family will die of this disease. Now let us go, that the Disease (iguanchi, the demon) may not catch us.' They arrange themselves in a row, take their bags on their shoulders and move away from the house. The old woman goes last of all, strewing ashes on the footmarks of the departing Indians.

As to the ceremony called Yupingrama,(1) when a small chonta thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, its meaning is clearly indicated by the Indians themselves. The family-father has died in consequence of a chonta thorn sent by a hostile Indian

"1. Yupingrama literally means: 'to make oneself knowing', 'to take precautions.'"

sorcerer; consequently, when such a thorn is hung round the neck of the mourners, it acts as an amulet which will protect them against a magic arrow of the same kind. Similarly, of course, the game of blindman's-buff is prophylactic in character, like some other games of this kind which will presently be mentioned.

Apart from this last detail, the Jibaros always consider it necessary to perform a purificatory ceremony with the survivors after a death, especially that of the family-father. When the coffin has been placed on the frame, the death-demon (iguanchi) is believed to take his seat on the top of it in the shape of a bird, ready to fall upon any person who comes in contact with the bodies placed there; this is the explanation given by the Indians themselves. This demon is the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient, but he seems also to be identified, in a mysterious way, with the disembodied soul of the dead family-father, who is supposed to be jealous of his surviving relatives. Among the Jibaros of the Upano and upper Pastaza no game of blindman's-buff takes place, but before the family leaves the house each of its members has to be treated in the way described above, a solution of Indian pepper or strong tobacco juice being squirted into his or her eyes by the oldest man or woman in the family. At the same time the particular ceremony is performed which [463] I have just described under the name of Yupingrama. The old man or woman, having hung the cotton string with the chonta thorn round the neck of a person, slightly fans his face with the magical bundle

of leaves which the Jibaros call shingi-shingu, to conjure away all evil influences. Thereupon all of them, in an ordered row, leave the house for ever.

Among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza again, it is customary that the mourners, after the dead person has been buried, slightly prick themselves over the whole body, on the arms, the legs, the shoulders, the breast, and the stomach with a pointed arrow of the kind the Jibaros use for their blowguns. This is believed to protect them against the soul of the deceased. In a dream the nearest relatives may meet the disembodied soul who says to them: 'Come, let us dance together.' Then the spirit of the person so addressed will answer: 'No, I cannot, for I have my body full of sores.' If he has not pricked himself in the way mentioned, he will obey the exhortation of the dead relative's spirit to dance with him, and in consequence he will soon die. The Achuares therefore say that they prick themselves in the way described 'in order not to die'.

As I have said, wailing is not limited to the days immediately after death, but is repeated now and then for a long time afterwards, when in one way or another the woman is reminded of her loss. She may suddenly interrupt her work to abandon herself for some moments to an outburst of sorrow, crying loudly and repeating some of the phrases just mentioned. It seems that the arrival of a stranger at the house in particular causes her to repeat the wailing, and a visitor often gets the impression that the crying is a way of welcoming him. One of the guests--so the Jibaro women have explained the

matter to me--may remind her in some way of her deceased husband and thus awake in her the sorrow and longing for her dead husband. Or, she recollects how her husband used to receive such gusts. [sic] 'If he had lived now, his first act would have been to call me to bring them manioc-beer.' Such associations of ideas are quite characteristic of the Indian woman. Her wailing after the death of a beloved relative therefore cannot be explained as merely an empty ceremony; it is undoubtedly partly an expression of genuine sorrow, showing the same capability of tender feelings as appears in the lyric poetry of the Indians, for instance in the songs addressed to the birds in connection with certain feasts."

1: Karsten--466 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 764 (1928-29)

"The customs observed by the Canelos Indians after a death in some respects considerably differ from those of the Jibaros proper, and are in part of very great interest. As we have seen, they share the belief of their savage kinsmen as to the causes of death, although the practical consequences of this belief are not drawn. Being Christians by name they now practise only one way of disposing the remains of the dead, namely earth burial, but formerly platform burial also was common. Among some of the Canelos Indians, for instance those living at Sarayacu, who are great canoeists, the coffin simply consists of a bipartite canoe in which the body is placed and buried. 'In his lifetime', the Indians explained, 'the deceased had frequently travelled in canoe, therefore he ought also to make his last journey in a canoe.' Still the Canelos Indians, as far as they are not influenced by the Christian ideas of a heaven or a hell, have not developed any theory about the final resting-place of the departed."

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"What makes the funeral customs of the Canelos Indians particularly interesting are the ceremonial games which take place the first night after death, during the vigil. Among these Indians custom prescribes that during the first night after the death of the head of the family or the housewife the surviving relatives must hold vigil, thereby entertaining themselves, among other things with a dice game. The object of the game is partly to distribute the property of the dead among the survivors, since otherwise it is taboo and cannot be touched by anybody, partly to protect them against the contagion of death, that is, the disease-and death-demon. This game derives its origin from the mountain culture in Ecuador and Peru, where it is still played in a somewhat different form by the Quichua-speaking Indians.

The game is at Canelos called Huairitu--a diminutive form of the Huayru of the mountain Indians--and the die consists of a piece of manioc, about 10 to 12 cm. in length, with four sides, each side about 3 or 4 cm. broad, both ends [468] flat, so that the die can stay upright. If the game is played in honour of a dead woman, the die is somewhat smaller than if the deceased was a man. Of the four sides one is provided with three small holes; this is called singu, after which the whole die takes its name. The opposite side is quite empty and is therefore called llambui (nil, zero). Of the two remaining sides one generally bears four holes (chuscu in Quichua) and the other 10 (chunca).

1: Karsten--467-470 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

Among the Indians of Sarayacu, one of the four sides is hollowed out, so that the whole piece is like a small canoe, both ends of which are flat. The opposite side, which forms the bottom of the canoe, is empty (llambui); of the two other sides one has 3 small holes (singu), the other again 10 (chunca).

Apart from this, the huairitu game is played in the same way at Canelos and Sarayacu. The following is the manner in which the game is played at Sarayacu with the canoe-formed die.

If the die, when it is thrown, remains upright, the player has won the stake and he has, besides, the right or obligation to 'punish' his opponent. If, on the other hand, the empty side, which represents the bottom of the canoe, remains upward (llambui), the player has lost his cast. If the open side of the canoe remains upward, this is also reckoned as nil, but it is not indicated by a special name. If either of the sides which are provided with 3 or 10 holes remains upward, the player receives 3 or 10 maize grains accordingly, and these he at once puts aside.

When the family-father or -mother dies, it is the obligation of the surviving relatives to spend the first night in watching 'in order to accompany the soul (aya) on its last wandering'. During the first night the soul stays in the house, in the vicinity of the dead body, but afterwards goes to the heavens, to the mountains or the forests. Since the deceased has in his life often travelled by canoe, he starts his last journey in a

canoe. This is the reason why the Sarayacu Indians give the die this form.

Among these Indians, just as among the Quichas of the Sierra, men alone take part in the game, never women and children. Likewise, only the invited guests play, never the nearest relatives of the deceased. If someone of the latter plays huairitu, the deceased will drag him along with him to the other world, that is to say, he will soon die. Similarly, among the Canelos Indians it is regarded as a great offence against the departed parent should anyone fall asleep that night. The departed soul itself does not leave such an Indian in peace, but draws him by the feet[469]so that he may not sleep. If he really falls asleep, his sleep will be very restless. In the morning when he wakes he will feel tired and sick and shortly afterwards he will die.

As soon as the patient has expired, guests are invited from all houses in the neighbourhood in order that they may take part in the vigil and play huairitu. The guests arrive after sunset and are, as is the custom among these Indians, generously entertained with manioc-beer (asua). The dead man is dressed in his best clothes and placed on a bier at one of the walls of the house. All around food of every kind, manioc, plantain, fowl, eggs, chicha, and so forth, is laid in various gourds, all these dishes being intended for the defunct. The playing men are arranged in two rows, opposite each other, so that every player has an opponent. The player who succeeds in throwing the die upright wins a hen, a head of plantain, manioc, chicha, or some other thing. What

is won is at once taken out from the remainder and kept for the winner until the morning. If someone throws singu, he receives as already mentioned, three maize grains, which are likewise kept till the morning, one who throws chunca receives ten, and so on.

The player who wins the stake is, moreover, entitled to punish his opponent, which he generally does by striking him on the back of the hand with his own hand, or giving him a fillip on the forehead.

Early in the morning the hens, won by the players in the course of the night's gambing, are slaughtered, boiled and eaten by all communally with manioc and plantain. Every player likewise counts the grains he has won, keeping a special account of how many times he has thrown singu and how many times chunca. These grains generally have no practical importance; they only indicate the relative favour bestowed upon him by the deceased.

To the Indian mind, the huairitu game is not a mere game of hazard. The departed soul is believed to hover about the dead body the whole night, itself personally interferring in it. The player only throws the die on the ground; it is the unseen hand of the deceased which turns it in this way or that, according as he wishes to favour the player or not.

Just as those, who win nothing, but repeatedly throw llambui, are regarded as more

or less antipathetic to the deceased and are therefore punished, so, on the contrary, the one who wins most is regarded as his particular friend and favourite. He is in consequence particularly honoured by the relatives and in the morning leaves the house of death richly endowed with presents of manioc, plantain, eggs, chicha, etc. [470]

It is a bounden duty of the survivors to honour the deceased with an huairitu game. If there is no wake and the game is not played, the deceased will feel offended and it may happen that he takes revenge on his relatives by sending disease and death, failure of the crops and famine, or some other misfortune. On the other hand, he will reward those relatives who pay him due honour. Their domestic animals will increase in number and their fields will flourish; in their house food will never be lacking, there will be plenty of manioc, plantain, game etc. He will moreover arrange that those, who now render him this service of love, will themselves, when they die, have people to honour them in the same way."

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians know yet another dice game that is played after a death, but this has now fallen almost into desuetude. It is called singu or huairitu like the game just described, but the die used is of another kind. This die, which may perhaps more properly be called a playing-board, consists of an almost circular wooden disk, about 15 cm. in length and 2 to 3 cm. in breadth. The obverse is somewhat convex, so that the disk can easily be put in motion by turning it round. On the right side of the disk a small human figure is incised or annealed. This figure represents the soul of the deceased (aya) and is called huahua huairitu, 'the huairitu-babe'. On both sides of this figure three small holes are applied and furthermore one hole between its legs, in a fashion which appears more clearly from the drawing. (Fig. 13). Thus there are in all 7 holes on the disk.

The corpse is placed on a bier in the middle of the house. Upon its paunch a board or some similar flat and even object is laid and upon the latter a cloth is stretched tightly. Upon this board the singu-die is placed.

The players arrange themselves on both sides of the bier. As usual, all of them are guests invited to the feast, and all are men. Each player had brought with him a small gourd containing charcoal and some water, when he arrived at the house. [471] With this colouring matter the guests paint certain black ornamental markings on the face before they begin the game.

Round the bier and in front of each player the widow of the deceased has placed an equal number of gourds containing different kinds of food which belonged to the dead Indian when alive: manioc, plantain, earth-nuts, eggs, chicha, as well as living hens tied by the feet. The food and the hens are staked at the game. Everything is really intended for the deceased, but since a soul needs only a little food, the deceased distributes most of it among the players, according as they possess his affections.

Each of the players has an opponent who is seated opposite him on the other side of the bier. If a player is victorious in the game, it is his opponent's share in the food that he wins. If he looses, he looses his own share to his opponent, who besides is entitled to punish him.

In the game five grains are used which are thrown on the singu-board. The players throw the grains by turns: at first A of the one row, then his opponent A´of the other row; thereupon B of the first row, and B´of the other row, and so forth.

Of the five grains one is at once placed in the hole which is situated between the legs of the small figure. This grain indicates the departed Indian's own share in the dishes put out, and it should not therefore be touched or removed by the players. The four remaining grains are taken by the player whose turn it is to throw them, and he takes his stand at the head of the corpse. The board is usually placed so that the small figure is orientated in the same direction as the corpse, its head being turned towards the

corpse's head. The player now throws all of the four grains at once upon the board, the intention being that they should enter into some of the six empty holes. We may assume that one grain enters into one of the holes, whereas the others fall outside. In that case the player is entitled to repeat the throw with these three grains, and, if he prefers, may throw them from the foot-end of the corpse. We may assume that one more of the grains enters into a hole. Now the player seizes the board with outstretched fingers, in the manner shown in the drawing (fig. 14), and turns it cautiously round. This should be done so that the three grains which lie in the holes, that is, the one which had previously been laid between the legs of the figure and those now thrown in, do not fall out. The manoeuvre of turning the board is now repeated once more. The idea is to have it confirmed that the result of the cast was not accidental, but that the deceased is really willing to give up thus [472] much of his share to the player as is indicated by the cast. In other words, an opportunity is given him to confirm the result of the cast, and possibly to alter it. If two grains have fallen each into its hole, this means that the player has won 4--2, that is, a half of the quantity of food which his opponent has in front of him. If the latter has, for instance, two hens and four eggs, the winner receives one hen and two eggs; he also receives half of his quantity of chicha, and so forth.

If, after the two casts, only one grain has entered into a hole, the player is entitled

only to a fourth of the quantity of food possessed by his opponent. Again, if all four grains have entered into holes and, by the controlling test, managed by turning the board round, none falls out, then the player has won his opponent's whole share, which is at once given over to him. At the same time, the latter is thereby out of the game, since he has nothing more to play with, and the winner has the further right to punish him by giving him a fillip on the forehead.

If, on the other hand, after two repeated casts no grain has entered into a hole, the player has lost his whole share in the food supply to his opponent, is punished by him, and passes out from the game.

If with his two casts a player has won nothing, this is called llambui (nothing, zero). If every grain enters into a hole, all the players call out: llámbui gánan, 'he has won everything!'. The game is continued until there is only one of the players left.

As I have mentioned, the players never intentionally touch that grain which has been placed between the legs of the figure, because it indicates the departed Indian's own share in the foods put out. It some-[473] times happens, however, that a player, when he throws the grains upon the board, accidentally hits the grain lying between the legs of the figure, so that it falls out from the hole. This is looked upon as very unfortunate, since in consequence of the awkward cast the deceased looses his share. The

widow and the other relatives, who do not take part in the game but follow it with keen interest, then begin to weep and wail, exclaiming: 'He has taken his share!' It may also happen that at the controlling test, carried out by turning the board round, a player out of carelessness or mere wickedness turns it round so quickly, that not only his own grains, but also that of the deceased fall out of their holes.

I was also told that no one is allowed to fall asleep during the whole night. If someone seems inclined to do so, burning cotton is put close to his eyes to keep him awake.

The whole game is a tribute of honour paid to the departed parent. The latter is supposed to feel flattered by it and will reward his loving relatives for it. He himself takes part in the game, giving good luck to one, bad luck to another. His soul is present in the small board, and when the latter is turned round, at the test, the Indians imagine that thereby the soul is swinging round. When the grains are thrown over the corpse, this is believed to hasten the decay of the body, whereupon the soul, released from its material bonds, will set out upon its wanderings to heaven.

If, as the result of a cast, two of the grains happen to fall into holes situated opposite each other on both sides of the small figure, they form, together with the grain placed between the legs of the figure, a cross. This cast is regarded as a good omen: the soul of the defunct will now soon enter heaven.

Each player may in the morning take the food he has won during the night to his home

1: Karsten--470-473 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

and eat it alone. Or, if the winners prefer it thus, a common meal is prepared out of the whole quantity of food early in the morning, in which all, both guests and hosts, winners and non-winners, take part."

1; Karsten--473-474 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The huairitu game, both the last-mentioned and the one previously described, is not generally played the whole night, because the food put out is distributed as a rule before the morning. The rest of the night is spent in playing another kind of game, with burning balls of cotton. Upon the board which was placed on the stomach of the dead Indian a small cotton ball is laid and set on fire. The playing men arrange [474] themselves on both sides of the corpse and blow the burning cotton hither and thither upon the board, keeping the small ball in constant motion. Each player who finds the ball in front of himself immediately blows it to the other side, from where another player blows it in another direction, and so forth. The aim of this game is to nullify all danger of contagion proceeding from the dead body, since it is feared that the disease-demon may carry off other persons among the relatives surviving. (1)

All the Indians have expressly declared to me that the game is by no means played merely for the sake of pleasure or as a pastime, but that it is an absolute duty towards

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"1. It is worth mentioning that a similar ceremonial game also occurs among the Shimigay Indians of the middle Pastaza. The game is here called singu, but the die is conical in shape (se Karsten, Ceremonial Games of the South American Indians, p. 26)."

the deceased. Apart from the details of the game, this moreover appears from the fact, that an omittance to perform this duty--that is, to wake and to play the dice game --is supposed to entail very grave consequences. The Canelos Indians did not even like to show how the huairitu game was played, but only explained it verbally. If the die is cast without necessity, my informant said, someone in the house might die."

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"Those of the Canelos Indians who are related to the Indians of the Napo practise certain other kinds of game which are played at vigils. These games, however, are not dice games, but entertainments of another kind. Although these games are more in vogue among the Napo Indians than among the Indians of Canelos, I shall relate them here.

Four games of this kind came under my observation.

1. The game of blindman's-buff. One of the Indians is blindfolded and represents the dead person. His task is to catch some one of the rest of the party. These run around him, touch him with their hands and play all sorts of trick on him, in order to attract his attention, trying at the same time to avoid him. If the player blindfolded succeeds in catching one of the other men, this one must in his turn take the part of the blindman until he has caught someone else, and so forth, as long as the Indians like to play the game.

2. Playing with burning cotton. The playing men sit down on the ground in a circle round a big cloth or mantle, which is held by all so that it is tightly stretched and somewhat raised above the level of the [475] ground. One or two small cotton balls are set on fire and thrown on the cloth; the burning ball is then blown hither and thither on the cloth by the men holding it. The Indian who finds the burning ball in front of him blows it quickly towards another Indian sitting opposite him, the latter in his turn tries to rid

himself of it by blowing it away, and so forth. By keeping the ball in constant motion it is possible to continue the game with the burning cotton for several seconds, without the cloth being burnt. One ball having been consumed by fire, another is kindled and thrown on the cloth, or perhaps two at once, the game being continued until the players get tired of it. --As it will have appeared, the game is about the same as the one already described as taking place in connection with the dice games.

3. The game with the concealed pin. The body of the dead Indian, dressed in his finest clothes, lies on the bier at one side of the room. The game itself consists in a pin or needle being concealed somewhere in the clothes of the defunct, sometimes even in his body, for instance in his feet. One of the playing Indians kneels down in front of the bier on which the corpse is placed and another, standing behind him, holds his hands to the searcher's eyes so that he cannot see. It is now the task of the Indian to find the pin concealed, feeling with his hands all over the clothes of the defunct. As soon as he has found the pin, he must alone empty a gourd of brandy. Thereupon he in his turn conceals the pin in the dress of the defunct, allowing another Indian, who has to kneel down in the same way in front of the corpse, to look for it. As soon as this one has found the pin, he drinks brandy in the same way and conceals the pin for somebody else.

4. Sirasu catuaini huasháma is the name given by the Napo Indians to a fourth game

which, as we shall find, is played in much the same way in Europe. The playing men are arranged in a row, one behind the other. An Indian, who represents the dead man, places himself in front of the first man in the row and says in a low voice: sirasu catuaini huashâma, or, generally, only: sirasu catuaini, which means: 'give me the last man from behind', or: 'give me the last one'. The man who said this now tries to catch the Indian standing last in the row, who, for his part, tries to escape him, running either to the right or to the left. His task is to reach the spot in front of the first man before he is caught by the 'Dead Man'. If he succeeds in doing so, the Dead Man must repeat the same with the following Indian from the end, who is now the last one. Again, if the last man (sirasu) is caught before he has succeeded in taking the [476] first place in the row, he must in his turn play the Dead Man, the former Dead Man taking his station as the last one in the row.

The games described above are continued during the whole night and nobody is allowed to fall asleep. Early in the morning, when the game is finished, a curious ceremony takes place. All of the men, who were engaged in the game, start to run about in the room on all fours, barking like dogs and attempting to imitate their movements; they kill all hens which belonged to the deceased, wringing their neck at the spot on which they catch them. A meal is subsequently prepared of the hens killed, in which all, both guests and hosts, men and women, take part.

1: Karsten--474-476 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

The Indians declare that this meal is a gift of the deceased by which he rewards those of his relatives and friends who have honoured him by the wake and by the food offered to him and have accompanied him on his last journey."

1: Karsten--476-478 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 764, 524 (1928-29)

"The ceremonial game after a death among the Napo and Canelos Indians is called aya pugllana, which means 'to play the Dead Man'. This is in accordance with the idea appearing in most of these games, that the departed Indian himself actively takes part in them. Thus, for instance, in the first game it is the dead Indian himself, or more properly speaking, the disease-and death-spirit who is looking for fresh victims among the survivors, who acts the part of the blindman. Similarly, in the fourth game the Indian, who calls out sirasu catuaini and tries to catch the last man in the row, represents the disease-demon. The Indians have the idea that by representing dramatically the way in which the demon catches the survivors they are able to prevent them from being carried off in reality-- a principle underlying numerous games, dances, and other ceremonies of the South American Indians. Thus, for instance, the mask-dances are wholly founded on this idea. The game with the burning cotton is a purification ceremony. The Indians ascribe magic virtues to the cotton itself, and the burning cotton is believed to destroy the disease-contagion (usually personified into a demon) and to protect the survivors against infection. The same idea is equally manifest in the game with the concealed pin. Pointed instruments, like pins and needles, are often used as amulets against evil spirits. The pin is concealed in the very source of the disease, the corpse itself. When the Indians look for it and find it they are, as it were, rendered immune against the disease. The brandy which the Indians have to drink afterwards is

one prophylactic more against the feared spirit. The Indians are quite conscious [477] of the meaning of these ceremonies when they say that they play in the way described 'in order not to die away'.

It seems, at the outset, somewhat more difficult to explain the other custom, above described, when the men, imitating dogs, run about on all fours and kill the hens. The Indians have not described it to me in further detail, but I may point out some ideas which most probably underly it. First, it is clear that the men who act in this way are supposed to represent the dead Indian himself. The departed Indian himself must catch and kill the hens which he wants to give to those honouring him, and the Indians seem to fancy that on that occasion he takes the shape of a dog. On this point it may be appropriate to mention an idea prevailing among the Jibaro Indians, according to which, if a departed parent is not duly honoured with offerings of food, he will take revenge, among other ways, by reappearing in the shape of a dog that bites the hens in the house to death. That the souls of the departed may transmigrate into dogs is a common Indian belief which is shared by the Napo and the Canelos Indians also. Consequently, if, as may sometimes happen, the starving dogs bite the hens to death and eat them, the Indians ascribe this to the soul of a departed relative that has taken the shape of a dog. It seems to me most probable that the strange funeral custom just described must be explained in this way.

Examining more closely the customs described above, we find that all of them are founded on a few definite religious ideas. On the one hand the survivors wish to honour the defunct by the games, inasmuch as they accompany him on his last journey and allow himself to dispose of the most valuable property he left behind, his domestic animals, usually in the expectation, directly expressed, that in return he may reward the survivors by virtue of the supernatural power he possesses. On the other hand, the games have for their object to protect the surviving relatives against the disease- and death-demon, who has carried off one member of the family and is believed to look for more victims among the living. This is an idea which must be explained more closely. In order to understand the funeral customs of primitive peoples it is necessary to distinguish, at any rate theoretically, between two classes of spirits to which the ceremonies have reference; the soul of the defunct, and the evil demon who caused the death of the relative and is regarded as a source of danger to the survivors also. It is a well-known fact that according to the belief of the Indians death-bringing disease depends on an evil spirit who penetrated into the body of the patient. If the demon succeeds [478] in completing his work of destruction in the body, the patient dies. But the disease-demon, having obtained possession of a person and caused his death, will at the same time lay hold of his soul also and change him altogether into an evil demon, whatever may have been his character in life; so that in many cases there is

practically no difference between the death-bringing demon and the spirit of the dead. This idea explains a fact which has often been commented upon by students of primitive religion but has never been satisfactorily explained: why persons, who in their lifetime have, perhaps, been honoured and loved are nevertheless after death feared as evil demons who are trying to inflict all sorts of evils upon the surviving relatives. This is due to the supposed fact that the defunct, that is, his soul, has fallen victim to a strange death-bringing demon who is trying to change the soul itself into a demon. The more spiritual power a person possessed in life, the more he is generally feared after death, because the strange demon lays hold of this power. This is the reason why old people and sorcerers are as a rule most feared after death as evil revengeful beings. It is only when we know this idea that we can satisfactorily explain a number of funeral customs and rites of the Indians which seemingly contradict one another. (1)

Although the Indians believe that the disease-and death-demon is trying to identify itself with the soul of the dead person, they still make a distinction between the two

"1. On the point, see more fully my Civilization of the South American Indians, pp. 477 sqq."

spirits which clearly appears in many of their funeral rites and ceremonies. Thus, of the mourning customs described above, some particularly have reference to the soul of the dead, others again to the death-bringing demon. For instance, when food is placed in front of the corpse and when the dice game is played, the Indians are only thinking of the deceased relative who was loved in life and to whom after his death the due cult is paid. Again, when pepper or tobacco-water is squirted into the eyes of the surviving relatives, when the game of blindman's-buff is played, when the mourners play with pins concealed, with burning cotton balls, or pieces of wood, these rites most clearly have only reference to the evil disease-and death-demon who still is believed to haunt the house and threaten the lives of the surviviors. [sic] Their object is to protect the latter against this dangerous spirit, or, as we should say, against the contagion of death, with which the soul of the defunct has involuntarily been associated."

"The subject of death and burial customs appears not to have been mentioned by the earliest writers on the Jivaro. Plaza, writing in 1853, says:

> They abandon their house even before 6 years if a Jivaro dies; his body is placed with lance and shield at his side and surrounded with food and drink; it is closed and remains closed, and no one ever returns to live there, which proves, according to them, the immortality of the soul and the existence of a divine being, a judge of good actions and of bad, who punishes through a bad character called Ihuanchi. (28)

Villavicencio, writing at about the same period, says:

> It is with difficulty that they are persuaded to bury their dead in the churches, since they prefer to bury them in their tambos, for the reason of thus having some guardians to watch over their belongings. They believe that death is not natural, and when someone dies, they attribute it to sorcery sent by some enemy, which is a cause for division among families, and they profess an eternal hatred against the supposed sorcerer. When they do not know to whom to attribute the ill deed they believe, notwithstanding, that it is caused by some hidden enemy. (29)

"28. Plaza, in Compte, p. 295.
29. Villavicencio, p. 357."

2: Stirling--112-113 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 764

Vacas Galindo states that the dying person usually indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in nijimanche and food. As to the final disposal of the body, Galindo says:

> They seat the dead person on a kutanga, well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from [113] other souls, human or animal, who will come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many piningas of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of manioc and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away. (30)"

"30. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, pp. 78-79."

2: Stirling--113 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 764

"The Salesian missionary, Father Pancheri, at Gualaquiza, has left a detailed description of the manner in which a prominent Jivaro had been buried. Hearing that the body of this individual had been disposed of in the pagan manner and wishing to give his bones a Christian burial, he searched for and found the body in a native sepulchre. The shelter consisted of a well-built house 2 meters long and 1 1/2 meters wide. As viewed from the outside, it gave the appearance of an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade overgrown with living plants. The interior, like a small room, was furnished with a seat having a back, on which the corpse had been seated, hands and feet crossed after it had been dressed in its best clothing and personal adornments. A second palisade, erected in the form of a cylinder, surrounded the body so closely that it could not fall over. This palisade was even more solidly constructed than the other and was covered inside and out with large leaves, making it so tight that even mice could not enter. The circular opening at the top of this cylindrical palisade was covered by a thick disk of wood weighted down by a large rock. In the little circular corridor between the first and second barriers a large quantity of food was placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc,; many earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and other liquids were set against the walls.

2: Stirling--113 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 764

Pancheri says:

We had to break the first palisade with a machete. Here many vases of nijimanche were hung and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambashu were found. (31)"

"31. Bulletin Salésien. August 1896, p. 178. Cited by Rivet, 1907, p. 611."

2: Stirling--113-114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764

"The following information was received directly from informants on the Yaupe River. Twenty-four hours after a Jivaro dies his body is placed in a log which has been hollowed out, in a small canoe, or in a box made of split bamboo. All of his hunting and fighting weapons, lance, blowgun, poison kit, etc., are placed with him. When the coffin is made from a log the bark is first peeled off and a space hollowed out in the log of a size sufficient to receive the body. The bark is then replaced and secured in place with pegs and vine wrappings, so as to cover the opening (pl. 25, b). If a canoe is utilized the opening of the canoe is covered with bark and large leaves which are bound in place with vines. When a box of split bamboo is used a cover is made of the same material.

The coffin is then suspended from the ridge pole of the house by means of two vines. An ordinary warrior is suspended horizontally. [114] If the deceased should be a curaka he is suspended in an upright position. The body hangs in this manner without further attention except for mourning by the women for a period of 6 days. On the sixth day, if the dead man be a curaka, nijimanche, meat, fish, manioc, and plantains are placed in vessels on the floor and on that day the house is abandoned, the body remaining suspended from the rafters. Each month for 2 years someone returns to replenish the food supply."

2: Stirling--115 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 764, 797, 172

"Since the advent of missionary influence, the Jivaros in some places have been persuaded to bury their dead, which is usually done in the floors of the houses. There is archeological evidence that urn burial was formerly practiced in the Jivaro territory, and Figueroa describes this custom among the Mainas in the seventeenth century."

12: Rivet--610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 764

There is no uniformity in the mode of burial. Ordinarily, the savages dislike inhumation (1), and the missionaries have had to fight very hard to bring the baptized Indians to dispose of their dead in the little cemetery which surrounds the church of the Mission; only children are buried with no ceremony. (2) Often it is the dying person who, before he takes his last breath, indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in chicha or food, etc. (3) Sometimes the body is seated against a big tree, sometimes in the trunk of a big cedar (4) and shut up in its own house, which the relatives immediately abandon. A traveller has assured me that sometimes it is simply thrown into the water.

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1. Villavicencio. op. cit., page 357.
2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 154.
4. Collecion de cartas, etc., page 61.

At present, the custom that tends to prevail is to put the dead person on a little platform under a shelter constructed either in the middle of the forest or in the corner of the field around the house. Padre Pancheri, a missionary to the Gualaquiza, who has had the chance to observe this practice closely, on going out to look for the body of a baptized Jívaro chief in order to bury him religiously, has given an excellent and minute description of it. (1)

The shelter consists of a nice little house, 2 m. long and 1 1/2 m. wide. Seen from the outside, the whole thing looks like an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade covered with living plants; the inside is like a little room , containing a chair with a back, where they seat the corpse, hand and feet crossed, after having dressed it in its best clothes and all its personal ornaments. A second circular palisade surrounds the body so closely that it cannot possibly fall from the chair. This palisade is even more solidly built than the other, and covered inside and out with huge leaves that will even keep the mice out; it rises and ends almost in the [611] form of a tube, the main opening of which is closed by a very thick disk of wood making a cover, on which is placed a big rock. In the little circular corridor which is found between the first and second barriers a great quantity of fruit is placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc; many earthenware pots full of chicha and other liquids are attached to the walls. The description

1. Bulletin Salesien, August, 1896, page 178.

of the Salesian priest is very definite. "We had to," he said, "break the first palisade with a big knife. Here many vases of chicha were hanging, and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambashu were found."

In the old days, they left the body in its own house, which was immediately abandoned. Vacas Galindo describes this ceremony as follows: (2) "They seat the dead person on a kutanga well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from the other souls, human or animal, who might come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many pinangas of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of manioc and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away."

It is probable that the necessity of constructing a new house after each death has brought the Jívaro little by little to renounce this custom.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 155. Bishop Manuel Plaza gives an analogous description in Compte. I. II, op. cit., page 295.

More recently, Saffray reports similar details from the Indians of Choco, who live in Colombia along the Atrato. Two of these tribes, the Cunas and the Caimanes, still spoke in 1869 the Cueba language, "the most widespread language from Veragua to Guayaquil at the time of the discovery." "In olden times," Saffray says, "when a chief died, they put his body on a wicker framework above a slow fire until it was completely desiccated...For commoners, they kept only the head, de-boned and dried in such a manner that, the flesh being molded in a uniform fashion, there remained a perfect reproduction of the original reduced to almost one-sixth of the original size." (1) The drawing that accompanies Saffray's account permits no doubt that the mummies made by the Indians of Choco and the tsantsas of the Jívaros are identical. At the end of the 18th century, the same costumes were still in use among the natives of the Pompa del Sacramento near the river Huallaga (2).

1. Dr. Saffray, Voyage à la Nouvelle Grenade, 1869. (Le Tour du Monde, T. XXVI, 1873, 2 sem., pp. 102, 103, 111.)

2. PP. Manuel Sobreviela et Narcisso y Barcelo. Voyages au Perou faits dans les années 1791 to 1794. French translation by P. F. Henry. Paris, 1809, in-8°, page 175.

25: Vigna--48 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 152, 764

When a child dies, a sentiment approximating madness takes possession of the mother; she pulls her hair and very nearly tears it out by the roots. I have assisted in a case of maternal pain caused by the death of a son, in which desperation was so acute that she would have hanged herself had she not been stopped. With hair covering her face, she cries, shrieks and screams with a grief that is moving.

25: Vigna--48[2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 533, 764

The song that the Jíbaros use as an expression of sorrow, is intoned to the only musical motif that they know: the chant of the witch when he cures the sick. While crying, they evoke the figure of the deceased and the ancestors with so much love and such tender appellatives that they draw tears. During the inflection of the voice, in the weeping, they repeat rhythmically the vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

25: Vigna--48[4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 764

If the deceased is the master of the house, the grave is dug in the center of the house near the principal log which sustains the roof. Once the deceased is interred, the dwelling is abandoned, and the dead is left in peace. All the objects that belonged to him are left hanging from the log near his grave.

The grave generally is a meter in depth. The cadaver is wrapped in his itipi or tarachi and in the other clothing that belonged to him and placed in the grave. He is tied with strips of cloth, cinctures, or reeds. If it is possible, he is wrapped either in pierced bamboo reeds, or he is put in pieces of old canoe. This is sealed hermetically by plugging the cracks with beeswax.

25: Vigna--48-49 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 764

If, before dying, the deceased has given orders that they do not inter him, they prepare a sort of catafalque on which they place the primitive casket. Then, immediately, they abandon the house. If the oral testament of the deceased requires it, he will be interred in a sitting position with his face towards the entrance of the house - as if he were still guarding his habitation. There are cases in which the dying have given orders that they do not be interred nor put [49] in coffins. In this case, the cadaver is fastened to the principal log of the house in a sitting position on a bed that is like his own bed. They light a fire at his feet and watch periodically that it does not die out. The living then leave this newly-formed cemetery. It happens that the cadavers which are preserved in this manner mummify. They resist rough weather until the day that the roof of the house is destroyed and humidity accelerates the process of putrefaction.

28: Tessman--363 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 764

The burial of older and more respected persons (like family fathers) takes place in the house, from which the other inhabitants then move out. All other persons, with the exception of small children, are buried in the bush near the houses. All people receive a burial by interment. The corpse is clad with the loincloth, provided the cloth is not new; if it is new, an old one is substituted. The corpse, in a stretched-out position, is wrapped in Ficus fiber and tied like a bundle. It is, face up, placed upon Iriartea plates in the grave. It seems that this mode of burial is not customary everywhere, perhaps only on Agurauna territory, for my informants told me that other Indians place the corpse upon a plank bed in a special hut in the bush (like the Muratos do). Infant children are likewise wrapped in Ficus fiber, but buried in a big pot, which is buried in a corner of the house.

Karsten tells us (in his The Religion etc., pp. 142 ff.) that food and intoxicating drinks are placed (probably only once) upon the grave of a family father.

After approximately six months, or whenever one assumes that the flesh has disintegrated, the corpse is exhumed; the bones and the skull are cleaned and placed into a pot, which is kept on a bench in the house. The exhumation takes place in the case of infants and adults, of non-sorcerers and sorcerers.

30: Franco--140-141 (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 764

The making of the tzhantzha is not only for vengeance or for trophy; it appears to have something of a religious nature through the rites that precede its preparation from the severing of the enemy's head to its complete desiccation, and in the other solemn and festive ceremonies which follow in the especially named 'fiesta of the Tzhantzhas.' They are certainly trophies of war, but they are not limited to this. There are tzhantzhas and even entire bodies that are mummified of whites and of blacks. God knows what unfortunate adventurers, explorers, missionaries or rubber workers fell the victim of some imprudence of aggression or sexual assault toward some Indian woman, since the savage is atrociously suspicious and vengeful not only toward his fellow creatures but even more so toward the intruders of his forest. The Museum of the 'Heye Foundation' of New York, as well as tzhantazhas, possesses two rare examples of entire bodies: one of a Negro and another of a white with heavy beard of a Spanish or Austrian or Italian type; and, likewise, the head of an aged white man with thick [141] curly and gray hair. The entire bodies of the two have been reduced and preserved in admirable proportions to their size, being dolls of some 70 to 75 cms. Only the hands are a little large in proportion to the new body and the feet are a little deformed by the flexion of the toes upward.

30: Franco--142 [6] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 764

Mummification was a custom from very remote times in America also, although not so perfect as in Egypt. The Incas appear to have perfected it somewhat. They extracted the viscera and substituted certain preservative herbs, coca among them, and in one of the cavities of the body they introduced a small receptacle full of balsam liquid which precipitated the desiccation; then they put the body in a large well-sewn basket made of cat tail [totora].

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natema. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 laid above it to protect the pottery cover from being crushed by persons walking above.

The bodies of deceased older children and wives are also
• 764 buried in the house floor, although not in urns. A body is interred on its back and extended, with the arms at the sides, and wrapped in sections of split guadua bamboo. More split bamboo is laid on top before the earth is added. Graves are usually only about two-and-a-half to three feet deep, one man explaining, "When we live, we do not live far away from the surface of the earth, so when we are dead, we should not, either."

768 When the house owner dies, the dwelling is abandoned and his wife (wives) and children will go or be taken to live with other relatives, such as a potential husband (*yaĉi* of the deceased) or a son-in-law, until she remarries. She cuts her
765 hair short as a sign of mourning, and ideally should not take a new husband until the hair has grown back down to her shoulders. Since the house will no longer be used, the deceased
766 head of the household may be buried either below ground or
[768] above it on a low scaffold. In the latter case, a large balsa log is hollowed out in a manner somewhat similar to a canoe, from which it takes its name (*kanu*), although canoes are not actually used for this purpose. The corpse is laid inside and the coffin top is covered with lashed-down bark from the same log. Finally, the log is placed on crossbars so that it is between, and in line with, the two main center posts of the house, with the head towards the doorway of the women's end of the dwelling. A grave is in the same location. If several persons in a household die simultaneously in an epidemic and, as a result, the house is abandoned, they may all receive a scaffold burial.

764 Whether buried above or below ground, a man's corpse
766 is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body 766
is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A 764
palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is [778]
interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her 764
snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging 765
above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and 774
a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and [262]
beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *uwá* with renown as 769
a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he 774
wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, [701]
which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is en- 766
tombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 774

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants [353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be [301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the [595] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually [439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[6]

[764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized 796 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as 571 554 765

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely
628 eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there
721 is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and
warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only
578 a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More
648 typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learn-
183 ing to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines per-
fected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have re-
[764] cently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from
natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence
of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted
with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem
that violence has indeed declined substantially among the
Jívaro.

178 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the
648 Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of
1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began heli-
315 copter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources
in their land. The consequences of these operations for the
eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears
that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice
regarding its exploitation.

161 While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are
on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not.
[165] Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by
missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in
mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated
7,830 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a popula-
tion for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood
of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the
corner" demographically, and from what is known of North
American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the
prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

1: Karsten--460-461 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 765 (1928-29)

"That a death gives rise to many taboos is natural. We have already seen how the clothes and certain other objects which have been in con-[461] tact with the dead are destroyed and made to disappear. The same may be said of the mourners themselves, who are so closely related to the very source of this mysterious defilement. Thus the nearest relatives have to restrict their diet for some days; they are forbidden to eat mani or earth-nuts, pork and hen's flesh, as well as salt and Indian pepper; they cannot chew sugar-cane, nor eat a dish of boiled and mashed manioc called sumbi; manioc-beer, on the other hand, they are allowed to drink. Instead of eating the flesh of domestic animals they may eat any kind of game. When four days have passed they may eat hen's flesh, and after six days they are allowed to eat everything. For six days they must also abstain from sexual intercourse. Any infringement of these rules is likely to endanger the other relatives; they may fall ill and die themselves, since the evil spirit who took the life of their relative may also take theirs."

2: Stirling--114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775, 765

"The Jivaros believe that after death they are reborn in various forms of animal life. A warlike curaka becomes a jaguar when he dies and goes to live in the forest near enemy tribes in order that he may continue his vengeance toward them. The explanation of the 2-year period during which the corpse is fed and tended is that it requires 2 years for a jaguar to develop to the point where he can competently shift for himself. When this time has expired the bones are taken down and buried."

2: Stirling--114-115 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 765

"Mourning customs are not very elaborate. During the 6 days following death the women of the house wail and lament and, if the deceased were a married man, his wives cut their hair in the form of a bob. During the time that a corpse is suspended in the house the men generally leave, going into the bush, or visiting some other jivaría, leaving the mourning and the tending of the body [115] to the women. There are evidences of a lasting affection for the dead on the part of close relatives, and mothers sometimes retain keepsakes which they treasure in true sentimental fashion as remembrances of their dead sons."

12: Rivet--609 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 765, 428

Property is transmitted from male to male (1), generally from father to son. When the husband dies, the wives of the deceased take off all their ornaments, cut their hair, and stop painting their faces and body, as a sign of mourning. In a word, they renounce all elegance.(2) It is not true, nowadays at least, that the favorite wife follows the head of the family to the grave.

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1. Lubbock. op. cit., page 31.
2. Collecion de cartas etc. op. cit., page 61.

25: Vigna--48 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 765

When the first husband dies, the wife, as a sign of mourning, cuts off her hair completely; if the deceased is the second husband, the hair is cut to the nape of the neck. The men also, by custom, cut a little off the ends of their braids.

They cry for several days over the grave. The weeping almost assumes the solemnity of a rite, and relatives often are invited. For a certain period of time, various foods are placed over the grave: chicha, meat, banana, yuca, etc. When the time has passed, the woman, recollecting her dead may, at any unexpected moment, weep copiously.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

INTRODUCTION

101
Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to 175
have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to 648
have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri huara* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained uncon- [135]
quered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of 101
Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late 175
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro 181
"shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the mar- 648
kets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers [727]
visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also [765]
became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when 121
I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most 101
fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork 121
among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory 114
and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apa'i* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *wa'a* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *Iuara* were scared of them. These whites also had *wasa*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apa'i* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *Jívaro*.
439

[193] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase land obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[179] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[26]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[28]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
499 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[199] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*granulote* in Spanish) upon their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[231] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
[436] plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[469] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

179 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
199 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [721]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tayamaší*), and the women's 562
(*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main 222
kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval [261]
and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*wukintu*, *čarapčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirulá* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyapu*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntá*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source [262]
of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kipak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirintá*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the [252]
ampakai, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and [293]
kumai) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible [262]
fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*tsuui*, *ručinč*, *ipu*, *wamar*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, 231
and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to [235]
wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they [417]
start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, es- 262
pecially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the 574
uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is 765
planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to [235]
[231]

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
• 765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *mirui*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[799] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the birch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets,
[439] parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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765
787
532
[796]

21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photos courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jivaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587] of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one [765] •
of the three types of *tsumi'i*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*ma-kami'i*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825] (*pani*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824] which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411] the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752] accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
• 765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
789 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the
727 *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

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727 774 778 765 789 796 [562]

in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *nuisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *nuisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wishes to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *nuisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *nuisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

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In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *uwinri huara* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *tumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck. [532]

[774] [796]

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *nuisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *wuisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

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Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *wuisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *wuisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

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Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *wuisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*tsantsi nampet*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

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766 laid above it to protect the pottery cover from being crushed by persons walking above.

764 The bodies of deceased older children and wives are also buried in the house floor, although not in urns. A body is interred on its back and extended, with the arms at the sides, and wrapped in sections of split pashu bamboo. More split bamboo is laid on top before the earth is added. Graves are usually only about two-and-a-half to three feet deep, one man explaining, "When we live, we do not live far away from the surface of the earth, so when we are dead, we should not, either."

768 When the house owner dies, the dwelling is abandoned and his wife (wives) and children will go or be taken to live with other relatives, such as a potential husband (yai) of the deceased) or a son-in-law, until she remarries. She cuts her

• 765 hair short as a sign of mourning, and ideally should not take a new husband until the hair has grown back down to her shoulders. Since the house will no longer be used, the deceased

766 head of the household may be buried either below ground or

[769] above it on a low scaffold. In the latter case, a large balsa log is hollowed out in a manner somewhat similar to a canoe, from which it takes its name (*kana*), although canoes are not actually used for this purpose. The corpse is laid inside and the coffin top is covered with lashed-down bark from the same log. Finally, the log is placed on crossbars so that it is between, and in line with, the two main center posts of the house, with the head towards the doorway of the women's end of the dwelling. A grave is in the same location. If several persons in a household die simultaneously in an epidemic and, as a result, the house is abandoned, they may all receive a scaffold burial.

764 Whether buried above or below ground, a man's corpse

766 is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,

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and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment. 766 764

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way. [778]

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above. 764

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished. 765 774 [262]

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *unta* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 763 774 [701] 766 774

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
• 765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untsi* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also lost the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsararu*)
• 765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *ĉinĉipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery
[776] cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *pasi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kawai* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

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Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kawai* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *wakisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

[774]

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532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight
• 765 apertures which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the tsantsa
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first tsantsa celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the tsantsa from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled vegetal bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the tsua's
796 house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
[554] man is sent to advise the tsua that "now we are coming with
[342] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara. The tsua then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first tsantsa celebration (asuupsy) which is held at the newly built house of the tsua.

The tsua also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his tsantsa, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the tsua, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the tsua returns home. In two days, the war party fellows, is joined at the tsua's house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the tsantsa celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to ensure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To ensure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, pres-
• 765 tige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150
796 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta
532 pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of
[796] the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see
[283] Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants
[353] from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be
[301] worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the
[535] forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually
[439] traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[6]
[764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro
796 point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized
571 by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as
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as accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jivaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jivaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsaindi*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*wuisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *wuisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *wuisak*, while it is resident in the

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578 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
765 of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
796 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
[774] the male master of ceremonies, the *uwa*, who usually has been
[778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
[554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
[624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
[562] by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a
765 basis similar to that for the *uwa*. Thus the religious, ritual,
796 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
727 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
[619] the Jivaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
[571] feasts tend to be viewed by the Jivaro as the pinnacles of
[181] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
[533] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[535] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
[539] common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Cuwi[2] tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Cuwi tells me
> Cuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily.
> And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguaza region against the Achuara in 1967. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 197 • 765 532 727 998 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to scalp the enemy. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not use all heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Walle, 1985, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Pastaza, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 6–8; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78, and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 182). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER 10

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1892, p. 452; Compte, 1961, p. 76, and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

[114] 1. I am indebted to Pedro Shiriki and Peter Harr for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

1: Karsten--460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 766 (1928-29)

"Ordinary earth burial is frequently resorted to when women and children die. The burial place may be within the house or outside it, and it is curious that in the former case the rest of the family members continue living there. A grave is for instance simply dug in a corner of the house, or close to one of the walls, and the corpse is placed there in a lying posture, whereupon the grave is filled in and the ground levelled so that it resembles the rest of the earthen floor. I have frequently visited Indian houses where women or children have been buried in this way, and been able to confirm that the inmates find this arrangement perfectly natural. There seems not to be, in these cases, any fear of the ghost of the dead, probably because the spirits of women and children are never feared to the same extent as the spirits of men, and especially the spirits of old men and medicine-men. Nor was food or drink placed on the graves of the women buried in the house in any of the cases which came under my notice.

In other cases dead women are buried outside, at a short distance from the house. A primitive shelter of thatch is made, resting upon four poles, and the corpse is buried under this.

Lastly, a kind of urn-burial also occurs among the Jibaros, although only for small children. The urns used for this purpose are the big clay pots in which the manioc-beer is kept. The body of the child is placed in the urn in a squatting attitude--that of the foetus in the mother's womb--then it is closed with another smaller flat clay pot.

1: Karsten--460 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 766 (1928-29)

Where the clay vessels touch each other is plastered round with clay, so that the urn is hermetically sealed. It is placed on a tripod close to one of the pillars of the house in the same way as the clay pot containing manioc-beer, and in this way the remains of the child are kept for a long time, and then buried. --Whether this urn-burial of small children is connected with any special ideas of rebirth, etc., I cannot say.

No burial is thought of in the case of persons who have been killed in war and whose heads have been carried off by the enemies (p. 292). A dead body is buried above all for the sake of the soul, but the soul of a kinsman killed in war was carried off along with the head. It would therefore be useless to bestow burial upon his body."

2: Stirling--114[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"In the case of an ordinary warrior the house is not abandoned following the 6-day period after death, but during this time a strongly built small house is erected in the vicinity of the jivaría and the body is placed in it. Here it is fed and attended during the 2-year period in the same manner as described for a curaka."

2: Stirling--114 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"The bodies of women are treated in the same manner as those of ordinary warriors, excepting, of course, that the woman's domestic utensils and implements are placed with her instead of weapons."

2: Stirling--114 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 766

"In the event of the death of young children the bodies are placed in a small thatched shelter near or in the clearing without any attendant ceremony. It is believed that children under the age of puberty change into small birds."

25. Vigna--49 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 766

If the deceased is very young, he is placed in a bowl of clay and interred near the beds of his parents, at some few centimeters depth.

26: Brüning--55 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
766

We found in this house the grave of one of the five wives of the Curaca Laichape: she had hanged herself after her sense of honor had been outraged. The grave was marked by an earthen mound (height: 70 cm.) which had the dimensions of a body. It was close to the wall of the house. I cannot explain the presence of this grave inside the house, for, in general, I have been told by the whites, the Indians give up their house after a person has died and was buried therein.

30: Franco--142 [3] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 555, 766

The warrior who has the greater number of trophies acquires the title 'Cocarama'. Cinctures for adornment in war and in the fiestas only are made with the hair of the tzhantzhas; and the owner never presents it or trusts it to anyone. His relatives bury him with the cincture when there is a lack of tzhantzhas; they do not keep the cincture, in this case, as a sacred remembrance of the valorous relative.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natema. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a be-
witcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this
weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by
his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some
other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity
usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether
anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors
so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain."
Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an
informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them.
Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead,
although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned
in the normal course of events, family members will return
when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm
thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position.
An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and
the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is bur-
ied in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 laid above it to protect the pottery cover from being crushed by persons walking above.

764 The bodies of deceased older children and wives are also buried in the house floor, although not in urns. A body is interred on its back and extended, with the arms at the sides, and wrapped in sections of split guadua bamboo. More split bamboo is laid on top before the earth is added. Graves are usually only about two-and-a-half to three feet deep, one man explaining, "When we live, we do not live far away from the surface of the earth, so when we are dead, we should not, either."

768 When the house owner dies, the dwelling is abandoned and his wife (wives) and children will go or be taken to live with other relatives, such as a potential husband (*yači* of the
765 deceased) or a son-in-law, until she remarries. She cuts her hair short as a sign of mourning, and ideally should not take a new husband until the hair has grown back down to her
766 shoulders. Since the house will no longer be used, the deceased
[768] head of the household may be buried either below ground or above it on a low scaffold. In the latter case, a large balsa log is hollowed out in a manner somewhat similar to a canoe, from which it takes its name (*kanu*), although canoes are not actually used for this purpose. The corpse is laid inside and the coffin top is covered with lashed-down bark from the same log. Finally, the log is placed on crossbars so that it is between, and in line with, the two main center posts of the house, with the head towards the doorway of the women's end of the dwelling. A grave is in the same location. If several persons in a household die simultaneously in an epidemic and, as a result, the house is abandoned, they may all receive a scaffold burial.

764 Whether buried above or below ground, a man's corpse
766 is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment. 766 764

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way. [778]

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above. 764

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished. 765 774 [262]

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untá* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 768 774 [701] 766 774

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 774 [778] against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 774 823 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He [276] then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

4. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes silently when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps [593] known acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of his son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s).

6. There is also a rare supernatural, *arutam*, whose soul is not so easily [illegible] and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visits to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

9. Maikik may alternatively be pronounced *mwaiga*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered [766] (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *maikik* is delayed in escaping through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published [114] regarding the beliefs surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Dan Matchenkin et al. 1958.

14. The mythological first chicha.

15. This is a hair of mythical analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *tukumes*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 84). [789]

16. The breezes are caused by his *arutam* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jivaro (see pp. 179-80).

CHAPTER V

1. Dayuma (1964, p. 41) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights [177] in the Río Vinquato neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which margial resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay.

1: Karsten--458-459 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 768 (1928-29)

"The belongings of the dead are disposed of in different ways. Some must disappear with the dead because they are taboo; these are naturally such as have been in close contact with him especially during his last sickness as, for instance, the clothes in which he lay sick and in which he died. The same is the rule in regard to the pininga from which he ate and the gourd which he used as a drinking cup. All these articles to which the taboo of sickness and death attach, are interred with the body, or destroyed and got rid of in some other way. Similarly his comb, whether he had used it during his illness or not, is always destroyed, evidently because the comb which has been in contact with the hair of the dead man is in an eminent sense taboo. Certain other and more valuable belongings are, on the other hand, kept as they had not been in contact with him so recently, for instance his best itipi or loin-cloth used for feasts and visiting, his blowgun, and his lances (with the exception of the one which must be left on the grave). These objects therefore are inherited by his sons, and divided between them. When a woman [459]dies, her belongings--with the exception of those destroyed or interred with the body--are inherited by her daughters."

12: Rivet--609-610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 768

Usually, widows go to live in the house of the brothers of the deceased, where they increase the harem, or else they return to their family; even in that case they quickly remarry; an Ecuadorian who has lived for a long time in this region [610] only once saw a woman living alone and independent in the company of her two sons. She had already had two husbands and refused to make a third experiment.

25: Vigna--49 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 768

The Jîbaro has no need of making a will. He leaves few things on this earth, and all of them are of slight importance. The earth belongs to all; the house is subject to rapid deterioration; the gardens belong to the women, the sons will each one think for himself; the women will be carried away by the most immediate relatives who adduce inalienable rights over them. It is not unusual for fights and wars to arise over a widow. No one talks of the dead in conversation with strangers.

28: Tessman--361 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 768, 587

The estate is not destroyed, but passed on to the heirs. The estate is rather evenly distributed among the sons and brothers of the father, and other relatives may get something, too, if they wish. Even the wife is passed on as part of the estate: she goes to the older brother of her deceased husband, and she lives with him as early as one to two weeks after her husband's death.

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

342 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
356 until the ninth year of occupancy.
362

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
342 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hun-
361 dred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
342 building work technically could be done by the dwelling
462 owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

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766 is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,

1: Karsten--292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 775, 769 (1928-29)

"The lance, a terrible weapon of the Jibaros, inspires not only living men but even the spirits and demons with fear. The soul of an Indian killed with the lance in terror flees far away from the mutilated body and does not remain for some time in the neighbourhood, as is believed to be the case at ordinary death. The relatives themselves stand in such horror of the dead body that they only hurriedly bury it on the same spot where they find it, thereafter speedily leaving the place. The devoted cult which the Jibaros generally pay to their dead relatives is entirely lacking in regard to those killed in war, and food is never put on their graves."

1: Karsten--463-464 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 769 (1928-29)

"....there is a great dread of the disease-and death-demon, who is more or less identified with the spirit [464] of the deceased. Spirits of old men, especially those of family-fathers and medicine-men, are particularly feared, and the food and drink which is placed on their graves is offered to them chiefly with a view to propitiating them and gaining their favour. Deceased family-fathers require to be worshipped, and unless the due cult is paid to them may revenge themselves. That the cult of the dead is in the first place inspired by fear, appears from the words which are addressed to the spirit when the relatives are about to leave the house, having placed the offerings on the grave: 'Take this food, spirit, and do us no harm! If you want to cause evils, go to Shuāras of other families or tribes, our enemies, and harm them, but leave us in peace!'

It is thought that the spirits of the deceased (wakáni) like to visit their surviving relatives even after they have moved to another house, and in case their cult has been neglected they may punish them by sending disease, by killing the swine or the hens or the dogs, or by robbing small children. A wakáni of this nature is looked upon as evil iguanchi. He may, during the sleep, entice even the souls of grown-up people to follow him to the forest, where he gives him a certain beetle, called shúndu, to eat, with the consequence that the person in question will get mad. When the wakáni visits the house he comes in a shadow-like form and is as a rule invisible. However, someone of

the people in the house may see him for a moment entering, taking a few steps into the room, and again disappearing. Frequently the spirit is hungry and comes to seek food. He opens the big clay pot where the manioc substance is kept, by removing the leaves covering its mouth, and takes of the substance to prepare beer. Afterwards it looks as if a child's hand had been in the clay pot taking manioc. 'The spirits', the Indians explained, 'need only a little; they only consume the essence of the food and drink'."

1: Karsten--464-465 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 769 (1928-29)

"To keep off the spirits of recently dead persons from the house, the Jibaros are in the habit of painting upon the doors small human figures with the hands stretched out, figures of snakes, birds, etc. (See Pl. XVII, 2). The Jibaros, as we have seen, not only use primitive doors consisting of a few poles by means of which the entrance is shut, but also doors more resembling those of civilized peoples. The figures in question I was informed, represent the souls of the departed (wakáni) and are by no means only decorations. 'The departed', I was told, 'like to visit their relatives and may strike us with sickness and death or other misfortune. But when they find their own images painted upon the door they are pleased and do us no harm.' This is another expression for [465] the fact that the spirits of the dead are simply conjured or in some way controlled and kept at bay by means of the figures representing them.

Although the dead are as a rule resentful, they may on the other hand reward such relatives as know their duties towards them by bestowing all sorts of material blessings upon them."

2: Stirling--75 [2] (1930-1931)1938 Jivaro
116, 769

"According to Anguasha, the Jivaros gave much more thought to harm that might come to them through the ill will of neglected relatives than they did to the revengeful actions of enemy ghosts. At the time fathers instruct their young sons in their duties along these lines they recount the killings that their enemies have perpetrated and urge them to take revenge whenever the opportunity affords, saying that if they do so the spirits of their dead relatives will be pleased and will bring good crops and good luck to them, but that if they neglect doing so these same spirits will be angry and will bring them corresponding misfortune."

"The ceremonies held with the tsantsas are in the nature of an exhibition for the benefit of departed relatives in order to show that the Jivaros are fulfilling their obligations of blood revenge. The severed head, previous to its preparation as a tsantsa, is looked upon as inert and impotent. The ceremonies and processes attendant upon the preparation of the head, transforming it into a tsantsa, charge it with magical powers so that it becomes animated with tsarutama, much in the same manner as ceremonial masks and other paraphernalia are vitalized in the pueblo area of the American Southwest. (6) [76] Because of this fact, it is necessary in making a tsantsa to follow these rituals carefully and to continue to comply with certain observances, which link the tsantsa with its maker on the one hand and his lineage on the other, for a stated period of time following the preparation.

Most of the early tsantsas that came to the attention of Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century were looted from burial sepulchers of the Jivaros. There is no doubt that in former times it was the custom to bury the tsantsa trophies with the warrior who had prepared them, and this is probably done in some sections of the Jivaro country at the present time. It seems very improbable that a Jivaro would desire to have the bottled-up ghosts of his enemies interred with him in the same tomb. The preparation

"6. This interpretation differs considerably from that of Karsten, who says that the principal reason for the preparation of the tsantsas is to paralyze the spirit of the dead enemy attached to the head so that it cannot escape and take revenge upon the murderer."

of a tsantsa is considered a definite insult to the enemy. Because the ghosts of relatives are feared more than those of enemies, tsantsas are never made of relatives killed in fights or battles."

25: Vigna--39 [6] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 769

The dead are venerated, and one might almost say that they have a true cult.

1: Karsten--142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 828 (1928-29)

"All the rules in regard to fasting mentioned above originate in a special idea, deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians with whom we are dealing. Not only do they believe that a man, by eating a certain animal or a certain vegetable, may acquire the characteristic qualities of that animal or vegetable even in minute details. They are firmly convinced that there exists such an intimate relation between a man and the work he is doing or has just done that his own qualities, both the essential and usual ones and those temporarily acquired--through eating a certain food or in other ways--may literally be transferred to the object or result of his work. A man in the most real sense of the word puts something of his soul into the work he is doing, the effects of this transference making themselves felt even for some time after it has been finished. Numerous other instances referring to different departments of the domestic industry of the Indians have already been mentioned which illustrate this view, and others will presently be mentioned. A custom like the couvade, for instance, which occurs among the Jibaros in an interesting form, will be found to rest upon similar ideas."

1: Karsten--365-368 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 771 (1928-29)

"The above description of the great victory-feast is based on my own direct observations during the visit I made to the house of the Jibaro Shakaëma at Chiguaza on the upper Pastaza, a visit described by me before. In all I have been present at three victory-feasts of the Jibaro Indians, but the second and the third time I did not stay longer than two days, since I found that the ceremonies performed were exactly the same as those performed at the first feast. As I have stated, these ceremonies may vary in certain details among different Jibaro tribes, but the differences are insignificant and unessential. From inquiries I have made, I venture to assert that the ritual of the feast is remarkably uniform throughout the Jibaro country. It may be necessary to point out this, because the short descriptions hitherto appearing in the literature (for instance in Rivet's book on the Jibaros)are evidently not consistent with actual facts, being probably founded on the untrustworthy information given by the mestizos of Macas or other occasional visitors.

A few general remarks may be added as to the significance of the feast.

If we analyze the numerous ceremonies described above we find that all of them are founded upon certain fundamental ideas. First, that in the trophy (tsantsa) the spirit or soul of the killed enemy is seated; secondly, that the spirit, attached to the head, is thirsting for revenge and is trying to harm the slayer in every possible way; and thirdly, that if this danger is paralyzed through the different rites of the feast, the trophy is

changed into a 'fetish,' a thing charged with supernatural power which the victor may make use of in different ways and in different departments of life.

The idea that the soul or vital power of a person is concentrated in his head, and particularly in his hair, seems to be common to all lower peoples in the whole world and gives the explanation not only of a number [366] of peculiar hair customs, but especially the practice, existing among some savage tribes, of taking the scalps of slain enemies or preparing their heads as 'trophies'. At any rate the use which the Jibaros make of the heads of their enemies and the ceremonies which they perform with them are throughout founded upon this idea.

Again, the idea that the spirit of a murdered man is seized with desire for revenge and that his revengeful attitude is first of all directed against the slayer is also quite natural and universally met with in lower cultures. In regard to the Jibaros, the interest is especially attached to the childish and naive means by which the Indians fancy that they can keep the feared spirit at bay, and which are the same as those resorted to for keeping off a living human enemy. Thus the measure to keep the trophy tied to the murderous weapon, the 'demoniacal' chonta lance, the rattling with the shields at the most important ceremonies, the attempts to inspire the spirit with fear by making noises, by threatening movements and dancing, and to 'wash off' its malignity

and desire for revenge by washing the head in a magical solution, all illustrate, in different ways, the primitive conception that the Jibaros have about supernatural beings and the possibility of influencing them.

It seems somewhat more difficult, at first glance, to understand the fundamental idea mentioned in the third place, namely, that the trophy, if all rites are properly performed at the feast, is turned into a real fetish and becomes a source of blessing to the slayer himself and his whole family. The power which the trophy is supposed to possess, of course, is due to the spirit attached to it, just as the natural magical power of the living human body depends upon the soul or vitality inherent in it. The souls or spirits of dead men are endowed with a special energy and potency, and among the Jibaros, as among other South American Indians, all gods, spirits, and demons seem to be nothing but departed human souls. From this point of view there is hardly anything strange in the idea that the spirit of the killed enemy, over which the victor has acquired complete domination, is able to confer upon him all those material blessings which are mentioned as the most important effects of the tsantsa. Among many Indian tribes in Ecuador and elsewhere there prevails the custom that the surviving relatives offer a special cult to the deceased family father, in which different kinds of food, drinks, etc., are laid upon his tomb. If the departed spirit is satisfied with this cult, he is believed to reward his loving relatives by making their fields flourish and bear

fruit, and by increasing their domestic animals, that [367] is, by bestowing exactly the same benefits as are expected from the head-trophy duly initiated. The difference between this religious act and the mode of treating the spirit of a slain enemy adopted by the Jibaro Indians appears to be that in the former case we are dealing with a real cult with offerings, while in the latter we are dealing with a purely magical conjuration which is supposed to exert an irresistible force upon the being influenced. That the Jibaros consider the latter means the more effective appears from the extraordinary importance ascribed to the so-called Einsupani feast. Some of the ceremonies at this feast also, as we have seen, have for their object to increase by artificial means the natural power of the trophy, in much the same way as an electric battery is charged with electric force.

A curious idea appears in the victory-feast in that the victor himself on the one hand, is believed to be in danger from the spirit of the killed enemy, but on the other hand, on account of his having gained possession of the enemy's head, is invested with a special mysterious power. Moreover, he is able to transfer this power by contact to other persons and to things. This explains why the victor must, in the way that we have seen, assist, for instance, at the brewing of the manioc-wine for the feast and at the preparation of the sacred drink natéma. Similarly, something of his power is transferred to his wife and daughter and may, through them, become active in agriculture and in

certain other departments of life.

With a similar mysterious power the priest (whuéa) and the priestess (oháha) are endowed. As a 'priest' or conductor of the ceremonies at the feast, as stated before, only an old warrior can officiate who himself has killed at least one enemy and celebrated a victory-feast. His insight, experience, valour, and other prominent military qualities acquired during a long life, and especially the magical power he has acquired by slaying his enemies, seems to be conceived almost as a physical reality, and his powers can, like that of the victor, in a certain degree be transferred to other people. It is for this reason that he always holds the hand of the victor at the most important ceremonies, the idea being that the action in question will thus have more emphasis and importance. The same holds good of the priestess, through whose cooperation all actions performed by the women, and particularly by the wife and daughter of the victor, secure the tone and stress necessary.

The important role that the women in general play at this feast of the warriors is actually due to the fact that the principal object of the tsantsa is to promote those phases of the economic life of the Indians [368] with which the women have most to do, first of all agriculture and the increase of the domestic animals. The mysterious power with which the victor himself is invested will automatically extend to thos persons with whom he is intimately related, and when there are two female relatives

assisting at the ceremonies--in this case his wife and his daughter--its effects upon that department of life will be so much the stronger. The same idea appeared in regard to the 'tobacco feast', where two female relatives of the principal person of the feast had likewise to assist.

The tsantsa of the Jibaro Indians, thus, is not a 'trophy' in the common sense of the word; not exclusively a mark of distinction or a visible proof that an enemy has been killed. The Jibaro warrior not only tries to take the life of his enemy, but above everything wants to secure control of his soul. Conformably to this, the so-called Einsupani is not merely a victory-feast in the sense familiar to us, but at the same time, and in the first place, a kind of mystery feast which, when we are able to penetrate into its real meaning, throws an interesting light not only upon the social life of these Indians in general and the ideas they connect with their wars, but also upon their, in some respects, rather far-reaching religious views."

1: Karsten--371-372 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 177 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros in their pagan state have no notion of a Supreme Being and a Creator of the world. Some Indians on the Upano mention the Christian God under the name of Yusa (a corruption of the Spanish Dios), but they know practically nothing else about the religion of the apachi (their name for the whites), which to their mind has little or nothing to do with the supernatural beings in whom they believe themselves. However, the religion of the Jibaros can by no means be called a pure demonology, nor are their religious practices reduced to mere magic, as has frequently been said to be the case among the primitive tribes east of the Andes. In connection with the agricultural rites and the 'tobacco feast of the women' we have already made acquaintance with religious ideas which may be termed lofty, and with a worship where a magical element can hardly be recognized. We have seen that the Jibaros believe in two higher deities, the Earth-mother Nungüi and her husband Shakaĕma, revered as the mother and father of the whole Jibaro culture; but these deities have little in common with the Supreme Beings which are reported to exist among several other low races in different parts of the world. The great benevolent Earth-[372] mother of the Jibaros and her loyal husband Shakaĕma, although they are neither regarded as creators of the world nor as moral beings in the strict sense, are nevertheless of singular interest, being as they are in any case genuine creations of primitive Indian imagination."

1: Karsten--423 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 789 (1928-29)

"The religious practices of the Jibaros are so manifold and in part of so peculiar a character that it is almost impossible to bring them under any commonly recognized categories. Thus there is no rite which can be termed 'sacrifice', except the food offered to the dead, and the 'prayers' addressed to the Earth-mother Nugüi are also peculiar, having poetical form and being always sung. All other practices are in their character magical and of these, too, different categories can be distinguished. The worshipper's aim may be, for instance, to ward off the spirits, or to obtain their favour and enter into alliance with them. There are also magical practices which have no reference to personal spirits at all."

1: Karsten--455-456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 771 (1928-29)

"Neither the Jibaros proper nor the Canelos Indians in their native state know of any special resting-place for disembodied souls after death, though both tribes certainly have a firm belief in the continued existence of the soul after its separation from the body. During the first days and weeks after that separation the soul remains in the neighbourhood of its former material abode; hence food and drink is put out for it on the grave for some time. But soon the soul definitively leaves all connection with the body and leads an independent existence: it may transmigrate into earthly objects, into animals, plants, hills and high mountains, rivers, lakes, etc. The dark and dense forest is the favourite haunt of many disembodied spirits, others soar towards the sky and become active in striking natural phenomena, whereas others find no definite resting-place at all but hover about in the air and on the earth as evil demons. To these demons the Indians ascribe the majority of the unforeseen accidents, mishaps, and losses which they experience, and most of them are spirits of men who even in their lifetime were enemies, spirits of dead sorcerers, etc. It is thus obvious that the demons who people the spiritual world of these Indians partake of the nature of human souls. Some of the souls, called wakáni by the Jibaros and aya by the Canelos Indians, are changed into evil spirits or demons called iguánchi and supai respectively, and are dealt with in the different ways we have seen in recent chapters. On the other hand, the important class of supernatural beings whom we know under the name of arútama

show how the ancestral spirits are believed to take an interest in the fate of their descendants and become the objects of a real worship. The religion of these Indians as a whole may therefore be said to have originated in the deification and worship of the dead, especially the worship of dead ancestors. A special and peculiar side of this ancestor-worship will be met in connection with the ceremonial games which are arranged among the Canelos Indians [456] after the death of a family-father and will presently be described."

13: Rivet--251 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 771

In short, it appears that, without having any need for temples or altars, beliefs of a religious nature dominate the life of the savage, and that superstitious practices are mingled with all the acts of his life.

"The tribe have no outwardly manifested religious beliefs, other than such as may be involved in the cult of the medicine man. Occasionally individuals would be met who had been baptized, as adults, at Gualaquiza, but they were not professing proselytes. The missions founded in various Amazon regions, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, have made little or no real impression upon the Jíbaro, where he has been reached at all by them; (38) but this is scarcely a matter for wonder, in view of the interruptions which they have constantly suffered through the stormy vicissitudes of South American history. 'The first blow to the missions,' says Mozans, (39) 'came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reasons ocultas y reservadas. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent and the crippled financial condition of

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"38. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 87.
39. H. J. Mozans, work cited in footnote 6, p. 451."

most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest. Thus, some twenty years ago the Franciscans established a mission, with schools and a medical dispensary, at Zamora, but after a brief existence its withdrawal was forced under the anti-clerical President Alfaro, during whose régime also the Jesuits were deprived of all authority in Oriente."

25: Vigna--39-40 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 771

Jíbaro Superstitions. We are tempted to state that all the manifestations having the value of religious acts among the Jibaros are a series of superstitions or superstitious practices, with more [40] or less influence in their daily life. In other words, the faith that they have in the "Yhuanchi", the forms of communication with the spirit, and all the suggestions victimizing the Jíbaros are simple superstitions.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampay*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampay* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampay* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampay* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampay* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual sur-
774 vive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
778 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
• 771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 776 778 771

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *musiak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jivaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *musiak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jivaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jivaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*wiwiri*), normally of an epidemic nature, 753 [164]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrhea. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
• 771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*wesalin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
787 Jivaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yaji*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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1; Karsten--503-504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 772, 821 (1928-29)

"Heaven is for them an immense solid vault which rests on the earth. A Jibaro myth tells us that formerly there was much communication between the heaven and the earth, people ascending to the sky along a long liana hanging from the vault and again descending to the earth. Even the heavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, and the stars, which are regarded as 'people' (eintsu) by the Jibaros, have originally lived on the earth, but at a certain epoch went up to the sky where they have remained ever since. The stars, as far as I can see, have not particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros, and seem not to play any part [504] in their calendar. Almost the only star which appears in their mythology is the planet Venus, called Yanguái. The general name for 'star' in the Jibaro language is ya."

I: Karsten--125-126 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 773 (1928-29)

"All agricultural practices of the Jibaros centre round the particular deity of the women, the great Earth-mother Nungüi. She has not only taught the women agriculture, but also all kinds of housework and duties incumbent on the married Jibaro women, especially how to feed and tend the principal domestic animals, the swine and hens, and the hunting dogs. In order fully to understand the Jibaro customs relating to agriculture, it seems therefore necessary to know the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi.

In the chapters on the myths of the Jibaros I shall relate this myth in full. Here it may only be necessary to mention its main points.

Nungüi, the Earth-mother, is the being who is worshipped by the Jibaros as the originator of that important part of the Jibaro culture which is represented by the women. In ancient times, we are told, the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruits which they cultivate to-day and they had nothing to eat. At that time there lived a Jibaro woman called Ungucha. When wandering on the bank of the river looking for food she met the Earth-mother Nungüi and asked her for manioc. Nungüi gave her manioc-beer ready made in a clay pot; she gave her plantations ready worked up and sown with manioc, plantain, batatas, maize, earth-nuts, and all other fruits which the Jibaros now cultivate; she gave her all kinds of game ready prepared. Everything was given to Ungucha gratuitously, without her having to work. But Ungucha proved ungrateful and made unjust demands on Nungüi, so that at last Nungüi left her and retired to the

interior of the earth where she still lives. Now the Jibaros would again have suffered from famine after the Earth-mother left them. But she had already taught them agriculture, to make plantations and to sow the seeds, and the fruits thus grew of themselves in due time.

Nungüi is still worshipped as the great Earth-mother by the Jibaro women--the word Nungüi itself is derived from the same root as the [126] word nuńga, 'earth'. When new plantations are made, when the plants are sown, the women never fail to invoke, in special incantations, Nungüi herself and also her mythical husband, Shakaëma, who formerly did the same agricultural work as the Jibaro men still do, namely, clearing the ground for making new plantations. When at the 'feast of the women', or on other occasions, the married Jibaro women drink the narcotic natéma, Nungüi afterwards appears to them in a dream and teaches them how to tend the fields in order that they shall be very fertile. When the crops fail owing to dryness or from other causes, and famine threatens the Jibaros, then Nungüi again appears to the women in a dream consoling them: 'You will not die, the fields will again prosper all right and give you food.'"

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
773 (1928-29)

"The reason why the parents [JKM: after the birth of a child] must not eat the fish wámbi is connected with the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. In ancient times, when all animals had human shape, the wámbi was attacked and wounded by some of his enemies while trying to escape from the lagoon where he lived. He was badly hit by a lance, but contrived to draw it out from his body and escaped. However, he lost much blood and, owing to the wound received, has still a red tail and red fins, though the rest of him is quite white. Now if the parents eat the fish wámbi, their delicate [229] child will likewise lose blood, become anaemic, and die. Again, that they abstain from eating the sheat-fish, tungá, is due to the same considerations as make the Jibaro avoid that food after he has sown his maize fields. Since the large fish is extremely restless and violent, the consequence would be, if the parents ate it, that their babe would be 'tired out' and not get the rest necessary for a newborn child."

1: Karsten--313-314 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 773, 727 (1928-29)

"The prohibition for the slayer to eat the fish kánga is explained from the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to these, as already mentioned, all animal beings, even the fishes, have once been men--that is, Jibaros. Even in primitive times they used to wage war on and kill each other, to make trophies of each other's heads and to celebrate victory feasts. The fish kánga, then, in a fight was killed by one of his enemies, who later on was changed into a bird, the umbrella bird, [313] called ungúmi by the Jibaros. The ungúmi also made a trophy of the head of the fish kánga. Therefore the mouth of the kánga has still great similarity to the reduced mouth of a human tsantsa, and this is the reason why the Jibaro warrior, during the time he has to fast, abstains from eating that fish."

1: Karsten--503 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 773 (1928-29)

"The question concerning the origin of the world seems not much to have preoccupied the Jibaro mind. In their mythology they have never sought an answer to the questions, 'Who has created heaven and earth?'. or 'How have they originated?' To the Jibaros it is quite natural that the world has always existed, as also the race of men which they call shuara. The only thing which has interested them is the origin of the very Jibaro culture in its most important aspects, and these questions are dealt with in some of the myths. From some of these, and from their religious ideas stated before, we also gather what ideas they have about the celestial world and certain phenomena of nature."

"In the origin myth of the Jivaros, Uñushi, the sloth, is represented as the first Jivaro and, when the original blood revenge feud took place, the sons of Mika and Ahimbi cut off Uñushi's head and from it made the first tsantsa. (4)

The writer had an opportunity of witnessing a portion of a ceremony of this nature at the jivaría of Cahaka on the lower Upano River. Several years previously one of the wives of Nakata, a brother of Cahaka, was persuaded by a man of the Achuales tribe by the name of Ungucha to run away with him. Nakata followed them to Ungucha's jivaría, where he succeeded in killing Ungucha and recapturing his wife, whom he brought back with him. As she had been an accomplice in the affair, he cut off her ears and her nose and then with a machete cut off both her hands before the other women in the jivaría as an example to them, and he threw the body into the river.

Ungucha was a relative of Nakata, for which reason his head was not taken at the time of his assassination. After several years had elapsed Nakata killed a sloth and the ceremony was performed in Cahaka's jivaría. In general, the ceremony is very similar to the regular tsantsa feast, except that the head is shrunk in the jivaría [73] and the ceremony of leg painting is omitted. In this instance the sloth was prepared during the night in Cahaka's house, where it was hung from a pole. A large number of visitors were

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"4. See p. 128."

present, representing numerous jivarías in the vicinity, including some who had been enemies as a result of the killing of Ungucha. Enough time had elapsed that these had temporarily at least become friends.

The head was hung over the fire from a lance, the butt of which was planted diagonally in the ground. The ceremony lasted for 4 days until the food and nijimanche was exhausted. Cahaka, as head of the household, played the large wooden drum, while Nakata played the small drum or tambo. At the conclusion of the ceremony the head was placed in a closed basket and hung from the rafters of the house. Shortly afterwards the writer secured this head (pl. 33)."

"The Jivaros have been subjected to Christian missionary influences since shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century. Traces of this can be detected here and there throughout their stories. The story of a universal deluge occurs at such an early date, however, that it may be aboriginal in the region.

The myths of the Jivaros, in common with many other culture traits, appear to have formerly been widespread over a large area.

After stating categorically that the Jivaros do not have any religion, Prieto proceeds to disprove it by saying:

> They know that there is a supreme being, giving him the name of Cumbanama as God, and at other times the name of Neche; but they do not give him any worship or type of adoration. They know that there is a bad spirit, who is the devil, but they say that they like him; they have him always for a friend so that he will be favorable to them in their wars. They believe in the immortality of souls, forming the opinion of transmigration, like some bad philosophies, saying that if the Jivaro who dies has been a man of spirit and courage and one who killed many of his enemies, his soul changes into some brave animal, as a lion, tiger, bear or other of this class; but if the Jivaro who died has been a coward, of little spirit, and has not done any heroic deed, his soul changes into a snake, spider,

toad or some other repugnant [122] animal. Aside from this, they do not worship any deity or adore idols, not do they have any other kind of belief beside the aforementioned.

They are very exact in their traditions, communicating from fathers to sons all the wars, heroic deeds and glorious actions of their grandfathers and forefathers, as can be seen by the circumstantial stories about the lost city of Logroño and of the city of old Zamora. For proof and in order to be sure their traditions are constant, let it be shown by their opinion of the universal flood. They say that a cloud fell from the sky and that it inundated the land with water; that all the animals were killed and that a Jivaro man and woman fled to a big high hill, where they found a cave in which they shut themselves up with all the animals, and the waters having subsided, they all left and began to reproduce and populate the world. They likewise have a tradition confused with the curse that Noah gave to his son Ham. They say that there was a rich man who had some good sons and one very bad one, who separated from the others, cursing the first. All the foreigners and white Christians descend from the good sons and for that reason have the things necessary for passing through life with much ease and an abundance of riches; but the Jivaros descend from the bad son, and for this reason do

not have axes and machetes, suffer innumerable hardships, and have an extremely miserable life. (32)"

"32. Prieto, in Compte, p. 64."

"In the early part of the seventeenth century Saabedra gives a legend from the Mainas near Lake Rimachuma which is reminiscent of the above.

Von Hassel gives the following creation myth from the Muratos:

The creator amused himself by making pottery objects. He constructed a large blue vase and placed it at the height where the sky is found, thus creating the universe. A Murato had been fishing in a lake near the Pastaza when a small crocodile swallowed his hook and the fisherman killed him. The crocodile's mother was enraged and beat the water with her tail in such a manner that she inundated all the territory surrounding the lake. Everyone drowned excepting one individual, who climbed up a chonta palm tree, where he stayed for many days in the midst of continuous darkness. From time to time, he dropped one of the seeds of the tree but always heard the splash [123] in the water. Finally one day the thud of the seed falling on dry ground rewarded his ears. He descended the tree, constructed himself a house, prepared a field for cultivation, and, cutting a piece of flesh from his own body, he placed it on the ground and made a woman who became his wife.

At the beginning of the world, all men lived in a big subterranean cave, the entrance to which was guarded by a huge jaguar. One Murato more intelligent and courageous than his fellows attacked the animal and killed it,

giving freedom to his fellow creatures. The occupants of the cave prepared to leave but, as they were very dirty, they warmed water in a large jar in order to wash themselves. The first to wash, while the water was clean, became white men; those who followed, after the water had become dirty, are the Indians; those who were last of all are the negroes.(34)"

"34. Von Hassel, 1905, pp. 68-70."

2: Stirling--123 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 773, 537

"At the present time the Jivaros recognize a distinction between the sacred origin myth which they term Nuhiño and the many disconnected legends and tales which are not sacred in character. Most of the Indians interviewed by the writer professed ignorance of the origin myth, although they knew of its existence and mentioned two or three old men whom they stated would probably know it. After a considerable search, one of these men was located, Anguasha, on the Yaupe River, who recounted the tale.

The story was told dramatically with much gesturing, pantomime, and voice modulation, and with the display of considerable emotion. Anguasha stated that it had been many years since he had occasion to call the story to mind and he had to correct himself many times as it gradually came back under the spell of the candlelight and his own oratory. Frequently he paused to say that he wished Hisama were with him so that they might discuss certain points together, because he was not always sure of the proper continuity. A number of times he corrected himself on a previous statement, seeming very anxious that the details should be correct as well as he could remember them. Finally he announced that it gave him a pain in his heart, reminding him of older and more virile days, and requested that he might tell the rest alone with his old friend, Santiago, the interpreter, and with unlimited quantities of nijimanche to loosen his memory and his tongue. In its proper and complete form he said the story is much longer, all of the principal characters having many more adventures than the ones here recounted, but that the story as told gives the principal outline of the significant events of the myth.

2: Stirling--123 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-2
116, 773, 537

It seems strange that a myth of this nature should become forgotten while the general culture of the Jivaros has changed so little, but Anguasha lamented and the other Indians agreed that, with the death of himself and one or two others, the sacred Nuhiño [KS: for text of myth see category 539--pp.124-129] would be gone forever. Most of the Jivaro myths that have been recorded appear to be disconnected fragments which were once a part of this connected account."

13: Rivet--235 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 773, 177

Missionaries have a curious tendency either to deny that the Jívaro have a religious life or to limit it to some incidental practices. In reality, among these Indians, as among many other primitive people, there are many acts connected with superstitious beliefs, and it is probably that a careful study would considerably augment the number.

The same comment is applicable to the traditions, our knowledge of which is very small and very incomplete. Unfortunately, the Christian myths introduced in the 18th century by the Jesuits have deeply altered the original myths and it is often impossible to discriminate between what is actually Jívaro and what has a Catholic origin.

13: Rivet--241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 614, 773

Information on the existence of totems in the Jîbaro country is rare. The story regarding the flood, which I related before, is evidently of a totemic nature, but a doubt exists as to the legitimacy of its attribution to our Indians. The Aguarunas do not eat the meat of the Hydrochoerus capybara, the Tapirus americanus or the venado (1). Knowing that the other tribes use these animals for food, one may certainly conclude that the Aguarunas are governed by a prohibition of totemic nature specialized by clans, and that a more attentive study would reveal similar facts among the other tribes.

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1. Enrique Brunning. De Chiclayo a Puerlo Melendez en el Maranon. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. Volume XIII, 1903, pp. 12-159; 249-295; 385-418; V. XV, 1904, pp. 1-57) pp. 388 and 403.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *ŋuŋuí* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 773 and encountered a woman washing off sweet potatoes, taro [?], manioc, and peanuts. This woman was Nuqui. There were many Nuqui there. The people asked that these Nuqui give them food because they lacked food and fire. One Nuqui had a fat little female baby. She said, "Take this little baby. It is of manioc." But she also said, "Don't beat my baby, or everything will disappear. And never leave her alone in the house, but always take her with you."

So the people took the baby, whose name was Ciki, back to their house. The woman of the family household told it, "Cause manioc to come here." So the baby said, "Let there be manioc." Immediately manioc filled the house. Then the woman said, "I desire a garden." The baby said, "Let there be a garden." At that moment a garden appeared with all kinds of food. Then the woman said, "Now I want a large beer brewing jar." Instantly there were many beer brewing jars. The woman then said, "I now want two of the brewing jars to be filled with beer." Immediately two of the jars were filled with manioc beer. "Now I want meat here." Then plenty of smoke-dried meat appeared. Then she said, "I want many fish." Instantly there were many fish.

These people always took the baby with them, as Nuqui had told them to do. As the baby grew bigger, the children of these people grew bigger also. So one day the women went to work in the garden and left the children to take care of the baby. One of the children said to the baby, "We would like to see snakes and boa constrictors." Immediately many snakes and boa constrictors arrived. Then they went away. Then a child said, "Now I want a demon [*tsuwchi*]." Immediately many demons came. Then one of the children said to the baby, "Why did you bring snakes and demons?", and threw ashes in the baby's eyes. The baby began to cry. Then the other child said, "Now I want a [261] dried monkey complete with its head [monkey heads, including the brains, are considered to be a particular delicacy]. Then many monkeys and other animals appeared, but without heads.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 773 Since all of these animals lacked heads, this child began to beat the baby, and the other child continued throwing ashes in the baby's eyes. The baby began calling for its Nuqui mother. It climbed up on top of the thatch roof and remained there crying and calling, "Come, mother, let us start eating the peanuts."

There was much guadua bamboo growing near the house, and at this moment the bamboo began waving as if there were a great wind, so that it almost touched the house. Finally the bamboo fell over onto the house and the baby grasped one of the trunks. Meanwhile the manioc in the garden started disappearing into the ground, and the women came rushing back to the house. By this time, the baby had entered a section of the bamboo and sat inside of it as though on a stool [the guadua bamboo often has a diameter of six inches or more]. The women asked what had happened, and the children told them. Immediately, a woman picked up a machete and started chopping up the bamboo to find the baby. She finally found the baby and told it to bring back lots of manioc. But all the baby said was "Cibi." And it only brought forth *ibbi* [an emetic].

Nuqui said, "I told you not to beat the baby. Now that you have beaten the baby, you will have to suffer a great deal." The entire garden and the trails then disappeared into the ground. This is the reason that nowadays we put stones in the garden, for these red stones appear in the women's dreams as babies. Thus we are giving Nuqui babies.

Besides providing domesticated plant food both originally and on a daily basis, Nuqui also is said to have given the Jivaro their knowledge of successful pottery making. A version of the myth is as follows:

In the old time there were two orphans, a boy and a girl, who broke a pot. The woman who owned it beat them, and they went off, crying, into the forest. They finally came across a trail. But it was not really a trail, it just looked like one. On the trail

34;Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 775 they encountered Nuyui digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuyui, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nuyui is also believed to have given the dog to the Jivaro
231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuyui is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[229] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[792] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuyui, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuyui for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

792 Women also sing to Nuyui to help protect the household
829 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *natema* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natema*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natema* drink among the 756
Jivaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jivaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natema*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsunji, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nemeri*) which are [778]

1: Karsten--99 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462, 774 (1928-29)

"In the industrial art of the Indians, just as in their agriculture, appears the strict division of labour which is characteristic of their social life and which has its ultimate foundation in their animistic views. According to this division of labour, pottery-making is the most important of the industrial tasks incumbent on the women, whereas for instance spinning and weaving, basket-making and different kinds of wood-work are occupations which, according to the idea of the Indians, are only suitable for men."

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

"The agricultural practices of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are founded on a special animistic view in regard to the plants which they cultivate. All trees and plants are animated by spirits--the Jibaros call them wakańi, the Canelos Indians aya or supai (1)--who affect their growth and the ripening of their fruit. These wakańi, aya, or supai are to the Indians nothing but spirits or souls of men which have taken up their abode in the plants and have thus become plant souls. The animistic philosophy of these Indians does not recognize any particular kind of plant spirits as distinct from spirits of men, just as it does not recognize particular animal spirits or spirits of inanimate natural objects. There is only one kind of spirit or demon, who inhabits men, animals, plants, or inanimate objects, and who may also permanently or occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. This view which, of course, is intimately connected

"1. In the Quichua language aya means 'soul' in general, whereas supai means 'demon'. All supai are aya, but all aya are not supai. According to the idea of the Canelos Indians, poisonous plants--for instance those ofwhich they prepare their arrow-poison-- and plants with extraordinarily strong properties are animated by supai, the rest by aya."

with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, forms a characteristic feature of the religion of the Jibaros, as, in fact, of the Indian religion in general. According to the mythology of the Jibaros, all animals have once been men, and although there is not a similar myth in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that animate them have once inhabited human bodies, just as they may once more, either for a longer period or only incidentally, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thoughts and feelings, and when intoxicated by certain narcotic [123] drinks--made of tobacco and two other narcotizing plants--the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definite human form, namely as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with this belief. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be men, others--and in fact the majority of them--are said to be women.

This idea also explains the division of labour which prevails among the Jibaros with regard to agriculture. Those plants which are 'men' must be sown and tended by the men, whereas those which are 'women' must be cultivated by the women. Of those fruits that form the staple food of the Indians, most are regarded as female. Hence

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

among the Jibaros, as in fact among most Indian tribes, agriculture is essentially, although not exclusively, a duty incumbent on the female sex."

1: Karsten--151-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
774 (1928-29)

"The Indians believe that each of the plants used in preparing the arrow-poison is inhabited by a spirit or demon (súpai) to whom its poisonous properties are due. It is this demon that kills the victim when the poisoned arrow pierces his body. This is why the arrow-poison is also called súpai hámbi, 'the devil's medicine'. The spirit inhabiting the plants is influenced, as it were 'developed', compelled to concentrate its power, by the way the poison is prepared, and by the conjurations and incantations pronounced, just as, for instance, the spirit of the manioc plant is concentrated in the fermented manioc-beer. The poison cooks are thoroughly convinced of this fact, and the precautions they observe as well as the secrecy in which they veil their operations are due to this very belief. The spirit which is conjured and coerced is very angry and tries to harm its subduers. The poisonous gases which rise from the boiling pot are an expression of the anger of the tormented demon. The cooks therefore try to avoid, as far as possible, inhaling the harmful vapours which, they assert, make them ill. When they come home from the forest they are in fact pale and weak and behave as if they were more or less sick because they have had intercourse with the demons [152] of the poisons. It is probable, however, that their weak state is due more to the strict fasting than to the effects of the poisonous vapours."

1: Karsten--154 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
774 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros have the same ideas as the Canelos Indians regarding the nature of the poisonous plants and the prepared poison: in each plant there is a spirit or soul (wakáni) which effects its growth and which, at the cooking of the poisons, is influenced and developed. The demon, being coerced and constrained by the conjurations of the medicine-man, is very angry and tries to revenge himself on his tormentor. This anger finds expression in the poisonous vapours rising from the pot. The fasting to which the cook submits, as well as certain other precautionary measures, aim at protecting him from the evil demon. Thus for instance, before he starts cooking, he divides his hair into the three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros and are believed to enhance a man's power of resisting evil spirits. For the same reason he paints himself red in the face with roucou, and stops his nostrils with cotton so as to avoid inhaling the noxious vapours. When the cook returns home in the evening he is still haunted by the demon, who sucks him on the shoulders, the breast, and the back, and torments him at night with unpleasant dreams and hallucinations."

1: Karsten--170 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
774 (1928-29)

"As soon as the little dog [JKM: small dog bred by Jibaro for hunting] has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals [sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die."

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilies [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

I: Karsten--229-230 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 828 (1928-29)

"According to the idea of these Indians the parents, and especially the father, form with the newborn son, as it were, one single personality. [230] The soul of the latter is intimately associated with the father's own, and everything that happens to the father during the critical days is supposed directly to affect his tender son.

This view is much easier to understand when we take into consideration that the Indian not only assumes an intimate connection or sympathy between himself and his newborn child, but that the same mysterious 'sympathy' is believed to unite him more or less closely with almost any object which is the result of his work. Thus we have seen that when an Indian has bought a little dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast and submit themselves to certain other rules in their mode of life of much the same nature as those observed when a child is born. Similarly he fasts after he has sown maize and certain other plants, while he is making a drum, a blowgun, and so forth."

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

"The plant spirits have hardly less importance in the religion of the Jibaros than the animal spirits. It is indeed a belief in the animistic philosophy of the Indians, that all trees and plants are animated by spirits or souls just as men and animals are. Nor does the wakáni of a plant differ in essence from the wakáni of a man or an animal. According to the mythology of the Jibaros all animals have once been men, and similarly in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that ani-[379]mate them temporarily may, either for a long or short period, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thought and feelings, and when intoxicated by the narcotic drinks prepared from certain plants the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definitive human form, namely, as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with the same view. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be 'men', i.e. to have a man's soul, others --in fact the majority of them--are said to be 'women', i.e. have a woman's soul.

The growth of trees and plants and the ripening of their fruits is due to the wakáni or soul inhabiting them. But, of course, only such trees and plants have a place in the religion and superstition of the Indians as are particularly useful or distinguished by

some striking properties. Thus real worship is accorded to the garden plants, the manioc, the banana, the maize, the beans, the earth-nuts, etc. in connection with the cult of Nungüi mentioned before. Nungüi noa, the mythical Jibaro woman, created all fruits in the beginning and still reigns over them. In the different plant spirits--those which, like the manioc, the beans and the earth-nuts, are of the female sex--there is something of her own spirit; she alone, therefore, is able to give an abundant crop to the women cultivating them. On the other hand, for such garden plants as are supposed to be of the male sex--as for instance the banana and the maize--the Jibaro men who have to cultivate these plants appeal to the mythical husband of Nungüi, Shakaëma, who presides over them and influences their growth and fertility. What the religion of the Jibaros has to show of real worship or cult is mainly illustrated in the prayers and incantations addressed to Nungüi and Shakaëma in agriculture.

Of trees that have great value for the Jibaros from an alimental point of view the chontaruru palm (Guilielma) is the most important. Its excellent fruit is the food most appreciated by the Indians for a couple of months of the year, and perhaps still more appreciated is the fermented beer that they make from it. The chontaruru palm has a man's wakani or soul and is therefore planted and tended by the men. At the time of the year when the fruit grows ripe great festivals are held in connection with the preparation of the beer and the beer-drinking, dances being performed and incantations sung in order

to [380] 'hurry on' the ripening and increase of the fruit and the fermentation of the beer.

On the other hand the chonta palm, both the one cultivated for the sake of its useful fruit and the wild species (shingi), are also regarded as 'demoniacal' trees on account of their large thorns, which play an important part in Indian witchcraft. Among the Jibaros, as among the Caneloe Indians, the medicine-men make frequent use of chonta thorns when they want to bewitch their enemies, as we shall see later on. From this point of view the spirit of the chonta palm is an evil demon or iguánchi, a belief which in part is also due to the iron hard wood of this tree. Not only the thorns but also other parts of the chonta palm are often used for magic purposes. Thus the lance made of chonta wood is supposed to possess magical power and to inspire not only living men but also spirits and demons with dread. Hence at the great victory-feast of the Jibaros the head trophy (tsantsa) is always tied to a chonta lance when it is not needed for the ceremonies. The spirit of the killed enemy is thus kept under restraint or control.

Other trees connected with the religion or superstition of the Jibaros are for instance the genipa tree (Genipa americana); and the guayusa tree (Ilex). From the genipa fruit the Indians get the black dye (sua), with which they paint the body and face for warfare and on certain ceremonial occasions, and to which a magical power is ascribed. The Jibaros say that they paint themselves black for warfare 'in order to resemble the

iguánchi'. The genipa is therefore a 'demoniacal' paint. Similar supernatural virtues are ascribed to the decoction made of the leaves of the guayusa tree (weisa), which has great importance as a tonic and a means of purification.

The most popular magical paint of the Indians is prepared from the red seeds of the bush Bixa orellana, which is one of the sacred trees of the Jibaros. With this red dye (called ipyáku) the Jibaros paint the face for many different ends, e.g. as protection against disease and witchcraft or in general to acquire strength and power of resistance, to gain the love of women, and so forth. The wonderful properties of the paint is due to the spirit which animates the tree.

Poisonous plants and plants with extraordinarily strong properties, for instance those used for the preparation of the arrow-poison and such as play a part in the medicine of the Indians, are believed to be animated by dangerous spirits or demons to whom these striking properties are due. Hence the precautions taken, for instance, at the preparation of the [381] arrow-poison, when the sorcerer who cooks the poison is supposed to be fighting an evil demon whom he subdues, and whose power he uses for his own ends. The idea is exactly the same as that held in regard to the fermented drinks prepared from manioc, chontaruru, etc., the strength of which is likewise due to the spirits inhabiting the plants.

Other plants which play an important part in the magical medicine and religion of the

Indians are, for instance, those comprehended under the general name of varvasco and used partly for fishing, partly for the preparation of the arrow-poison, as well as the narcotic plants tobacco, natema, and maikoa. The former have been mentioned before in connection with the Indian fishing customs, and the latter will presently be treated in detail. All these plants illustrate, in a most characteristic way, the Indian belief in plant spirits."

"The Jibaros moreover extend their animistic ideas to the heavenly bodies and phenomena, and to inanimate objects of nature. A Jibaro myth tells us that the sun, the moon, and the stars have once been men living on the earth, and certain magical ideas, current among most South American Indians, are held about the moon, but no traces of a real belief in a sun or moon spirit are to be found and still less of a cult of these heavenly bodies. The Indians seem to consider that they are too far off and have not enough influence upon human affairs to be worshipped. On the other hand, striking phenomena of nature which sometimes threaten their welfare, such as thunder and lightning, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, are always set down to supernatural causes. The thunder, the Jibaros say, is caused by a great number of shuara (enemies) --i.e. spirits of dead Jibaro warriors--who with such a noise are making their assaults upon the Indians. During heavy thunderstorms, therefore, the Jibaro men are seen brandishing their lances against the clouds, jumping, shouting, and challenging their invisible supernatural assailants with the same words that they shout against their natural enemies: winiti, winiti, páhei, 'may you come, I am ready!' The Jibaros therefore call the thunder shuara mányamai, or shuara ipyámwai, that is, 'the enemies are fighting'. The lightning (chareimbi) is also an old Jibaro warrior, one of those ancestors of the Jibaro race who are called arútama and which appear to the Indian when

narcotized by tobacco, natéma, or maikoa. Among the same powerful demons figure some other striking heavenly phenomena, namely, the rainbow (tundyáka) and the meteors and comets or shooting stars, called by the common name payára ('a falling thing'). [382]

Earthquakes (urkai) are caused by powerful iguánchi in the earth, who are shaking their bodies.

Of stupendous phenomena of nature which have particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros one more must be mentioned: it is the violent hurricane(nássi), which frequently appears in the South American virgin forests, passing over a comparatively limited area and marking its way by terrible destruction among the trees and bushes. The Jibaros ascribe the hurricane to one of their worst iguánchi, who also figures among the arútama."

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain booms as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaros, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaros ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where iguánchi is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (sása or paccha) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks natéma or maikoa in the forest, always takes a bath in a sása in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especially the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

"Even an element like fire is supposed to have a soul. 'The fire is a woman', that is, has a female soul or wakáni. Hence the women must tend the fire and perform the most important work done with the aid of the fire, namely, cook the food. Yet the fire is not deified by the Jibaros, and there is no question of a fire-cult.

The animistic philosophy of the Jibaros goes so far as to ascribe wakáni or souls even to objects made by the human hand. Thus utensils and weapons, clay pots and plates, the web and the distaff, needles, knives, lances, blowguns, shields, etc. are endowed with an animating principle. When the Indians are narcotized by natéma or maikoa, the spirits of such implements and weapons appear to them among other demons in the shape of young men. These animistic ideas have a great influence upon the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros.

From what has been stated above it appears that the supernatural beings appear to the Indians in many different shapes, the demons taking [384] human or animal shape being however perhaps the most feared. These demons move about especially at night, and their favourite dwelling-place is the forest. The Indian therefore fears darkness and he particularly fears to enter the woods, where the iguánchi may meet him in the shape of a jaguar, a venomous snake, or in other terrifying forms. The iguánchi live in the densest thickets of the virgin forest, or sit in the tops of its giant trees. If the tree is beaten with a heavy stick, the demon is supposed to get frightened and to start, and then the whole ground trembles. At times the iguánchi makes something fall down from

the tree which looks like burning copal; but before the burning drops reach the ground they disappear. Any accident or mishap which happens to the Indian whilst wandering in the forest is set down to the evil designs of an iguánchi, or to a malicious sorcerer operating through such a demon. When a fainting-fit or a sudden illness befalls the Indian in the virgin forest--such cases seem to be of comparatively frequent occurrence --this is also imputed to the iguánchi. An Indian thus attacked by the demon gives a shout. If he is sufficiently near the house to be heard, there arises a terrible hubbub. All the people of the house dash out followed by the barking dogs, shouting and screaming loudly and making a noise by beating drums and striking the stems of trees with sticks and pulled-up roots. This is done in order to frighten away the demon. Once, a Jibaro told me, a kinsman of his had been attacked by two iguánchi in the forest and been carried home in a senseless condition. These iguánchi, he added, were two Jibaro men of a well-known family, who had died some time before.

The demons are also believed to carry off people, especially small children, and to take them to their own dwellings in the densest thickets of the forest, where they will remain for ever.

The iguánchi even attacks sick persons while they lie in their beds at home. The demon then appears to the patient especially in a dream, speaking to him and singing a song in seductive strains in order to entice his soul to follow him to his mysterious

habitation in the wood. 'Follow me', he says, 'I have a nice house, and women and dogs and plenty of food and nihamánchi (manioc-beer)!'. He also tries to allure him by the following words:

Tússimie nu, yungangá,
Núkuchie nu, yungangá,
Tússimie nu, núkuchie nu,
yungangá! [385]

This means more or less:

'My little father, come along!
My little mother, come along!
My little father, my little mother,
come along!'

If the sick person in the dream listens to these enticements of the iguánchi, his soul will follow him into the wood, where he will see the house of iguánchi such as the demon has described it. But with this his fate is sealed and he will return to his home and his bed only to die. Everybody that listens to the enticements of iguánchi must die.

The iguánchi, as we have seen, can be frightened away by natural means, as by shouts and making noises. All demons likewise fear the murderous weapon of the Jibaro Indians, the chonta lance, as well as the rattling din of the shields. Action of

this kind occurs as a magical ceremony at the victory-feasts. More than anything else the demons are said to fear rifle-shots."

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

"The animistic ideas of the Canelos Indians do not differ essentially from those of the Jibaros. Thus the animal and plant demons and other nature spirits are in the main the same in both tribes. For spirit and demon, the Canelos Indians use the names aya and supai, corresponding to the wakáni and the iguánchi of the Jibaros. Aya thus means 'soul' or 'ghost', and supai 'demon' in the proper sense of the word. But there is no essential difference between the two kinds of spirits. As far as I can see, the animism of the Canelos Indians is also based on the principle of the deification of the dead; all supai are really the spirits of dead persons, especially spirits of departed medicine-men or sorcerers.

The spirits or demons appear to the Canelos Indians partly in human forms, partly in the shape of different animal beings, and are also believed to inhabit plants and inanimate natural objects. They reveal their existence especially by unexpected incidents and by accidents befalling people. The following are the most important supai or demons of these Indians.

One of the most formidable demons is the jaguar demon, puma supai, which may appear in the shape of any beast of the feline family known to the Indians. There are 'natural' jaguars and the demoniacal jaguars, the latter being such as attack man or otherwise harm him. The general idea prevailing among the Canelos Indians is that the souls of the sorcerers have temporarily reincarnated themselves in such beasts--

a belief that seems to be common to all South American Indians. There are different kinds of cat demons corresponding to the different kinds of felidae: Yana huagra puma supai is the cat demon appearing in the shape of the great black jaguar, the largest of the felidae in South America, which was formerly common in the regions round Canelos and greatly feared by natives. Inchic puma supai is the smaller spotted [387] jaguar, still common in the forests of Eastern Ecuador; huituc puma supai (huituc = Genipa americana, which affords the black dye used for body painting), a small tiger-cat with black spots on the fell 'as if painted with huituc'. It causes the Indians considerable loss by killing and eating their fowls.

Since the spirits incarnated in all these beasts are generally souls of medicine-men or sorcerers, they are also believed to inflict evils in a supernatural way and especially to send disease. Hence the different kinds of puma are, among other demons, summoned by the medicine-men when curing bewitched persons.

Not only professional medicine-men but aged persons in general, who are mostly credited with the art of sorcery, are often believed to transform themselves into jaguars both after death and even in their lifetime. Thus at Sarayacu on the Bobonaza I was told about a very old man who was said to change himself occasionally into a jaguar, afterwards again taking human shape. He went into the wood as a man and reappeared as a tiger. His footprints were first seen like those of a man, but farther in the forest they

were changed into the tracks of the beast. Appearing in this shape, he threatened even his nearest relatives and was therefore greatly feared. This story is characteristic of the Indian belief in man-tigers, as it is found in different parts of South America.

The deer (taruga) and the tapir (sacha huagra) were formerly looked upon as demoniacal animals by the Canelos Indians also, and their flesh was not eaten. Nowadays, however, the Indians have given up this superstition and eat the flesh of both these animals. They even have a special liking for the flesh of the deer, because, they say, by eating it they will become swift-footed like that animal.

Huaira supai, 'the wind demon' is a supernatural being resembling a monkey, which is seen flying through the air. He is regarded as the particular demon of disease-bringing winds and is much feared by the Indians.

Yana rumi supai, 'the demon of the black stones', appears to people intoxicated by the narcotic aya huasca as an Indian sitting upon great black stones in the lagoons. A purely mythical being.

Huas runa supai, a white woman-like form which is seen to rise from the water of the lagoons into the air and is believed to send disease. This demon, which is also known under the name yacu supai, ('the water demon'), is therefore summoned by the medicine-men. [388]

Cucha pillan supai, a human-like being which is said to resemble a monk, with

plumes on the head. He is seen near lagoons, but is said to be a harmless being.

Uri-uri supai, a being described as half Indian, half monkey. He is seen near the lagoons in the forest, where he goes about shooting with a blowgun. He sends disease and is therefore invoked by the sorcerers.

Amasánga supai, a demon appearing in the shape of an Indian, who moves about in the wood at night bewitching people; also known under the name sacha runa, 'the man of the wood'. He is said to be a very malicious being and is likewise summoned by the sorcerers.

Huangána supai, the ant-bear. He is said to go about 'blowing a cornet' and bewitching people. An evil demon who is summoned by the sorcerers.

Atacápi or curaga supai, a demon resembling a buck which is seen in the neighbourhood of lagoons and rivers. He is evil and summoned in the conjurations of the sorcerers.

Cahun supai is an animal demon of the size of a dog, entirely black and with a long tail. I am not certain whether it is a real animal or a purely mythical one. Generally two are seen together, 'one leading the other by a liana'. The animal is a supai. When an Indian goes alone in the woods, it attacks him, seizes his leg with its long tail, and takes away his soul. The demon is believed to say to the Indian 'Now I take your soul because of your sins'. The Indian thus caught will die. The Indians therefore never

kill this animal and run away as soon as they see it in the wood.

Among the demons who appear in the shape of reptiles the great water boa or anaconda, amárum supai, is the most important. The Canelos Indians hold exactly the same ideas with regard to this monster as the Jibaros. He is the father of witchcraft and the chief of the demons, and has them all assembled in the river. The amárun supai is especially said to haunt the cataracts and other dangerous places in the rivers where accidents easily occur to the Indians when travelling in canoes. He is also called yacu supai, 'the water demon'. A boa serpent, seen in the neighbourhood of a house, is regarded as the incarnation of a malicious wizard who is trying to carry out his evil designs against the inhabitants. Old men and sorcerers are also believed to reincarnate themselves in boas after death, just as they may transform themselves into tigers. The Indians never touch a dead boa with their hands, lest their body [389] should become scaly like that of the serpent. If they shoot it with a gun, the barrel, according to their idea, will burst, or some other accident will occur. If they shoot it with a poisoned arrow, the arrow-poison will thereafter entirely loose its efficacy. Generally the Indians attack the anaconda with long harpoons of chonta.

Any venomous snake is believed to appear occasionally--that is, when it attacks and does harm to man or domestic animals--as a supai or as the agent of an evil sorcerer. Among these demons there are for instance the rattle snake, mutúlu supai, and the ekis

(Lachesis) called pitalála, the most dangerous venomous snakes in the Ecuadorian forests.

As to bird demons, the same ideas are held as among the Jibaros. Various birds may appear as the agents of the sorcerers, carrying their bewitching arrows (chunta). Such a bird is for instance the tucan, of which family two species are mentioned: sicuánga supai, the ordinary great tucan (called predicador or diostedé in Spanish), the predominant colour of which is white; and yautiri supai, the predominant colour of which is brown. Both these tucans are regarded as evil demons which bewitch people with their large beaks.

When a Jibaro or a Canelos man has to fast on account of the birth of a son, he abstains among other things from eating the tucan, believing that otherwise his newborn babe will be bewitched. Normally the tucan is eaten by the Indians, and its brilliant feathers, to which a magical power is ascribed, are particularly appreciated.

Mucutúlu, a kind of the common bird which in Spanish is called mango, brown in colour, is looked upon with the same superstition as the tucan. It is believed to be sent by the sorcerers and to bring disease and is therefore invoked in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Yahi mangu supai is another kind of mango, black in colour. This bird demon is also invoked by the medicine-men.

Shili-shili supai is a small bird which lives in the neighbourhood of the waterfalls in the forest and is believed to send disease, producing the sound from which it takes its name.

Bullu-cúcu is the onomatopoeic name of another bird, as large as a chicken, which moves about at night bewitching people.

Supai pishcu, 'the devil's bird', is another nocturnal bird living near small lagoons and producing a whistling sound which fills the Indians with superstitious fear. When it moves round the houses at night whistling, it is believed to bewitch the people living there. The Indians, [390]hearing the cry of the supai pishcu, are therefore in the habit of firing shots into the air in order to frighten it away.

Chunta pishcu is a beautiful green bird which is likewise regarded with superstition because of its nocturnal cry. Like other demoniacal birds it is believed to send disease.

The hawk (anga) may be the incarnation of a supai. This demon is especially said to have intercourse with women at night, during sleep. A woman visited by the anga supai is likely to give birth to a supai huahua, a demoniacal child, which is of a grey colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk, and the legs deformed. Such a monster is generally buried alive.

A black nocturnal bird called tutúlu is also said to make women supernaturally pregnant, to enter the house where it assumes human shape and has intercourse with a woman.

Titipúru supai is a black nocturnal bird resembling a heron and living on the flat banks of the rivers. It is believed to bewitch people with the whistling sound which it produces, and to make them ill.

Acángau supai, the bird which is in Spanish called cacavero, is also occasionally said to send disease.

Even such insignificant birds as the humming-birds may act as the agents of evil-working sorcerers. There are two beautiful humming-birds that are especially mentioned as supai, namely, the rayu kinde supai and the curi kinde supai, which are believed to bewitch people with their long beaks and therefore likewise figure among the demons invoked by the medicine-men.

Poisonous insects are also regarded as demons. Among these the Canelos Indians pay particular attention to the black wasp, the scorpion or uputindi supai, and the black ant (tucandera), called yutúri supai. The poisonous stings of these insects resemble the invisible magic arrows of the sorcerers who also, as we shall see, avail themselves of such creatures when bewitching people."

1: Karsten--390-391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

"We have further to consider the plant demons which are much the same as those of the Jibaros. Of 'sacred' or demoniacal trees the palms are the most important. There are three kinds of demoniacal palms: the cucha chunta (Mauritia) which grows at the margin of lagoons or on marshy ground; the huiriria chunta (Bactris) another kind of wild chonta palm; and the tarpu chunta or cultivated chontaruru palm (Guilielma). To all these the appellation supai is given because of their [391] long thorns which play the main part in the magic art of the medicine-men and sorcerers at Canelos.

The animistic ideas in regard to the garden plants are much the same as among the Jibaros. The Canelos Indians, who are now Christians in name, however, do not believe in an Earth-mother, and although many curious practices are observed at sowing and planting, their agriculture is not nowadays connected with a cult of the plant spirits as among the Jibaros.

Poisonous plants are animated by supai and the efficacy of the arrow-poison, as we have seen, is due to the demons inhabiting the plant from which it is prepared.

The same holds good of the narcotic plants aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros), huántuc (= maikoa), and tobacco, which play the same important part in the divination of the Canelos Indians as in that of the Jibaros. The demon of the huántuc plant, huántuc supai, is said to appear to the Canelos medicine-men, narcotized by the drink,

1: Karsten--390-391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

as a little white man in black clothes, who arrives to cure the evils he has inflicted 'smoking a big cigar'."

1: Karsten--391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 823 (1928-29)

"Certain places and localities are inhabited by supai. The most important and most feared of these are the urcu supai, the demons of the hills, and especially the razu urcu supai, the demons of the snow-clad mountains. All these are inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers who have transmigrated into the hills and mountains. They are supposed to send evil disease and are therefore often summoned by the medicine-men when curing patients.

When passing hills on their wanderings the Canelos Indians take care not to make a noise but keep silence; otherwise the demon of the hill will get angry and send heavy rain. The thunder-like booming sometimes heard from within the mountains is called by the same name as one of their principal bird demons, the big macaw, guacamayu. When hunting on hills that they have not visited before, they abstain from shooting with their guns and only use their blowguns. Otherwise they will not be able to kill any game.

There are also spirits in the rivers, and the cataracts are particularly haunted by them. Some of these appear in the shape of animals, as the amárun supai, others, again, in other shapes. In the small waterfalls or cascades, (paccha) in which the eastern cordilleras are so rich, there are paccha supai or sacha supai, 'demons of the woods'. In such paccha the Indians take ceremonial baths."

1: Karsten--392 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"Of phenomena in the sky the rainbow (cuichi) seems to have particularly attracted the attention of the Canelos Indians. The rainbow, they fancy, is nothing but a huge anaconda (amárun) in the air, or as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the anaconda'. One superstition about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are in their menstrual period ought not go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone in a hut in the forest, they are exposed to danger from the cuichi supai who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being a supai huahua, a 'demoniacal' child. This superstition in regard to the rainbow also prevails among the Indians of the Napo and is particularly held by the Quichua-speaking mountain Indians."

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians: they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wakáni or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

2: Stirling--115[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 774

"The practice of shamanism among the Jivaro Indians is basically conditioned by their religious beliefs and conceptions of life and nature. The impersonal magical force which gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants, or natural phenomena is called by the Jivaros tsarutama, more or less the equivalent of the Iroquois orenda, the Siouan wakonda, or the Polynesian mana. Possessing this force or quality are a large group of spirits, usually of an animistic nature, as well as all of the animals and plants which are mentioned in the sacred origin myth. Certain birds, fish, insects, reptiles, and plants contain tsarutama, each of which is responsible for producing certain important effects upon the welfare of man."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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THE Jivaro proper (Indians) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sepa; the Rio Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusimi; the Rio Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MakuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *Utill Abolu*, *Kugull*, and *Uete Abolu* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Matu* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hiatal* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuagA*, *Tugi*, and *Yoita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[2] For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 290-292 -- Cawley

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

188 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunul, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *ackis* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, [154] including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [628] intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [852] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [778] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco [876] water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 787 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind telling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jívaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

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future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[13]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[14] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makančI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pagi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

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a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[15] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

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soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

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One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Juar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. 775 825

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them. 776 775 825

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however. 825 [776]

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist. 775 821

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 182 181

774 183 The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

774 182 181 The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

128 A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

114 774 [198] The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *arúta* or *arutam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, [196] and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

[778] While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural [811] properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsarutama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Piribri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Piribri." Actually, *pirtpirt* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pañi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nungui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nëkás wakanI and thus, since he uses the term wakanI alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanI.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

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ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard g sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ë*; palatized when following *ë* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ë* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[2] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph. 121

[3] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice. 128 [122]

[4] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been. 127

[5] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro. 174 [194]

[6] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [183] [184]

[7] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [176]

[8] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched. [180]

[9] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. [178]

[10] There is also a rare super arutam, *awasay*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [176]

[11] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily. 176

[12] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures. 174 [191] [192]

[13] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muisko*. 174

[14] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [175]

[15] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsaka... surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 174 174 174

[16] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens. 175 [241]

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crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 844
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 846
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tsentsemä* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucin- [774]
ogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

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ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

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276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemä* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untä*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[3]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
701 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
756 and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakanī* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakanī*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

774 *Arutam wakanī* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
776 specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakanī* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakanī* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[4]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
• 774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

778 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
774 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his *arutam* leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[9] The departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

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774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
778 the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative:

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
[754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
[721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interper-
721 sonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natemai*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
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definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This 774
feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be mur- 721
derer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or in- [753]
dications, for example, would include rumors of physical
weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the [191]
first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A [701]
man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One 774
method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating [754]
a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also [276]
be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing 756
in betwitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* 774
soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the 754
intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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774 754 756 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 761 [763] The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation [821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 784 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul, is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774 If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784 latter believed by the Jívaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired [587] much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774 while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776 trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784 head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one [765] of the three types of *iwanči*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makanči*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825] (*paŋi*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824] which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411] the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752] accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

• 774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

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• 774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it
778 is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighbor-hood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more 721
insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more 727
likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same 765
fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be
taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the
"hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are [774]
frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* [829]
souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation
in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a 774
tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature 825
thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree [776]
sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore [796]
must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long.
At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow
manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam*
soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual [796]
precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human
tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of [784]
the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single aveng-
ing form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an 765
inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head 727
before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot 796
be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, 774
but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a 776
previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts.
Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is
believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two
tsantsa celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nam-*
per) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of
the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Oc- 796
casionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the 825

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796 same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsantsa* feasts,
[881] which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

774 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakani*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every
[826] living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

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776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampaŋ* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampaŋ* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampaŋ* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampaŋ* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual sur-
774 vive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
778 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam*
771 soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

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imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 778 771

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *muisak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *muisak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jívaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*suŋurä*), normally of an epidemic nature, 753 [164]

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and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body 766
is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A 764
palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is [778]
interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her 764
snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging 765
above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and 774
a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and [262]
beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakanī*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untä* with renown as 763
a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he 774
wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, [701]
which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is en- 766
tombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 774

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766 against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned
774 house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is
[778] erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each
774 about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each
823 night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts
[276] the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

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578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

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Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kumaí* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *muisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

[774]

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tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available. 178 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

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curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanï*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

1: Karsten--217-218 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 842, 775 (1928-29)

"The ideas which the Indians entertain about the physiological significance of the sexual act are of particular interest and it may be proper to mention them here. The Indians certainly realize, in a general way the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy, but about generation and conception they have their own peculiar theory which among other things appears in their belief in a 'supernatural' birth. Their ideas of animal and plant spirits who partake of the nature of human souls and are even regarded as the souls of ancestors, as well as their custom of naming newborn children after animals and plants and at the same time after ancestors, seems to point to a general belief, now perhaps half forgotten, in the return of departed souls through a new birth. In fact, traces of the existence of a belief in such a rebirth are still to be found. 'After a long time the souls of the dead are again reborn in some of their descendants; this is the reason why we give to a newborn child the [218] name of one of its forefathers.' Such was the explanation which was given me by an old medicine-man with whom I discussed these questions. Other Jibaros again assured that they did not know anything about the rebirth of the departed. Evidently these are questions to which common people in the Jibaro society, and especially younger persons, devote but little thought."

1: Karsten--253 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
775 (1928-29)

". . . . the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians believe that old men may, after death or even in their lifetime, appear in the shape of jaguars, anacondas, or other formidable or dangerous animals and in this disguise punish their relatives for neglect of duty. --The peculiar view that the Jibaros have about old men will be referred to again in connection with their war chiefs."

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775, 152, 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc.--we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

1: Karsten--292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 775, 769 (1928-29)

"The lance, a terrible weapon of the Jibaros, inspires not only living men but even the spirits and demons with fear. The soul of an Indian killed with the lance in terror flees far away from the mutilated body and does not remain for some time in the neighbourhood, as is believed to be the case at ordinary death. The relatives themselves stand in such horror of the dead body that they only hurriedly bury it on the same spot where they find it, thereafter speedily leaving the place. The devoted cult which the Jibaros generally pay to their dead relatives is entirely lacking in regard to those killed in war, and food is never put on their graves."

1: Karsten--372-373 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775 (1928-29)

"As to the worship paid to the Earth-mother and her consort there is hardly anything to add to what I have stated before. But besides these, the religious ideas and practices of the Jibaros have reference to supernatural beings of a lower order, to souls, spirits and demons of which there are many different classes. The Indians have two words for denoting a spirit or demon: wakáni and iguánchi. The word wakáni may be translated into 'soul' or 'shadow'. Human souls disembodied temporarily, for instance in dreams, or permanently in death, are called wakáni, as is also the shadow reflected in water or on the ground, or in a mirror. Any image or likeness of a man--for instance a photograph--is called his wakáni or soul, but the Indians apply this name especially to the spiritual part of man separated from his body at death. There is a certain difference between the wakáni of a dead man and for instance the 'shadow' of a living person, which will be explained later on. That the Jibaros, when I first met them, strongly objected to being photographed has been mentioned by me before; they believed that with my camera I 'took their souls' (wakáni), of which the consequence might be disease and death, or at any rate undue mysterious influence over the person photographed. The word wakáni however is also used in a more comprehensive sense, to signify a supernatural being in general. There are wakáni or souls not only in men, but also in animals, in plants, in heavenly bodies, and in other objects of nature. The whole air swarms with these spiritual beings appearing in different shapes, especially as animals,

but as a rule they can be seen only by those intoxicated by natéma or other intoxicating drinks. There appears to be no essential difference between the human souls and souls inhabiting animals, plants, and inanimate objects; the latter too seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls. Or more strictly speaking, the Jibaros know only one chief kind of spirit or soul which inhabit men, animals, and inanimate objects of nature, or lead an entirely independent existence as evil demons, and which may occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. The Jibaros thus, like most other South American Indians, are familiar with the idea of the transmigration and reincarnation of souls, but this doctrine is not worked into a regular system of thought and is still less associated with moral ideas of any kind. [373]

Although all wakáni--especially the wakáni of dead persons--awaken uncanny feelings in the Indians and are therefore always more or less feared, yet some of them are believed to be more evil-disposed to mankind than the rest. The most evil and most powerful of the spirits are called iguánchi. All iguánchi are wakáni, but all wakáni are not necessarily iguánchi. The souls of persons who have been particularly feared in life, especially the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers, are believed to be changed into iguánchi after death. The souls of enemies killed in war also figure among this dangerous class of demons. The iguánchi however appear in many different shapes. Sometimes they appear in shadowy human-like forms, or as living Indians wearing

beautiful feather ornaments and painted red in the face. Mostly, however the demons assume the shape of different animal beings, of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and even insects. 'Animal worship' among the Jibaros, if we may speak of such a thing, seems to refer in most cases to human souls reincarnated in animals. Generally these are the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers who temporarily take the shape of different animal beings in order to harm or kill other people. --In no case are animals regarded as totems, either of individuals or of groups; totemism is a religious or social system which is entirely unknown to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

"Theoretically all animals, as also the plants, have a soul just as men have. But the role which the animals play in the religion of the Indians depends wholly on the importance they have in their practical life. Animals which distinguish themselves by their strength and ferocity, their peculiar appearance or habits of life, or their harmful effects, of course first become the objects of superstitious beliefs. Below I shall account for the most important spirits and demons of the Jibaros, beginning with those appearing in animal shape.

Some of the most formidable iguánchi appear in the shape of certain hairy animals of the wood, chiefly the black monkey (washi), the bear (cheiva), and the deer (hápa). The ordinary black monkey (Ateles niger) is much appreciated by the Indians both because of its flesh which is eaten, its fur, and its teeth, and is therefore much hunted. The animal which they fear as a demon, however is not exactly identical with the 'natural' black monkey. The washi iguánchi is in fact a purely mythical being; it is much bigger than the real black monkey, it does not climb the trees but walks on the ground on two legs like a human being, and is said to move about on the paths of the forest especially at night. [374] To meet this demon means for the Indian almost certain death. The iguánchi seizes him and kills him or takes him away to his mysterious dwellings. Dead men and the souls of enemies killed in battle mostly appear in this shape.

Exactly the same may be said of the bear demon (cheiva iguánchi). The south

American bear (Ursus albifrons) is comparatively small and is not particularly feared by the natives. Like the demoniacal black monkey, the bear demon is a mythical being which is much bigger and far more formidable than the 'natural' animal. The Indians therefore fear extremely to meet it in the darkness, believing that then they will die. Only when met in the dream produced by the narcotic drinks is it, like other iguánchi, supposed to be harmless and even friendly to man.

On the other hand, the timid and innocent deer is feared and always looked upon as a most formidable iguanchi. We here meet with a curious superstition which the Jibaros seem to share with nearly all primitive Indian tribes in south America. The Jibaros never eat the flesh of the deer, believing that if they do they will certainly die, and if they kill the animal, it is only to sell its flesh to the whites. The souls of people particularly feared in life take the shape of the deer after death, but there seems to be the belief that the souls of women also prefer to reincarnate themselves in this animal. The latter idea is naturally due to the timidity of the deer, just as its soundless movements and the mysterious rapidity with which it disappears in the forest easily suggest to the primitive Indian mind the idea of a ghost.

Much the same belief is held of the tapir (pamá), which is likewise looked upon as an iguánchi although it is not feared to the same extent as the deer. The Jibaros therefore avoid the flesh of the tapir nearly as carefully as that of the deer. With its pointed

snout and the whistling sound which it produces the animal is supposed to be able to bewitch people: the soul of a sorcerer may have temporarily taken up his abode in it. A similar superstition relating to the tapir is known to prevail among some other South American tribes.

Naturally among the iguánchi or demons the largest and most dangerous carnivorous animals of South America also figure, i.e. the jaguar and the smaller species of the feline family. Among this class of demoniacal animals the following are mentioned: the soacha or great black jaguar, the largest of all felidae in South America; further, the shia-shia, yambinga, yawára, different kinds of the spotted jaguar; the hapayawára, i.e. the puma or South American lion; and lastly the amicha, yantána, [375] and unduchama, different kinds of small tiger cats. All these beasts are particularly feared because it is believed that the souls of the medicine-men reincarnate themselves in them in order to kill their enemies. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer is supposed to be able occasionally to transform himself into a jaguar in order to bewitch people. If a jaguar attacks and kills an Indian, or if he only takes one of his swine or dogs, it is inmediately [sic] clear to the rest that an enemy sorcerer has been operating, who took the form of the wild beast in order to carry out his evil designs. Likewise, medicine-men in the form of jaguars or tiger cats are believed to send disease. Hence, when a medicine-man is curing a patient, among different demoniacal animals who may be supposed to have sent the evil, he also mentions the jaguar and the tiger cats. On the other

hand, these beasts also figure among the animal demons who appear to the Indians in the dreams induced by maikoa or natéma and who are called arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The jaguar demons who appear to the Indian in the narcotic sleep are considered by them as dead ancestors. I shall have occasion to mention these again as well as other arútama in connection with the narcotic drinks.

Other animals which at least occasionally appear as iguánchi or demons are the great otter (wangánimi), the nose-bear (Nasua rufa, called kúshi by the Jibaros), the ant-bear (wishvishi), and the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai). The first mentioned, the great otter, even figures among the arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The nose-bear and the ant-bear are supposed to be able to bewitch people with their long and pointed snout. The former is also regarded with superstition because of its disagreable smell, and its flesh is therefore not eaten. The otter and the paca again bewitch people with their long whiskers. The whiskers of these animals are used by the sorcerers for the same purpose.

Among water demons there is also the dolphin, called bufeo in Spanish and apúpa in the Jibaro language, an animal quite common in the Amazonian rivers. This animal is in the habit of following the canoes passing on the rivers, frequently emerging from the surface of the water to take breath. The Indians believe that it may bewitch people, since it produces the same sound as the sorcerers when, blowing and whistling, they

send off their magic arrow against their enemies. The apúpa, which in reality is a perfectly harmless animal, is therefore feared by the Jibaros as a dangerous wishinyu or sorcerer.

Much more feared, however, is another water monster living in the Amazonian rivers and lagoons, namely, the great water boa or anaconda [376] (Eunectes murinus). The Jibaros call it pangi, sometimes also in their magical incantations using the Quichua name amárun. The anaconda is in fact the worst of all the demons that people the spiritual world of the Indians. The Jibaros only share a belief in regard to this monster which seems to be common to all Indians in tropical South America. The great boa is the father of witchcraft, it is from his body that the medicine-men get the poison with which they themselves are impregnated and the magical arrow (tunchi) which they let off against people whom they want to harm. Both after death and in their lifetime the souls of the medicine-men are supposed to be able to transmigrate into the anaconda, and when the Indians kill such a monster they say that it is an evil wizard that they have killed. The largest specimens of the anaconda the Jibaros do not even touch with their hands after having killed them, for fear of the evil effects arising from coming in contact with the demon, but the skin of the smaller boas is often made into broad cinctures to which great magical power is ascribed. Since the anaconda is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, it is natural that it should also be regarded as the author of all

diseases attributed to sorcery. Hence the pangi together with his 'brother', the tsungi, is regularly mentioned in the magical conjurations by which the medicine-men try to cure disease.

As to the latter demon, the tsungi, I have not been able to ascertain whether it is only a mythical water monster or a real living animal. The tsungi is described as a woman-like being with long hair and large breasts, living in caves in water-pools and lagoons just as does his 'brother' the pangi. As authors of witchcraft both demons have the same importance, and the tsungi figures side by side with the pangi in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Not only the great boa serpent but also other kinds of reptiles play an important part in the religion of the Jibaros. Thus the great caiman or crocodile (kanyátsa), which attacks people swimming in the rivers, is an iguánchi and even is reckoned among the arútama. Far more feared, however, are the demons which appear in the shape of venomous snakes. About such reptiles all Ecuadorian Indians seem to have the same idea: with the sting of the poisonous snake an evil spirit enters the body of the patient. But the Jibaros go still further in their theory: the wakáni or iguánchi which entered the person stung and caused his death was in fact nothing but the demoniacal soul of a sorcerer who had taken the shape of the reptile in order to kill his enemy.

The Indians make a distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' [377] or

demoniacal snakes, the latter being snakes in which the soul of a sorcerer has temporarily taken up its abode. The Jibaros call such a snake tunchima, i.e. 'bewitched'. If a non-poisonous snake bites, or if the bite of a venomous snake did not cause the person bitten any particular harm, this was only a 'natural' snake-bite. If, on the other hand, the person died in consequence of it, the snake was tunchima. Persons bitten by 'bewitched' snakes, therefore, generally die or can only be cured by the magic art of other sorcerers. How the medicine-men proceed when curing such patients we shall see later on.

Few phenomena of the animal world have impressed the primitive Indian mind so strongly as the venomous snakes. By their peculiar appearance, their soundless movements, and especially by their mysterious death-bringing sting they are, in fact, most likely to give rise to superstitious beliefs. Thus the venomous reptiles seem to have suggested to the Indian sorcerers the ideas upon which their magic art is based. Moreover, as pointed out before, the arrow-poison is probably originally nothing but an imitation of the snakes' poison, the same superstitious ideas being connected with the one as with the other.

The spirits and demons also frequently appear in the shape of birds. The ideas held of certain birds are exactly the same as those held of certain animals and reptiles. Generally the demoniacal birds are associated with the medicine-men and sorcerers

who use them as their agents in order to carry out their evil designs against other people. Like a jaguar or a snake, a bird may be tunchima or 'bewitched'. This means that a sorcerer has hidden his own soul or his death-bringing magic arrow (tunchi) into the bird with a view to shooting it off at the person he wants to harm. The spirits or souls of dead persons, both men and women, may also reincarnate themselves in birds, which are then looked upon as 'magical'.

In regard to the birds of which such superstitious beliefs are held, it is to be noted that all of them are distinguished by some peculiarity in their appearance or habits of life, or by their sounds. All individuals of a species are not necessarily iguánchi but they may occasionally appear as such. There are 'natural' and 'supernatural' birds, just as there are 'natural' and 'supernatural' snakes and jaguars. Thus the largest birds of prey of South America, the condor (yápu), the great eagle or harpy (unta pinchu), the hawk (pinchu), and the owl (ambúsha), are often looked upon as evil demons, especially if they attack men or domestic animals or appear under unusual circumstances. The owl, [378] being a nocturnal bird, is regarded by all Indians as a messenger from the spirit world. The Jibaros believe that the souls of dead women are particularly incarnated in the owl. Other demoniacal birds are the black vulture (chuánga), the tucan (tsukánga), the great macaw or arara parrot, both the red one (takúmbi) and the

yellow one (yambúna), with a common name called yusa, as well as the ordinary green parrot (kávashu). All these birds, together with the pelican (kauá) and the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea, called sumga by the Jibaros) are also mentioned among the arútama and appear to the Indians in narcotic sleep. Feared as bearers of the magic arrow are also the mango (chui), the umbrella-bird (Cephalopterus ornatus, called ungúmi in the Jibaro language) and most nocturnal birds. Among the latter, in addition to the owl, two deserve to be especially mentioned: the kuikui, a small bird which moves about whistling at night, bewitching people, and the uichúchu, another small bird with a long tail and almost green in colour, which leaves its resting-place upon the rocks at night and approaches the habitations of men, producing the cry from which it takes its name. The Indians say that the uichúchu, when sent by a sorcerer, carries the magic arrow far away to other places, bringing disease and death to the people there. The small nocturnal bird is therefore greatly feared and is often mentioned in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Various smaller animals, fish, and insects play a part in the superstition of the Jibaros because of the spines, prickles, or stings with which their body is provided by nature. The medicine-men and sorcerers, in their magic art, often make use of similar spines or stings. Such animals are for instance the hedgehog (kúru) and a sort of armadillo which the Jibaros call tuicha. I shall mention some instances illustrating the

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

Indian belief as to fish and insects when dealing with the medicine-men. Here I shall only add that the butterfly (wambishku) is looked upon by the Jibaros as a wakáni or soul, a belief which is also found among other South American tribes."

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

1: Karsten--501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151, 775, 825 (1928-29)

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

2: Stirling--114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775, 765

"The Jivaros believe that after death they are reborn in various forms of animal life. A warlike curaka becomes a jaguar when he dies and goes to live in the forest near enemy tribes in order that he may continue his vengeance toward them. The explanation of the 2-year period during which the corpse is fed and tended is that it requires 2 years for a jaguar to develop to the point where he can competently shift for himself. When this time has expired the bones are taken down and buried."

2: Stirling--114 [5] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775

"When Anguasha was asked if he expected to become a jaguar he said no, that he hoped to be a chicken hawk, because he was very fond of eating chickens and birds."

8: Dickey--201 [4] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 727, 775

"Why do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

Believers in metempsychosis, they are of the opinion that a warrior--and all the intrepid explorers to the contrary notwithstanding, none but the heads of warriors captured in battle ever are shrunken--if allowed to go to the spirit world with his head, comes back to earth with the head of a jaguar. If he goes without a head, the puzzled spirits, who of course have to send him back in some form, give him a head of a rodent or some other harmless animal. As a jaguar he is a menace; as a rat he's harmless. All beautifully logical."

13: Rivet--240-241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 775

The savages believe in another life. The veneration [241] accorded to their dead, is the evident proof of it; this second existence differs in no way from the one they lead on earth; they have the same physical needs, the same material necessities and the same pleasures. That is why the relatives bury the body of the dead with food, various liquids, and his weapons. It is probable that the hermetic sealing of the doors of the house where the dead is left is as much for the purpose of guaranteeing the relatives against a possible return of the deceased as assuring rest to the departed. Certain tribes at least believe in transmigration: if the deceased was a brave warrior, he returns in the form of an animal which personifies bravery; but if he was a coward, he assumes the appearance of a snake, a spider, a toad, or some other repugnant animal (1).

1. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 63.

20: Dyott--171-172 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 825, 868.

"The Jivaros don't consider men to be glorified animals, but rather the reverse. All the animals, in their eyes, are degenerate human beings. Years ago, they say, all the inhabitants of the world were Shuaros, and gradually certain ones developed characteristics which we now associate with birds, animals, or fish. This consciousness of their relationship to the animal world is still very strong amongst them, so much so in the case of the sloth that he is not only attacked with the same ferocity they would summon against a human enemy, but they likewise preserve his head in a [172] shrunken state, as if it were that of some hostile tribesman.

Katani listened enthralled to every word of this Indian wisdom. In a few year's time he would be considered a man, for he would have taken part in the feast of Kusupani and drunk Miqua prepared from the bark of the beautiful flowering shrub (Datura arborea) which is administered with much ceremony whenever a boy reaches man's estate. It is a narcotic drink that is supposed to make men out of them, but in reality turns them into raving lunatics for a day or two. During this time, they see visions and talk with the great spirits who will aid them in their fight against future enemies."

20: Dyott--185-186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 775

"Why do women dig yuca and the men fell trees? were questions Johnston asked me. He laboured under the common misapprehension that the women were slaves, and did the hardest work; but I had to explain otherwise. The Jivaros carry their sense of the personal, not only to animals, but also to trees and inanimate objects. In their eyes all things are animated by human spirits, male or female. The yuca has a female soul, hence it is proper for the women to cultivate it. Clay is feminine, therefore women must fashion the simple pottery which they use. Women must also handle the vessels when it comes to cooking. Most trees are men, hence men must chop them down. Cotton is of the male gender, so men must spin thread and make their own 'itipis' and also the 'tarachi,' or garments worn by the women. It is the sex distinction which is all important. Man and woman's work is as distinct as night from day, and the duties of one never overlap those of the other. There is not even a question of comparison between the two. A man is a man, and a woman a woman. That is their final argument."

20: Dyott--190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 826

"So strong is the faith of the Jivaros, like that of many primitive races, in the supernatural properties of the hair of the head, that they make cinctures of that material; but hair on the face is regarded in quite a different light. It is a sure indication that you are related to the animals of the jungle. My flowing whiskers were not admired, and if the truth were known, speculations were rife as to what particular animal I was related to. The wholesale removal of hair from the human body is practised by the Indians, and with the exception of the scalp, its growth is never encouraged."

28: Tessman--356-357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 756

The soul is called wakaní. At the moment of death the soul leaves the body and goes to heaven, where it leads a better life (has plenty to eat, etc.) in the company of other souls. [357]

The souls of sorcerers enter animals, plants or some natural object, thereby becoming demons. This is at least the belief of the Makas Indians. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., p. 125) this is also believed of the souls of enemies that have been killed, evidently to the extent to which these enemies had been regarded as sorcerers. The souls are then called iguanchi, but at the same time still being regarded as wakaní. From Karsten's treatise I was not able to learn to what extent the thought prevails that the spirits in question are the souls of deceased sorcerers and to what extent these spirits have already a truly demoniac character: demons are always undetermined spirits, perhaps the souls of deceased persons. Wakani, according to Karsten, also means "shadow, image" and finally "higher being."

28: Tessman--360 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 787

The Chiwaros are filled with all sorts of undigested superstitious beliefs. They have many religious particles, which they presumably receive from the high cultures of the Andes, but they have not been able to incorporate these scraps into the framework of their own religion. One such particle, for instance, is the belief that a chieftain is going to die when the sun goes down red.

They also believe that the Chiwaros formerly had been animals, the Aguarunas, for instance, crested orioles. See Karsten, La lengua de los Indios, p. 54. The same source also for folk-tales.

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natema* (*Banisteria* sp.), 726
beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then 774
if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear 759
the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, en- 276
ter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11] 202

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen [551]
the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however,
and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through 726
gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul 774
taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would
include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended
victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forceful-
ness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that
the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him,
it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe 182
comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly,
called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel [554]
that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make
any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to 774
capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as pre-
viously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest
night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope [354]
of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching
try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him [756]
through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam
souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one [759]
for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A
shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of
sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while 774
he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention
of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he 775
does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body
while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his own arutam souls come [761]
into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new,
freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had
acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost
five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls.
The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and
lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will
live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[794] [795] future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK*

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.* If one simply dies of contagious disease [961] or old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This [582] and therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men [589] who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the [727] corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (tsantsa), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanfi* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-[776] human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous [961] snake (*mokonfi*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*papi*) [825] which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause [829] him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of [177] firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items [812] to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted [759] wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always [961] believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanfi* kills the murderer, it sometimes ap-[776] pears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper [287] tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at [811] night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanfi* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

[994] [994] [998] [989] [535] [540] [543] [531] 994 825 [989]

soul, the *muisak* omits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "blessing" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in *Jivaro* society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The hunting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

994 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *wikis* wakani, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living *Jivaro*, male or female. [204] The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is [183] passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the *Jivaro* in terms of their total native belief systems.

994 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.*

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food [823] to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of perpetual starvation is dreaded by the *Jivaro*.

12:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see dead souls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned gardens and house sites.[1] The Jivaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the souls are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*tsaw iwanki*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jivaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demons" animals are often seen in pain, a fact which the Jivaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jivaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jivaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampag*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampag* are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a *wampag* flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jivaro believe that since the *wampag* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jivaro are uncertain, the *wampag* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jivaro believe, they seem to be most interested in the "true" one, the nihki nekaint, which does little to help the individual survive in his concrete society. It is the *arutam* soul concept which seems to rank first in the Jivaro mind. The *arutam* soul generally believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal anxiety, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses aggression as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

12:Harner E-9 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

g English *ng* as *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, aspirated when preceding *t*, palatized when following *t* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
t English *ch*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
v Spanish *v* (voiced like Spanish *b* when following a nasal consonant, palatized when following *t* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *h*)
y Spanish *y*

Vowels of words terminated by ultimate syllables are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed pronunciation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (NSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Anujam may also be pronounced *anúmes*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of anujam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen anujam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from tobacco in order to be able to evaluate and protect the fellow-person under its influence.

* One exception is the forbidden anujam which only wounders silently when touched.

* Persons who have seen anujam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a rare aspect anujam, *uwang*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

* The anujam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his anujam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

* Shuash may be alternatively pronounced *nuaisha*.

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (*i.e.*, when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *nunsh* is forced to emerging through the *ni-ish*. Then the murderer begins to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa-manufacturing ritual. I wish to emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate errors of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house occasionally along with their gardens.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[17] Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

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[18] Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larson and David Beasley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Huambisa beliefs, respectively. I briefly interviewed several Huambisa and Aguaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Varinacocha, eastern Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara informant on the same subject in 1957 near the Río Cangaimo, eastern Ecuador.

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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

796 same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsentsa* feasts,
[881] which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

774 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakani*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every
[826] living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be 775 •
food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity 775
of abandoned garden and house sites.[18] The Jivaro interpret 776
the presence of such creatures at these old living places as 825
evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*tsuar iwanchi*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jivaro taboo on the eating of [262]
deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jivaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history 776
of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human 775
demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When a Jivaro child wanders into the forest and is not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
• 775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampey*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampey* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampey* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampey* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampey* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
774 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam*
778 soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), witching, or by avenging souls (*musiak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *musiak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft. 674 682 [186] [761] [795] 682 628

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible. [721]

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send 682 628 728

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available. 178 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
{276} become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
{824} uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
{756} have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
[755] Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
• 775 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the
774 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
682 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of
754 adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 — Jivaro-1
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

"Conception through a demon, resulting in an evil birth and a monstrous child, may take place under different circumstances.

When among the CANELOS INDIANS a woman is menstruating she is obliged to diet and does not leave the house except for the most urgent needs. If she goes alone into the forest she may meet the demon, supai, in the shape of a white man dressed in black clothes, who grasps her by the hand, leads her away, and seduces her. The women themselves are said to have a special liking for the supai meeting them in this shape and to yield readily to the temptation. They are, therefore, guarded by their husbands while menstruating.

The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive.

Generally, however, the demon appears to a woman in the shape of a beautiful Indian, painted red with roucou in the face and wearing a feather crown (tawasámba) on the head.

He mostly meets the woman in a dream, while she is sleeping, and tries to seduce her. If he has had intercourse with her two nights in succession, she will soon feel pains in the womb, and some time afterwards she will either die or give birth to a supai huahua.

The Canelos Indians told me about a young Indian woman who had lived alone with the supai in an uninhabited region on the Rio Rutúnu, [220] a small tributary to the Bobonaza. The supai had the shape of a beautiful Indian, well dressed and painted red in the face. He stayed with the woman one week as her husband, and every day brought her all sorts of game from the forest as well as fish. The woman had previously been beautiful and fat, but after that time she began to get thin and pine away and finally died. This was due to her having had intercourse with the supai.

One of the most formidable demons known to the Indians is the huge water boa, called amárum by the Quichua-speaking Indians. It is the original source of witchcraft and the souls of sorcerers especially are believed to take up their abode, temporaily [sic] or permanently, in this monster. Now, in the imagination of the Indians the rainbow (cuichi) is nothing but a huge boa in the air or, as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the boa'. One superstition held about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are menstruating ought not to go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone at night in some shelter of palm leaves in the forest they are

liable to be visited by the cuichi supai (the rainbow demon) who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being as usual, a supai huahua.(1)

The Canelos Indians moreover believe that the demon, when he wants to visit a woman, may take the shape of a black, nocturnal bird which they call tulúlu. The tulúlu supai at night enters into the house where he assumes human shape and has intercourse with the woman while she is sleeping. Soon afterwards the woman falls ill, and some time later she will give birth to something evil.

"1. This superstition prevails both among the Napo and the Canelos Indians, but is particularly held by the mountain Indians from whom it has, perhaps, been propagated to the primitive tribes in the virgin forests of the east. At Pelileo, a village situated in the mountain regions of Central Ecuador, I was told about an Indian woman who had given birth to a dreadful monster, half a hairy pig, half a human being. The Indians explained the phenomenon by the woman having exposed herself to the embraces of the demon of the rainbow.

The Quichua-speaking women of the mountain regions also believe that they may be made pregnant by lizards and other similar animal beings entering into them. When an Indian woman sees a lizard therefore she jumps far away for fear of coming in contact with it."

1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

Sometimes the demon takes the shape of a hawk (anga) and then has intercourse with a woman at night, during sleep. Afterwards she [221] gives birth to a supai huahua which is grey in colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk and deformed legs. Such a monster, as already mentioned, is buried alive or at any rate killed."

1: Karsten--221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

"It is, however, not only monstrous and defective children that are thus regarded as the direct result of demoniacal action. The same superstition is held about twins, even when there is nothing abnormal in their outward appearance. The primitive Indian is unable to grasp the idea that one man can be the father of two children born at once. Hence when twins are born in a family only the child arriving first can be the offspring of the husband of the woman; the other one must have been begotten either by another man or, more generally, by a demon, and is therefore killed. This belief is found among Indians in different parts of the South American continent and affords the true explanation of the common practice of infanticide in the case of twins. In Ecuador it seems to prevail among all tribes except among the Jibaros.(1) As to the Canelos Indians, it has among them inter alia given rise to that interesting marriage custom which has been related above. In regard to the fear of twins I may add that at Canelos the married men never eat two bananas which are grown together, believing that if they do eat them their wives will give birth to twins.

"1. The superstition in question exists for instance among the Napo Indians and the Záparos. The latter not only kill the second child, but are in the habit of chanting and beating drums every night during a whole month after the birth of twins, in order to counteract the evil consequences arising from the house having been polluted by a demon."

On the other hand, the savage JIBAROS do not seem to share this superstition. On the contrary, they say that they are pleased when twins are born, because they want to have as many children as possible. But [222] even the Jibaros are firmly convinced that children who are born deformed or defective in any way have been begotten by demoniacal operation. Such a child is called nētsi, pasúna, 'deformed', 'monstrous', or iguánchi uchi, 'the son of a demon'. Nētsi properly speaking means 'deaf and dumb', but also 'deformed' in general, and is thus particularly used in the same sense as iguánchi uchi. The Jibaros always kill a deformed 'demoniacal' child by crushing it under the feet, and bury it in the forest.

How the conception through a demon (iguánchi) takes place, the Jibaros cannot explain with the same realistic details as the Canelos Indians, but as to the fact itself they have no doubt. Most generally the birth of a nētsi, pasúna, or iguánchi uchi follows as the consequence of unlawful marriage, especially a marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship, when brother and sister, or cousins on the male side marry, or when a man marries his niece or a woman her nephew. Such marriages are therefore looked upon with horror and strictly prohibited by Jibaro custom. The birth of a demon (a monstrous child) is regarded as a disgrace and an unfortunate incident not only for the parents but for the whole family and tribe."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
821, 776 (1928-29)

"After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night."

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain booms as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaros, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaros ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where iguánchi is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (sása or paccha) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks natéma or maikoa in the forest, always takes a bath in a sása in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especially the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

2: Stirling--116 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 776

"All of the principal nature gods or culture heroes contain powerful tsarutama. These, as a rule, are personified and are assigned particular dwelling places. Thus, for example, Piribri, the Rain God, lives in the solitudes of the cloud-wrapped mountain peaks. Therefore the mountain itself is charged with his tsarutama. The trail from Mendez to Yaupe crosses Cuticu, and no Jivaro will speak while crossing the summit of the mountain because Piribri likes solitude and silence. If offended by disrespectful invasion of his dwelling place, he causes heavy rains to fall upon the traveler, produces floods in the streams, and makes the way difficult and dangerous. Likewise, Pangi, the great anaconda River God, dwells a captive in the Pongo Manseriche, the great cataract of the Marañon, and the same taboo of silence is observed by the Jivaros in passing through this gorge. Etsa, the sun, and Nantu, the moon, contain powerful tsarutama, which influences all that goes on on earth. The chonta palm, one of the plants mentioned in the sacred origin myth and much used by the Jivaros in making weapons, utensils, and even their houses, also contains tsarutama. The Indians believe that a lance made entirely of chonta wood is more effective in warfare than one which is tipped with iron."

4: Up de Graff--216-217 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 776

"The religion of the Antipas, as far as I was able to discover, is simple and primitive. They fear two gods; the god of rivers and rain, and the god of the forest, the former called by the Incas Yacu mámam (the Odd-footed One), the latter Chulla Chaquicuna (the Great One of The Waters).

The true Inca religion is of course sun-worship, but those descendants of the old kingdom who still retain the mother-tongue, but who have strayed from the mountains into the woods of the Amazon basin have, in the course of generations, adapted themselves to their new environments, and dropped the worship of the god they scarcely see, adopting those of the Jívaros in their stead to whom they must look for prosperity. The rivers, the rain and the forest give them all they possess, while the sun plays but a small part in their lives. To the worship of the two Jívaro gods they have added a lively appreciation of the existence of the Evil One, in the person of Supai, at whose door they lay every misfortune that overtakes them.

I have digressed for a moment on the subject of the religion of the Incas rather in order to compare it with that of their neighbours, the Jívaros, of whom we are speaking, than to examine it in detail. To return, then, to the latter; Chulla-Chaquicuna is Lord of the Forest, and moves through it unseen by any, in the form of a man with one human and one jaguar's foot. The Indians point out his tracks, as indeed they have done to me many a time. The obvious explanation of their ex[217]istence (for they do indeed exist!) seems never to have occurred to their simple minds. When he has been found to have

passed their way they attribute anything out of the ordinary (abundance or scarcity of game, an unsuccessful brew of poison, or the presence of dangerous snakes, for example) to his influence.

Yacu-mámam possesses the power of changing from a tapir to an anaconda, from an anaconda to a frog. His haunts are the rivers and streams, and he brings on destructive floods or beneficial showers as he wills. Thus these three animals are never molested by the Jívaros, for fear of the anger of Yacu-mámam. This fact accounts for the tameness of the tapir throughout the region of which we speak.

As far as I know no sacrifices are ever offered to these gods. They are regarded from a respectful distance, rather than cultivated with complicated ceremony. Images and religious festivals are unknown to the Jívaro. His is the religion of a simple, practical forest-folk, based on superstition, which is, after all, common to all primitive peoples."

10: Anthony--147-148 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 776, 787, 276

"The Jivaros do not believe in a benign deity, but in a power which is spoken of by the Spaniards as el diablo, the devil. This being is not necessarily malicious in his attributes, but rather is considered to be a 'Super-Jivaro,' one powerful in all matters, omnipotent for good or evil but not loving evil for its own sake. When an important project is under consideration--a foray for wives or a long hunting trip into the territory of a hostile neighbor--the Jivaro deems it of the utmost importance that the 'devil' be consulted. For this purpose he retires to some secluded spot, let us say a small hill off in the jungle, and there drinks a quantity of a certain vegetable extract. This extract, made from the bark of a root, is a dark fluid [148] resembling coffee. It produces a narcotic effect upon the human system and the Jivaro passes into a stupor of several hours' duration, during which he experiences various weird hallucinations. One of these hallucinations is that the devil comes to him and gives advice regarding the proposed plan. If favorable views upon the matter are entertained by the devil, the project will be attempted. Consultation with the devil may be had by any man, for it is not the special province of any priestly class. I have spoken with white men who have sampled this narcotic drink and from the reports of its effects I judge the active principle of it must be some powerful alkaloid."

Although these myths seem to vary from one tribe to the other, all Jíbaro believe in the existence of a superior powerful spirit called iguanchi (1). The missionaries have taken this word for describing the devil. As for the Christian God, the spirit of goodness, that is Yusa, a word derived from Jesus or from Dios, which proves that the Jíbaros do not have the equivalent of it. In reality, the iguanchi does not correspond to the Christian devil. He is neither good nor bad, he is powerful; he is, one might say, a great Jíbaro captain, more powerful than the most renowned chiefs. The savage fears him but does not worship him, and when the missionaries speak to him concerning one who is charitable and merciful, he responds logically that he has no need of honoring a good God who by definition would not know how to wish him anything bad, while there is an advantage in drawing to himself the benevolence of the irritable and vindictive iguanchi(2). The latter frequently appears to the savage on the remote paths in the forest, usually at nightfall, most often in the guise of a monkey spitting fire from his

1. Father Prieto is the only one to call it Cumbanama or Neche. The first of these names recalls the name of the valley of Cumbinama, where Loyola was founded. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., Book II. p.64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 111.

mouth or [238]of a horned animal which the missionaries compare to a goat (3). The Aguarunas believe that the iguanchi lives in the whirlpools of the Amazon and in a mountain which is found on the left bank of this river at the Pongo de Manseriche (4). He is invulnerable, and the most courageous tremble at the sight of him and flee.

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., fifth letter, p. 45. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 114.

4. Manuel Antonio Mesones Muro. Vias al Oriente del Peru. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. 13th year, V . XIII, first quarter 1903, pp. 54-89), p. 81.

It is this omnipotent spirit who directs all the important acts of the Jíbaro's life. His advice is asked when a war is undertaken, it is to him that the wounded address themselves in order to recover their health, it is he who reveals to those who please him the most important secrets for the tribe. In order to enter communication with him it is necessary to drink the infusion of natema(1), the preparation of which I have already described. For this operation, the Indians choose a high and isolated hill. At Macas, the customary place is a hill, from the top of which one can see Sangay (2), a ceaselessly active volcano which seems to play a big part in the religious ideas of the Jíbaros of this region and which they call Tungura (3), a word that the missionaries have adopted to designate hell.

From the bottom of the hill up to the summit, a road is made either in a straight line, or in a spiral, and lined with flowers; at the top, a little shelter (iyámtei) is built, before which a space in the form of an elongated quadrilateral is laid out and levelled. He who is to undergo the test climbs up accompanied by all those who have some interest

1. Colonel Proaño speaks of a narcotic called naje employed for the same purpose by the Ayulis Indians and which ought to be analagous to natema: Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., tome III, page 407.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 146.

in the consulation of the iguanchi; having arrived at the top, his companions begin to dance to the sound of drums and flutes, during which the hero of the feast drinks the natema. As soon as he falls overcome by the narcotic, the crowd withdraws, leaving him alone in the shelter, after having lit near him a big pile of wood in order to keep beasts away (4). The drink immediately provokes an erethism of all the senses, with hallucinations, as well as a great muscular excitation; the hair bristles, the eyes water, the nostrils dilate, there is a [239] trembling of the lips; gritting of teeth, convulsions, and a loud rattling in the throat. Then follows a lethargic period which lasts about three days, during which the subject remains completely insensible (5). Villavicencio, who tried out the natema on himself, which he called by the Quechua name of ayahuasca, said he had a feeling of dizziness, then the sensation of rising into the air, with dreams of beautiful countries, large cities, high towers, etc., and finally impressions of horrible fear in desperate struggles against ferocious beasts. The effect of the drink is terminated by a strong need of sleep and, on waking, by a heaviness and aching of the head, accompanied sometimes by a general sickness(6).

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4. I Jívaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza, op. cit., page 4.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
6. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 373.

It is during the period of excitation that the iguanchi gives the Jíbaro his advice, his miraculous cures, if the motive of the consulation was a recovery of health, or confides to him the name of the individual responsible for the death by witchcraft of a member of the family. Upon awakening, the Indian descends the hill and communicates to his relatives or associates the answer of the Spirit, and depending on whether it is favorable or not, the proposed war or the proposed expedition is immediately decided or postponed until later (7). One can understand how these superstitions contribute to maintain the state of permanent hostility between tribes.

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7. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 112.

25: Vigna--39 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776

The Religion of the Jíbaro. It is difficult to speak of a religion proper to the Jíbaros, if in this we intend to find concrete manifestations of supernatural ideas, practices, ceremonies or rites. The Jíbaro believes in a Principle of Good, called "YUS"; the origin of this word is possibly encountered in the corresponding Spanish word "DIOS". The Jíbaro does not fear the "YUS" because he is good and does no evil. The Jíbaro also believes in the Principle of Evil, called "Yhuanchi", whom he fears and propitiates in various ways and whom he tries not to molest in order not to provoke an annoyance which often crystallizes into material form.

25: Vigna--39 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 787

The "Yhuanchi" is the principle that informs many manifestations of the domestic and social life of the Jíbaro. Through dreams, provoked by means of a potion of "Natem "Natem" (narcotic of vegetal nature which puts them to sleep for hours and entire days), the Yhuanchi makes known to the Jíbaros the cause of family illness and misfortune; it reveals the name of the supposed enemies, predicts the future, organizes the undertakings, and orders vengeance, etc. In order to put himself in communication with the Yhuanchi, the savage withdraws from the others, fasts strictly, and retires to the forest, oftentimes near a waterfall.

25: Vigna--39 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 755

The Yhuanchi instructs, prepares and gives the necessary science to the "Witches" for the curing of illness and for malefic influences. In order to obtain these favors, the Jíbaro who is initiated in this life must fast rigorously, abstain from certain foods and drinks, and follow a certain strict regimen. The Yhuanchi orders and directs the bellicose reprisals of revenge on an enemy, although this may be merely an assumption as happens in the majority of cases.

25: Vigna--39 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 241

A special Principle, similar to a goddess, presides over the sowing. They direct songs to her in order to propitiate her.

25: Vigna--39 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 761

Another divinity, --if the Principle which informs all the activities of their life according to their concept, can be called divinity--assists and provokes death, when this is not violent and caused by war.

28: Tessman--356 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

They have no god. Karsten, too, says in The Religion etc., p. 125 that they know of no supreme being or creator. The earth-mother Nungüi can hardly be designated as a goddess: she is judging from Karsten's statements, a demon that has been singled out of the row of the other demons.

28: Tessman--360 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

The Chiwaro belief in demons is very pronounced. The demons form the center of their entire religious structure. The demons are called iwandji. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., pp. 126 ff.), all demons seem to have been the souls of evil sorcerers. The greatest demon appears in the shape of an ape, a bear or a doe, and it kills human beings. The Aguarunas told me that this demon was not dangerous but only a prankster. He lives in the forest. Sometimes he beats up adults when they are drunk, but he never kills them. Moreover, he abducts children and tries to lure them into the forest. When children are heard crying, the signal drum is beaten, whereupon the demon lets the child go.

31: Danielsson--89 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 776

"Beliefs in spirits, both benevolent and evil ones, are common and some of these spirits are supposed to be located in plants and animals and are in these forms objects of worship."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[13]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[14] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makančI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pagi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again. 776 787

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[14] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa. 727 774

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: [789] [648]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived. [533]
> Your wife is there calling you from your house [539]
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose. [439] [789]

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam [778]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Juar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. 775 825

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them. 776

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however. 775 825 [776]

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist. 775 821

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 182 181

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsarutama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Piribri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Piribri." Actually, *pirípirí* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125 26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nugui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nëkás wakanI and thus, since he uses the term wakanI alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanI.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[3] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *taračī*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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[787]

likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

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for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. 776
A typical version is as follows: 241
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> I am a woman of Nuŋuí. [533]
> Therefore I sing, [539]
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and 776
treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the 241
garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to re- 824
main at the garden. These are three red stones which appear 782
to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as 823
babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked 787
red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows: 773

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusï* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

773 they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

• 776 Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro
231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[224] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

782 Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Several cases were encountered in which men gave their 756
daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary [583]
bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because
the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the sha-
mans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given [431]
gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual
visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not
specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually [431]
not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking
for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, [574]
and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-
shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more 756
often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly recip- 476
rocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him
to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their
desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be
a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with
the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure ex- 756
clusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man
presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such
a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically,
it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gun-
powder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete
or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing [776]
shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and
supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit
servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of
shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*)
makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with
normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the
relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

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756 icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *amigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or 756 magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and • 776 are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of [755] these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore 756 most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those 776 belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)- 648 speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the 177 Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *payü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *payü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *šuar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *paŋü* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

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The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *paŋü* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *paŋü!* Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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756 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his
• 776 power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical
554 power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to
[431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shot-
[177] guns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspä*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of
776 the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts
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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods. 756 776 554

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual. 756 184 648 554

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3). 756 554

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret 756 [162] [463] [562] [554]

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
701 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucin-
756 ogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakanī* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakanī*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

774 *Arutam wakanī* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular
• 776 kind of vision or apparition. *Wakanī* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakanī* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison,
or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied. 276 787

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.* 276 787 776

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have 787 774 778 [776]

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jivaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587]
of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *tsunki*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mashuli*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*pesi*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411]
the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752]
accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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• 776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *muisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *muisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *muisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *muisak* cannot see out," thereby

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči namper*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

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engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be 775
food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity 775
of abandoned garden and house sites.[12] The Jívaro interpret 776
the presence of such creatures at these old living places as 825
evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*ʃuar ɨwančī*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of [262]
deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history 776
of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human 775
demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When a Jívaro child wanders into the forest and is not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was

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776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampay*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampay* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampay* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampay* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampay* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual sur-
774 vive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
778 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

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776 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
756 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
778 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuṇi.
823

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken
776 *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
276 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.
754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
778

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778 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemä*.
276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
628 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
721 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemä* and secretly ap-
276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754 776 825 [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakanī* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakanī* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [828]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakanī* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakanī* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakanī* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *wakanī* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, sees the
• 776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
[787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have
778 sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which
755 he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their
778 supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the
276 influence of *natemä*, and he sees them as a variety of zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his
787 shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the
776 patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemä*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemä* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[787]

natemā, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemā*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
• 776 regularly, he must drink *natemä* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemä*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
[276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
754 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *paŋü* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemä*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsaŋram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipī* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[776] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available. 178 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunuí and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

"...the wild JIBAROS also use those charms for hunting which consist of small stones and other objects found in the stomachs of animals and birds, calling them yúkka. The Jibaros however, do not seem to attribute the same extraordinary importance to these charms as the Canelos Indians. Likewise, although the Jibaro Indian never fails to paint his face and his body with roucou before starting on a journey through the forest or a voyage on the river, believing that the body-painting will give him strength, he does not do it especially with the idea that it will attract the game. On the other hand, all Indians are imbued with the idea that the bones, and especially the skulls, of animals killed in hunting have the power of attracting the same species of animals. This is the reason why almost in every Jibaro hut one can find a number of skulls and other bones of animals killed in hunting during recent months and even years. The different skulls are connected with each other by a string and the whole row is hung from the ceiling, [168] where the bones are thus kept after being carefully freed from flesh and washed. The feathers and heads or beaks of birds are kept in the same way and for the same purpose. These objects not only serve as charms for continued good luck in hunting, but at the same time are trophies which fill the Indian with pride and show the visitors what a skilled hunter the head of the house is.

Sometimes, when the Jibaro Indian is out hunting and has killed for instance a monkey and eaten it in the forest, he afterwards makes the skull of the animal clean and

suspends it, tied to a vine, between two trees in the neighbourhood of the place where he shot it. The skull is then supposed to draw other monkeys to the same place."

1: Karsten--180 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 226, 777 (1928-29)

"Just as the Indians use misha for hunting, they use such charms also for fishing, consisting of peculiarly shaped stones and other hard objects found in the stomachs of fish caught. A Canelos Indian showed me once such a misha, which he himself had bought at a high price from the Napo Indians. It was a small round coloured stone, in which the water had engraved certain spiral lines and formed in such a way that it was somewhat like a snail. The stone had been swallowed by a bagre and was found in its stomach by the Indians who caught it. The Canelos Indian would not sell the stone to me at any price, believing that it would give him extraordinary luck in fishing the bagre. Such a charm is used by the hook being rubbed with it before it is throw [sic] out in the water. This treatment is believed to draw the fish to the hook.

Charms consisting of the spines and heads of large fishes are also frequently found in the Indian huts together with the skulls and bones of animals killed in hunting. The spines are believed to have the same effect, namely, to attract the fish and to give good luck in fishing."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 777 (1928-29)

"If the slayer infringes these rules the consequences for him will be fatal. He will soon die; he will not be able to kill any more enemies or to celebrate other victory-feasts. Even his nearest relatives will die [308] through sickness or accidents, one after another (1) His domestic animals, instead of increasing and flourishing, will pine away and die. The manioc, plantain, and other domestic plants will dry up and produce no fruits. In all his undertakings he will be unlucky. In one word, the effects of the trophy will be directly contrary to those generally expected from its supernatural power. All this is caused by the spirit of the murdered enemy (wakáni). The revengeful ghost, who takes no rest, follows his slayer everywhere, always looking for an opportunity to kill or harm him, and the latter believes that he meets him especially in dreams. Generally the wakáni meets him in the shape of an Indian armed with a lance, with which he is continually trying to kill him. But the spirit also appears to him in other shapes,

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"1. Every death that takes place within the family of the slayer during the time following the killing of the enemy is set down to the secret operation of the revengeful spirit (wakáni). At a feast where I was present the slayer told me that within his family seven persons had died of mysterious diseases or through accidents during the two years which had elapsed since he killed his enemy. This wakáni, therefore, was considered to have been a particularly bad one."

especially in the shape of a black monkey, a deer, (2) a bear, or some other hairy animal of the forest. This is one of the reasons why the slayer does not, during the critical time, go out wandering in the forest. The wakáni can in many ways threaten his life there. If, for instance, he wanders to the verge of a precipice at the bank of a river, the revengeful demon may take an opportunity to push him over the precipice. He may also cause a tree or a branch to fall upon him in the forest and crush him. If he wears a lance or a knife the spirit may cause his death with these weapons. If he tries to shoot a bird or an animal with blowpipe and poisoned arrows the enemy may cause the arrow to hit the slayer himself. For the same reason he has to be extremely careful in other respects. If, for instance, he has intercourse with his wife or some other woman, it may happen that the wakáni, who is constantly lurking near him, slays him, so that he dies on the spot. Besides, since there is supposed to exist an intimate connection between woman and the plants which she cultivates, the consequence of his having intercourse with his wife will be that the manioc and other fruits, recently planted

"2. The deer, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is the incarnation of a demon (iguanchi), one of the most dangerous animal demons they know. The Jibaros, therefore, never eat the flesh of the deer or even touch it with their hands."

for the feast, will not reach ripeness, but will dry up. If the slayer eats some unsuitable and forbidden food the spirit may again through this food operate against him, causing indigestion and [309] death. On the whole, the slayer must observe the principle to live as retired and hidden a life as possible, for in this way he may more easily escape his supernatural enemy. This is also the reason why he must not take part in religious feasts, or wear body-painting, ear-tubes, necklaces, and other magical ornaments used by those who enter into relation with the spirits, and through which these, as it were, are challenged.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Jibaro warrior conscientiously submits himself to the severe rules imposed upon him by society, and that the feast itself is prepared and celebrated with all the care which custom and tradition require."

2: Stirling--85 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 713, 411, 777

"The blowgun is never used in warfare. The Jivaros say that it was given them for the purpose of obtaining game. To use it against man would bring bad luck. (22)"

"22. Figueroa, writing of the Mainas in 1665, specifically states that the blowgun and poison darts were never used against their human enemies. Skinner, 1805, p. 285."

12: Rivet--362 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
777

The savage encircles his wrist with a bracelet formed by a coil of green snakeskin the symbol of good luck, the cundo (fig. 7-19).

26: Brüning--52 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 531, 777

In the house in Huavico, which at that time was used by a rubber trader, though it had originally belonged to the Indians, I noticed several grotesquely painted black human figures on the frame which connects the main uprights. The Indians explained that this was a preventive measure against worm holes.

26: Brüning--59-60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301, 237, 777

The Indians, while wearing very simple clothes, have a great variety of ornaments, especially the men. In contrast to [60] the cultural life of other countries, it is the Indian male that devotes more time to the adornment of his exterior than the Indian woman. The woman does not have the time for it: she is the working part. I believe that I may divide the ornaments into two categories: the ornaments used in everyday life, and ornaments used in connection with festive occasions only.

Into the first category we may place the bracelets made of the skin of the iguana lizard. The natives cut the skin crosswise so that they obtain rings that are closed and about two centimeters wide. When wetted the skin may be stretched and easily slipped over the hand. Upon drying the bracelet shrinks and cannot slip off the arm. Men and women wear several of these bracelets around the wrist. Even the rubber collectors who live among the Indians wear these bracelets. These bracelets are said to prevent the wearer from becoming tired while working.

27: Bollaert--115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro
116, 727, 777

"In June 1861, Professor Cassola, on his way from Ecuador to Italy, showed me in London, in all probability, the first specimen from the Jívaro country of the peculiarly reduced cutis of the idol head. It was reduced to about one-fourth the natural size, preserving somewhat of the features. All the bone had been removed, only the skin and hair remaining. Of this head Professor Cassola told me, that a party exploring the river Pastasa observed it in a small temple, and at night stole it. It was supposed to be the head of a hostile chief, and was worn in battle as a charm.

A string was attached to the top of the head, so that it could be worn round the neck. Another string was passed through perforations in the lips, and hanging down. The ears had been pierced, and the nostrils were in one and filled with black resin. Professor Owen thought it had been reduced by tanning the skin. It struck me that it might have been shrunk and dried over a fire, on a mould of clay."

lt Karsten--424-425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 778 (1928-29)

"The Indians, in general, have comparatively few objects which are directly connected with their religious beliefs. Effigies or images of the spirits or demons are not made, the latter only being represented in ornamental paintings, and masks are unknown. The Jibaros have one material object of paramount religious significance, the head-trophy or tsantsa, which, as we have seen, is, by the ceremonies of the great victory-feast, changed into a real fetish..... [425]

There are various other fetishes or amulets of minor importance, most of which consist of small stones of peculiar form or colour. A great magical power is ascribed to the crystals or brilliant stones called kaya wincha and námúra used by the sorcerers. These too have been mentioned before (p. 404). I only add that the kaya wincha are also used as prophylactics, especially against chills. The wonder-working stone is put into a small gourd containing juice of tobacco, a conjuration is muttered over it and the medicine is drunk. It is supposed to have the power of making the patient warm inside and of protecting him against chills. Again, the sacred stone of the Earth-mother Nungüi plays an important part in agriculture. It is a small round stone of red or brown colour and has nothing particular in its outward appearance. The Jibaro women who use it at planting the manioc, however, ascribe to it a supernatural origin. It is received during the natema intoxication, in the way I shall describe in the chapter on divination."

2: Stirling--75 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 778

"To understand the motives behind the preparation of tsantsas it is necessary to realize that the tsantsa possesses tsarutama or magical power in much the same manner as did the prepared scalps or the sacred masks of the North American Indians. Properly cared for, they were agents for the good of the possessors. Improperly treated, they were powerful factors for misfortune. Anguasha, the famous head hunter of the Yaupe, explained that the tsantsa was a trophy which indicated that the maker had properly fulfilled the obligation to his lineage in taking blood revenge and therefore possessing it would act for his good fortune as it would please the spirits of his ancestors."

2: Stirling--102-103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 778

"Jivaro men also wear a girdle made from human hair called 'indashi acacho.' Tufts of human hair taken from the head of a courageous Jivaro who has died are attached by means of a resinous gum to a woven cotton tape. These girdles are supposed to possess magical power which transmits to the wearer some of the qualities of the orig-[103]inal owner of the hair. The manufacture of them involves definite taboos and practices on this account. While at work on the girdle the maker accounts the most noteworthy feats accomplished by the original owner of the hair and upon completing his task he holds a small feast, during which he dances while wearing the girdle and sings songs calculated to give him additional strength and courage."

2: Stirling--103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 832

"The women frequently wear on the breast an amulet which they call 'napue.' This consists of a collection of objects which are supposed to be beneficial in producing sexual attraction and in holding the affection of the woman's mate. These objects consist of certain perfumed herbs, manatee teeth, bird bones, and similar miscellaneous objects. While collecting and attaching each object to the napue the woman sings and prays for assistance from each spirit represented in the amulet."

2: Stirling--103 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 825

"Both men and women occasionally wear about the wrists and ankles narrow circlets made from the skin of a small variety of green snake which are supposed to protect the wearer against evil influences in the forest. There are numerous variations to be found among the ornaments worn by both sexes, but as a rule they conform rather closely to the types enumerated above."

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

28: Tessman--360 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 778

Karsten (The Religion etc. pp. 142 ff.) talks about the medicines. One such medicine is the mummified human head (tsantsa); other medicines are shiny stones, the brown stone of the Earth Mother Nungüi, stones and lumps of hair out of the stomachs of animals (hunting medicine), seeds, etc., which are worn as pendants, jaguar teeth for warriors and, finally, the red and black body paint.

30: Franco--141 [5] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 778

The tzhantzha, we have said, fulfills a religious purpose; although its precise meaning is very difficult to interpret. The tzhantzha is a fetish that guarantees abundance, fertility, good fortune of the kindred and tribe, victory over enemies and evil to its owner, his family and friends; it bestows immortality, and serves as oracle to whomever interrogates it drinking the 'natema', an overstimulating and dream-producing vegetal liquor. If in repeated instances it fails in its power, the hair is shaved off and the head is thrown in the forest or river.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 183 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nugul, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *mastak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *ochts* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [194] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl [187] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [161] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is for- [154] tunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [161] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [162] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [128] extra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [350] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [185] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [198] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander [185] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [186] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.* 774 787 [825]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him. 774 778 [577] [761] [157] [191]

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer. 774 [152] [721] [562]

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forests as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."* The departing arutam souls reportedly 726 774 [821]

726 774 821 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the 726 774 761 power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain [778] enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home [787] and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

774 778 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the [183] replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a [921] new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[561] Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person 726 who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from 774 him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again. [796] [787]

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[9] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa. [727] [714]

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: [789] [648]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

[533] [539]

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose. [439] [789]

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam [798]

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[789] soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is
[789] directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the
[789] tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to
[789] benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the
[789] power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordi-
[535] narily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the
[535] muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker,
[535] is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more success-
[535] ful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of
[231] which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

[794] Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The
[825] tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a
muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and
therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the
same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its
[189] former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual
precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but
generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

[794] The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nekás wakení, is born at the same
moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female.
[204] The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's
blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is
[183] passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest
to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

[795] When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form,
eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was
born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the
deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the
living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise
dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to
their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their
household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors
were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in
the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated
in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true
soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry.
Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food
[825] to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals"
which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and
mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of per-
petual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the
kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate
of perpetual starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as a vision quest, a guardian spirit, several soul and multiple souls, a variety of generalized ancestor worship, reincarnation, soul-loss, soul-capture, transhumanistic spirit possession, and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and drinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro people. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "arutawa" of Karsten (1935:648-51) and the "tarawawa" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word [illegible] in the Jívaro language means 'old'; as a religious term arutawa may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and arutá does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient spectre." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:648). Although Karsten (1935:648-50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "tarawawa" arutam and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tarawawa" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural beings or life or other supernatural psychic beings.

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g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme) 194

p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *r*; palatized when following *t* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)

r Spanish *r*

s Spanish *s*

t English *ch*

ts English *ts* in *cats*

t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant, palatized when following *t* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)

w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *h*)

y Spanish *y*

Unusual vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

121

* A more detailed pronunciation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

128

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127

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

194

* Arutam may also be pronounced *arutam*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jívaro words. See Turner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jívaro. [194]

183

* Jívaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even schoolboys raised in nearby boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality. [184]

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of datura (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco juice. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from smoke in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence. [196]

[187]

* Dreams in the forbidden arutam which only wounded shamans, when waking.

[178]

* Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a rare super arutam, *ewang*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made. [126]

* The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jívaro dwelling there temporarily. 126

* Visitors to the Jívaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jívaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to demonstrate his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture. [191] [192]

* Shuash may be alternatively pronounced *suasha*. 114

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's mouth is forced to emerge through the anus. Then the murderer begins to reach home before the emerging soul can catch him. [195]

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa, accompanying the tsantsa. I wish to emphasize that any contradiction between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material. 204 115 114

* The Jívaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens. 215 [241]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemā* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemā* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

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276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemä* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

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578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yafi*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yafi*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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554 While the concept of the *untsi* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
• 778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untsi* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *untsi*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jivaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

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The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *uwai*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakaram*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[8] 701 554 774 778

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his. 701 721 628 774 778 554

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece). 701 554 [114] [292]

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723
that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon 701
arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and 721
food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also [574]
honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, [576]
at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. [273]
However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to [278]
be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even [578]
though the woman serving it dips her hand into the [713]
bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard
demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though,
that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence
in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors [778] •
such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through [558]
killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular
kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance
to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate prob- [602]
ably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he [572]
could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or
friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations 701
for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance 725
is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. 726
Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition [593]
with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778 •
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and [761]
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
901 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucin-
756 ogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their
achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular
776 kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison,
• 778 or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778 •
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each pacem with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tsu, tsu, tsu,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied. 276 787

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.* 276 787 776

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have 787 774 778 [776]

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
• 778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
778 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
721 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
774 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. 774
As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his 778
arutam leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a 721
wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[6] The [821]
departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to [761]
kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

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774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also
• 778 serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
[754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jívaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
[721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interper-
721 sonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natemá*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
721

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 774

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*. 765 789

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *wainak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *wainak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: 727 776 796 [648] [539]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *wainak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose. 765 439 789 789

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *wainak* as well as containing it. As 774 778 765 727 796

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774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *nuniak* omits power, but it
• 778 is believed that the *nuniak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *nuniak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *nuniak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huara* inter-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighbor-hood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *huasai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *nuniak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampay*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampay* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampay* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampay* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampay* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] outside the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of rain.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
774 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam*
• 778 soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

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imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 778 771

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *nuisak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *nuisak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jívaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*nuyurá*), normally of an epidemic nature, 753 [164]

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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemá*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemá* drink among the 756
Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemá*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsunṇi, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm leaves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nawmá*) which are [778]

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776 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
756 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
• 778 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsupi.
823

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jivaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natema*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are
776 contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
276 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natema*. The Jivaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he cures his *tsentsak*
778

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to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" 754
shaman (*tsewak*, or *pakmil wasilin*). If, on the other hand, 756
the novice can control his impulse and swallow this first 798 •
tsewak, he will become a curing shaman (*pusar wasilin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsewak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsewak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual [934]
intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsewak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsewak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tsuli*, a special kind of *tsewak*. Different types of *tsewak* are used to cause different [755]
kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jivaro concepts, each *tsewak* has a natural 778
and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is 276
that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking 787
the drug *natema*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

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• 778 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemá*.
276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
628 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
721 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemá* and secretly ap-
276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemā*, sees the
776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
[787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemā*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemũ*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemũ*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

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he alerts his *tsentsak* by whistling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing. A shaman's curing songs tend to be self-encouraging exhortations such as the following:

I, I, I, I, I,
I, I, I, I.
I am like Tsugi.[14]
I am like Tsugi.
When I drink *natemá*
All my body becomes cold.
And I easily suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds,
And thus I have power.
I drank *natemá*.
I drank enough to have power.
All my body is cold.
Therefore I have power to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

There is a very large body of water.
Thus I am like a great body of water.
I have a crown, but of gold,
Brilliant.[15]
How beautiful it appears
When I drink *natemá*.
Therefore it is easy to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds.
Therefore I cure easily.
I have the *tsentsak* of *natemá*.
I am seated, but I am very cold
And there are many breezes.[16]
I, I, I, I.

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My *tsentsak* are like birds
And the wings and bodies are dreams.
With these I am now ready.
My *tsentsak* are sitting all over me[17]
And as I become cold
I shall have power.
I can easily suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am like some *pajé* of the Río Napo.[18]
Therefore I have power to suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

Wait, wait a moment.
Now I am going to become dizzy.
I will see where I am intoxicated.

When he is ready to suck, the shaman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak*, it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak*. He then "vomits" out this object and dis-

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755 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have
778 sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which
755 he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their
778 supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the
276 influence of *natemi*, and he sees them as a variety of
787 zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his
776 shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemi*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemi* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

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natemū, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemū*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

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755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
• 778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
776 regularly, he must drink *natemä* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemä*, the curing
787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
[276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in
754 power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *payü* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemä*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

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bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this 754
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natemá. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a be-
witcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this
weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by
his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some
other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity
usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether
anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors
so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain."
Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an
informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them.
Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead,
although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned
in the normal course of events, family members will return
when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm
thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position.
An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and
the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is bur-
ied in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

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and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body 766
is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A 764
palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his comb, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is [773]
interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her 764
snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging 765
above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and 774
a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and [262]
beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakani*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *uwi* with renown as 769
a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he 774
wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, [701]
which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is en- 766
tombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning 774

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766 against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned
779 house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is
• [778] erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each
779 about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each
823 night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts
[276] the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

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578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the
[684] two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not
762 surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[628] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather sud-
[682] denly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[774] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently
[778] surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[593] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes,
[684] when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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as a "recruiter" to visit other neighborhoods to invite men to join the expedition. The recruiter personally visits every house where he thinks he may find a willing participant. When he arrives in a new neighborhood, he first visits the house of a known friendly relative. The latter acts as his protector and takes him to visit every likely household in the locality. Then, if there are adjacent neighborhoods where the relative has a friendly kinsman but the recruiter does not, the relative may send a son along with him to protect and introduce him to potential recruits. In this manner, a recruiter can canvass a dozen neighborhoods, although generally the number is only half that many. When the recruiter reaches the most distant neighborhood and prepares to return home, he sends a new recruit ahead on the return trail to notify the people of the next neighborhood to prepare for the arrival of the war party. The men of the next neighborhood thus have time to get ready to leave on the expedition, and also the women can prepare food and beer for the arriving group. The other neighborhoods along the route are similarly notified as the expedition progresses. Finally, all members of the war party, normally numbering about thirty or forty, arrive at the house of the *wea*. As each enters the house, he engages in a ritualistic shouting chant (*enermartin*) with the *wea*. During the chanting each man stamps back and forth in turn, thrusting his shotgun in rhythm, as though threatening the other speaker. This chant, which primarily focuses on establishing the identity and demonstrating the supernatural power of the speakers, is also used when complete strangers happen to encounter one another on a trail.[2]

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The party may spend two to four days at the house, preparing rations for the trail. On the day of departure, they wake a few hours before dawn, form two lines and perform the chant simultaneously until close to daybreak. Then

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727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsanram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
• 778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *ĉinĉipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[776] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *pani*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kawai* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kawai* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *muisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

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532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight
765 aperture which may remain.

727 A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
778 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa* until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
[796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kwaiai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of *chonta* palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *tsua*'s
796 house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young man is sent to advise the *tsua* that "now we are coming with
[554] plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuars.
[342] The *tsua* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*nuaqpi*) which is held at the newly built house of the *tsua*.

The *tsua* also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *tsua*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *tsua* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *tsua*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jivaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

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Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jivaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsamik*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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578 765 796 [774] [778] [554] [624] [562] 765 796 727 [619] [571] [181] [533] [535] [539]

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level. 178 756 554

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available. 178 756 554 648 [721] [484]

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge. 177 178 756 554 648 [776] [775]

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc- 178 774 778

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
• 778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
{276} become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
{824} uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
{756} have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
{755} Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tuŋurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tarači*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[787]

likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

[782]
[782]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusï* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

773 they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro
231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[224] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

782 Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824

Don't suck the blood of my husband [533]
And also don't suck the blood of my daughter. [539]
When you want to suck blood,
Suck the blood of my enemies.
When my husband comes,
He will look very beautiful and very clear.
But when our enemies come,
They will come very pale
And in the form of demons.[4]
And you will know
Who will die,
Who will die.
And when they enter this garden,
They will have their blood sucked.
All, all I can call,
Even the plantain itself.
I am a woman of Nunui.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors 824
to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc [789]
in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of
the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in [861]
telling children why they should not play in the garden. [869]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsanram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own
[301] woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has
[824] no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[776] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *panı*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

1: Karsten--212-213 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 783 (1928-29)

"If a woman becomes a widow she cannot marry again at will but is bound by certain restrictions. First and foremost, owing to the close relationship assumed between brothers, she is believed naturally to belong to the eldest brother of her deceased husband, who is bound to marry her. If he had no brothers she may marry another man, generally in some way related to her former husband, but not at once. The prohibition of her remarriage when or with whom she likes is due to the superstitious ideas mentioned in the last chapter. Generally the widow has to wait for one year before she can marry again, or until the hair of her head which at the death of her husband was cut short, has again grown long. Besides this, she has to pass through a certain purificatory ceremony with fire. The widow has to sit down on a seat, her head is covered with a cloth, and a termite nest is set on fire, the smoke of which she has to receive in her face until she is nearly suffocated. This smoking ceremony is believed to purify her from the taboo attaching to her after the death of her husband and she can now remarry. If the woman marries before the year has elapsed, or does not pass through the purification ceremony just mentioned, the consequence may be that the new [213] husband will soon die and that the child she gives birth to will be a monster. The demon operating in this case is again the spirit or soul of the dead husband, who jealously watches his former wife. Among the Jibaros therefore untimely marriages of widows are as strictly prohibited as marriages between near relatives."

"Immediately after their return the victor or victors have to pass through the purification procedure, connected with a small feast, which the Jibaros call Numbuimártinyu (from númba, blood, and mártinyu, to paint, to coat), the principal ceremony of which consists in their legs being coated with hen's blood. If the victors are many, this ceremony is first performed with the one who cut off the head of the enemy, and thereafter in turns with each of those who took part in the killing. Before the victors, who travel slowly and stop at various houses on the way, arrive home, a message has been sent that the warriors are coming, that a head has been captured, and that preparations for the feast Numbuimártinyu shall begin at once. This feast therefore always has a more or less improvised character.

The first slayer stops in the house of some relations in the neighbourhood of his home until the trophy is definitely prepared. It is not until then that his solemn entrance into his own house can take place. He is in the dress of a penitent, has his hair untied, and wears no body-painting or other ornaments. At his side stands the chief or some other old warrior, who will lead the ceremonies at the following feasts and in this capacity is called whuéa. Behind these two men the rest of the warriors arrange themselves in a row. The whuéa first gives the slayer juice of tobacco through the nose. Thereafter the latter disengages the trophy from the cloth in which it has been wrapped up and with the aid of the old man hangs it round his neck, over the breast. Followed

by the rest of the men, he now slowly and ceremoniously, and continually smoothing the hair of the trophy with the hand, proceeds toward the house, stopping outside the door. From within all the women come to meet him, arranged in a row and holding each other by the hands, all in festive dresses and with rattles of snail's shells round the cinctures. On each side of the women the men arrange themselves in two rows [302]inside the house. The introductory dance with the trophy which is called Ihiámbrama, and which is performed by the victor together with the women, now takes place. From among the women two step forth who have been standing at the head of the rest. Those are the wife and daughter of the victor. For the following dance the daughter grasps him from behind at the cincture with both hands; the wife gives him her hand, standing at the head of the other women. The slayer again seizes the tsantsa with the right hand, holding it up with the arm stretched out; with the left he grasps the hand of his wife. All now pass, dancing or hopping sideways, into the interior of the house, to the accompaniment of drums and the rattles of the women, and immediately return to the entrance. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice. Each time the slayer, led by the women, returns to the entrance of the house. The aim of this dance is to paralyze the danger threatening the victor from the spirit of the murdered enemy at the first entrance into the house, which is regarded as particularly critical (Pl. XXVIII)."

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"The slayer now takes off the tsantsa and the latter is tied to a chonta lance which is fixed in the ground close to the door on the inner side. The lance must be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, to which the Indians ascribe a supernatural power. Another kind of lance, for instance one having an iron point, would not do. In this way the tsantsa is kept at the following feasts also during the time it is not needed for the ceremonies. The trophy being tied to the chonta lance, the spirit of the enemy attached to it is brought into subjection and kept at bay.

The whuéa lays his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer and takes him round in the house, as if to manifest that he can now move about there without danger.

Meanwhile, close to the lance with the tsantsa tied to it, two small vessels have been placed. One is a piece of an old broken clay pot (hakáchi) containing a little hen's blood, the other an ordinary small pot with a solution of genipa (sua). These three objects, the lance with the trophy tied to it, the piece of the clay pot containing hen's blood, and the small pot with genipa, seem to be sacred; no unauthorized person may touch them or even come near them.

If among the warriors who took part in the killing of the enemy two or more are from the same house, being for instance two brothers or a father with his sons, a special broken clay vessel with hen's blood and a special small pot with genipa must be placed at the lance for each of them. [303] The ceremony Numbuimártinyu must thus be performed

separately with each slayer from the same house.

The 'washing of the blood' now takes place. The slayer takes his seat upon a small round bench close to the vessel with the hen's blood and the whuéa places himself at his side. Around them the women form a semicircle, having their rattles round the cincture as before. They are led by an old woman, called oháha, who at the feasts directs all those ceremonies at which the women play the main part. The whuéa first gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the hand, brings it down to the vessel containing the hen's blood, lets him dip the index finger into it, and subsequently with the blood draw a broad line 2 or 3 inches in length along the front of one of his legs, from below upward. Thereafter the slayer, with the aid of the whuéa, applies a similar stroke with the blood to his other leg. While this is being done the women, led by the oháha, dance in a ring around them, singing a sort of conjuration, which mainly consists of the following phrase:

Whuéa heingi ikaski numbimarmai ihámbratinyu; that is, 'The whuéa, together with the oháha (ikaski), paint you with blood to start the fasting.'

As we shall see, the ceremony Numbuimártinyu introduces a time of very strict fasting for the slayer.

The slayer now in his turn does the whuéa the same service, drawing with his index finger two streaks with the hen's blood upon both his legs.

The blood-painting ceremony having been finished, the piece of broken clay vessel, together with the blood left in it, is immediately thrown away into the forest. It is an impure and harmful substance which need no longer be kept.

The whuéa asks the wife of the slayer for water, and she brings it in a clay dish (pinnga). The old man takes a little water from the dish with his hand and puts it upon the head of the slayer. Thereupon he does the same with the wife and daughter of the slayer, putting with his hand a little water upon their heads. All three are subsequently sent down to the river to bathe.

That even the wife and the daughter of the slayer have to pass through this purification procedure and afterwards also have to take part in various other ceremonies, is partly due to the close relationship existing between them and the slayer, but especially to the role they have played at the dance Ihiámbrama. By touching the still blood-stained hands and clothes of the slayer they have likewise been polluted by the blood of the murdered enemy, are consequently exposed to danger from the [304] revengeful spirit, and have to be purified from the blood and observe other rules of precaution. From this moment up to the time for the celebration of the final great victory feast they have thus to fast in the same way as the slayer himself, assisting at the said feast

again at the dance Ihiámbrama, which then will be repeated.

If the slayer has two wives they generally assist at the dance mentioned. If he is quite a young man, who has not yet married, it is considered obligatory that he should look for a bride for the feast. The part of the other woman in this case is played by some near female relative of his.

In the river the slayer carefully washes his whole body, as well as his clothing, soiled with blood in the battle, and lastly his weapons, the still bloody lance and knife. Together with his wife and daughter, who have also washed themselves, he then returns to the house.

On the way they break off some twigs of guayusa (Ilex sp.), called weisa by the Jibaros, a tree the leaves of which are used for the preparation of an aromatic and tonic drink, with which the Jibaros wash their mouths every morning. This drink has now to be prepared. The slayer as well as his wife and daughter together grasp a small clay pot, called yukúnda, pour water into it from a larger vessel, and together place it on the fire. As soon as the drink has boiled the whuéa takes a little of it in a small gourd, mutters an incantation over it, and passes it to the slayer who washes his mouth with it without swallowing much of it. Thereafter the whuéa in the same way gives of the drink to the wife and the daughter of the slayer, who likewise wash their mouths with it. The small clay pot is then taken off the fire and laid aside. The three persons are

now properly purified for breaking the fast.

The wife of the slayer goes to fetch the edible top of a small palm which the Jibaros call tingimi, which is put on the fire to be roasted, exactly on the same place where the guayusa pot lay. At another fire in the house beans have before been cooked, and at a third manioc, afterwards mashed, a dish called nauma. As soon as the palm top is sufficiently roasted the women move over to this fire, take a dish with beans, and another dish with boiled manioc (nauma). The three principal persons, the slayer himself and his wife and daughter, now have to break the fast after the 'washing of the blood.' The whuea at first gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose. Then with two fingers he takes a little of the palm top (tingimi), spits on the ground, mutters an incantation over it and puts it directly into the mouth of the slayer, who [305] swallows it. Then with two fingers he takes a few beans, and lastly also a small piece of boiled manioc together with a little salt and a little pimiento or Indian pepper, and gives them to the slayer with the same ceremony. Exactly the same action is repeated with his wife and his daughter, each of whom likewise receives a little of the dishes mentioned. The vessels with the food are subsequently carried away by the other women.

Meanwhile food has also been cooked for the guests in the women's department of the house. This food consists essentially of boiled chicken. If there are swine in the house, one is also slaughtered and prepared, but according to old tradition boiled chicken is

the main dish at the feast Numbuimártinyu.

A general banquet now commences, at which the guests eat chicken and manioc, whereas the slayer, his wife, and daughter eat the palm top tingimi, beans, and manioc.

After the banquet the last ceremony takes place, which consists in the slayer being painted with genipa (sua). The slayer seats himself on a bench in front of the pot containing the black dye, and the whuéa places himself at his side, grasps his hand, makes him dip his index finger in the solution and apply a broad stroke with it over the mouth so that both lips are painted black. Thereafter the old man draws a similar black stroke over his own mouth. The women simultaneously dance around the two men, singing an incantation. The pot containing the genipa is now carried away and kept.

The whuéa finally addresses the slayer in a sort of speech wherein he points out that he himself has now fulfilled his mission to wash off the blood from the slayer, but that the latter has now to prepare himself for the celebration of the final great victory feast. He has to breed swine and fowls to be slaughtered at the feast; he must plant fields of manioc and plantain; he must in his life carefully observe certain rules of abstinence from eating certain kinds of food, etc.

When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock in the evening, a general dance commences, which is characteristic of this feast and is called Hantsemáta. This dance will be described later in connection with the Tsantsa-feast proper. The slayer himself takes

part in the dance with the trophy hanging on his back. It has to be continued during the whole night until dawn. That night no one in the house is allowed to sleep and especially not the slayer himself.

The aim of the feast Numbuimártinyu, as already mentioned, is to [306] purify the slayer from the blood which is attached to him after the killing of the enemy, and to protect him against the spirit of the latter, who is thirsting for revenge. The soul of the enemy is particularly supposed to be present in the blood. How this purification can be brought about with the two strokes of blood applied to the legs of the slayer, is something the Jibaros can not explain more closely. Nor can they explain why hen's blood must necessarily be used for this procedure, or why that blood must be kept in an old, broken clay pot. 'Our ancestors have since times immemorial proceeded in this way,' an old Jibaro, whom I asked about the custom, answered me, 'and we have to keep up and follow their customs'. That a magical power and supernaturally purifying effects are ascribed to the hen's blood is, however, clear. The same purifying effects, in a magical or religious sense of the word, are ascribed to the bath in the river and to the washing of the mouth with guayusa, the object of the latter ceremony especially being to favourably prepare the slayer for the breaking of the fast. Again, the painting with the genipa is a direct protection against the spirit of the enemy. Body-painting among the Indians nearly always serves magical ends, being regarded as a protection against disease and witchcraft, and this is especially the case with the black painting. According

to the ideas of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians there is a demon (wakáni, supai) in the black genipa paint, and when the Indian paints his body or face black this is usually a sign that he is either going to kill an enemy or has already killed one. As we shall see, painting with genipa also takes place at the feast Suamártinyu and at the final great victory feast.

In regard to the question why the hen's blood used at the purification ought to be kept in an old broken clay vessel (hakáchi), it may be mentioned that the Jibaros make use of broken clay pots at certain cathartic rites, when they try to get rid of something that is impure, horrible, and dangerous. Since the hen's blood which has purified the slayer is afterwards impure and harmful matter and accordingly is thrown away at once, it is consonant with ritualistic principles that it should be kept in a useless vessel, worthy of being thrown away, like the piece of a broken clay pot. It seems to be due to similar considerations that the Jibaros use a hakáchi for heating the sand with which the trophy is reduced at the preparation.

Again, if one asks what ideas underlie the choice of the slayer's food--palm top, beans, mashed manioc, etc.--the Indians only give the explanation that he ought to eat such light kinds of food that remain in [307] his stomach and which he does not run the risk of throwing up, which evidently would be regarded as dangerous for him. Their idea is, no doubt, that a very indigestible or irritating food could become a means through

which the invisible, supernatural enemy of the slayer-- the spirit of the killed enemy-- could get an opportunity to harm him, perhaps cause his death. That the guests mainly eat chicken at the feast is probably only due to the fact that Numbuimártinyu is an improvised feast, and that, therefore, such kinds of food is given them as is most easy to procure."

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"It may be observed that the practices and rites of the feast Numbuimártinyu and the rules observed afterwards may vary in certain details among different tribes. Thus among the Jibaros of the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians the diet of the slayer after the 'washing of the blood' consists mainly of the fruit and the leaves of the plant mandi (called sangu by the Jibaros). For a whole year the slayer has to abstain from cohabiting with his wife. The lance among these Indians is not washed at the ceremonial bath in the river, but the point of it is roasted in the fire so that the blood is dried or burned.

The lance or the rifle with which an enemy has been killed is always looked upon with superstitious fear by the Indians, and is never again used in hunting. If, for instance, a wild hog is killed with such a lance or rifle, the flesh of the animal is supposed to get the same taste as human flesh, and would not therefore be eaten by anybody. The Jibaro warrior is therefore anxious to exchange as soon as possible the lance with which he has killed an enemy. The rifle he generally keeps, but no longer uses it in hunting, only in wars.

Immediately after the feast Numbuimártinyu the slayer repairs to a natural waterfall in the forest (paccha or sasa), situated at a distance from his home, and takes some baths to further purify himself. He remains here alone for three days, fasting and taking tobacco water, sleeping at night in a small shelter and paying particular attention to his dreams. After the lapse of the three days he returns to his home, but

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

passes the first two nights not in his house but in a small shelter made on the bank of the river. Thereafter he can sleep in his house, not with his wife, however, but in the ante-room or men's department of the house."

1: Karsten--314-315 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"After the feast Suamártinyu the slayer undertakes a short journey, just as he did after he had 'washed off the blood'. Before he can make use of the greater liberty with regard to his mode of life which is conceded to him after the said feast, it is considered necessary that the black painting applied to his body at the feast shall have completely disappeared. The black dye prepared of the fruit of the Genipa americana, owing to its richness in tannin, is very astringent, and in spite of much washing remains for four or five days. The slayer as usual retires to the forest, staying in the neighbourhood of a sasa, where he bathes repeatedly and sleeps at night in a small shelter made close by. After the lapse of some days, when there are no traces left on his body of the painting, [315] he returns to his home, where he, in the main, resumes his former normal life, the only exception being the fasting which he is still bound to observe."

25: Vigna--41 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 527, 783

In their fiestas, --they have solemn fiestas, periods of domestic events and of initiation - before the rites and dances begin, the chief, if he has some crime to expiate, must purify himself, taking infusions of tobacco and other herbs.

1: Karsten--105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"The work of dyeing has to be done with great care lest the yarn be spoiled or fail to assume the colour intended. The Jibaro women therefore have to fast strictly on the day when they are engaged in this work. Thus, it is believed, the dye will stick fast to the yarn and remain unchanged for any length of time."

1: Karsten--108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 784 (1928-29)

"A peculiarity of the Jibaros, which is of great psychological interest, is the idea that when a person makes an object which is considered of special importance he must fast or restrict his diet in some way lest the work turn out badly. For instance, when a Jibaro Indian makes a lance, he does not diet because this work does not need particular care and seldom fails, but it is otherwise when he has to make a shield or a blowgun. Since these objects may easily get spoiled through some carelessness or lack of skill, the Indians strictly observe certain rules in making them. The same holds true in regard to certain other wooden objects, for instance the great signal drum and the canoes, which have to be made with special care. The Indians are of opinion that their own physical condition at the time when the object is being made will in some mysterious way be reflected in and exert influence upon the quality of that object which will turn out good or bad accordingly. In dealing for example with the agriculture and the social customs of the Indians we shall find numerous instances which illustrate this peculiar, primitive view."

1: Karsten--110 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"Since there is always the danger that the drum may not turn out sonorous enough, it is considered necessary that the Indian who makes it should diet for several days and observe other rules of abstinence. If, for instance, he drinks manioc-beer (nihamańchi) in the quantities normally consumed by a Jibaro Indian every day, the drum will be dull and not sonorous. His stomach must be empty, like an empty barrel. Similarly he must abstain from cohabiting with his wife during these days, for otherwise, it is believed, the drum will burst."

"For canoe-making only certain big trees with a straight stem can be used, and of these the cedar is the most sought after. The felling of the huge tree and the excavation of the stem was tedious work before the Indian had the iron axe and knife, and was chiefly carried out by means of stone axes and fire. The Indians still commonly use fire in digging out the stem after it is dry, but great care is necessary lest the edges should become too thin and the vessel burst. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians therefore consider it necessary that the men taking part in the work should restrict their diet and observe sexual abstinence. During the days that they are engaged in felling the tree they can take nothing but roasted green plantains and tobacco water. Manioc-beer, which in normal cases serves the Indians both as food and drink, they are forbidden to consume; otherwise, it is feared, the stem will burst. Afterwards, when the men are engaged in digging it out, they are not only forbidden to have intercourse with their wives, but no woman is allowed to come near the place where they are working; if they do come near, the canoe will burst and become useless.

Besides this, the Jibaros, at any rate the tribes of the Upano, practise the following custom when the canoe is ready for use. When the vessel has to be taken down to the river, the Indians first only do it 'in play', that is, they pretend to do it and go down to the river behaving the whole time as if they were dragging the canoe. When the vessel is really taken down, the women tie a rope to the stem and drag the canoe by it,

calling in the same way as when they are calling their swine. This,[113] according to the Indians, is done 'in order that the canoe may not break'. At the same time the men walk on each side of the canoe striking incessantly on the ground with lances and sticks 'in order to prevent the anaconda (pangi) from upsetting the canoe'. This rite of course has reference to the future use of the canoe. If a canoe is upset in the cataracts of the river, the Indians generally ascribe this accident to the powerful demon living in the river, the great water boa or anaconda."

1: Karsten--119-120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258, 784 (1928-29)

"The obtaining of the salt is a real ceremony. Great care is considered necessary, since there is always the danger that the clay pots in which the salt water is boiled may burst. A number of clay pots are arranged in a long row, placed on fires made with chonta wood; another kind of wood would not do. Since the salt is produced by [120] allowing the water to evaporate gradually, it must be boiled at a slow fire, and as the water in the pots dries up they must again be filled. The pots, however, cannot be filled except by a man who is specially qualified for this work: it is an old experienced man who has prepared or obtained salt before and is considered to have a 'steady hand'. He must fast for the whole timethat the boiling goes on, for if he filled his stomach with food or manioc-beer the pots would burst and the salt be spoiled. The same would happen, according to belief of the Indians, if an inexperienced man filled the pots. Other men may carry the salt water from the tube placed in the spring, but the old man must pour it into the pots. The boiling begins at five o'clock in the morning and is continued without interruption the whole day and the following night until dawn. Then all the pots should to be full of salt and the boiling is finished."

1; Karsten--120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 784, 752 (1928-29)

"A full-grown Jibaro man has a special reason for avoiding salt. Salt is regarded as an antidote against arrow-poison and the Jibaros therefore are of opinion that if a man eats salt, the arrow-poison he uses in hunting will become useless. Children, on the other hand, have a special liking for salt, and when they get it, they may be seen eating salt with pleasure just as children among civilized peoples eat sugar."

1: Karsten--157 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"Great care is considered particularly necessary when the channel is bored in the 'gun', which takes eight to ten days. It is especially prescribed that during these days the maker of the blowgun must not cohabit with his wife, lest the channel of the blowgun become crooked."

1: Karsten--159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 278, 784, 411 (1928-29)

"All Indians seem to observe the rule never to use poisoned arrows against snakes, vultures, and other similar animals, which are considered unfit for food and concerning which they have certain superstitious ideas. The arrow-poison in that case would lose its efficacy entirely. Similarly the idea seems common to all Indians, that the blowgun and poisoned arrows cannot be used in war. The arrow-poison with which a human enemy has been killed, it is believed, can no longer be used to kill an edible animal; in this respect the arrow-poison resembles lances and rifles. If an enemy has once been killed with such a weapon, it can no longer be used in hunting. A wild hog, for instance, if killed with such a lance or rifle, would have the same taste as human flesh and would not be eaten by anybody. The Jibaros therefore exchange the lances they have used in war as soon as possible. The Indians told me that in former times they used their blowguns and poisoned arrows in war, but the same rule was valid in regard to them as to the lances and guns, namely, that afterwards they could only be again used in war, never for killing game, since the same weapon cannot be used for both purposes."

1: Karsten--170 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch."

1: Karsten--170 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die."

"The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house. Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due

to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (tú̀nchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them."

1: Karsten--191-192 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 784 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the 'tobacco feast' require as a rule two or three years. This is due to the fact that they mainly consist in breeding domestic animals, swine and hens, and in making new plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruit. The small pigs must grow big and fat, and the fields must be fully developed, fruitful, and in a flourishing state before the feast can take place.

During the two years of preparation the girl has to diet, being subject to certain restrictions in regard to her food. The rules of diet are the following:--she must not drink manioc-beer (nihamánchi), she is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, i.e. the flesh of the most important domestic animals, she must likewise abstain from eating the flesh of the wild hog (unta pakki), of any kind of monkey, and of those big birds of the forest which the Jibaros mostly hunt. On the other hand, she is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi), the rodent agouti (kayuka), and quite small birds of the kind the Jibaros hunt with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows. Of large fish she can eat the one called by the Jibaros wámbi, a white fish with a red tail and fins, but is forbidden to eat the smaller white fish kánga (in Spanish bocachico), the most common fish in the South American rivers. She is also allowed to eat sardines (chumakai) and certain other small fish called sháchma. With regard to vegetables, her food consists mainly of cooked and mashed manioc, called nauma, of beans and maize, and of a dish prepared of the leaves of a wild plant which the Jibaros call épo.

Not only the young woman herself, but also her future husband must observe the above rules of diet because of the intimate relation which exists between husband and wife.

The swine and the chickens are the principal domestic animals upon which the spirit of tobacco, conjured during the coming feast, will exercise its favourable influence, making them numerous and fat. [192] Precisely because the power of the tobacco is in a mysterious way active in the swine and the chickens, the woman must, during the critical period, abstain from eating the flesh of these animals, lest the tobacco should prove harmful to her. In infringing these rules of diet, therefore, she would expose herself to danger, and the tobacco might prove useless, or rather harmful, even with regard to the animals, so that, instead of increasing, they would pine away and die. The flesh of the wild hog the woman is forbidden to eat because of its great similarity to the domestic swine. Since during the period in question she is supposed to be in a delicate condition, she must wholly avoid eating all animals in which--according to the idea of the Indians--evil spirits could possibly be incarnate, such as monkeys and many big birds of the forest. On the other hand, she may eat all animals regarding which no superstitious ideas are held, such as the peccary and the agouti and, among fish, the sardine.

The prohibition of the fish kánga to the woman is due to causes connected with the

mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to their tradition, all animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes have in ancient times been men, that is, Jibaros. In that remote antiquity they also used to wage war upon each other, to make reduced trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, and to hold victory feasts, just as the Jibaros do still. Then in a fight the fish kánga was killed by one of his enemies, who was later changed into a bird, the umbrella-bird, ungúmi who made a trophy of his head. Therefore the mouth of the fish kánga is still very much like the reduced mouth of a human trophy (tsantsa), and this is the reason why a woman preparing for a tobacco feast must abstain from eating that fish. She would otherwise come into intimate contact with the angry spirit of a killed Indian.

First of all, however, the tobacco spirit will exert a favourable influence upon the crops, making the plantations grow rapidly and bear fruit abundantly (áha pamboártinyu). The rules of diet mentioned above have also special reference to the agricultural preparations for the feast. If the woman infringes these rules, if she does not fast carefully, the whole tobacco feast will prove a failure; the spirit of the plant will not promote the growth of the fields and make them fruitful, but will bring about the very contrary result. Every Jibaro woman who prepares for a tobacco feast is therefore anxious to observe, as strictly as possible, the rules in regard to fasting which custom prescribes for her."

1: Karsten--216-217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 834, 784 (1928-29)

"A married Jibaro man not only abstains from cohabiting with his [217] wife for instance when he is preparing his arrow-poison or making a shield or blowgun, after he has planted the narcotics natéma or maikoa, and when he is preparing for a great feast, but also on several other occasions. Thus at an advanced stage of pregnancy he generally abstains from cohabiting with his wife, lest the still unborn child may thereby be harmed. When the child is born he likewise abstains from sleeping with the mother for some time--in most cases, I believe, as long as the child is suckled--nor can he have sexual relations with any other woman. This would have harmful effects upon the newborn child so that it might die. The father's continence in this case is closely connected with the rules of diet he has to observe for some time after his child is born, and which will be described in the next chapter. Similarly, as we shall soon see, a Jibaro has strictly to observe sexual abstinence for a long time after he has killed an enemy, and for some days after a death has occurred. A Canelos Indian likewise has to observe sexual abstinence on many occasions, among other things during the wedding-night itself, as we have just seen."

1: Karsten--224 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 843, 784 (1928-29)

"When a new member is expected in a family this is an important incident which is connected with many interesting ceremonies and many taboos. They deserve particular attention as illustrating in a typical way the general Indian idea of a close and mysterious relationship existing between the parents, especially the father, and the newborn child. Just as the Jibaro or Canelos Indian fasts and observes other rules of abstinence after he has planted and sown his fields or while he is breeding his dog, so he submits himself to similar restrictions in regard to his mode of life after a child is born to him, and naturally with still greater rigour.

These restrictions have special reference to the diet. Among the JIBAROS the woman starts dieting even before the child is born, and at any rate in some tribes her husband joins her therein. As soon as the woman feels herself to be pregnant she abstains from eating salt and sweet things like the papaya fruit (Carica papaya), sugar cane, and a kind of wild grape called shuya. The reason which the Indians give for this abstinence is that if the woman eats salt or sweet things 'the foetus will grow very big' and delivery become difficult. The woman also has to abstain from eating palm cabbage and the intestines of animals, especially of the paca and the wild hog, because, if she eats, the child will get diarrhoea. These rules are, at least among the Jibaros of the Santiago, observed by the father of the future child also."

1: Karsten--229 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The latter precautions [JKM: no hunting or working] are observed for a shorter period, but those relating to fasting must be observed by the father not only for a few days, as among most other Indians, but for two, sometimes three years, or more strictly speaking, during the time that the child is suckled."

1: Karsten--229 [3] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 862, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

1: Karsten--234 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The first period in the education of the child, ... is that between birth and the 'feast of the children', which is held when the little one is two or three years old. Until that feast has taken place both parents have to submit themselves to the most rigorous diet according to the rules mentioned in the last chapter. Dieting, it should be understood, forms part of the actual preparations for the feast. The rest of the preparations are similar to those for other feasts: as usual, new plantations have to be made, and domestic animals, swine and hens, have to be bred before the feast can be held, which of course takes a long time. The child itself has to diet; above all it is not allowed to eat pork and hen's flesh, nor can it eat ripe plantain or chew sugar cane as Indian children usually do."

1: Karsten--281-282 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 784 (1928-29)

"On the return from such a feud the avengers have for some time to observe certain rules of precaution with regard to their mode of life. The restrictions laid upon them are, however, much milder than those a Jibaro has to observe after he has killed an enemy of a foreign tribe, and essentially consist in fasting and sexual abstinence. During the two first days the slayer or slayers must abstain from drinking manioc beer (nihamanchi), the national beverage of the Jibaro Indians. His food consists of boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma, or of another kind of root fruit resembling the manioc, called sangu by the Jibaros and mandi in the Quichua language. He likewise eats a dish prepared of manioc and the leaves of the plant sangu, called ambi. He is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, as well as the flesh of the large wild hog (unta pakki), and of any kind of monkey. On the other hand, he is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the small rodent agouti (kayúka). He eats only the small birds of the forest which are killed with the blowpipe and nonpoisoned arrows. He eats only the smallest kinds of fish living in the rivers, a kind of sardine, and small shellfishes (chumakaí, sháchma). This diet is continued for two or three months. During the first month after having killed the sorcerer the Jibaro is likewise forbidden to sleep in his house, and passes his nights in a small ranch made on the bank of the river. After the lapse of the month he goes to a natural small waterfall (paccha or sasa) and takes a cold bath, letting the water fall on his naked [282] body. After this purification he returns to his home and may sleep in his house, not with his wife, but in the

ante-room or department of the men (called tangámasha). This sexual abstinence is observed as long as the fasting, namely, for two, or, among some Jibaros, three months. If the rules mentioned are infringed by the slayer the soul of the killed enemy, who constantly follows him thirsting for revenge, will take his life."

1: Karsten--299-300 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"In regard to the diet of the Jibaro warriors, there is nothing prescribed for the time they are preparing for and marching to the war. They may then eat whatever they like. But as soon as a Jibaro has killed an enemy the fasting begins. All those who took part in the killing of the enemy are, during the return home, allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma. This food has to be cooked exclusively by the slayers themselves. No other man, and still less a woman, may prepare it. When the warriors eat they never touch the manioc with their fingers, like the Jibaros generally do, but they use small wooden pins to eat with. Their hands having been polluted with the blood of their enemies, the food would become impure if they touched it, and they expose themselves to death.

Moreover, the warriors are not allowed to bathe or to wash themselves in any way until they reach home. Dirty and soiled with blood, as they departed from battle, they should arrive home. This, of course, also holds good for their clothing, their loin-cloth (itipi) and other clothes, as well as their weapons, the bloody lance with which the enemy was killed, and the knife with which his head was cut off. It is not until later, at the general ceremonial purification at home, that the warrior himself and his weapons can be washed. [300]

From the hour when the warrior killed his enemy up to the feast which is called Suamártinyu, and which is celebrated some months later, he is not allowed either to have sexual intercourse with a woman or even to sleep in the same room as a woman."

1: Karsten--307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"The prescriptions concerning the diet and mode of life which the slayer has to observe during the time immediately following the 'washing of the blood', or up to the feast called Suamártinyu which is celebrated some months later, are very severe and strict. He is not even allowed to dress completely, but only wears his loin-cloth (itipi), tied up with a cincture, having the upper part of the body bare. The hair is generally kept loose and is not arranged in the three pigtails normally worn by the Jibaros. Only at the neck is the hair occasionally tied up. He must not wear ear-tubes, facial painting, necklaces, or other ornaments of any kind. He cannot carry a lance or other weapon, nor handle poison (1) or other dangerous matter, nor go out hunting or fishing or on new expeditions, nor take part in feasts. When the slayer is out wandering he, instead of the lance without which normally no Jibaro leaves his house, only carries a short staff. He is also prohibited from having sexual intercourse with his wife or even from sleeping in the women's department of the house (ekinturu), but passes his nights in the anteroom or men's department (tangámasha). His diet is the lightest possible and consists only of the palm top (tingimi), which is eaten roasted, of boiled and mashed manioc

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"1. This prohibition especially concerns the arrow-poison (seasa), and the varvasco poison (timo) used in fishing."

(nauma), and of the smallest kinds of fish caught in the rivers (a sort of sardine, chumakái, and another kind of small fish, sháchma). These may be boiled or roasted, but must be eaten without the addition of other kinds of food.

The wife and daughter of the slayer must also fast. Their food during the period in question consists principally of beans and of the leaves of a forest plant which the Jibaros call épo."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 777 (1928-29)

"If the slayer infringes these rules the consequences for him will be fatal. He will soon die; he will not be able to kill any more enemies or to celebrate other victory-feasts. Even his nearest relatives will die [308] through sickness or accidents, one after another (1) His domestic animals, instead of increasing and flourishing, will pine away and die. The manioc, plantain, and other domestic plants will dry up and produce no fruits. In all his undertakings he will be unlucky. In one word, the effects of the trophy will be directly contrary to those generally expected from its supernatural power. All this is caused by the spirit of the murdered enemy (wakáni). The revengeful ghost, who takes no rest, follows his slayer everywhere, always looking for an opportunity to kill or harm him, and the latter believes that he meets him especially in dreams. Generally the wakáni meets him in the shape of an Indian armed with a lance, with which he is continually trying to kill him. But the spirit also appears to him in other shapes,

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"1. Every death that takes place within the family of the slayer during the time following the killing of the enemy is set down to the secret operation of the revengeful spirit (wakáni). At a feast where I was present the slayer told me that within his family seven persons had died of mysterious diseases or through accidents during the two years which had elapsed since he killed his enemy. This wakáni, therefore, was considered to have been a particularly bad one."

especially in the shape of a black monkey, a deer, (2) a bear, or some other hairy animal of the forest. This is one of the reasons why the slayer does not, during the critical time, go out wandering in the forest. The wakáni can in many ways threaten his life there. If, for instance, he wanders to the verge of a precipice at the bank of a river, the revengeful demon may take an opportunity to push him over the precipice. He may also cause a tree or a branch to fall upon him in the forest and crush him. If he wears a lance or a knife the spirit may cause his death with these weapons. If he tries to shoot a bird or an animal with blowpipe and poisoned arrows the enemy may cause the arrow to hit the slayer himself. For the same reason he has to be extremely careful in other respects. If, for instance, he has intercourse with his wife or some other woman, it may happen that the wakáni, who is constantly lurking near him, slays him, so that he dies on the spot. Besides, since there is supposed to exist an intimate connection between woman and the plants which she cultivates, the consequence of his having intercourse with his wife will be that the manioc and other fruits, recently planted

"2. The deer, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is the incarnation of a demon (iguanchi), one of the most dangerous animal demons they know. The Jibaros, therefore, never eat the flesh of the deer or even touch it with their hands."

for the feast, will not reach ripeness, but will dry up. If the slayer eats some unsuitable and forbidden food the spirit may again through this food operate against him, causing indigestion and [309] death. On the whole, the slayer must observe the principle to live as retired and hidden a life as possible, for in this way he may more easily escape his supernatural enemy. This is also the reason why he must not take part in religious feasts, or wear body-painting, ear-tubes, necklaces, and other magical ornaments used by those who enter into relation with the spirits, and through which these, as it were, are challenged.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Jibaro warrior conscientiously submits himself to the severe rules imposed upon him by society, and that the feast itself is prepared and celebrated with all the care which custom and tradition require."

1: Karsten--311-312 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The object of the feast Suamártinyu is partly to give the slayer renewed protection against the spirit of the killed enemy, partly to favourably prepare the trophy for what is its proper aim, namely, to promote the material wealth of the slayer, especially for the period immediately following the feast Numbuimártinyu. In the first respect the feast is of significance for him in so far that he need no longer observe the same anxious caution and strict abstinence in his mode of life that was necessary before. Thus he may again dress completely, tie his hair in pigtails, wear face-painting and ornaments, use lances and other weapons, go hunting and fishing, take part in feasts, sleep with his wife, etc. In one word, he can in the main return to his former normal life, with the exception that he is obliged to continue dieting. Even in this respect he has, however, far more liberty than before. With regard to food he has to observe the following rules. The slayer must absolutely abstain from eating pork and fowl. He is allowed to eat all fruits cultivated by the Jibaros, the manioc, however, only boiled, but not roasted. He must [312] not eat the flesh of the tapir (pamá), of the great wild hog (unta pakki), of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called kashai by the Jibaros), or of any kind of monkey. Of birds he must not eat the tucan, the wild turkey, the paugi, or other larger birds commonly hunted by the Jibaros, but only such small forest birds as are shot with the blowgun and non-poisoned arrows. On the other hand, he is recommended to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the rodent guatusa or agouti (Dasyprocta agouti). Of fish he is

recommended to eat the large sheat-fish tungá, and the wámbi (Spanish, bocachupa), but is forbidden to eat the kánga (Spanish, bocachico), the commonest fish in the South American rivers. He may also eat small fish (chumakai). If he infringes these rules he runs the risk of falling ill and dying, and the object of the whole feast will be missed."

"Disease, and especially death, are to the Indians the great sources of taboo. The precautions which are considered necessary after a death will be related later on. Here it may be proper to add that disease or sickness of any kind is supposed to pollute a house to such extent that at any rate the Canelos Indians deem it necessary for the nearest relatives of the patient to fast. After the medicine-man has taken natéma to discover the origin of the sickness he generally gives the relatives certain instructions in this respect. The father, mother, brothers, and sisters of the patient are not allowed to eat salt or Indian pepper during the two first days after the member of the family fell ill. The patient himself is allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc plantain and certain small fish called umbúni, tugshi, chuti, shigli, and challúa in the Quichua language. When the sick person is near death, the relatives too can only eat boiled and mashed plantain. When the patient is recovering, he is by and by allowed to eat small birds (shot with unpoisoned arrows) and thereafter certain other kinds of meat. The big sheat-fish (sungarápu) is strictly forbidden to a sick person because the whiskers of this fish are often used by sorcerers when bewitching people.

Only the nearest relatives of the patient are obliged to observe these rules, because of the mysterious connection which is supposed to unite all members of a family. If these eat some unsuitable food it will according to the belief of the Indians, necessarily react upon the patient whose condition will be made worse. Other more distant relatives

1: Karsten--397 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

or strange people, who happen to stay in the same house, are not obliged to fast."

1: Karsten--397-398 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros,...at any rate those living on the Upano [398] and Santiago, do not consider it necessary to diet on account of a case of sickness, but only after a death. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, however, a person bitten by a venomous snake must avoid exciting spice like Indian pepper, and strong drinks. The latter, besides this, also in such cases abstain from eating salt and manioc, which according to their assertion would render the recovery more difficult for the patient."

2: Stirling--59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
784

"Each man who has taken a head [KS: in battle] now goes on a strict diet, which lasts for a period of about 6 months. During this time he must remain continent and is not permitted to eat any of the fierce varieties of animals, birds, or fish. During this period the victors never go out hunting alone."

2: Stirling--83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 784

"The length of a blowgun varies more or less according to the desire of the maker. In general, however, they may be divided into two types: the short variety which are usually approximately 10 feet in length, and a longer type which may be as much as 15. The longer the weapon, the greater its range and accuracy. On the other hand, the long blowgun is an awkward implement to carry through the thick forest. The long blowguns are generally used in hunting larger game, such as wild pig, monkeys, and large birds which roost in high trees. During the manufacture of the blowgun various dietary taboos must be observed and the maker must remain continent, otherwise the blowgun will warp or check.

Frequently a pair of canine teeth of the jaguar or two alligator teeth are attached to the blowgun at the base of the mouthpiece by imbedding them in chorora in such fashion that the points of the teeth curve around the cheeks of the user when the tube is held in position. These seem to be particularly desired for ornament but they serve a useful purpose as well, giving a certain amount of lateral support to the weapon."

2: Stirling--87 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
784

"As is the case when making the blowgun, the maker of a shield is required to undergo rigid taboos during the period of manufacture. He must remain continent during this time, must not talk, and must be particularly careful of his diet. If the proper observances are not followed, it will lose much of its power, and is likely to warp and check."

The possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (1), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (2). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (3).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seein him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (4) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaro observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (5).

1. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus. --De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 56.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 215.
4. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 116.
5. ibid, page 119.

24: Wright--237 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
784

"The examination of the teeth of these individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] was attended with considerable difficulties since tribal customs prohibit the touching the faces of children and women by strangers."

28: Tessman--357-358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 276, 784

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, kaapí (naté ma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (tsintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcerer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[269] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 influence of *natemi*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of con-
761 tagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two
[763] is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the
[821] moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[8]

774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
• 784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.* 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jivaro to be a rare occurrence), no *musiak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *musiak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *musiak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587]
of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *musiak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *musiak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *tsumi'i*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mekami'i*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*pani*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [711]
the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *musiak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752]
accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer,
• 784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon even-
[752] tually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
789 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the
727 *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *wuisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *wuisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *wuisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *wuisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nampet*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding souls, witchcraft, or kinship.

There kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *musiak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *ukúr wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[8]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient spectre" soul. [194] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani [187] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [161] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[9] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is for- [154] tunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [161] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [362] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [328] inter-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [357] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [188] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [196] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander [185] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [376] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

796 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

"The tunduí [JKM: signal drum] of the Jibaro Indians is not merely a signalling instrument in the ordinary sense of the word, but its greatest significance is religious: it is a means of communicating with the spiritual world. From this point of view I shall deal with this drum again in the chapters devoted to the religion of the Indians. Here I will only point out the interesting fact that the drum among other things is closely associated with the spirit (iguańchi) which appears in the shape of the great water boa or anaconda, and that the drum itself is supposed to be a representation of the great serpent. The very holes dug out of the drum, as I have said, form a snake-like figure and, moreover, the handles with which it is provided represent, respectively, the head and the tail of the dreaded reptile. Everybody who sees a real Jibaro drum in an ethnographic museum is able to note to what extent one of the handles is like a snake's head. [111]

I may add that these ideas are connected with the signalling drum among all Jibaro tribes and that the form of the drum is therefore everywhere the same. Of the drums in the museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, the one is from the Jibaros of the Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and the other from the Aguarunas in

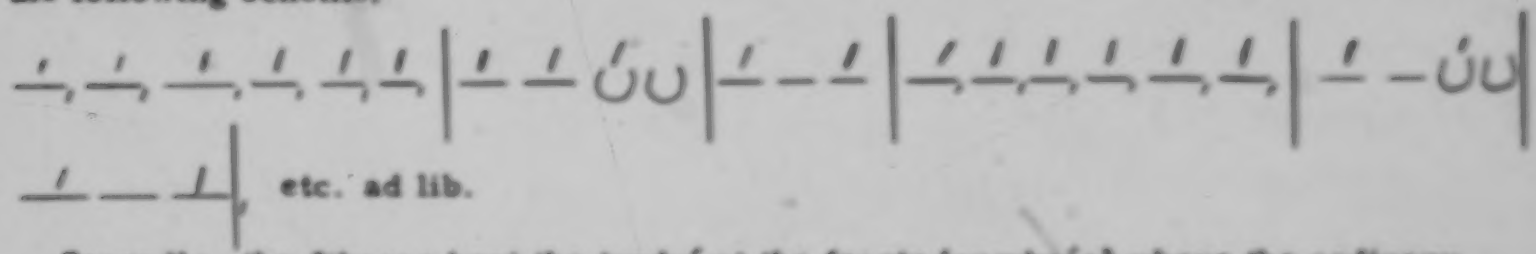
Peru, that is, they are from the northernmost and southernmost Jibaro tribes respectively; but still they are alike in all details. (1) "

"1. In Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru, p.123, there is depicted a 'Jibaro Indian drum' which is without handles and with a sound-hole differing from that described by me above. I wish to point out, however, that this drum is not from the Jibaros, but probably from some of the Ucayali tribes. Since Farabee never visited the Jibaros his mistake is easy to understand."

1: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

First, the tunduí is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics natemа or maikoa are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:



etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tunduí at the feasts (nambera) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamańchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruru palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:

$$\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup\cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup \,|$$

$$\underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup\cup\cup \,|\, \underline{\acute{}} \cup\cup, \text{etc (2).}$$

In both these cases the spirits (iguańchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two

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"2. $\underline{\ }$ in regard to its quantity = $\cup\cup$; $\cup\cup = \cup$; $\underline{\acute{}}$ means that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani."

"Late in the evening [JKM: of the wedding tobacco feast] th
women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outs
the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pa
in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there an
medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong med
stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams
cribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', Nung
spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They wil
hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by
manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will
when they sleep alone in the plantations."

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1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

"It has frequently been said that savage peoples, bringing up their children in complete liberty, never punish them for disobedience or faults committed. This may be true of many Indian tribes in South America also, but it would certainly be a mistake to hold such an opinion of the Jibaros. It is true that as a rule the boys seem to understand remarkably [238] well what tribal custom demands of them and easily accommodate themselves to the moral views of their people, but there may be exceptions to this rule. The treatment of mischievous boys who openly defy their parents, tease their younger brothers and sisters, break clay vessels, climb up on the roof of the house damaging the thatch, wring the necks of fowls, etc., is sometimes very severe. It is quite a common thing for a father to seize his disobedient boy by the neck and pour tobacco water into his nose or his eyes. Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects. In more serious cases the following form of punishment is resorted to. A small shelter of palm leaves is constructed for the young offender at the bank of the river. Here he is obliged to stay for two days and nights quite alone, eating nothing; he is allowed to drink only water from the river. The strict fasting having in this way made him more tractable, he must finally take a dose of maikoa, the strong narcotic of the Jibaro Indians. The intention behind this radical cure of course is that the youth shall have the usual dreams and visions, see

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

the arútama, the spirits of the forefathers, who will admonish him and instruct him as to what the custom of the forefathers requires of him as a member of the tribe."

I: Karsten--24 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
787 (1928-29)

"Great attention is, of course, paid to the dreams of the Jibaro youth [JKM: who is being initiated into manhood at puberty] because in a way they decide his whole future. It is the business of the oldest men of the family to interpret them and to state whether they have been good or bad. The question as to what kinds of dream are regarded as 'good' or 'bad' and the kinds of vision seen will be discussed in the chapter on divination."

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jívaro-1
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusúpani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house,' etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place."

1: Karsten--260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 787, 276, 726 (1928-29)

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

1: Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
787, 276 (1928-29)

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arútama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself."

1: Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

"For some time afterwards [JKM: after the feast Suamártinyu] the slayer continually has intercourse with the spirit of the enemy he has killed, whom he meets and converses with, especially in his dreams. Through the ceremonies of conjuration performed, the wakani is now turned into his obedient slave, and is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at his disposal. The spirit gives his victor instructions and advises him as to how the swine and the chickens ought to be fed and taken care of in order that they may grow quickly, get fat and increase, or how the plantations ought to be attended to, cleaned and irrigated, in order that they may flourish and bear abundant fruit. In the dream the spirit shows to the slayer the tracks of the numerous swine which will be the result of such care, and he lets him hear the sound of their grunting. The latter also believes that he sees his house surrounded by large flourishing plantations of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, and other fruits, even they being the future result of the supernatural power of the tsantsa. The fact that the slayer, through his intercourse with the wakáni, becomes invested with an extraordinary insight into all domestic work, also explains why during this time he becomes the adviser of the women in attending to the domestic animals and in the cultivation of the fields, occupations that normally, according to the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros, are incumbent solely upon the women. With the tsantsa hanging round his neck he now and then goes out in the swine yard and gives the women instructions with regard to details of the care of the

animals, or out to the manioc plantations where he gives them corresponding instructions concerning agriculture.

During all this, however, great caution and care is still necessary for the victor. If he, for instance, is negligent in observing the rules in regard to fasting, it may happen that the result of the whole affair is contrary to the one expected. Through such negligence he not only exposes himself personally to danger, but it may also happen that the swine, instead of growing and increasing in number, will die, through the wakáni, in the shape of a venomous snake, biting them to death, or killing them in some other way. The plantations likewise, instead of flourishing and giving fruit, may dry up. All these calamities are operations of the revengeful spirit, against whom sufficient precautions have not been taken. [316]

If, however, everything has turned out well, if the swine have become full-grown and fat, if the fields have given abundant fruits so that there is a good supply of manioc, bananas, and sweet potatoes, the warrior begins to take steps for the celebration of the proper victory feast, the so-called Einsupani."

1: Karsten--425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 562, 787 (1928-29)

"Under this general heading it seems to me convenient to treat of certain customs of the Indians which are clearly of a religious or magical nature and are regularly practised when the Indians have to enter into relations with the spiritual world. Everybody is not prepared to take part in religious ceremonies; children for example are excluded until they have passed through the initiations. Fullgrown women, on the other hand, as we have seen, take part in many of them, and there are even religious rites which can only be peformed by the women, because only they possess the 'inner' qualifications necessary for success. But when ordinary conjurations of evil spirits are in question, the men, and particularly old men, are both physically and mentally far in advance of the women."

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"In previous chapters certain sacred narcotic drinks of the Jibaros have frequently been mentioned. Thus we have seen what an important part tobacco water plays for instance at the 'feast of the women', when it is supposed to communicate to the married women a wonderful power and ability for their various domestic occupations. The two narcotics known under the names of natéma and maikoa have also frequently been mentioned in connection with Indian divination. I have now to describe these sacred drinks more fully and to explain the religious ideas underlying their use.

The most interesting of these narcotics is no doubt the one which is called natéma by the Jibaros and aya huasca by the Quichua-speaking Indians. This is a poisonous vine, --containing an alcaloid, like the maicoa--the scientific name of which, according to the English botanist R. Spruce, is Banisteria caapi (1), of the family Malpighiaceae. The same traveller states that the plant also grows on the Rio Içanna, on the Uaupés and its affluents in north-west Brazil, as well as on the cataracts of the Orinoco,

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"1. In Eastern Ecuador there seem to occur different species of the Banisteria. At any rate the Canelos Indians told me that they use three kinds of aya huasca which they distinguish as the puma aya huasca, the ahuiringri aya huasca, and the tunchi aya huasca. The last-mentioned is particularly used by the medicine-men (tunchi = the magical arrow)."

being used everywhere by the natives in the same way, for magical and divination purposes (2). In Ecuador the liana is best known under its Quichua name aya huasca ('the vine of the souls') (3); it is thus [433] called for instance by the Indians of the Napo, Curaray, Bobonaza, and Pastaza. The Jibaros call both the vine itself and the narcotic prepared from it natéma. The Secoyas on the Rio Aguarico and the savage Avishiris between Napo and Curaray also know the use of the plant. Similarly, the primitive Colorados and Cayapas in western Ecuador cultivate the aya huasca, using it as a magical medicine and for divination.

How the natéma drink is ceremonially prepared at the great feasts of the Jibaros has

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"2. R. Spruce, Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes. London, 1908, II. 414 sqq., 423.

3. On the Napo I was assured that the natives call the vine in question haya huasca ('the bitter vine'), which answers to the fact that the drink prepared from it is exceedingly bitter in taste. On the other hand, at Canelos the form aya huasca seems to be the most common, and this name ('the vine of the souls') well accords with the ideas the Indians have about its power of summoning the souls or spirits of the dead."

been described before. Since the drink is exclusively used for religious or magical purposes its preparation is, of course, always more or less ceremonial. Still there are some differences in the details, depending on the different occasions for which the narcotic is used. The natéma, it should be noticed, occurs in two main forms, according as it is used by ordinary people for certain feasts, or by medicine-men and sorcerers when exercising their art.

The Jibaros, like the Canelos Indians, always prepare the natéma drink by boiling the vine. Some pieces of the lower thicker part of it are cut off, carefully washed, and crushed with clubs, so that they can easily be parted into thinner fibres. These are boiled in a pot with water, in ordinary cases only for one or two hours. Then the fibres are taken out and the drink is ready. It is of a brownish-green colour and has a very bitter taste. Usually some tobacco water is added and, in some cases, pieces of the rind of certain magical trees are put into the boiling pot in order to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

At the great feasts the natéma is taken in repeated doses and in comparatively large quantities. The effects appear comparatively slowly and are not very violent. The first effect of the drink is that of an emetic; a few minutes after a person has emptied the pininga offered by the leader of the ceremonies, he or she goes out and throws up the quantity consumed. In general, emetics play an important part in the medical

practices of the Jibaros and are supposed to have very beneficial effects. After a while, and having taken the medicine in repeated doses, the patient begins to tremble and feels giddy; the pulse gets slow and week, [sic] the pupils of the eyes dilate. Lastly he falls asleep. Both before and during the sleep the Indian has strange perceptions and real hallucinations: he sees wonderful landscapes, different kinds of animals as well as people, all of which are guises in which the spirits, with whom he wants to enter into communication, appear to him.

With reference to the different occasions on which the Jibaros drink natéma, I have already mentioned the ceremonial natéma-drinking [434] at the 'feast of the dogs' and the great victory feast. At these feasts, however, comparatively little natéma is drunk. The Jibaros have also special natéma-feasts which last for several days--among the tribes of the Pastaza up to eight days. All inhabitants of the house, even small children, take part in them. The boiling begins early in the morning and lasts till about noon. As usual, pieces of the rind of the tree chingiáta and samiki are added to the natéma-fibres. The drink is at first boiled in several smaller pots on different fires in the house. Later, when the liquid has boiled down, the different quantities are poured into one big earthen pot. Like the consuming of the sacred drink, its actual preparation is ceremonial. While the boiling goes on, and later during the drinking,

the great signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, is beaten in the slow regular time which is customary at the natéma-feasts. The Jibaros assert that in beating their drum they are imitating the demon (iguánchi), who in their belief has his abode in the hills and is himself beating his own tundúi. The drumming is supposed to please the demon, who will come to the place and fill, with his spirit, both the drink and the drinking Indians.

The drinking itself takes place with about the same ceremonies as at the victory-feast. The person who has to drink empties a pininga which is offered him or her by one of the older Indians; he immediately throws up the quantity drunk, drinks again, and again throws it up. In this way considerable quantities are consumed during the natéma-days. The participants in the feast are bound to fast strictly, and are allowed to eat only after they have slept and had their dreams, their food then consisting of boiled and mashed manioc or boiled ripe bananas. This is repeated every day as long as the feast lasts.

The natéma-fibres which remain after the boiling is finished are always carefully guarded in a special place in the house and kept for a long time. The Jibaros allege that they do this only 'to know how much natéma they have drunk during the year'. Evidently even these remains of the wonderful vine are too sacred to be thrown away at once.

If one asks the Indians why they drink natéma in this excessive way, their answer is usually: 'It is in order that the people may not die away'. By this kind of divination they try to find out what dangers are threatening the family, whether enemies are planning an attack against them, whether evil sorcerers are operating against them, whether they will be successful in their own undertakings, and so forth. The magical drink, which as we have seen has the effect of an emetic, [435] purifies the stomach from harmful substances and the magic arrows of wizards. For this reason the Indians always pay great attention to what they throw up after they have taken this medicine. At the same time both men and women are, by drinking natéma, made strong and clever for their different occupations and duties, the men for hunting, fishing, war, etc., the latter for agriculture, for the education of the children, for the care of the domestic animals, and for other domestic work incumbent on them.

Apart from these general drinking-bouts, the grown-up members of the Jibaro community, not only the men but also the women, frequently drink natéma on several particular occasions. This drinking-ceremony usually takes place in the house. An earthen pot (pininga) containing the sacred drink is placed on the earth; the Indian who has to drink takes stand in front of the pininga, and thereupon begins to move to and fro in a sort of dance, muttering an incantation without words. Suddenly he seizes the

pininga and empties it in one draught. The next moment he throws up the whole quantity drunk. Meanwhile, the cup has again been filled with natéma. The Indian again approaches the cup, dances and mutters an incantation just as he did the first time, and empties the pininga at a draught. The effects of the drink are now beginning to show themselves. The Indian takes a stick in order to lean upon it when he gets intoxicated. He staggers to and fro on the earthen floor, mutters some unintelligible words to summon the spirits, he leans against the stick and again throws up the natéma drunk. The same thing is repeated for the third, fourth, fifth time and so on, until at last the man is wholly overcome by the narcotic and goes off into a deep sleep, filled with the usual visions and hallucinations.

The Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking natéma in all matters which are of particular importance to him. Since an elderly man, and especially a warrior, nearly always believes himself to be threatened by enemies, he tries above all, by this kind of divination, to find out whether he has any enemies, who they are, and whether in making an attack against them he will be victorious, gain rich spoil, etc. Similarly he consults the natéma-spirits in order to know whether a journey he intends to make will turn out well, whether his wives are faithful to him, whether he will be lucky with a new woman whom he intends to marry, whether strangers will arrive on a visit, and so forth.

As we have seen, among the Jibaros even women are allowed to drink natéma. Thus, at the victory-feast, drinking the natéma on the [436] second day of the feast seems to be even obligatory on the nearest female relatives of the victor. It is also considered very important that the younger married women should take part in the general natéma-festivals, since in this way they will acquire the strength, skill, and insight necessary for their domestic occupations. During their dreams they get instruction by the spirits in these very matters. On these occasions, among other spirits, the mythical ancestress of the Jibaro culture, the Earth-mother Nungüi, appears to the woman, giving her advice and instruction with regard to the agriculture and consoling her in times of crop-failure and famine. In other matters which interest women she also receives the advice of the natéma-spirits. Thus, for instance, a widow who is looking for a new husband is in the habit of drinking natéma in order to be able to make a good choice.

The following instance, which tells us how a woman received the sacred stone nantára, gives us an idea of the revelations which the Jibaro women believe they have when intoxicated by natéma. Once, she told me, while she was still a girl, she was given natéma to drink. When she was well intoxicated, her grandmother came, seized her both hands, blew upon them and upon her arms, sprinkling juice of tobacco from her own mouth, and said to the girl: 'You will not die soon, you will have a long life and have much to eat. The stone which you wear in the hand will effect this'. In the same

moment there came, as it were, a flash of lightning from the heaven and the girl heard the voice of the spirit which said to her: 'I am your ancestral mother (apachiru), I will give you this stone in order that you shall have a long life'. Thereupon the vision passed, and when the hands of the girl were opened in the light of day, a wonderful red stone, nantára, was found in them. The stone called nantára is consequently by the Jibaro women looked upon as a fetish which not only gives a house-mother a long life and success in all domestic tasks but especially promotes the growth of the crops. It is therefore used by the women in agriculture in the way we have seen before (p. 128)."

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"Equal in importance to the natéma (aya huasca) and still stronger in its effects is the narcotic which is called maíkoa (maikoma) by the Jibaros and huántuc by the Canelos Indians. It is prepared from a shrub, the scientific name of which is Datura arborea of the family Solanaceae. Its poisonous properties may be compared with those of beladonna or opium, and even seem to surpass them. Insensibility, hallucinations, and even temporary madness seem to be the regular effects produced by this narcotic drug. The species Datura in Ecuador grows both in the tropical virgin forests and in the subtropical mountain regions, but there are at least two sub-species of it, D. arborea and D. stramonium. The beautiful bell-shaped flowers of the former sub-species are larger and nearly white in colour; of the latter smaller and of yellow-red colour. Both of them are equally poisonous. The half-civilised Indians of the Sierra, when they want to harm their enemies, practise nefarious magic by means of the flowers of the D. stramonium. It is the other sub-species which is used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The beautiful shrub is everywhere specially cultivated, and is usually found among other garden plants outside the houses.

In order to prepare the maíkoa-drink, the Jibaro Indian scratches off some of the light green rind of the stem, and sqeezes [sic] out the juice with the hand into a gourd until he gets the desired quantity, about a small drinking-glass full. (about 200 gr.). This is the dose which is taken at one time by one person and seems to be sufficient to

produce the effects desired.

Thus, maíkoa is not prepared by cooking like natéma, but simply consists of the juice contained in the rind. It is of a light green colour and not bitter to the taste like natéma, but rather insipid. Its effects, as already mentioned, are much stronger and show sooner than those of the other narcotic. Young people, when they take maíkoa for the first time, often become mad and strike out with weapons, sticks, and whatever they happen to get hold of, and may then become dangerous to those around. Therefore, when a Jibaro youth drinks maíkoa, some older [439] men are always present who watch his movements and sometimes even tie him down. The drugged man begins to talk confusedly and incoherently about all sorts of visions which he imagines he has, about spirits whom he fancies he meets, and at last falls into a deep, lethargic sleep, 'just as if he were dead' (hakáma).

Maíkoa is drunk by the Jibaros on much the same occasions as the natéma, and the revelations which they imagine they receive are much the same; yet to a still higher degree than the latter narcotic, maíkoa is the particular drink of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro Indian why he drinks maíkoa, his answer is usually: 'It is in order to see whether I shall kill my enemies' (shuāra mātinyu). The Jibaro warrior therefore never starts on a war expedition without previously consulting the spirits by drinking maíkoa. The same spirit tells him whether he is himself threatened by his enemies, whether he

will have a long life, and so forth. Similarly in other important matters, although they have no particular reference to war, the Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking maíkoa.

The drinking ceremony takes place in the house, but the Indian prepares for it by taking tobacco water in repeated doses, and for this purpose he retires to the forest. In a remote place far from the habitations of men--sometimes the Indian has to walk one or two days to reach it--a shelter of palm leaves is constructed; it is the 'dreaming-hut', called ayámdai. It is much larger and made with greater care than the ordinary Indian shelter, and outside it there is an open place where the ground is carefully cleared and made level. On this open place the spirits appear dancing in all sorts of terrible shapes, and first of all come those powerful demons whom the Jibaros call arútama, 'the Old Ones', who give the sleeping Indian information and advice in the matters which interest him.

The 'dreaming-hut' is generally made in the neighbourhood of a waterfall where the water comes down from the high cliffs in the forest, forming a small pool below. In this pool the Indian takes a bath before and after the sleep.

The Jibaros are in the habit of retiring to the forest on these occasions because the arútama are supposed to appear to them more easily there. Generally the Indian who wants to dream remains away for three or four days. He may go alone, or he may go

in company with other men. While on the way he has to fast strictly, but instead of food he takes tobacco water in repeated doses, through the nose. As soon as he reaches [440]the shelter, he first takes a bath, standing in the pool and allowing the streaming water to fall on his naked shoulders. The bath will prepare him favourably for the sleep and the revelations of the spirits. These spirits, it should be understood, are demons of the forest, but they are also present in the water of the cascades. After the bath the Indian goes to the hut, where in the evening he again prepares tobacco water, boiling the leaves in a small earthen pot which he has brought with him for the purpose. Having taken some of the medicine he falls in a deep sleep. In the following morning he again takes a bath in the pool. During the whole day he stays in the shelter, fasting strictly, a roasted plantain being his only food. On the other hand, he goes on taking tobacco water. Living in this way he spends a couple of days in the forest. On the fourth day, having taken his last bath in the waterfall, he returns home where he tells his dreams to the other Indians. It is only then that he takes maíkoa, of which one dose alone, after his nervous sensibility has been enhanced by the tobacco-drinking and the fasting, will infallibly produce in him the usual strange physical and psychical effects.

The drinking of tobacco water in the forest on these occasions seems to play an almost more important part than the maíkoa-drinking which takes place at home. As a

matter of fact, the Jibaros generally enhance, by means of tobacco, the natural efficacy of the other narcotic drinks. Thus, tobacco water is also usually taken in preparation for natéma-drinking.

Since among the Jibaros the education of the boys chiefly aims at making them good warriors, maíkoa-drinking also occurs as a puberty ceremony. When, among the Jibaro tribes of the Upano and Santiago, boys reach the age of puberty, the feast called Kusúpani is held and the principal feature of it is tobacco-taking. On the fifth and last day the boy has to drink maíkoa. The details of this feast have been described before. Among the Pastaza tribes boys are initiated into manhood by maíkoa-drinking without previous tobacco ceremonies.

Maíkoa is moreover taken on the following occasions, as has appeared from my previous statements.

After the great victory feast has been brought to an end, the victor generally retires to the forest where he stays for some days taking maíkoa.

The making of the great signal drum, tundúi, is also celebrated by maíkoa-drinking in the way we have already seen.

The Jibaro man generally takes maíkoa after he has punished his [441] wife for infidelity. Again, boys who behave badly and are disobedient to their parents must drink maíkoa as a punishment, in the way related before.

Although maíkoa is particularly the drink of the warriors, it may also be consumed by women, just as is the case with natéma. This, however, seems to be a comparatively rare occurrence. On these occasions the ancestral spirits, the arútama, are supposed to appear to them, and especially the Earth-mother Nungüi. When appearing to women these spirits do not of course give them instruction and information about affairs of war, but about domestic work and occupations which concern the women, in the same way as when they drink natéma.

The above description refers particularly to the practices of the Jibaros, which are of special interest. The CANELOS INDIANS, who were once as warlike as their relatives and neighbours the Jibaros, formerly practised the drinking of huántuc on much the same occasions as these. Nowadays they no longer make war against their enemies. Still even to-day huántuc-drinking plays quite an important role in the practical religion of the Canelos Indians, but mainly in connection with their magic and witchcraft. Huántuc, like aya huasca, is therefore chiefly taken by medicine-men and sorcerers, partly when they are curing disease, partly when they are trying to harm their enemies by nefarious magic. On these occasions the sorcerer is adorned in the way described before, wearing red facial painting and a feather crown on the head. Before he empties the mucahua (clay dish) containing the sacred drink, he sings a long conjuration over it, invoking certain demons, and particularly the paccha supai, the

demon of the cascades, inviting him to come to the place and to fill the drink and the sorcerer himself with his power. This incantation is called taquíshca. Afterwards, while waiting for the divine or demoniacal inspiration, he also plays the instrument turúmba in order to 'hurry on' the spirits."

1: Karsten--442-444 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros usually take tobacco in a liquid form, but in some cases they smoke it, making big cigars of the leaves. In the former case the leaves are either boiled in water, or chewed in the mouth and carefully mixed with saliva. When used at the great feasts the medicine is always prepared with saliva, which is supposed to enhance its supernatural effects. This medicine is prepared by an old man who conducts the ceremonies, and he has also to dispense it to the persons in whose honour the feast is held. The men on these occasions always receive the tobacco juice through the nose, the women again through the mouth.

After two or three doses the effects of the medicine are generally noticeable. The Indian turns pale and the whole body begins to tremble. After repeated doses giddiness and fainting-fits frequently occur, especially in women. At last the person in question becomes quite drugged and falls into a long sleep filled with peculiar dreams.

Tobacco is taken on the following occasions: first, as a universal remedy against disease and evils of any kind; secondly, as a prophylactic means of enhancing the magical power of the body, particularly to resist the evil spirits; and lastly, as a real narcotic to produce dreams. In all three cases the plant has a purely magical or religious significance.

When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect

he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body. In all cases of general indisposition, of headache, catarrh, and other slight illnesses, the Jibaro Indian makes use of this wonderful remedy to remove the evil. Besides, tobacco is regarded as an excellent prophylactic against witchcraft. To protect themselves against evil influences the Jibaros not only take tobacco [443] juice as a medicine, but are also in the habit of painting their body with it. Thus at the victory-feast I noticed that some of the men painted all sorts of 'geometrical' figures on the face and breast with tobacco juice, a decoration which, of course, was hardly visible upon the brown skin of the Indians, but was evidently supposed to possess prophylactic power.

From my previous statements it appears that tobacco is ceremonially used on many different occasions. It is the particular medicine of sorcerers and medicine-men. It is indispensable at the great feasts, the feast of the women, called Noa tsangu (literally: 'the tobacco feast of the women'); the feast of the men, called Kusúpani (literally: 'the tobacco-smoking feast'); and at the Einsupani, the great victory-feast of the Jibaros. On these occasions tobacco is in the first place used as a prophylactic against evil spirits and as a means of enhancing the natural power of resistance of the body;

but in the second place it also serves the purpose of producing artificial sleep. On the other hand, there are cases when the medicine is exclusively taken as a narcotic in the latter sense. Just as the Indian take natéma and maikoa 'in order to have dreams', so they drink tobacco water for the same purpose.

The procedure has already been described in connection with the custom of drinking maikoa, for which, as we found, the Indian generally prepares by drinking tobacco water. As usual, the Indians on these occasions retire to the forest where, sleeping in the 'dreaming-hut' (ayámdai) they can more easily enter into communication with the spirits. Among the Pastaza-tribes the men remain in the forest for any period up to eight days. These are mostly younger people and as a rule several of them go out together. While on the way they fast strictly, taking, instead of food, tobacco water in repeated doses. For this purpose they rub the leaves between their hands and chew them, whereupon they spit out the stuff on a maize-leaf, mix in some more saliva and a little water, stirring it with their finger, and immediately take the medicine. This tobacco-diet is continued until they reach the dreaming-hut. This place, as already stated, is situated in the neighbourhood of a natural waterfall, where the Indians may take a bath before and after the sleep. Even here, while they receive the cold water upon their naked shoulders, they are still taking tobacco, mixing the chewed mass of tobacco with the water of the cascade and swallowing it. Thereafter they go to the hut

where they pass the night. The following morning they tell their [444] dreams and visions to one another and discuss their possible significance. During the whole day, as usual, they only eat one roasted green plantain. This way of living is continued for every day of the time passed in the hut. When eight days have elapsed they return to their homes, very thin and weak on account of the strict fasting, but yet content if they have had favourable dreams.

The aim of this tobacco-drinking is the same as that of drinking natéma and maikoa. By submitting to this hard trial the Jibaro youths in the first place try to make themselves brave and successful warriors. They want to 'see their enemies' and to know whether they will be able to kill them, whether they themselves will have a long life, and so forth. Information about these matters is given them by those mysterious spirits which are called arútama and which always appear to the narcotized Indian, whether the medicine causing the supernatural state is tobacco, natéma, or maikoa."

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"We now know the three powerful narcotics of the Jibaro Indians and the ways in which they are used. We have further to examine more closely the religious ideas which are connected with these narcotic drinks. The first question we have to answer is what ideas the Indians have about dreams in general.

The 'belief in dreams', i.e. the belief that the experiences man has during his dreams are as real as the experiences he has when awake, has frequently been said to be a characteristic feature of the mentality of primitive peoples in general. This mode of expression, however, is not quite adequate in regard to the beliefs of the Indians with whom we are dealing; too little is expressed by it. The Jibaros as a matter of fact are of opinion that only in dreams is true reality revealed to man. Normal, conscious life is a delusion in which we can have no confidence; it is full of deception, falsehood, and lies. Only the dream unveils to us the real essence of things, 'the thing in itself'. In the dream all men whom we meet, even our foes, invariably tell us the truth, and all know more than when awake, for here it is the souls (wakáni, aya) that meet, freed from the bonds of the corporeal existence. Even the dead, who in ordinary cases only seldom show themselves to the living, appear to the Indian in dreams, warning and instructing him by virtue of the supernatural knowledge they possess. The same is true of the other spirits and demons, the iguánchi and supai, otherwise so greatly feared by the Indians: being under magical restraint they do the sleeping Indian

no harm, but on the [445] contrary act as his friends and advisers. Whoever therefore wants to know the real truth concerning the present time and especially concerning the future must sleep and have dreams, and since the sleep which nature by itself gives to man is not sufficient, it is necessary to produce it by artificial means.

Even the normal dreams are always believed by the Indians to have some prognostic significance. If, for instance, the Jibaro Indian dreams that he sees his enemies, fights with them and succeeds in killing them, he believes that in making war against them he will be victorious. If he dreams that he brings down many wild hogs, monkeys, and birds of the forest with his lance or his poisoned arrows, he is convinced that on the following day he will be lucky in hunting. If in the dream he meets strange Indians or white men, he is sure that such guests will soon arrive at his house. Similarly, if he dreams that in the forest or on the river some disaster happens to him, he interprets this as a bad omen and on the following day does not leave the house. An Indian on the Rio Upano once told me that during the preceeding night he had dreamt about a venomous snake which stung him in the forest. He had intended to go out hunting that day, but on account of the disagreeable dream he put it off and did not leave the house for three days. If he had gone out in the forest the following day, he said, he would certainly have been stung by a venomous snake.

However, those dreams are prophetic in the proper sense of the word which have been

produced by drinking natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, for in such dreams the very spirits are, by conjuration, compelled to appear, who are able to give information about future events. These spirits are essentially the ancestors (apáchiru) of the sleeping Indian, who give their descendants advice and instruction. But on the other hand these spirits are also the souls (wakáni) of the narcotic plants themselves, with whom the Indian enters into intimate communion by consuming the drinks. It may, moreover, be added that the spirits which animate the natéma, the maikoa, and the tobacco are the souls of men; hence these drinks can only be prepared by the men, just as the corresponding plants can only be planted by the men.

The visions and other experiences which the Indians believe they have in the state of intoxication produced by natéma (aya huasca) and maikoa (huántuc) are in some

details differently described by the Jibaros [446] and the Canelos Indians (1). The CANELOS INDIAN, narcotized by aya huasca, in the first place sees wonderful landscapes, forests, hills, snow-clad volcanoes, lakes, rivers, or, more strictly speaking, the spirits (supai) which inhabit all these localities; secondly, the dead (aya) in the shape of skeletons; further, living people--Indians and white men, men and women--; finally, all sorts of animals, tucans and other magical birds, jaguars, pumas, bears, venomous snakes, and especially the giant serpent (amárun). All of these are demoniacal animals,

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"1. As to the effects which the drinks prepared from the Banisteria caapi and Datura arborea produce upon a white man, I can only say that, living as I have mostly done, alone among the Indians I have not taken the risk of consuming them in larger quantities for the purpose of stating their mental and physiological effects. Still I have tasted both of them, finding the first exceedingly bitter, like quinine, and the second somewhat insipid and nauseous. White settlers at Canelos and Macas who have tried the aya huasca (natéma) have told me that in the state of intoxication they have in part had the same experiences as the Indians, seeing wonderful landscapes, hills, and rivers, beautiful birds, etc. Those particular 'spirits', on the other hand, whom the Indians profess to see, do not of course present themselves to a person who does not share their religious ideas and superstitions."

or forms in which the demons (supai) appear to the Indians. Since the Canelos Indians ascribe diseases to many of these demons, and particularly to the demons of the hills (úrcu supai), to jaguars (puma supai), and to venomous snakes, they appear especially to medicine-men who have drunk aya huasca for the purpose of curing disease, and they are compelled to extract the bewitching arrow (chunta), which they themselves have sent, from the body of the patient. The spirits also speak to the sleeping Indian, giving him advice and information.

To receive the revelations of the spirits in a state of intoxication is by the JIBAROS called wuimektinyu, which simply means 'to see'. The things which they 'see' are about the same in the dreams produced by natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, only with a small difference which I shall presently indicate. Thus, to the Jibaro Indian also in the first place wonderful landscapes, hills, rivers, and forests appear, since the spirits and demons inhabiting these localities (wakáni, iguánchi) are compelled to draw near. Particularly powerful, although generally malignant, are those demons who inhabit the hills and cordilleras (neindya iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers. These demons therefore particularly appear to the the [sic] medicine-men when curing disease. Again, when a Jibaro Indian for instance drinks a narcotic at some of the great feasts, [447] his visions have special reference to his domestic and economic life: he sees his swine and hens numerous and fat, he sees his house surrounded by flourishing manioc

and plantain fields, and so forth. Further, the Indian sees all sorts of game, wild turkeys, tucans, parrots, wild pigs, agoutis, etc. When the sleeping Indian has such visions, it may happen that he suddenly starts up in excitement, points with his fingers at the birds and animals he fancies he sees, and exclaims: wuimekta, wuimekta, úmi surústa, úmi wakérahei, seása wakerahei, kúndinyaka túkusa yuohei, kuchi yuohei, atáshi yuohei, pákki yuohei, káyuka yuohei, etc. that is: 'Behold, behold! Give me a blowgun, I want a blowgun, I want arrow-poison, I am shooting game to eat it, I am eating pig's flesh, I am eating hen's flesh, I am eating the flesh of the hog, the flesh of the hare', etc. At such moments he must be held down on his bed by his comrades, but the fact that he has experiences of this kind is interpreted as a favourable omen by them: 'He has good visions, he has certainly seen the spirits'.

On the other hand, some Jibaro Indians at least say that when intoxicated by natéma or tobacco they see no human beings, who only appear to them after they have drunk maikoa. Among other spirits then appearing to them there are men, both Indians (Jibaros) and white men 'dressed in black clothes'. All these human apparitions are the ancestors (apachiru) of the sleeping Indian (for according to the tradition of the Jibaros even the whites have once been Jibaros), who give their descendants advice and instruction. The Jibaros call them maikoa eintseri, 'the maikoa-people'.

With the maikoa-people come other spirits. Among these there are not only the nature spirits and animal demons mentioned above; even inanimate objects, like articles of clothing, implements, weapons, needles, etc. appear to the sleeper as animate and assume the shape of young Indians.

The most important, however, of all spirits are the mysterious demons which have already been introduced under the name of arútama, and who make their appearance partly in the shape of wild animals, partly as striking phenomena of nature, partly in other shapes. At any rate these demons always appear when, from the Indian point of view, the dream is favourable or 'good'.

When these spirits, and especially the maikoa eintseri and the arútama, appear to the young Jibaro, who has taken the narcotic drink for the first time, they say to him: 'You have drunk our blood, you are a [448] good man, you will live long and kill your enemies in battle. Your domestic animals, the swine and the hens, will multiply, your fields will flourish and give abundant fruit. Your changina (basket of plaited vines) will always be full, you will not become poor but lead a plentiful life'. In private affairs the spirits give him true information and directions. If, for instance, he intends to make war against a strange tribe, the spirits let him know before hand whether he will be successful or not. 'This or that enemy', they say, 'you will vanquish and bring his head to your home'; or: 'If you make war against that and that enemy you will have no success, but you will be killed yourself'. Similarly, if he wants to kill a sorcerer of

his own tribe who has bewitched one of his relatives with magic art the spirits tell him whether he will succeed in doing so or not.

The word arútama means 'the Old Ones'. These spirits, it should be understood, are the first ancestors of the Jibaros, and they were great warriors. Among the spirits there are, in the first place, two human apparitions. The first is called ikyáhinamchi. He is a Jibaro Indian, 'a red form enveloped in flames', and therefore not clearly visible. His voice, on the other hand, is distinctly heard. He calls out to the sleeping Indian, through his closed hand, certain words in the peculiar, staccato tone which is customary among the Jibaros when, in performing the Enéma, they ceremonially salute one another: wi--wikáhei--shuara --nikápsatahei--andúcta, that is: 'I go off (to the war), I will take (the heads of my enemies), listen!' The other human form is called mayéi, and he is also a Jibaro Indian. His name is derived from his custom of repeatedly calling out to the sleeper in a loud voice: mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, i. e. 'kill, kill!' To see or to hear the ikyáhinamchi or the mayéi in narcotic sleep is regarded as a good omen, for such a warrior will certainly be able to kill enemies.

Most of the arútama however, are animal demons. Among these there are in the first place the greatest and most dangerous beasts of prey which the Indian knows, first of all different species of the feline family: soacha, the great black jaguar, yambinga,

shia-shia, yantsa, different kinds of the great spotted jaguar, the lion or puma, hap-ayawára, different kinds of tiger cat, called amicha, yantána, undúchama.

A powerful arútama is moreover the giant snake, Boa constrictor, and especially the water boa, called pangi or cuichi by the Jibaros. Besides the pangi, his 'brother' tsungi, another and probably purely mythical water monster, is revered as an arútama. Other water demons [449] of the same class are the great caiman or crocodile, kan-yátsa, and the great otter, wangánimi, which is called by the Quichua-speaking Indians yacu puma, 'the water tiger'.

The bird demons are particularly numerous among the arútama. Among these are first of all the largest birds of prey, the great eagle or harpy, unta pinchu, the condor, yápu, and the owl, ambúsha; further, the demoniacal tucan, tsukánga, and another smaller bird of the tucan family called pininchi. The great macaws, the red one, takúmbi, and the yellow one, yambúna, are also arútama; further, the common green parrot kávashu, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola), called súmga by the Jibaros, the pelican, kauá, and two other birds of the forest which I have not been able to identify and of which the first is called sicha in the Jibaro language, the other chacu.

The sleeping Indian only dimly perceives the monsters which appear to him in the dream as arútama, but he hears their voices when, each in its own way, they speak to him. He hears the roar of the jaguar, the mighty soughing of the wing-strokes of the

great eagle, the terrible hissing of the giant snake, and so forth. The smaller animals and birds also appear in narcotic dreams in a somewhat different shape than in normal life: their dimensions are much larger, but the visionary only perceives them in part --of the birds, for instance, he only sees the head and the neck, but not the wings-- and all of them have the faculty of speech since, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors are incarnated in them.

Other arútama have the form of striking phenomena of nature. Among these there is the powerful hurricane (nássi) which frequently suddenly arises in tropical South America, passes through a limited area and causes great destruction in the virgin forest. Such hurricanes are always ascribed by the Indians to certain powerful demons (iguánchi), and the fact that these demons figure among the arútama makes it clear that they partake of the nature of ancestral souls. Other phenomena of nature which are explained in the same way, by the action of certain powerful spirits, are the lightning, chareimbi, the meteors and comets, payára, and the rainbow, tundyáka. These likewise appear to the Jibaro Indian in narcotic sleep and figure among the arútama.

Although in natural life these demons, or at least some of them, are regarded as being very malignant, they generally do the sleeping Indian no harm since they are under magical restraint or influence; on the contrary, as a rule they appear as his friends and advisers. Still [450] it may sometimes happen--as I was told by a Jibaro--that

an arútama wholly overpowers the dreamer and kills him on the spot. This idea seems to indicate that in exceptional cases the Indians may die from a too strong narcotic intoxication.

A practical consequence of the 'good' dreams is that if in real life the Jibaro warrior happens to meet for instance a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, or an eagle, he does not fear him and does not take to flight, but on the contrary is able to defy such a creature. He brandishes his lance, making threatening movements against him in the way customary among the Jibaros when they challenge their enemies, and calling out to him: 'You I know very well, for I have seen you in the dream. Come along, I do not fear you, I will kill you with my lance!' This is at the same time a proof to his comrades that he has really had 'good' dreams and has seen the arútama, and that he is a brave warrior. But if, on the contrary, a Jibaro, when meeting a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, an eagle, shows fear and takes to flight, this to his fellow-tribesmen is a proof that he has had bad dreams and would not make a good warrior, and that he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies.

In the same way, the Jibaro who has seen the arútama will not fear lightning, a rainbow, a falling meteor or a hurricane. On the contrary, even these enemies he boldly challenges with his lance and with words. In the dream he has, once for all, become acquainted with these phenomena, normally so terrible to the Indians; he knows

their true nature and has been hardened against them.

Among the arútama there are some other striking appearances. One is called uhúmuka: it is a human head cut off, which is seen wandering along the ground. The spirit says to the sleeping Indian: 'You will become a brave warrior, you will go far away on the war-path and kill your enemies'. Similarly, if the Jibaro wants to kill a sorcerer of his own tribe, the uhúmuka-demon tells him whether he will be successful or not. Another arútama appears as a human arm cut off which is seen to float in the air. If only the forearm with the hand is visible, the appearance is called wehánga; if the dreamer only sees the upper arm, it is called kunduána. If in the dream the Indian tries to seize this arm, it vanishes into the air. The wehánga or kunduána says to the dreamer: 'Take this arm; I am your ancestor, the arm of your forefathers (apáchiru). Do not fear, with this arm you will be strong and kill your enemies'. A third appearance of the same kind is the makuána: [451] this is a leg cut off. This arutama, too, speaks to the dreamer in the same way as the other spirits and gives him good foreshadowings.

All these are what we have called 'good' dreams. We may ask, on the other hand, of what kind are the bad dreams. If the young Indian, during a narcotic sleep has no dreams at all, this is regarded as a bad omen. 'He is not a real man', is in that case the judgement of the oldest men of the tribe, 'he will become no warrior, and he will

not be able to kill any enemies'. If the Indian does not only sleep the whole night, but continues sleeping all the following day till sunset, this is also looked upon as a very serious omen. 'He will certanly [sic] not live long, he will soon sink into the earth like the sun'. If the arútama do not appear at all, if the young Jibaro has other kinds of visions or quite insignificant dreams, this is regarded as equally fatal. 'That youth will not live long, he will not kill any enemies, but he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies'. Such are the judgements which are most frequently passed on the 'bad' dreams by the old dream-interpreters.

Besides this, it is only natural that even the arútama and the maikoa eintseri sometimes give fore-shadowings which are unfavourable. If, for instance, the Jibaro warrior will soon fall a victim to the attacks of his enemies, the spirits may frankly tell him so beforehand. 'You will not live long, you will soon be killed by your enemies'. If he will perish through the magic arrow of a sorcerer or through some accident, the spirits may in the same way foretell it. It is characteristic of the demons who appear under the influence of the narcotic drinks that they always speak the absolute truth, just as they seem to possess actual knowledge.

It may also happen that the young Jibaro indeed sees the arútama, but in the very dream gets frightened at the sight of them and flees from them, so that he cannot be instructed by them or hardened against them. This, of course, is also a 'bad' dream.

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-14
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

I have so far mainly spoken of the ideas of the Jibaro Indians proper. As to the visions of the CANELOS INDIANS when drinking huántuc, I have still to add that on these occasions they do not pretend to see any animal demons or nature spirits. What then appears to them is only a white man dressed in black clothes. This being is called pasúca by the Canelos Indians, and he is the real huántuc-demon (huántuc supai). He takes the sleeping Indian through the air to a distant place, where he gives him the warnings and instructions desired."

4: Up de Graff--243-244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 152, 787

"On the eighth day the climax came. We sighted an island, which seemed to be ideal for pitching camp, and put into shore with the intention of deciding once and for all, what we were going to do with those treacherous and demoralized creatures who moaned and babbled between every half-dozen strokes of the paddle. But we were not destined to play an active part in the settlement of the problem, after all, for no sooner had we landed and lain down to rest than Pitacunca, by virtue of his high office, had resort to the never-failing hayahuasca (bitter wine--Inca). The plant is the means by which the medicine men of the Upper Amazon throw them[244]selves into a trance (in reality a state of drunken semi-torpor) from the depths of which they utter prophetic statements which are received with as much reverence as were ever those of the Sybil. Their power for good or evil is thus unlimited, for they pour forth their visions to a spell-bound audience which hangs on every word."

4: Up de Graff--244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 787, 152

"That night Pitacunca was determined to go no further. He drank his hayahuasca with his 'prophecy' prepared. Within a minute he was rolling about on the ground, groaning, vomiting, sighing, and wailing out his awful warning to a concourse of terror-stricken individuals, who wished they had never been such fools as to venture up the Santiago for the sake of a shining axe.

'Your homes are on fire and your families fleeing through the woods,' wailed Pitacunca, his voice rising above the moans of his audience; 'the Huambizas have taken off half your wives into captivity; but far worse than all the Huambiza devils in the Santiago valley, comes the news to your fugitive children that they are running from their attacks only to be stricken down with smallpox that walks abroad among our people (renewed groans); hungry and homeless, they know not where to turn (a positive hurricane of wailing); black ruin and death await you all, if you return not to stem the tide of disaster.'

With a final long-drawn-out sigh, Pitacunca ceased. But he had done his work. Panic ran riot in the camp. Muttering and whimpering, the Antipas ran hither and thither at the bidding of the drunken old fraud who professed to be their protector. We saw that it was useless to expect to get another minute's work out of them. Pitacunca, with an invincible superstition at his back, had won the day."

4: Up de Graff--244-245 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 787

"Among all the Jívaro tribes the medicine man is omnipotent but short-lived. He lasts as long as his [245] prophecies are not too disastrously wrong. Sooner or later he leads his people (of whom he is virtually chief) into disaster, having made a bad guess, and is sacrificed by those who before followed his every word. Plain proof of the blind credulity of his followers is to be found in the manner of his qualification for his office. Some ambitious old fake with his eye on the coveted post takes a reed-flute (the only instrument except the tom-tom known to the people) and (according to his own story) goes off down the river at dead of night, alone, for many miles, where he seats himself on a sand-bar and plays till the anacondas come out of the water and dance round him. Many times he tries, until at length one morning he walks into the settlement and announces that his great powers have at last prevailed, and he has enticed the serpents to his very feet. And so his authority is born. In times of peace he is the official weather-prophet and astrologer, indicating the proper phase of the moon in which to plant; he is the one and only jambi-chemist; he is the doctor, with a forest full of remedies at his command, and it must be added, in all fairness to him, that he understands the use of ipecacuana, quinine (béllacacara in Inca), and a number of the natural drugs which he extracts from the forest, some known to modern science and some not."

10: Anthony--147-148 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 776, 787, 276

"The Jivaros do not believe in a benign deity, but in a power which is spoken of by the Spaniards as el diablo, the devil. This being is not necessarily malicious in his attributes, but rather is considered to be a 'Super-Jivaro,' one powerful in all matters, omnipotent for good or evil but not loving evil for its own sake. When an important project is under consideration--a foray for wives or a long hunting trip into the territory of a hostile neighbor--the Jivaro deems it of the utmost importance that the 'devil' be consulted. For this purpose he retires to some secluded spot, let us say a small hill off in the jungle, and there drinks a quantity of a certain vegetable extract. This extract, made from the bark of a root, is a dark fluid [148] resembling coffee. It produces a narcotic effect upon the human system and the Jivaro passes into a stupor of several hours' duration, during which he experiences various weird hallucinations. One of these hallucinations is that the devil comes to him and gives advice regarding the proposed plan. If favorable views upon the matter are entertained by the devil, the project will be attempted. Consultation with the devil may be had by any man, for it is not the special province of any priestly class. I have spoken with white men who have sampled this narcotic drink and from the reports of its effects I judge the active principle of it must be some powerful alkaloid."

It is this omnipotent spirit who directs all the important acts of the Jíbaro's life. His advice is asked when a war is undertaken, it is to him that the wounded address themselves in order to recover their health, it is he who reveals to those who please him the most important secrets for the tribe. In order to enter communication with him it is necessary to drink the infusion of natema(1), the preparation of which I have already described. For this operation, the Indians choose a high and isolated hill. At Macas, the customary place is a hill, from the top of which one can see Sangay (2), a ceaselessly active volcano which seems to play a big part in the religious ideas of the Jíbaros of this region and which they call Tungura (3), a word that the missionaries have adopted to designate hell.

From the bottom of the hill up to the summit, a road is made either in a straight line, or in a spiral, and lined with flowers; at the top, a little shelter (iyámtei) is built, before which a space in the form of an elongated quadrilateral is laid out and levelled. He who is to undergo the test climbs up accompanied by all those who have some interest

1. Colonel Proaño speaks of a narcotic called naje employed for the same purpose by the Ayulis Indians and which ought to be analagous to natema: Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., tome III, page 407.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 146.

in the consulation of the iguanchi; having arrived at the top, his companions begin to dance to the sound of drums and flutes, during which the hero of the feast drinks the natema. As soon as he falls overcome by the narcotic, the crowd withdraws, leaving him alone in the shelter, after having lit near him a big pile of wood in order to keep beasts away (4). The drink immediately provokes an erethism of all the senses, with hallucinations, as well as a great muscular excitation; the hair bristles, the eyes water, the nostrils dilate, there is a [239] trembling of the lips; gritting of teeth, convulsions, and a loud rattling in the throat. Then follows a lethargic period which lasts about three days, during which the subject remains completely insensible (5). Villavicencio, who tried out the natema on himself, which he called by the Quechua name of ayahuasca, said he had a feeling of dizziness, then the sensation of rising into the air, with dreams of beautiful countries, large cities, high towers, etc., and finally impressions of horrible fear in desperate struggles against ferocious beasts. The effect of the drink is terminated by a strong need of sleep and, on waking, by a heaviness and aching of the head, accompanied sometimes by a general sickness(6).

4. I Jívaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza, op. cit., page 4.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
6. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 373.

It is during the period of excitation that the iguanchi gives the Jíbaro his advice, his miraculous cures, if the motive of the consulation was a recovery of health, or confides to him the name of the individual responsible for the death by witchcraft of a member of the family. Upon awakening, the Indian descends the hill and communicates to his relatives or associates the answer of the Spirit, and depending on whether it is favorable or not, the proposed war or the proposed expedition is immediately decided or postponed until later (7). One can understand how these superstitions contribute to maintain the state of permanent hostility between tribes.

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7. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 112.

13: Rivet--250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 825

The study of all these religious manifestations shows us to what extent the Jíbaro is the slave of his beliefs. Like all simple beings, he also believes in omens. Dreams have for him a significance; if he dreams that he has been able to catch a wild hog, as soon as he gets up, he takes his lance, sets forth into the forest and does not return until he has killed one of these animals; if in his dreams he is bitten by a serpent, he does not leave his house on the following day for any reason.

13: Rivet--250 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

When the wind blows violently, the women and children leave the huts uttering loud shouts, trying to put the wind to flight in this manner, while the men also shout at the top of their voices, encircling the posts of the house so that the gale does not upset them (1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 64-65.

13: Rivet--250 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 821, 787

When a violent storm comes, the Jíbaros leave their dwellings with lances and shields, shouting. In the direction of the bright lightning and reverberating thunder, they threaten an invisible enemy whom they thus intend to frighten. In fact, they are sure that the tribes living in that direction are uniting in order to come and make war against them.

13: Rivet--250 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

Father Pancheri says that a Jíbaro who passed the night at Gualaquiza in his room went out into the corridor before lying down and began to blow hard and to murmur incomprehensible words. Interrogated, he answered that he thus kept away death and the iguanchi (1).

If one throws chicha into a river, big clouds will arise on the horizon (2).

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1. Pancheri, op. cit., El Republicano, Quito paper. No. 106, February 7, 1894.
2. Bulletin salesien, February 1902, page 50.

20: Dyott--176 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 756, 787

"Mihanda and We-suma had already returned when we got back. We found them busily engaged cutting up the branches of a certain vine, known as natema (Banisteria caapi) which they had collected in the forest. They were scraping off the rind and placing the chopped-up stalks into a big earthen pot full of water.

It is customary for medicine-men and warriors alike to drink a concoction prepared from this plant prior to any warlike undertaking, or whenever the spirits have to be consulted on matters of importance. It produces strange hallucinations for those who drink it, and while under its influence they are supposed to be visited by the great spirits who advise them who their enemies are and if the time for attacking them is auspicious or otherwise.

The drink was simmering away in its last stages of preparation over the fire when Napi slipped in through the front door. He had already heard about the sudden death of Kun-gupi's brother, and deemed it wise not to linger in the district. There was yet another reason that made it doubly necessary for him to clear off early the next morning--he was a medicine man of considerable skill himself, and as such would certainly have been accused of practising witchcraft.

We watched him give an impromptu exhibition of his art as we sat around the pot of boiling natema."

"It was not till the afternoon was well advanced that we began to get the drift of a plot that was being hatched by these half-naked figures squatting around the fire. Johnston and myself regarded the scene with interest. Kuashu and his sons were talking at a terrific rate. Napi was no better; he was continually interjecting his views. It made little difference to him whether he was spoken to or not, he just went on talking. The position in a nutshell was this. One of Napi's travelling companions from the South, was a son of the man who had murdered Kuashu's brother. While we had sat lazily by the river after lunch, Mihanda and We-suma had been out spying on this fellow's movements, and they had learned that the day after to-morrow he was returning home by himself. The question to be decided by Kuashu and his family was--should they or should they not take this unusual opportunity of avenging the uncle's death? The only way to settle the issue was to drink natema or ayahuasca, as it is sometimes called, so that advice might be given by the spirits of Aru-tama (the old people).

After the natema had boiled for about an hour, the pot was taken off the fire, the liquid decanted into another jar and the residue thrown away. A certain amount of ritual attended the drinking of the brown fluid. The chief characters, Mihanda and We-suma, stood in front of the temporary shelf on which two bowls of the magic drink were placed. They held their spears in one hand and after a war chant, in which they evoked the good graces of the spirits, they swallowed off the contents at one gulp. The first

reaction of the narcotic was to produce violent nausea and [179] both men went outside to vomit up all they had drunk. Three times this was done and on each occasion Himbikti refilled the bowls to their brim. In an exhausted state the two brothers eventually staggered out of the house and went off to some shelter they had prepared in the forest, where during the long watches of the night, the spirits would appear to them in their dreams, advising them as to the best course to pursue.

Kuashu did not take part in the ceremony; both he and Napi drank copiously of nijamanchi instead. Bowl upon bowl of it was served until the pair were thoroughly intoxicated. Johnston and myself hardly knew what was the right thing for us to do under the circumstances. We could not participate in the festivities very well, so we sat on our camp beds and did nothing. My companion felt as if it was incumbent upon us to do something, even if only to talk and shout; but one makes fewer mistakes by keeping quiet. 'When in doubt do nothing,' is an important axiom when dealing with savage people. Many a man has lost his life through doing something he should have had sense enough to avoid. Safety lies in watching others closely and taking your cue from them. If you can't imitate them, then remain passive and you will be all right, but under no curcumstances is it wise to attempt civilized tactics or you may have cause to repent it!!

25: Vigna--39 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 787

The "Yhuanchi" is the principle that informs many manifestations of the domestic and social life of the Jíbaro. Through dreams, provoked by means of a potion of "Natem "Natem" (narcotic of vegetal nature which puts them to sleep for hours and entire days), the Yhuanchi makes known to the Jíbaros the cause of family illness and misfortune; it reveals the name of the supposed enemies, predicts the future, organizes the undertakings, and orders vengeance, etc. In order to put himself in communication with the Yhuanchi, the savage withdraws from the others, fasts strictly, and retires to the forest, oftentimes near a waterfall.

26: Brüning--69 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755, 787

The same brujo --his name was Kuja--had thought up a little stunt at our expense. Due to the rise of the Marañón we had to stay longer in Meléndez. Since our return was delayed, the brujo said that he had seen it in a vision that all the travellers, the Indian crew included, had died of small-pox. Since our crew came from Huaracayo, the inhabitants of this settlement were in mourning and had already started to prepare for a mortuary feast. Upon our return we found a great multitude of Indians to receive us. The brujo, whose calculations we had upset, was slightly embarrassed, kept himself aloof, faintly smiling from time to time.

28: Tessman--352-353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 787, 757

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tessman--360 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 787

The Chiwaros are filled with all sorts of undigested superstitious beliefs. They have many religious particles, which they presumably receive from the high cultures of the Andes, but they have not been able to incorporate these scraps into the framework of their own religion. One such particle, for instance, is the belief that a chieftain is going to die when the sun goes down red.

They also believe that the Chiwaros formerly had been animals, the Aguarunas, for instance, crested orioles. See Karsten, La lengua de los Indios, p. 54. The same source also for folk-tales.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunui, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the 794 *arutam wakanI*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekás* wakanI, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[3]

Arutam wakanI is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "WakanI" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanI [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that [154] the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[4] [164] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession 1152 is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, [154] including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- [761] sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily [628] directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [852] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [788] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [798] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- [785] grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco [796] water,[5] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called ***kakarma***, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

726 774 821 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

726 774 761 [978] The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home [789] and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

774 778 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

[183] *By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the* replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a [921] new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[961] Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person 726 who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from 774 him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing power

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[10]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[11] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makwčI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*payi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again. 796 787

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[16] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa. 727 794

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: [789] [648]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

[533] [539]

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose. [439] [789]

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam [798]

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g English *g* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *o*; palatized when following *e* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
sh English *sh*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *e* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutum*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adherents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[7] One exception is the female arutam which only sounds sikuth when tamed.

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *amuntu*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul or any permanent soul, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

[12] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *mesiak*.

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the emerging soul can catch him.

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

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335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available nenzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

[For additional information on the use of drugs for hallucinatory revelations, see 34: Hamer, category 276.]

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tarači*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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[787]

likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

[782]
[782]

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782
for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. 776
A typical version is as follows: 241
824

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing. [533]
> So that the manioc will grow well. [539]
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and 776
treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the 241
garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to re- 824
main at the garden. These are three red stones which appear 782
to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as 823
babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked 787
red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows: 773

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uyuí* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

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276 774 852 778 787 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči ašt* ("child swallowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe dietary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemi* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 774 778 787 [86] The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing, from the Jivaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to depend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jivaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence, as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 857 868 [854] [356] Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any, while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round wood for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-
[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length, the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[82] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 216
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasakii*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*iči*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels.
Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787 •
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and [761]
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
• 787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
901 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
756 and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *nuisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[8]

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
776 specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
761 contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other
[753] words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or 776
spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [296]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 296
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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276 likely, though, is that before the five days are up, one of the
• 787 members of the party will have recourse to drinking hallucinogenic *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) juice. Usually this is a person who has failed to see an *arutam* on a previous vision quest or who feels an urgent need to see one without delay.

276 *Maikua*, of which the Jívaro distinguish and use six different types, is recognized by them to be the most powerful and also the most dangerous hallucinogen with which they are familiar. In their pharmacopoeia, the hallucinogenic plants with which they are acquainted are ranked thusly in terms of their strength: (1) all six forms of *maikua*; (2) *natemá*, mixed with *yabi* (see pp. 153–54), and *paripara*; (3) *tsentsemá*, *piripiri*, and *tipuru*. The last four remain to be botanically identified with certainty.

The psychotropic potency of *Datura* and certain other plants of the Solanaceae is well known to Western pharmacology, their hallucinogenic properties being due primarily to their high content of hyoscyamine, atropine, and scopolamine.[2] Preparations from these plants tend to produce, in large dosages, a state of excitation, delirium, and hallucinations, followed by a state of narcosis.[3]

The Jívaro obtain their hallucinatory experiences with *Datura* by ingesting the raw juice of the green bark of the stems. The effects begin to be felt within about three to four minutes of ingestion, probably because of the fast action of the atropine. The *arutam* seeker ingesting the *Datura* juice is
276 never supposed to do it without the presence of an adult
787 who is not taking the drug. It is the responsibility of the latter to provide psychological support or, in Jívaro terms, to "encourage" him, and also to hold him down, if necessary, during the first phase of the intoxication, when the drug taker tends to become delirious and is in danger of running off into the forest in his highly agitated state and, as a result,

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probably falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied. 276 787

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[4] 276 787 776

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have 787 774 778 [776]

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755
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23. Snake *tsentsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natemā*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

• 787 24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natemā* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

774 Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
778 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to conta-
[761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[5] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

798 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
794 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by
[278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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776 Before the avenging spirit, or *tsunki*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
• 787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *tsunki* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *wakan* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the
776 *wakan* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jivaro believe that
796 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the *wakan*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *wakan* cannot see out," thereby

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrhea. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*uwilin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose Jivaro name is *natemá*, in order to enter the supernatural
• 787 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yaji*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemá* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, *d*-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 21).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemá* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social in-
276 teraction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
755 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
787 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
828 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this

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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *natema* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natema*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natema* drink among the 756
Jivaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that
approximately one out of every four Jivaro men is a shaman.
Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives
some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit
helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they
are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them
only under the influence of *natema*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsuji, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living under water in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm stems, by upright ana-
condas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reported to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*tsentsarí*) which are [778]

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778 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemá*.
276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
• 787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
628 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
721 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemá* and secretly ap-
276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, sees the
776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
• 787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vuncrable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 darts, *anamak*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
[787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other 954
shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities 778
of *natemá*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another 276
drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is 955
a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is 778
shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical 953
dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to 955
that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to 276
treat a patient, his first task is to see *if* the illness is due to 987 •
witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemá*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 13).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun, 955
778

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955 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have
778 sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the laymen that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which
955 he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their
779 supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the
296 influence of *natemi*, and he sees them as a variety of
• 787 zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his
776 shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemi*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pusak* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemi* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pusak* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

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[787]

natemá, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *natéwa* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemá*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

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755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
776 regularly, he must drink *natemā* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemā*, the curing
• 787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
[276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
778 *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
754 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *panii* (see pp. 119–20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemā*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *uwa* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *uwa*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
773 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail *alone* at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
• [787] become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
[276] uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
[824] have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
[756] Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, fami-
[755] lies tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jivaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the
823 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
177 from the frontier Jivaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
797 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jivaro, Tuguri, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jivaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jivaro

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6. One exception is the fireball *arutam*, which only vanishes slowly when touched. 000

5. Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of the son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s). [593]

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *amunu*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jívaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jívaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

9. Muscle may alternatively be pronounced *wuisha*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *musuak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [766]

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material. [114]

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Markersson et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *Jukumar*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 14). [789] •

16. The breezes are caused by his *tsentsak* flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Catalina tribe) known to the Jívaro (see pp. 179-181).

CHAPTER V

1. Davidson (1944, p. 31) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yaupes neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay. [179]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 183 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding ensoul, witchcraft, or kin-ship.

There kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be 794 the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *wuisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *ardis wakanl*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [142] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl 787 is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has 159 been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be 761 killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is 164 not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession 152 is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is for- 154 tunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is con- 761 sidered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain 562 arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that 628 extra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- 852 companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred 788 waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a 798 few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander 785 about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pil- 796 grims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about mid- 787 night to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

"However, certain magical or animistic ideas seem to be associated with the very material used for the making of them. [JKM: pottery] When I asked the Jibaros why only women make pottery, I received the answer, 'The clay is obtained from the earth and the earth is a woman; hence the women have to make clay vessels.' It is interesting to note on this point that 'clay' in the Jibaro language is nui and 'earth' nunga, from which word also the name of the Earth-mother Nungüi is derived. 'Woman' again, is nua. There can be little doubt that all these words are derived from the same root, a fact that the Jibaro women themselves seem to be aware of. When further we consider that, as we shall presently see, the ornamental designs painted on some clay vessels, have obviously a magical significance, we realize that a whole primitive 'philosophy' is connected with the making of these important utensils."

1: Karsten--175 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
177, 789 (1928-29)

"Most Indian tribes in Eastern Ecuador nowadays practise angling, using hooks received from the whites. Before the iron hooks were introduced, crooked bones were used for this purpose. Pieces of flesh and certain seeds serve as baits when angling. When the Indian throws out the line he whistles a chant in order to attract the fish."

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungüi and her 'husband', as above (p.135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamárma,

our manioc plantation is still young.
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young.
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young.
nu pingera teapaitai,
make it nicely grow.
yurúmga unteuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops", etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
"Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops"! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,
Yeita másanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyúka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young.
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!'

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!' (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

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"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on

her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of piningas, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at

the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other

women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking

of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

1: Karsten--266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
789 (1928-29)

"The shield of the Jibaro Indians is not only a weapon of defence, but also a religious instrument, a fact that everybody who takes part in their victory-feasts is able to establish. The tandára is full of magic power, and when is [sic] is beaten with the lance in a particular way, this is in fact a sort of religious or magical ceremony which is believed to inspire the spirits--first of all the spirit of the slain enemy--with fear. The ceremony referred to is called Yáktinyu."

1: Karsten--287 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 726, 789, 462, 535 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayambruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

1: Karsten--288-289 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 714, 789 (1928-29)

"In regard to the arrangement of the dress for war there are three objects which are kept in view. Partly, the Indian tries to make his whole appearance as terrifying as possible in order to impress the enemies; partly, certain pieces of clothing and ornaments which he puts on are, owing to some mysterious inherent properties, supposed to give him strength and courage; lastly, some of them will serve as marks of recognition, by which the warriors will be able to distinguish friends from enemies in the battle. The black body painting, for instance, serves all these three aims. More than anything else, it helps to give the Indian warrior a savage and terrible appearance. The Jibaros say that for a combat they paint themselves black in order to resemble the iguanchi (demons), which implies that the body-painting is believed to impart to them something of the savage ferocity and strength of these supernatural beings. Besides, even in semi-darkness it is possible to distinguish the black-painted Indian from one who does not wear that mark of recognition. The strips of bast tied around the pigtails likewise, as already indicated, partly enable the warriors to recognize their comrades in the battle, [289] partly are supposed to eke out that natural power which the Indian always ascribes to his hair and his pigtails. To impart strength and valour to the warrior is also the object of the ear-tubes, the necklaces of jaguar's teeth, and the belt of the boa serpent. 'Wearing our ear-tubes (arúsa), we do not fear anything,' the Jibaros are in the habit of saying. The teeth of the jaguar and the belt of the boa skin

naturally give the wearer something of the demoniac strength of these animals. Again, the power which the Jibaros attribute to the cincture made of human hair is due to the supernatural properties ascribed to the hair, which is regarded as the seat of the soul or the vital energy."

"After the slayer has, in the way described, assisted in the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine, his role with regard to the preparations for the feast is finished. The following days and nights he has to spend outside his own house, making on the third day, when the feast commences, his solemn entrance into the same. The first two of the three nights he thus stays outside he passes in another house a few [332]doors away from his own; the third night, again, in a shelter made at a short distance from the house of the feast. The priest (whuéa), who always must remain in the neighbourhood of the slayer and take care of him, accompanies him on this excursion.

All the three nights that the slayer is absent his friends in the house of the feast, and particularly the young men, perform the dance Wuimchi in the same way as on the first night, from the fall of night until the dawn.

On the afternoon of the day previous to the commencement of the feast, when the slayer has been absent for two nights, the following ceremony takes place in a shelter made a short distance from the house of the feast. Some of the older Indians take the trophy which, as usual, is kept hanging over the fire, place it upon a shield and carry it to the shelter mentioned. In this shelter the slayer and the priest now stay, and they will also pass the following third and last night there. Outside it a fire is made. A chonta staff is fixed in the ground close by the fire. The priest gives the slayer tobacco

juice through the nose, then grasps his hand and makes him hang the tsantsa on the top of the chonta staff. With the aid of the priest, he places three small round stones, provided for the purpose, upon the fire to be heated. When they are sufficiently hot, the slayer, whose hand is held by the priest, takes up one of them by means of a stick cleft at the end, and drops it into the head through the opening at the neck, holding the trophy with the left hand. The small stone is allowed to roll to and fro in the head for a moment; then the slayer takes it out and puts it back on the fire. The priest again gives him tobacco juice, whereupon the same procedure is repeated with the second stone, and lastly with the third one. Every time that the slayer puts a stone into the head the priest is holding his hand, and each stone, after being used in the way described, is again put on the fire, where the stones are ultimately left. The trophy is again hung on the top of the chonta staff. The priest grasps the slayer by the wrist and makes him touch the hair of the tsantsa with his hand, at the same time saying: Kakáruma, pangi ishamakaipa, --'Have courage; do not fear the great serpent'. The trophy is subsequently taken back to the house by the other men, but the slayer and the priest remain in the shelter.

As we find, the same ceremony is repeated here as was earlier performed with the trophy previous to beginning the work of preparing it. The procedure with the small heated stones seems to be merely to [333] mortify the soul of the enemy, attached to the

head, to protect the slayer against the revengeful ghost, and favourably to prepare for the important incident which will take place on the following day--the entrance of the victor into the house of the feast.

That the object of the ceremony described is essentially to paralyze the danger threatening the slayer from the dead enemy, may also be concluded from the last words addressed to him by the priest in which he is warned not to fear the 'great serpent.' The great boa serpent (pangi) is the most formidable of all demons who people the spiritual world of the Jibaros. He is the original father of witchcraft; it is from his body that the sorcerers receive the poison with which their organism is impregnated and the invisible arrow (túnchi), which they discharge at their victims. After death the souls of the medicine-men are also believed to enter into the boa. The Jibaros, like all Indians, therefore particularly fear this monster, and when they kill a boa they think that they kill a powerful sorcerer. From the above statement it appears that the giant serpent also is one of those shapes in which the spirit of the killed enemy is believed to meet the slayer."

1: Karsten--423 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 789 (1928-29)

"The religious practices of the Jibaros are so manifold and in part of so peculiar a character that it is almost impossible to bring them under any commonly recognized categories. Thus there is no rite which can be termed 'sacrifice', except the food offered to the dead, and the 'prayers' addressed to the Earth-mother Nugüi are also peculiar, having poetical form and being always sung. All other practices are in their character magical and of these, too, different categories can be distinguished. The worshipper's aim may be, for instance, to ward off the spirits, or to obtain their favour and enter into alliance with them. There are also magical practices which have no reference to personal spirits at all."

1: Karsten--423-424 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 534, 177, 789 (1928-29)

"The most important of the religious instruments of the Jibaros is the big drum tundúi. We have already seen how this drum is used and the interesting religious ideas that are connected with it. The curious association of ideas which has induced the Jibaros to propitiate the 'demon of the mountain' with the instrument which is supposed to be an imitation of his visible representative, the great serpent, pangi, makes us understand that we are dealing with an old and genuinely Indian religious custom. The same can hardly be said about the other and smaller drum, called uchichi tambora by the Jibaros, which no doubt [424] is of European origin. The latter have obtained this drum from their more civilized tribesmen the Canelos Indians, who have developed the making of such drums into a whole industry. The drum is made with great skill and has skin at both ends, the one skin being obtained from a common night monkey, the other from the small capuchin monkey. Only one stick is used. The Canelos Indians use the drum at their drinking-feasts, marriage feasts, etc., two or three Indians constantly wandering about in the middle of the house accompanying with their drums the pairs who appear dancing. The Indians believe that by drumming and dancing they can, among other things, keep off evil spirits, but it is evident that among these half-civilized Indians such ceremonies are more and more losing their religious and magical significance and degenerating into mere amusements. The Jibaros too use the small

drum, accompanying the solo dances with it at their great feasts, the 'music' having the same significance as among the Canelos Indians.

The same may be said of the flutes, at any rate of those known under the name of piuma and pingúi. Both are made of a piece of cane, but the former, the piuma, is larger and has five holes, whereas the smaller has only two. They are used at the great feasts and add to the general din and noise. Their religious significance clearly appears, for instance, from a custom like that mentioned above (p. 226) with reference to the Achuares of the Pastaza. When a newborn child is taken into the house for the first time, the oldest man in the family walks round with the little one accompanied by the other men beating drums and playing on flutes, a ceremony which professedly has for its object to frighten away the evil spirits who are threatening the child. A third flute is by the Jibaros called tungúi and is made of the leg bone of the jaguar. This flute is played, among other things, when the inhabitants of a house, attacked by an enemy, are trying to escape from it into the forest. The flute-playing is accompanied by dancing and is believed to 'tire out the enemy' (p. 290). A flute made of the jaguar's bone is believed to have a special magical power."

1: Karsten--429-430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"Rites for magically influencing nature.

Under this category fall a great number of the rites and ceremonies which are performed at the great feasts and the aim of which seems to be to exert a mysterious influence upon nature itself, apparently without the intervention of any personal spiritual agents. The five great feasts of the Jibaros, as has appeared from my previous statements, are the 'feast of the children' (Uchiáuka), the 'feast of the young men (Kusúpani), the 'feast of the women' (Noa tsangu), the 'victory-feast' (Einsupani), and the 'feast of the dogs' (Yawápani). The particular idea which I wish to point out here appears very clearly in all these feasts, except the 'feast of the children', the principal object of which seems to be to impart strength to the young child. On the other hand, in the Kusúpani feast the object of the tobacco smoking ceremonies is not only to give the young man power of resisting evil spirits; besides this, there is the idea that the power of the tobacco--more strictly speaking, the power of the tobacco spirit--will be directly transferred to those departments of nature within which a full-grown man is active. This idea appears still more clearly with reference to the 'tobacco feast' and the great victory-feast: fertility of the fields and a rich harvest, the increase of the domestic animals, abundance of game, success in warfare, hunting, fishing and all domestic work will be the immediate consequence of these feasts if the rites prescribed by custom are performed in the right way. Similarly in the Yawápani feast the power inherent

in the [430] kungúna plant and other 'medicines' will, both through the dog and through his master, be automatically reflected upon the corresponding department of nature, giving as a result an abundance of game and luck in hunting.

It is difficult exactly to make out the primitive Indian view upon which all these rites are based. The only thing that can be said is that they assume an essential similarity or a mysterious connection between man and inanimate nature, which in its turn is based on the belief that in both, at bottom, the same spiritual life is active and therefore can be transferred from the human world to natural objects."

1: Karsten--430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"From my previous statements it has appeared the Jibaros have a good many religious practices which have for their object to ward off the evil spirits, the iguánchi and wakani, to frighten them away and intimidate them. Thus they try to expel the demons which cause thunder and lightning, and who are regarded as the spirits of their dead enemies, by brandishing their lances aganst [sic] the sky and challenging them. (1) The great victory-feast is full of such rites. The spirit of the slain enemy who is trying to harm the victor in every way is kept at bay by the beating of shields (the ceremony Yáktinyu), by firing into the air, by shouting and yelling, by beating drums and playing on flutes and, last but not least, by dancing. The dance Hantsemáta especially is interesting on this point since it is a typical conjuration, its great aim being to mortify the soul of the killed enemy and to control it. But the other Jibaro dances too are all of a ceremonial character, although there are different ideas underlying them."

"1. See supra, p. 381."

1: Karsten--430-431 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789 (1928-29)

"There is no clear line of demarcation between good and evil spirits. Most of the iguanchi are certainly conceived of as evil or malignant, but a man who knows how to deal with them and to influence them in the right way--in the first place, of course, the medicine-man--may not only be able to resist and vanquish them, but even to make them his 'friends' and allies. We frequently meet this idea in the practical religion [431] of the Jibaros. Thus one of the most startling ideas underlying the great victory-feast was that the soul (wakáni) of the slain enemy, embodied in the tsantsa, in spite of his malignity and hatred of the victor, is through the ceremonies of the feast changed into a sort of guardian spirit who is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at the victor's disposal, gives him instructions and advice as to the domestic work, agriculture, etc. (p. 315). However, the medicine-men and sorcerers especially illustrate the way in which man may make the demons his allies and cooperate with them. Not only is the tunchi or tsinsáka the embodiment of a demoniacal being who executes the orders of the wizard when he wants to harm his enemies; besides this he may directly cooperate with the demons called iguánchi to be surer of success (p. 411). In the next chapter I shall again find an opportunity to refer to these practices. They imply that the medicine-man tries to summon and favourably influence the spirits by imitating them in their outward appearance and by playing the sort of string instrument which is called turúmba in Quichua and tsayandúru in the Jibaro language. The latter

is a simple bow of a special kind of wood with a cord of twisted chambira fibres. The Indian, when playing, touches the string with his mouth at one end of the bow, holding it in a horizontal position, and when twanging the string, is able to produce different tunes with it by certain movements of his lips. The tunes are very soft and perceptible only at a short distance, but are nevertheless believed to exert a mysterious influence upon the spirits whom the sorcerer addresses in playing the instrument.

In the same way as the Indians believe that they can summon the spirits and make them their friends by playing the 'musical bow', they believe that mysterious influence can be exerted upon them by beating the big drum tundúi. The condition in both cases, however, is that the Indian must be intoxicated by natéma or some other narcotic, for otherwise the demons will hardly appear. In dealing with the big 'signal' drum (p. 110 sq.) I have indicated the different ways in which the drum must be beaten on different occasions for the purpose of summoning the spirits. These occasions are the chonta feast and the natéma feast. The former will soon be described with some more details. The natéma feast again cannot be properly understood unless we know the many interesting ideas which are associated with the drinking of narcotic drinks in general."

1: Karsten--452-453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros know both how to make rain and to stop rain by magical means. There is a kind of plant, called piripiri by the Jibaros, which is used for different magical purposes. Under this name, however, they seem to include various different species. Two of them, those which are called yúmi piripiri ('the rain p.') and esáta piripiri ('the dry weather p.') are used for making rain or, on the contrary, for making drought. Both are plants with long narrow leaves, but those of the 'dry weather piripiri' are shorter. In both cases the round roots of the plants are used. In a region like Eastern Ecuador and Peru, where it rains almost continually, there is seldom any real reason for the Indians to produce rain by artificial means; drought there is a very rare thing. When the Indians try to produce rain by magical means they nearly always do so merely out of wickedness, that is, to cause their fellow tribesmen harm or annoyance, especially when they are travelling on the river. When in 1917 I came from my long river expedition down to the Achuares on the middle Pastaza, I was surprised by heavy rains which lasted for weeks, caused the Bobonaza to swell, and made the ascension of the river extremely trying for my Indian crew. When at last we approached Canelos, one of my Indians said that he would make the rains to continue 'so that other travellers would have the same difficulties as we had had'. He procured a specimen of the yúmi piripiri, chewed the root in the mouth, jumped into the river, and took the mouth full of water, whereupon he blew the chewed root and the water against the sky with so

much force as he could, assuring that the rains would soon begin again. [453] It had been fine weather that day, but the following day the rain again fell in torrents.

To make dry weather with the esáta piripiri the Jibaros likewise use the root, but in a somewhat different way than in the former case: it is burnt in the fire. The plant with the root fixed to it is given to a small child, who holds the root in the fire until it is consumed. A full-grown man or woman cannot do it. 'We full-grown people', an Indian explained to me, 'drink so much manioc-beer that our stomach is always full of water; we cannot therefore make dry weather in the way mentioned, but a child who drinks no manioc-beer has to do it.'

The leaves of the indéshi piripiri ('hair p.') are extremely long and narrow like human hairs. It is used to promote the growth of the hair. The root is again used: it is mashed and soaked in water, and the hair is washed in the solution, with the effect that it will grow 'long as the piripiri grass'.

The noa piripiri ('women's p.') is used in the same way as the simaika for the purpose of gaining the love of women, and has been mentioned before (p. 215).

Similarly the napi piripiri (snake's p.') has been mentioned before in connection with the curing of snake bite (p. 423)."

1: Karsten--453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 827, 484 (1928-29)

"When the Indians are travelling they always take with them some bundles of fermented manioc substance wrapped up in banana leaves, so that they can prepare the beer on the way whenever they find water. When they dilute a certain quantity of the manioc substance in the water, they never afterwards throw away the waste of manioc substance left, but they wrap it up again in the empty banana leaf and put a stone on the bundle, leaving it in this way at the resting-place. Then the manioc-beer which they have drunk will remain 'steady' in the stomach, and they will not soon get hungry again. This is the idea of both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--453-454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 481, 789, 827 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros, when they are about to cross a broad river swimming, are in the habit of swallowing a fish-sound before they enter the water. In this way, they believe, they will be able to float on the water and swim as easily as a fish.

Similarly they take care, before entering the water to swim, to tie up the prepuce of their penis and to fix it to the stomach by means of a [454] cord which they always carry with them for the purpose.(1) If the water comes in contact with the glans, it is believed, it will impede erection at the right time and render coitus difficult."

"1. See the naked Indian on Plate XXIII, 1."

1: Karsten--490-491 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"The idea that the spirits can be controlled by imitating them in their external appearance, is also conspicuous in the ornamental designs applied to the body and to certain objects, for instance the doors of the houses, shields, and clay vessels. All these designs are borrowed from the animal world, and it is interesting to note that they invariably represent dangerous animals, or animals in which evil spirits are thought to appear. How the Indians try to keep off the spirits of the departed or other spirits from their houses by painting their figures on the door, has been shown before (Pl. XVII, 2 and p. 454). The figures appearing on the door are characteristic of the ornamental art of the Jibaros. The most conspicuous of them are human spirits, represented in the usual way with the arms stretched out. The small circles, with [491]a point in the middle are also very common. It took me long to find out the real significance of this pattern, even after I had been informed that it was thought to keep off evil spirits. On inquiry, I was simply told that the small circles represented yusa. By the name yusa the Indians denote the big macaw (Arara hyacinthinus) which is one of their principal bird demons, but there is little resemblance between such a little circle and the beautiful parrot. We get the solution of the riddle when we look at the Indian drawing of a macaw found on Fig. 20, b (p. 494). The Indians paint the eyes of the bird separately, and the small circles are precisely identical with the eyes of the macaw. To the Indian mind special importance is attached to them, because in the eyes the

power of the demoniacal bird is concentrated. Hence the eyes occur as independent magical ornaments in the art of the Indians.

The circle pattern, however, occurs in two forms and has two significations: it not only represents the eye of the macaw but also the round black spots on the skin of the anaconda. Frequently the pattern occurs as two concentric circles with a black spot in the middle (Fig. 20, c). The eyes of the macaw in fact are surrounded by concentric rings; but the pattern may represent the spots of the anaconda as well. What these spots are like in reality, and how faithfully the Indians represent them in their art, will be clear when we compare the cincture made of an anaconda's skin on Pl. XXI, 3 with the patterns engraved on the instrument payánga, depicted on p. 311. Generally the Indians are, in each particular case, able to explain whether the pattern in question represents the magical bird or the huge reptile. As to the patterns engraved on the payánga, for instance, they expressly declared that they represent the spots of the anaconda (pangi), which they also apply to the face, to shields when they are ornamented, and so forth."

1: Karsten--492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"That the Indians represent the most dreaded animal demons in their ornamental art, applying their figures even to eating and drinking vessels, is a significant fact which suggests that certain mysterious ideas are connected both with the clay vessels and the ornaments. As I have pointed out before, there is an interesting connection between a woman, who alone has to make the the clay vessels, and the earth and clay of which they are made. The clay vessel, according to the idea of the Indians, 'is a woman'. When we further consider the ceremonial character which the drinking of fermented and narcotic drinks assumes at the great feasts, we understand that a whole primitive 'philosophy' underlies both the making of clay vessels and their use."

1: Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789, 302 (1928-29)

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1. and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig, 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

4: Up de Graff--266-267 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 726

"Suddenly with a clap of thunder the promised storm broke on the scene. Here was everything that Tuhuimpui had predicted--one of those summer storms of great intensity but short duration which occur in the tropics alone. Once more the necromancer's spell had worked. Even as he had said, the wind raged and the rain fell in sheets to the accompaniment of the thunder and the vivid lightning. So great was the fury of the elements that we had to post a sentry outside our shelter to warn us of falling limbs. All around [267] the cave they came crashing down--any one of them enough to obliterate us and our puny cover.

In half an hour it had passed, and we were out again, uncovering the fire and restoring it to life while the dying wind swept the last drops of moisture from the forest roof. It had passed, but left behind in every Jívaro heart an undying faith in the prowess of their chief. Sure of their victory now, the savages bounded to the dance with redoubled energy, cavorting and pirouetting in a mad frenzy of hatred and battle-lust. All night long they kept it up, a pack of tireless demons. We on our part had no recourse but to sit with our rifles at hand and wait for dawn. Sleep had no charms for us while that waking delirium possessed the Indians, fanned to white-heat by the splendid augury of the storm.

It is useless for me to attempt an explanation of the prodigious success with which Tuhuimpui met that day. I cannot allow that it was merely a case of coincidence. The correctness in detail of his prognostications may suffice to confound that theory. No;

4: Up de Graff--266-267 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 789, 726

either he knew by some sixth sense which many animals possess that there was rain somewhere near (a thing almost unbelievable, since there was apparently no difference in the barometric conditions of that day and the preceding days) or else he was able to detect the coming of the rain by a minute observation of the movements of certain animals, or even insects, signs which would mean nothing to any but the most highly trained child of the woods."

28: Tessman--357 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 562, 756, 789

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called ananténts̆o or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

28: Tessman--358 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 789

What Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 318 ff.) has to say concerning the magic of the Chiwaro-Makas Indians is very interesting and very important. Preparations are necessary for this magic. Aside from the personal monistic magic, which I have described there is also a transmission of magic through animals. In this case, the sorcerer has handed over the spine to a certain animal, or as Karsten put it, "the sorcerer has allowed his soul to enter the animal." The expression "soul" evidently refers to the magic substance, part of which was perhaps given to the animal. Other forms of magic are: to shoot the spines (rays) out of the eyes at any time, even in daytime. (Originally, the evil eye idea!) Another form: to put the spines into the food and drink of the victim; to hang the spines in bundles somewhere in the proximity of the enemy, so that the latter would accidentally come in contact with them. Certain preventives are in use. Against the evil eye, for instance, they grind up a medicinal plant and smear it on to the body with Bixa red. Preventive measures are also taken with regard to certain places where spines may easily have been planted. For instance, the roof of old forest huts may be removed and replaced with a new one, so that the spines that may have been hidden in the old palm leaves have no chance to drop down on the sleeping person.

Demons are also able to carry out acts of magic by sending off spines.

Sorcerers, while still living, have the power to transform themselves into jaguars in order to approach other people with magic.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again. 776 787

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[18] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa. 727 774

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: [789] [648]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

[533] [539]

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose. [439] [789]

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam [798]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsarutama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Piribri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Piribri." Actually, *pirípirí* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nugui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nëkás wakanI and thus, since he uses the term wakanI alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanI.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *niawá*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[789] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
[439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824

Don't suck the blood of my husband [533]
And also don't suck the blood of my daughter. [539]
When you want to suck blood,
Suck the blood of my enemies.
When my husband comes,
He will look very beautiful and very clear.
But when our enemies come,
They will come very pale
And in the form of demons.[4]
And you will know
Who will die,
Who will die.
And when they enter this garden,
They will have their blood sucked.
All, all I can call,
Even the plantain itself.
I am a woman of Nuŋuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors 824 to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc [789] in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in [861] telling children why they should not play in the garden. [869]

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595
on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it 224
being believed that after intercourse he is particularly sus- 833
ceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, [82]
men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to 224
engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of 833
pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their 842
wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually 595
state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situ- 842
ation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic 842
magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the 756
male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken 789
egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes 842
789

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842 place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-
[789] sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemina-
[824] tion and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a
[848] child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

554 While the concept of the *untä* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untä* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *untä*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jívaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *muisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
• 789 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the
727 *muisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
796 *muisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *muisak* cannot see out," thereby

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*. 765 789

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: 727 776 796 [648] [539]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose. 765 499 789 789

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As 774 778 765 727 796

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

727 774 778 765 789 796 [562]

in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *nuisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *nuisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *nuisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *nuisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 628 727 721

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri huará* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[532]

[774] [796]

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *nuisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

1: Karsten--103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
278, 462, 791 (1928-29)

"To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know, only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

1: Karsten--225 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
791 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover practise the following custom for the same purpose. [JKM: to facilitate delivery at childbirth] A medicine-man is called in; he takes a hen's egg, blows upon it and mutters a special conjuration over it, holding it close to his mouth; thereupon he breaks the egg allowing its contents to pour directly into the mouth of the pregnant woman who, sitting on a bench, has to swallow it raw without touching it with her hands. The idea is that the woman will now be delivered of her foetus as easily as the hen is delivered of its egg."

1: Karsten--399 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"From what has been stated about the medicine-men in the previous pages, for instance in connection with the demons appearing in the shape of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, we may conclude that they form a class of extraordinary importance in the Jibaro community. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-man is the physician of the community, not a priest. His chief bussiness [sic] is to kill or harm other people--his own enemies or those of his tribe--with sorcery, and to cure evils sent by enemy sorcerers. He is not particularly a 'weather-doctor', i.e. a man that professes to influence the weather for good or evil. Although magical practices of this kind occur among the Jibaros, they can be performed by any member of the community and do not form part of the special functions of the medicine-men. Nor do they concern themselves with such ceremonies as are of a marked religious character, as for instance the rites and incantations performed in honour of Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma for agriculture. Divination consisting of drinking the narcotics natéma or maikoa is continually practised by the medicine-men, but chiefly in connection with their medical treatment."

1: Karsten--399-400 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"I frequently use the expression 'medicine-man and sorcerer', indicating thereby that these conceptions are not exactly synonymous. A medicine-man is certainly always a sorcerer, but a sorcerer need not necessarily be a professional medicine-man. Thus old warriors and chiefs are generally more or less initiated in the magic art; in fact, they [400] fight their enemies not only with their natural weapons but also with their magical 'arrows' (tunchi). Yet they do not exercise the art of sorcery professionally and are seldom seen curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers. In this account I shall as a rule use the words 'sorcerer' or 'wizard' with reference to black or nefarious magic, whereas 'medicine-man' is a general appellation for a person practising the magic art. The Jibaros have only one word for denoting a medicine-man or sorcerer; wishinyu."

1; Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 · Jivaro-1
116, 791 (1928-29)

"To become a medicine-man among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians is not quite an easy thing; both ascetic practices and real studies are required of the man aiming at this title and rank. Among the Jibaros a would-be medicine-man is initiated in the following way. He approaches some old medicine-man who will give him the tunchi as well as the instruction necessary for the exercise of his profession. The medicine-man squirts into his mouth, direct from his own, a small chonta thorn with a little saliva and some juice of tobacco, muttering an incantation. The novice has now received the 'poison' which will in due time enable him to act as a sorcerer. The mysterious bewitching matter will spread all over his body with the blood, permeating his whole being, and there will always be something of it in his mouth to be used whenever he likes. In order to become effective in the possession of the new medicine-man the poison must however properly 'ripen'. This among the Jibaros generally seems to take place in the course of six months, but may sometimes require a period of two years. The poison is ripe when the new medicine-man proves able to bewitch a person with his tunchi. The time of preparation is extremely critical for him. The 'poison' permeating his body, instead of ripening and becoming an effective weapon against his enemies, may under unfavourable circumstances cause his own destruction. This will happen unless, during the critical time, he fasts strictly and closely observes other rules of conduct imposed upon him. During the first five days after he has received the tunchi

from the old medicine-man he only eats boiled green plantain mashed in water, strictly abstaining from drinking even manioc-beer (nihamánchi), the daily drink of the Indians. Instead of that he takes juice of tobacco in great quantities both through the mouth and the nose. He also drinks the narcotic natéma every evening in order to see the demons who will help him to become a medicine-man. In narcotic dream he goes to the bank of the river and summons the anaconda demon, pangi and his 'brother', tsúngi; they rise from the river, [401]speak to him as friends, and give him the tunchi. As pointed out before, it is in these water monsters that witchcraft has its ultimate origin; they are also the first demons invoked by the medicine-men when illnesses, caused by witchcraft, have to be cured.

When the five days have elapsed, the novice cuts his hair short and takes a ceremonial bath in a waterfall in the forest. During the following months, or until the poison has properly 'ripened', he has to observe the following rules in regard to his mode of life: --His food chiefly consists of boiled green plantains, mashed in water. When eating he takes care not to touch the food with his fingers but eats with the aid of small wooden sticks or splinters. The future medicine-man drinks beer made of bananas and a root called sangu, but not the ordinary manioc-beer. He carefully abstains from eating the flesh of swine or hens, that is, the flesh of the most important domestic animals. Pork is particularly believed to have a harmful influence upon the medicine-man's health and

his power as a sorcerer. He shuns it to such extent that if it is boiled in the same house where he lives he avoids even inhaling the vapours rising from the boiling pot. He also abstains from eating the flesh of the wild boar because of its resemblance to the domestic swine. An animal always religiously shun by the medicine-men, even by those properly initiated, is the armadillo (shushúi). They not only abstain from eating its flesh but even avoid seeing it. If a medicine-man happens to encounter an armadillo, he at once closes his nostrils with his fingers or with a cloth in order not to inhale the musty smell which this animal emits, and he moreover takes tobacco water to paralyse the evil influences arising from it. The tunchi which he has inside and which is conceived of as a living demoniacal being may 'get frightened' and 'retire' with the result that the medicine-man himself may die. The same may happen if the novice eats swine's flesh or some other unsuitable food. As to fish, he can only eat sardines (chumakai) and other smaller fishes which are not caught with varvasco poison but with hooks. To come in contact with fish caught with varvasco would have the same evil consequences as eating the armadillo: the tunchi might 'retire' and cause the medicine-man's death. In regard to the larger of the fishes that he is allowed to eat he takes care not to eat the head of the fish lest it should do him harm. He moreover observes certain other curious dietary regulations. Thus he is recommended to eat the flesh of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai), because the medicine-men frequently use the whiskers

of this demoniacal animal [402] when bewitching people. Of monkeys he only eats two, namely, the common night-monkey, uhúkuma, 'because a medicine-man has to operate in darkness as does the night-monkey;' and the capuchin-monkey, tsiri, 'because it is very clever and quick in its movements', as a medicine-man also ought to be. Of fish, in addition to those mentioned before, he eats a kind of small sheat-fish, called nukumbi, because of its pointed dorsal spines which resemble the small spines which a sorcerer makes use of when bewitching people; as well as another kind of fish called yutui which is likewise provided with small sharp spines. He eats wasps because of their poisonous stings, and small chonta thorns which grow on the demoniacal chonta palm. Both the stings of the wasps and the chonta thorns are used as magical 'arrows' by the sorcerers. Again he eats a kind of sucking-fish, called nayúmbi, which are found on stony bottoms in the rivers where they fix themselves to the stones with their mouths: in this way, it is thought, the medicine-man has to act in 'sucking out' the evil from a patient's body. Of birds he is particularly recommended to eat the woodpecker, tatashama, which taps the stems of the trees and listens attentively for the worms within them: exactly in the same way the medicine-man has to proceed when trying to find out where about the evil is in the patient's body and to draw it out.

Beside these rules of diet, the future medicine-man has strictly to observe sexual abstinence. Not only is he himself forbidden to have intercourse with a woman; no

married couple can live in the same house as he, and his food can only be prepared and given him by an unmarried woman or man. A would-be medicine-man cannot marry until his novitiate ends.

If the novice breaks the rules mentioned the consequences will be fatal for him. The bewitching poison which he has taken into his body will not grow ripe and make him a medicine-man, but on the contrary may cause his death.

During the whole time of preparation the novice also receives all sorts of instructions from his master, the old sorcerer who gave him the tunchi. These instructions concern details of the art of sorcery, how to acquire the power over spirits and demons necessary for bewitching people or for curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers, what kind of conjurations are to be sung on different occasions, what remedies are to be used, and so forth. Knowledge of these things belongs to the occult science of the medicine-men which makes of them a [403] professional class of 'knowing persons', but is withheld from common people. A medicine-man or sorcerer is called wishinyu, the stem-word of which is probably we (wi) 'I', 'I myself', corresponding to the fact that a medicine-man always begins his conjurations by repeatedly pronouncing the word we ('I, I myself conjure thee, demon').

The newly initiated medicine-man pays his master for his services with some object of value, a blowgun and arrow-poison, a good hunting dog, an itipi or loin-cloth, etc.

1: Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-6
116, 791 (1928-29)

The mysterious magic arrow which the medicine-man aims at his victims is, as we have seen, called túnchi. Another name for the same thing, nearly as commonly used, is tsinsáka, which means 'arrow'--the thin stick of palm wood used for the blowguns. --There is in fact a close parallelism between the poisoned arrow of the Indian hunter which kills the game by inflicting an insignificant wound, and the invisible magic arrow of the sorcerer which suddenly hits the victim, causing mysterious pains and a speedy death. The prototype for both, as already pointed out, is probably the death-bringing sting of the venomous snakes. In fact, the wizard in his operation behaves like a venomous snake ready for action. He is supposed to carry the poison in his mouth like the snake; when he shoots his 'arrow' he whistles and hisses, just as does the angry snake before it directs its death-bringing fang at its victim.

The bewitching 'arrow' (tunchi or tsinsáka) of a medicine-man can, however, assume different forms: it may not only be like an ordinary small arrow of the kind used for the blowguns, but also, and more frequently, appears in the shape of a chonta thorn, a small stone or pebble, a hair or tooth of some demoniacal animal, the sting of a wasp, a worm, and so forth, which the medicine-man, in some way known to him alone, draws from his own body and throws at his victim."

1: Karsten--403-404 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS the initiation of the medicine-man is much the same as among the Jibaros, although the regulations regarding the mode of life that the novice has to observe are less detailed. The Canelos Indians being now Christians in name, the sorcerers have not amongst them the same social importance as among the wild Jibaros; in fact, they exercise their profession only in secret. A would-be medicine-man receives his 'arrow' in the same way as among the Jibaros, from the mouth of an old medicine-man. Since in most cases it consists of a small chonta thorn it is simply called chunta. To bewitch another person by means of a chonta thorn is called chuntáta shitána, 'to throw the chonta', [404] whereas a sorcerer is called chunta shitac runa, 'a chonta-throwing man'. Afterwards the poison which the novice has received must 'ripen' in order to become effetive, [sic] and this, among the Canelos Indians, is said to take two to four years. Meanwhile the novice has to fast strictly, his food consisting chiefly of boiled green plantain, mashed in water. He is forbidden to drink any kind of chicha or asua (beer made of manioc or other fruit). Of fish he only eats the small fish called chuti, but not the head, merely the hinder part of the fish. He takes tobacco water in great quantities through the mouth and the nose, and every evening drinks aya huasca (=natéma of the Jibaros). This restricted diet, and especially the drinking of the aya huasca and the tobacco water, will help him to come into intimate contact with

the demons--especially with the amárun supai, the anaconda--who will initiate him into the magic art. The novice pays his master for the chunta and the instructions received with a blowgun, a costly feather crown (tahuasámba), a dog, a shirt, or other objects of value."

"Although the medicine-men are not distinguished from other members of the community by a particular dress, yet they form an easily recognizeable class of people even in their outward appearance. A Jibaro or a Canelos medicine-man is reserved and taciturn, his eyes are dull and, as it were, veiled, a natural consequence, no doubt, of his permanent habit of drinking natéma (aya huasca) and other narcotics. His gloomy looks are rendered still gloomier by the black face-painting, his cheeks and the regions round his eyes being generally stained with sua (genipa). The small bag (wambáchi), usually worn by the Jibaros, has a special importance attached to it as far as the medicine-men are concerned: it contains their namúra, i. e. certain small stones, teeth or hairs of certain demoniacal animals, or other magical objects. The Jibaros, as we have seen, ascribe supernatural properties to stones of peculiar colour and shape. Among the namúra there are black, red, and white stones, but the last mentioned, the kaya wincha, 'brilliant stones' or crystals, are the most important owing to the magical power they are believed to possess. Such small white stones are found with all medicine-men and they are regarded as absolutely indispensable. But if one asks one of them how he got these stones, or where such are to be found, one will get no satisfactory answer. The medicine-men always profess to have seen and taken hold of them in a dream, when intoxicated by the narcotic natéma: the demons themselves have discovered them. Unless he possesses them the 'doctor', when about to cure

a [405] patient, will not get intoxicated (nambikma) after drinking natéma, and consequently will not have 'good dreams' and see the origin of the evil, that is, the wicked sorcerer who sent the tunchi. How the medicine-men use their namúra when curing sick persons, we shall see later on."

1: Karsten--406-407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"As we have seen, the function of the medicine-man includes, on the one hand, the infliction of evils upon other people by witchcraft, on the other hand, the curing of people bewitched by other sorcerers.

First we shall examine how the medicine-man proceeds when bewitching his enemies.

To throw the magic arrow or bewitch another person is among the JIBAROS called waweátinyu (the inf. form; 3 pers. sing. wawéama).

When a wishinyu or medicine-man wants to bewitch another Indian he prepares himself for the operation by fasting for five days. During these days he contents himself with the same scanty food as was prescribed for him at the time of initiation, eating only some boiled green plantains, mashed in water. He abstains from drinking manioc-beer, but repeatedly takes tobacco water through the nose, the leaves of the plant being boiled in a small clay pot partly filled with water. Every evening he drinks the narcotic natéma in order to see the spirits and be instructed by them in regard to the kind of 'arrow' he ought to use and other particulars. The action always takes place in the dark, when the demons move about. When ready to shoot his tunchi, the sorcerer takes tobacco water, coughs and hawks up something which he seizes with his fingers, mutters a sort of conjuration, addressed to the arrow, whistles, and makes a peculiar movement with his finger. The name of the Indian to be bewitched must be mentioned in the conjuration. Supposing that his name is Andiche, the medicine-man addresses the tunchi in the

following words:

Amuesha, tsinsáka,
Andiche numba umárta,
namánkisha yuota
kuránta matinyu. [407]

that is:

'You arrow,
may you drink the blood of Andiche
and eat his flesh,
so that he may die quickly!'

The wizard subsequently shoots the arrow with a blowing movement. He may be quite near his victim, or he may hit him at a considerable distance. Thus a person may be bewitched while he sits quietly in his house in the evening, conversing with other people. The hostile sorcerer steals to the house, covered by the darkness, and shoots his invisible arrow through a crack in the wall. At the same moment the victim inside the house will feel an acute pain in the chest, give a start and say to his comrades: 'I feel ill, something has happened to me, I must have been bewitched'. The wizard, having accomplished his deed, sneaks away."

1: Karsten--407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, when a sorcerer wants to discharge his 'chonta' at an enemy, he fasts for two days previously, eating only green plantains and taking tobacco water in repeated doses. Every evening he drinks aya huasca in order to communicate with the demons. Sorcery is practised at night. The wizard secures a black wasp with a poisonous sting, fixes three small chonta thorns to its abdomen, and sends it off with the following formula: 'Chai runáta yaicugri; cutin tigramúngi; chapashámi chishi; allita mikushca shamúngi, nyúca nishcáta pactachispa. i. e. 'May you enter into that man (the name of the Indian is mentioned); may you return later on; I will wait for you at night; having nicely eaten his flesh may you return after executing my order'.

The invisible arrow of the sorcerer is supposed to enter into the victim through his throat or his chest, just as if he were hit by a real arrow. If a medicine-man is not able to extract the arrow, he will grow worse and worse and die within a few days. The demon, having left the 'arrow' in the patient's body, returns to his master."

"Frequently, however, the sorcerer hits his victim while the latter is far away in another village or part of the country. In such cases he does not generally shoot his arrow at him directly but through the mediation of some demoniacal animal, bird, reptile, or insect. The latter are, among the JIBAROS, called tunchima or 'bewitched'. A medicine-man may thus hide his tunchi or his own demoniacal soul in a jaguar, [408] a nocturnal bird, a venomous snake, or a poisonous insect like a wasp or a scorpion. These creatures he sends away, with the usual formula of conjuration, to distant places where they will encounter his intended victim. Birds are, by their flight, believed to be especially able to carry the tunchi far away, but the success with which a medicine-man is able to use such agents of the animal world naturally always depends on his own skill and experience. The very fact that for instance a jaguar or a venomous snake assumes an aggressive attitude towards man, killing or harming him, is regarded as a sufficient proof that the beast or reptile is tunchima, i.e. has been sent by an enemy wizard.

The following instance may illustrate the Indian idea of 'bewitched' or demoniacal animals. A wife of the Jibaro sorcerer Shakaëma on the Rio Upano one day went out to fetch manioc from the plantations. While she was engaged in the work she noticed a black vulture which came flying towards her from the north in such a way that it at once attracted her attention. The vulture alighted on the ground at a little distance from the

woman, looking at her. At the same moment she felt an acute pain in the chest, as if she had been hit by an invisible arrow. She got frightened and was at once seized with the suspicion that she had been bewitched. She tried to chase away the fatal bird with her machete, but it only flew a short distance and alighted again, steadily looking at her. The pain in the chest increased. The woman hurriedly returned home and told her people what had happened to her. A medicine-man drank natéma in order to find out the nature and origin of the evil. He declared that the woman had been bewitched by the vulture, which was tunchima. The bird had been sent by a sorcerer among the Jibaros who live in the north on the Rio Copotaza, a hostile tribe against whom Shakaëma had made war some time before. All attempts to cure the woman proved futile. Her condition grew worse and worse, and a few days later she died."

1: Karsten--408-409 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791, 763 (1928-29)

"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros, when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

1: Karsten--409-410 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

'Quite commonly sorcery is performed through the eyes. The Jibaros believe in the 'evil eye' (tuna hi), an experienced sorcerer being credited with the power of sending the tunchi not only from his mouth, but also from his eyes. The eye to the Indians is the 'mirror [410] of the soul' in the most real sense of the word.(1) Since it is from the medicine-man's soul that his magic poison comes, we can understand how he is believed to be able to send his tunchi merely by a penetrating look. The effectiveness of the evil eye is increased by the red face-painting. The Jibaro Indian seldom enters a strange house without having the face painted red, the painting being both a protection for himself against the treacherous 'arrow' of his host and a means of eking out the effectiveness of his own occult powers. A red dye often used in similar cases is the one called múspa, composed of the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and the dried and pounded leaves of the plant simaika. The cheeks and especially the parts round the eyes are painted with this bright red dye before entering, with a view to increasing the magical power of the visitor's look. This kind of face-painting is said to act particularly as a love charm, the visiting Indian being thus able to attract and entice the women when they

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"1. In the Jibaro language the word for 'eye' (hi) is the same as the word for 'fire'."

step forth and offer manioc-beer to the guest. Generally, however, the evil look of the sorcerer entails illness and death for the person on whom it falls."

l: Karsten--410-411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"The 'evil eye' operates in different ways. Thus the Jibaro sorcerers commonly avail themselves of apparently insignificant wounds and send their arrow into the victim merely by looking at him. A small wound accidentally caused by a knife, for instance, may thus at first be looked upon as only a 'natural' wound. But should the wound not heal within a few days in a normal way, should it, on the contrary, get infected, begin to ache, and cause the swelling of the whole limb, the medicine-men will in most cases declare that these unexpected complications have been brought about by the evil eye of a sorcerer. The following case may illustrate the Indian ideas on this point. A son of the great Jibaro chief Nayapi at Puyo was once brought to me to be cured of a mysterious illness. He showed a small wound on the groin, the origin of which the Indians could not explain and which, in spite of a prolonged treatment by different medicine-men, would not heal. On the contrary, the patient grew worse; some internal disease, accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, set in, and after some days of suffering the young man died. A medicine-man, having drunk the narcotic natéma, gave the following declaration as to the nature of the illness:--the small wound in the groin would not by itself have caused death;[411]but some enemy sorcerer had looked upon it with an evil eye and sent his tunchi into it. The 'arrow' had taken the form of a small boa serpent which had penetrated from the groin into the venter where it had grown, causing the swelling of the stomach and ultimately the patient's death. In cases of snake-bite

the same explanation is not seldom adhered to. There are, as we have seen, 'natural' snakes and snakes that are tunchima, 'bewitched'. The bite of the former does no particular harm to the person bitten, whereas the bite of the latter often ends fatally. Now in many cases where a snake-bite has unfortunate results, leading to the death of the patient or to serious complications, the Indians reason in the following way: the bite itself would not have caused death; but some malicious person had happened to look at the wound with an evil eye and thus caused the catastrophe. Hence when, among the Jibaros, some one is bitten by a snake, precautions are taken that no suspected person should get an opportunity to see the patient. In fact he is immediately taken to the forest where the medicine-man stays with him alone whilst curing him."

1: Karsten--411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"A sorcerer may operate all by himself, or he may cooperate with an iguánchi. These demons not only send disease in the way described before, but also shoot with magic arrows like the human sorcerers, and they do it in a more skilled way than the latter. When a sorcerer cooperates with an iguánchi, therefore, there is no remedy for the victim. The demon will deliberately shoot arrow after arrow at him so quickly that no medicine-man is able to extract them, and the patient is certain to die."

1: Karsten--411-412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Of the different kinds of magical 'arrows' used by the sorcerers some are regarded as more effective than others. The most dangerous tunchi consist of crystals and bright stones known under the name of kaya wincha, and of which the sorcerers make frequent use when bewitching people. If the victim is hit on the head by such a stone he is supposed to be doomed to certain death; few medicine-men are able to cure such patients. In accordance with this idea such bright stones are almost universally found among the namúra or magical objects of the medicine-men.

When used against a white man the tunchi as a rule is supposed to have no effect whatever. White people are immune against the sorcery of the Indians. There is, the Jibaros say, only one way of charming an apáchi or white man, namely, by shooting at him with an 'arrow' made of a hen's bone (atáshi kúnchi). This idea is, no doubt, connected [412] with the fact that the hens were originally introduced among the Indians by the whites."

1: Karsten--412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Women and children are most liable to sorcery, and a wizard, when desiring to harm an enemy family or tribe, therefore prefers to attack these weaker members of the community. Small children are, on account of their delicacy, especially exposed both to the evil witchcraft of Indian sorcerers and to 'disease'. The Jibaros consequently very unwillingly show their babes to strangers and never take them to the houses of Indians whom they do not know well or with whom they do not stand on a perfectly friendly footing. It may happen that in the strange house some malicious Indian sorcerer looks upon the child with evil eye in consequence of which it will fall ill and die. A man always has more power of resistance than a woman or child, and the older he grows the more 'hardened' he becomes against evil spirits and witchcraft. Old sorcerers and chiefs--even though they be physically decrepit--are among the Jibaros, as among other Indians, most feared on account of their supposed skill in managing their formidable supernatural weapon, the tunchi."

1: Karsten--413-419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

"Now let us see how the medicine-man proceeds when he has to cure a patient suffering from an evil sent by other sorcerers.

In order to be able to operate with success the medicine-man has to prepare himself in a certain way, the preparation as usual chiefly consisting in fasting. The treatment of the sick person takes place in the evening, after sunset. Only in the morning of the same day can the medicine-man take some food and drink manioc-beer. After noon he eats nothing, but instead of food takes tobacco water in great quantities through the nose. Pork is supposed to be particularly harmful to him, and he carefully avoids not only eating but even smelling it. If he eats pork before the operation he will awake sick the following morning. In the evening the medicine-man has to drink natéma which has meanwhile been prepared in the patient's house. A pot containing pieces of the crushed stem of the liana Banisteria caapi as well as of another liana called iáhi has been boiling the whole day on a slow fire, so that the main part of the water has gradually evaporated, only a small but exceedingly concentrated quantity being left. This is the natéma medicine.

As soon as darkness sets in, the medicine-man goes to the house of the patient taking with him the magical bag containing his namúra as well as a bundle of certain magical leaves called shingi-shingu, which he makes use of when treating the patient. His face is generally painted black with genipa. Tobacco water has previously been prepared in

a pot by boiling the leaves, and a large pininga (clay dish) is now filled with this decoction. As soon as everything is ready all lights and fires in the house are put out, for the medicine-man must operate in complete darkness. He begins his treatment by taking the pininga with the tobacco water and chanting over it a long conjuration. The spirit of tobacco (tsangu maso mari) is summoned to take possession [414] of the medicine-man and to help him to find out the origin and nature of the evil troubling the patient. The invocation being finished he drinks some tobacco water, without emptying the dish. Thereupon he fills a small cup with natéma and empties its contents at a draught. Then the doctor leans over the patient who has been stretched out upon a bench in the middle of the house, and starts to sing his conjurations. After a while, during his chants and other actions with the patient, he takes a second dose of natéma, sometimes with some more tobacco water. This is repeated a third, sometimes a fourth time, according as it is found necessary. The principal thing is that the medicine-man gets intoxicated (nambikma), for otherwise he cannot conjure forth the demons and his whole treatment is of no avail. This state of mind, however, must not be provoked suddenly and all at once, but gradually, in order to avoid too violent outbursts of spiritual ecstasy; that is the reason why the medicines are only taken in small doses.

In his conjuration the medicine-man invokes all those demons who are suspected of having sent the evil. Since the sorcerers, when bewitching people, preferably avail

themselves of certain demoniacal agents of the animal world, in which they hide their disease and death-bringing tunchi, we understand why most of the demons invoked are animals, birds, reptiles and even insects. It is a leading principle in the Indian conjurations that the remedy must be sought where the evil has its origin, in other words, that the same spirits that have caused the illness must also be compelled to cure it.

To conjure illnesses caused by sorcery is called tsinságrinyu kantámsama, or kantamára umbuártinyu, 'to cure sickness by singing'. The stem-word for tsinságrinyu is tsinsáka, 'arrow'. Kantámsama (kantamára), again, means 'to conjure by singing'.

The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámaru, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,

tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.

I am blowing. I am blowing!
avanketná, avanketná.
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body
like a hook),
ayámeatná, ayámeatná
in order that you may get relief!'. --
and so forth.
[416]

The medicine-man always begins his conjurations, of whatever kind they may be, by repeating the word, we, we, 'I, I myself', thus emphasising his own personality and the will power by which he masters the spirit world. Amárun is the Quichua wordfor the great water boa (Eunectes murinus), called pangi in the Jibaro language. In their conjurations and incantations the Jibaros sometimes make use of Quichua words which are, as it were, international among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The water boa, as we have seen before, is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, and is therefore naturally invoked first. It is the same with his 'brother' teungi, another water monster of obscure origin but equally important as an author of witchcraft. Other demons of the animal world that frequently send the fatal 'arrow' are the tiger (yawára), the river dolphin (apupa), which is supposed to bewitch people when it emerges to the surface of

the water to breathe, and the ray (kaspa) which emits an 'arrow' with its poisonous death-bringing sting. That the spirit of tobacco (tsangu) is invoked is easy to understand since it is to a great extent by its aid that the medicine-man succeeds in overcoming the evil troubling the patient. --Again, avanketná is the same as avankatukáhei, 'to disengage a fish from the hook', with which it has been caught. In the same way the conjurer will disengage the patient from the arrow which has been fixed into his body. Ayamsatná is the same as ayámsatahei, 'to rest', 'to get relief'.

The spirits just mentioned of course are not the only ones invoked by the Jibaro medicine-men. A number of other demons also figure in their conjurations, most of these being animals, birds, or insects, some even local nature spirits. As to carnivorous beasts, not only the common ounce (Felix onca) but all animals of the feline family--for instance the great black jaguar (soacha), the puma (Felix concolor), and different kinds of tiger cats--may serve as agents of sorcerers and are therefore invoked by the medicine-men. The tsingu-tsangu yawá, is probably only a mythical beast: 'a tiger-like animal which lives in the trees'. Of water monsters, in addition to those already mentioned, the caiman (kanyátsa) and the great water otter (wangánimi) are of special importance. Birds, as we know, frequently carry the 'arrow' and are therefore [417] invoked. Among these the tucan (tsukánga or kuánga), the yellow and the red macaw (yambúna, takúmbi) the mango (chui), and the cock-of-the-rock (sumga)

are the most important. It is a curious fact that most of the animal and bird demons which are thus believed to send disease and invoked by the medicine-men also figure among the arútama, who were originally ancestral spirits. --Insects possessing natural 'arrows' --stings etc, --may also be invoked by the medicine-men. Among these there is a big hairy larva called wambángu which, when caught with the fingers, is able to inflict a stinging pain and is therefore sometimes used by the sorcerers for bewitching purposes. --Again, of nature spirits the demons of the hills are especially invoked (neindya, neindya, winiti)'demons of the hills, may you come (to draw out the arrows you have sent'!) The high hills and cordilleras, as we know, are believed to be inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers.

Apart from the conjuration itself, there are certain interesting operations with the patient to which we must direct attention. I have already mentioned the bundle of leaves called shingishingu, which forms part of the magical equipment of the medicine-man, and which is used as a sort of rattle. The leaves, those of a special plant credited with mysterious properties, terminate in a long point. These points form the most essential part of the whole thing, as far as in them the soul of the plant (wakáni) and its magic power is concentrated. The points are called inéi, i.e. 'tongues', and they are supposed to be identical with the tongue of the sorcerer, who is said to give it this peculiar

pointed form--more or less like a snake's tongue--at the moment when he shoots off his 'arrow' (tunchi) against an enemy. The points of the leaves, therefore, are at the same time identical with the tunchi itself, the mysterious object which it is the medicine-man's task to extract from the [418] body of the patient. These ideas fully explain the importance attached to the shingi-shingu rattle. During his operations the medicine-man from time to time rises and shakes the rattle over the patient and particularly over that part of his body where the evil is, just as if he were fanning him with a fan. This procedure is repeated several times, alternately with other operations. Sometimes the medicine-man interrupts his conjurations to start another treatment. From his magical bag he takes out one of the white stones (kaya wincha), and after having filled his mouth full of tobacco water he puts the stone into his mouth and then rubs the bad spot with it. By this treatment he is supposed to prepare that spot favourably for extracting the tunchi. Then he leans down over it, blows and spits upon it and ultimately, having again filled his mouth with tobacco water, starts to suck it vigorously. After some moments he pretends to extract something from the body and holds up a small object which in the darkness cannot be clearly perceived. 'I have found the arrow', he says to the bystanders, 'it is a chonta thorn', (or a pebble, a worm, the hair of a paca, etc.). 'But this', he generally adds, 'is not the only arrow that there is in his body. There are several of them, but I will gradually draw them all out'.

In this way the medicine-man continues his operations for a long while, often for several hours, alternately chanting his conjurations and invoking the demons, shaking the shingi-shingu rattle, spitting and blowing, rubbing the bad spot with his namúra, etc. He frequently takes tobacco water and also repeatedly drinks a small quantity of natema, thus gradually working himself into a state of ecstasy, so that ultimately he starts to dance round the patient, stamping on the ground and chanting in a loud voice. This is the highest degree of possession, the state in which the medicine-man 'sees' the illness and discovers its causes. About midnight he interrupts his operations for that night, but since there is generally more than one arrow in the patient's body to be extracted, the treatment is in most cases continued for several successive nights.

In the narcotic sleep produced by the natéma and the tobacco water the medicine-man will afterwards find out the ultimate origin of the sickness, the evil sorcerer who has sent the tunchi. The author of the trouble having thus been discovered, the medicine-man may try to send the tunchi back to him, and the relatives of the patient may decide to wreak vengeance upon him. Generally, however, vengeance is not [419] decided upon until one or several deaths through sorcery have taken place within a family."

1: Karsten--419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a medicine-man who cures people bewitched by chunta-throwing sorcerers is called hámbic runa or only hámbic, 'a man curing by medicines', the word hámbic being derived from hambi, 'medicine'. When preparing for his operations, which take place at night, the medicine-man has to fast the same day, taking only tobacco water through the mouth and the nose, just as is customary among the Jibaros. In the evening he takes aya huasca in repeated doses before and during his operations. The latter are of much the same kind as among the Jibaros. However, the demons invoked in the conjurations of the Canelos medicine-men are to some extent different from those of the Jibaros, corresponding to the particular ideas held by the former Indians as to the spirits that send sickness. These spirits have been mentioned before in connection with the religious beliefs of the Canelos Indians. Only the great water serpent, amárun supai, and the tiger, puma supai, hold equal positions in the superstition of both peoples, each of them being also regarded by the Canelos Indians as an incarnation of the soul of a wizard and consequently as an author of witchcraft. The medicine-man moreover, like the wishinyu of the Jibaros, makes use of white stones and other magical objects for curing the patient, as well as of the rattle of leaves, which at Canelos is called ilupánga."

1: Karsten--422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 154, 555 (1928-29)

"That the Indian medicine-men are not conscious impostors but exert their powers in good faith, appears from a close study of their psychology and of their way of operating. They simply share the superstitions prevailing among their people at large, even though they may be said to embody them in a special way. The medicine-men themselves are to a great extent the victims of self-deception and self-suggestion. Among the savage Jibaros, as we have seen, there is considerable danger coupled with this profession. Just as a sorcerer who is suspected of having killed another Indian by witchcraft himself runs the risk of being killed by the enraged relatives of the victim, so a medicine-man, who fails to cure the patient confided to him, is likely to be punished for his lack of skill. If the patient dies instead of recovering, the relatives argue that the doctor has used his skill to his destruction and not to his health, and may accordingly wreak vengeance upon him. That in spite of this danger there are people who voluntarily devote themselves to the medical art and sorcery is due to the power and influence always connected with this profession."

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"When medicine-men drink natéma in order to cure patients and to find out the cause of the illness, the drink is prepared in a somewhat different way. In this case the vines are boiled a whole day on a slow fire and the fluid is allowed to evaporate gradually so that ultimately only a very small but extremely concentrated quantity is left. Some fibres of the splitted stem as well as some leaves of another kind of vine which the Jibaros call iáhi (probably Haemadictyon amazonicum) are put into [437] the pot with the natéma-fibres and boiled. The leaves are handled with a short ceremony. The medicine-man, or the Indian who prepares the drink, first takes four iáhi-leaves and places them between the fingers of his left hand, arranges them in such a way that they form a cross, and puts them into the pot between the natéma-and the iáhi-fibres with the right side down. Thereupon he takes four other iáhi-leaves, arranges them between the fingers of the right hand and puts them in the same way into the pot upon the other leaves. Thus in all eight iáhi-leaves have been added to the natéma- and iáhi-fibres and boiled with them. The iáhi vine, which is specially cultivated by the Jibaros, is also a narcotic and is supposed to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

While the fluid is gradually boiling down, the natéma-and iáhi-fibres are taken out and carefully guarded. The remaining small quantity, a very strong decoction of a brownish-yellow colour and extremely bitter taste, is the natéma-medicine ready prepared.

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

During the treatment of the patient the medicine-man takes natéma in small but repeated doses in the way described before. As we have seen in addition to natéma, tobacco water is also taken, the effect of both medicines being that the curer becomes gradually intoxicated or even attains a state of ecstasy, during which he enters into communication with the demons who have caused the sickness."

1: Karsten--437-438 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"The medicine-men of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians not only drink natéma (aya huasca) when they are curing sick persons, but also when they wish to bewitch their own enemies. On these occasions they are in the habit of painting the face, and especially the regions round the eyes, with the red colour obtained from the seeds of the bush Bixa orellana. On the head they wear a feather ornament composed of the red and yellow feathers of the tucan (called tawása, tawasámba). They try to imitate the demons (iguánchi, supai) in their whole appearance, believing that thus they will be able to summon the spirits. The red face-painting is also supposed to protect them against the evil eye and the counter-witchcraft of enemy sorcerers. At the same time they play the peculiar string instrument called tsayandúru and turúmba and the soft tunes of which are believed to please the demons. When the Indian has taken the sacred drink he sits down to play this instrument, by which the coming of the natéma-spirit is hastened. The Indians explained to me the meaning of these arrangements in the following words. 'The demons are adorned in the same way with facial paintings and feather crowns, and when they see us wearing the same ornaments as [438] they use themselves and hear the tunes of the instrument, they are pleased and put in appearance as our friends.' At Canelos the sorcerers also play this instrument when they take huántuc, the second great narcotic of the Indians."

1: Karsten--195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
793 (1928-29)

"....the young bridé is, at the principal ceremonies performed at the feast, regularly assisted by an old experienced woman, who acts so to say as a priestess and in this capacity is called whuéa. Besides this there is an old man who has to assist at certain ceremonies and thus in a way acts as a priest."

1: Karsten--399 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 793 (1928-29)

"....priests in the proper sense of the word do not exist, unless--as indeed I have done myself--we choose to give this name to the old man (whuéa) who conducts the ceremonies at the most important religious feasts. In this sense there may even be said to exist priestesses among the Jibaros, since old women perform similar duties at certain feasts."

13: Rivet--241-242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 793, 796

The Jíbaro all have a series of ceremonies which are as yet little known, but the character of which is almost always clearly religious. They are all regulated by personages incorrectly called priests by the missionaries. To my knowledge there is no individual in Jíbaro society who corresponds to the role of priest in ours. I have already said that the savage communicates directly with the iguanchi. The so-called priest is an old man who, because of his great [242] experience, is very well acquainted with the traditions and customs of his ancestors, and whose role is limited to giving the concoction of tobacco to be drunk, to direct the singing, dancing and details of the ceremonies, and to distribute the food among the participants. This function is by no means the privilege of certain families, and does not give a special rank to those who exercise it. In exchange for his good services, the old man simply receives from the one who pays the expenses of the feast a triple ration of food, a dog, an itipi, a blowgun, and sometimes even an ax. An old woman called Ujaja plays an analogous role with regard to the women(1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 25.

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

"On the following day, early in the afternoon, we arrived at the house where the feast was to take place. Having given in good time the necessary signal with the cow's horn we entered the house where the usual greeting ceremonies were exchanged. It was incumbent on Don Dionysio to explain who I was, what the object of my visit, and to ask permission for us to be present at the approaching great feast. The Indians of course are just as disinclined to receive uninvited guests at their feasts as are civilized people, particularly as they always fear evil supernatural influences from strangers. The fact that the host Shakaëma not only received us in a friendly way but even gave us permission to stay in the house the whole time the feast lasted, was due, partly to the eloquence of my companion, but perhaps still more to the presents I gave him and the other members of the family. Shakaëma himself got a nice machete (forest-knife), and each of his wives a collar of beads, needles, thread, and small round mirrors being distributed among the other members of the family. Shakaëma was quite pleased and declared that he had in fact known that a party of strangers would arrive, for he had taken natéma some days ago and seen us in a dream. Shakaëma was a man of about fifty-five or sixty years old, a professional warrior and sorcerer, who in fact enjoyed a bad reputation among his neighbours, and was greatly feared by his many enemies anong other Jibaro tribes. With his three full-grown sons, who also lived in the house, and a party of other Indians from among his kinsmen, he had two years before made

war upon a tribe living on the Copataza. The attack had been successful in so far as a head had been captured, and this happy incident had to be celebrated with a feast. When an attack has been successfully carried out, the victor par excellence is the warrior who has cut off the head of the enemy killed. This happy lot had fallen to one of Shakaëma's sons, a youth of 18 or 20 years, who was consequently the principal person at the feast. As is [60] the rule in similar cases, the young man was in the dress of a penitent, wore only his loin-cloth and no ornament or facial paintings and had his long hair hanging loose down the back. Similarly he had to diet himself strictly.

While we were conversing with Shakaëma and his son about the coming feast, the women of the house, that is to say, Shakaëma's two wives, two of his daughters and one daughter-in-law, were mixing the manioc substance in clay vessels partly filled with water, and handing this favourite beer of the Indians round to the guests in the house. My companions from Macas appreciated it almost as much as did the Indians themselves, but for my own part I only took a draught from the vessel offered me and return it again to my hostess. My moderation caused my hosts some displeasure, but I diverted their attention from this topic by showing them some of the things I had brought with me. Many of these as usual awakened the curiosity and fear of the Indians. My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguanchi (evil spirit)

would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed. 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaëma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father. [61]

The many and complicated ceremonies performed at the greatvictory-feast of the

Jibaro Indians will be described in detail later on. For the moment I shall only relate a few incidents observed by me during my visit among the head-hunters, and certain experiences which in their way throw light upon the character of the savage Jibaro Indians. It is needless to say that there could hardly be a more convenient opportunity of getting an insight into the social life of an independent Indian tribe than at a great feast, where numerous guests were present and where the peculiar 'etiquette' customary on such occasions among the savage Indians was strictly observed.

The preparations for a victory-feast are exceptionally great, beginning as early as some two years before the feast proper is celebrated. The two or three last weeks preceding the feast, however, the Indians are particularly busy, the men and the women performing each their share of the work according to the strict division of labour prevailing among the Indians. Above all the women are occupied in carrying home big loads of manioc from the fields for the purpose of brewing the large quantities of manioc-beer which are necessary. During these days Indians from the neighbourhood are continually arriving to look at the preparations and to inquire about particulars concerning the coming feast, and each of them must be harangued by some one of the hosts and entertained with manioc-beer, which is offered them by the hostesses of the house and their daughters. The victor himself again, pays frequent visits to the neighbouring houses inviting his friends to the feasts, and now and then returns to report.

1: Karsten--59-70 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 796, 727 (1928-29)

Having been allowed to be present at the feast, I had placed my field-bed at one of the big pillars in the middle of the house. Since, as I found later on, the chief dance during the feast was performed every night round the central pillars of the house, I had to spend my nights in the middle of the dancing Indians and consequently could hardly think of sleeping. The Indians, it should be understood, start to dance as soon as darkness sets in and continue until dawn, or about five o'clock, and they accompany their dance by constant chanting and shouting. Since the main feast lasted for six days and nights, it will be easily understood that participating in an Indian scalp-feast is really a feat of strength and endurance. The first night I had no rest at all; the ghastly dance, saturated with mystery and performed amid a dreadful noise, impressed me too much and, besides, there were many interesting things to watch and note down. The following night it was about the same. But the [62] third night I decided to sleep, put cotton wool in my ears, and gave some of it to my companions also. Tired to the utmost I really succeeded in sleeping a few hours in spite of the noisy dance going on around me. Still at five o'clock in the morning when I awoke some of the women went on dancing and chanting their monotonous óa...óa--óa-á...aó, as they had done all the night. I could not even notice that they were hoarse, which greatly struck me. At six o'clock the whole party, both men and women, rushed down to the river and had a bathe, and with this the night's ceremony was over--to begin again in the following

evening.

From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaëma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the

warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house.

Nevertheless a white man, visiting the savage Jibaros on an occasion like this, has to be extremely careful in dealing with the Indians. This is best shown by the following incident which took place at the end of the feast, and which could easily have led to most serious consequences. One of the ceremonies at the great victory feast, as we shall see later on, is the slaughter of the swine and the hens, which takes place the day before the feast ends. In the evening the hosts and hostesses were engaged [63] in cooking the meat in big clay pots placed on different fires all round on the earthen floor. I saw an Indian moving a boiling clay pot to adjust it--when suddenly he fell backwards, shouting loudly, with the pot, which was broken and poured out a part of its hot contents upon him, whereupon he dropped down on the floor and remained lying in convulsions with the mouth open. There arose a terrible hubbub and excitement. All at first thought that he had only been burned, and so I believed myself also, although the symptoms seemed to me strange. My first intention was to give the Indian what help I could, but I was warned by my more experienced companions not to do anything. They told me, what aferwards I really found to be true, that if among the Jibaros someone undertakes to cure a patient, and the latter nevertheless dies, the physician will unfailingly be made responsible for the death, the law of blood-revenge being applied to him. Such is the logic of these Indians. In any case the cause of the accident had to be cleared up,

and it was characteristic of the Indian train of thought that the worst consequences were anticipated. 'He will die, he will die', one of the women exclaimed in a heart-piercing voice. 'Why has he burned himself, why must he die', were questions which arose from all sides, and these strange questions were particularly addressed to me. Soon the questions became indirect or direct accusations. 'Why must he die'?, the host of the house asked vehemently, turning towards me. --'He has only burned himself', I answered, 'he will not die but recover.'--'No, the Indian replied, 'he has not burned himself, it was something else; what was it that flew into him in the same moment as he fell?' I began to realize the danger of the situation and my interpreter who fully understood the language of the Indians realized it still better. The Indians looked upon me as a powerful strange medicine-man and it was clear that they believed that I had bewitched their comrade. I saw them assembled in groups and conversing in commotion, now and then pointing at me and my companions and looking at us with threatening looks and gestures. Of course, I was the person against whom their wrath would turn in the first place. Several circumstances arousing suspicion were moreover mentioned to my interpreter. Thus the Indian who had been the first to tell me about the feast had shortly afterwards fallen ill with a fever so that he had not been able to be present at the feast at all.

Probably the white man had brought the sickness with him. Another Indian who had engaged to carry a part of my luggage on my return, had afterwards accidentally cut himself in the foot, causing a gaping wound, and so forth. [64]

The situation was not enviable. I was almost alone far away in the virgin forest, in the midst of fifty or sixty savage Indians, all professional murderers so to speak, all more or less drunk and excited, all well armed even with firearms, Indians whose brutality and revengeful spirit when witchcraft is in question I knew sufficiently well. The principal thing in such a situation is to remain perfectly calm and show no fear. I did not even look at my own gun and rifle which were standing in a corner of the house, and I pretended not to understand the accusations of the Indians at all, making light of the incident and declaring that the Indian would soon recover. It was lucky that my companions behaved in the same way and that my interpreter proved so clever in Indian 'diplomacy' as he did. Still I understood that my own fate very probably depended on the fate of the sick Indian. He had been carried to a corner of the house where he had ultimately fallen asleep. The Indians seemed gradually to become calmer and at last even began to dance. As for myself, it was many hours before I could compose myself to sleep, since of course it was uncertain what turn the illness of the Indian would take. The following morning, however, the condition of the patient was much better; he had recovered consciousness and the power of speech and was himself able to give an

explanation of the accident. His burns were insignificant, but he had evidently had a heart attack and had fallen in consequence. Of course, even this attack, according to the Indians' way of reasoning, had some mysterious cause; but the fact that the man did not die but recovered made the incident lose its importance, and it was quite probable that this happy issue saved my own life. It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder.

The cause of the heart attack to which the Indian very nearly fell a victim must no doubt be sought in the fact that the Indians at their feasts consume tremendous quantities of tobacco water, which is very likely to affect the health of persons suffering from a weak heart.

Experiences of this kind however made me long to get away from the house and the noisy feast as soon as possible. Happily it was to be concluded on the following day, and having witnessed the last ceremony, the 'Dressing of the victor', and the final ceremonial drinking-bout I took leave of my host and his family to continue my journey to the upper Pastaza. Shakaëma was now quite friendly again and behaved as [65] if he had wholly forgotten the incident, which the day before had made him look upon me as an evil witch-doctor and almost as an enemy.

Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited.

Having finished my studies of the head-feast on the Rio Chiguaza, I did not immediately return to Macas, but continued my journey towards the north, my plan being,

first to pay a visit to Canelos, and then to return to civilization for some time via Ambato. To reach Canelos I had first to pass through Arapicos, the small Jibaro village on the river of the same name, thereupon to ascend the small river Pindu, and lastly to continue on foot through the forests for about three days more. My journey, for different reasons, became extremely trying. It had been raining for a couple of days, and the ground through which we had to walk had become like a marsh and the rivers had swollen. There were two rivers that we had to cross to get to Arapicos, a branch of the Chiguaza and the Arapicos itself. The former is not very broad but extremely rapid and can only be crossed by wading. If the water has considerably risen owing to heavy rain, the stream cannot be crossed, or only with great danger. When we arrived at the river, the Indians declared, as I had indeed feared, that it was impossible to cross it then and that we must wait on the bank until the following day. This statement by [66] no means pleased me, especially since we were in danger of running short of food, which could not be obtained in these uninhabited regions. Happily the water seemd [sic] to be sinking, and on the following morning we were able to cross the stream, although with great difficulty. The same day in the afternoon we reached the river Arapicos, and within an hour had crossed over to the other side where the village is situated.

At Arapicos I met one of the Catholic missionaries in the Ecuadorian Oriente, Father

Agustín de Leon, whose acquaintance I had made before at Canelos. In his company I undertook an interesting expedition to a big cave situated on the right bank of the Pastaza about one day's journey from Arapicos. The cave is known among the Indians as the tayu-cave, after the bird which inhabits it. This is the guacharo or oil-bird (Steatornis caripensis), called tayu by the Jibaros. Father Leon and I decided to make an excursion to this cave, which had scarcely been visited by any white man before. The whole region, that is to say, the big corner bounded by the Arapicos in the north and the right bank of the Pastaza, is geographically very little known. The only human beings who are in the habit of visiting the tayu-cave regularly are the Jibaro Indians of the district. Their great attraction is the tayu-bird which they appreciate extremely both on account of its meat, which they eat, its oil which they likewise find very useful, and especially its leg-bones from which they prepare the most costly ornament they wear at their feasts, the so-called tayukunchi, to be described later on. Our guides were partly Indians from the mission of Arapicos, partly savage Jibaro Indians from the other side of the river.

The tayu-cave really turned out to be of considerable interest. There are three caves in this tract at some distance from each other, and we decided to penetrate the biggest of them which nevertheless was the one approached with the greatest difficulty. Its entrance was wide, but its position was such that it could not easily be photographed.

The cave appeared to consist of different compartments, of which the first one formed a kind of 'hall', as large as a small room. Even here we encountered some of the winged inhabitants of this gloomy place, the guacharo birds which, frightened from their nests and screaming loudly, flew about our heads. It was not, however, until we had penetrated further that it became clear to me what enormous numbers of this bird the cave sheltered.

From the 'hall' mentioned a narrow entrance, through which one had to crawl on all fours, led to the interior of the cave, which here [67] branched off in all directions into the mountain. The danger of going astray in this subterranean labyrinth was great, but we could rely upon the Indians, who were not visiting the cave for the first time. On entering it they had at once kindled their copal torches, by the light of which we cautiously went forwards, following the main branch. The farther we penetrated, the louder became the screaming of the owl-like birds which lived in the cave, and whose number seemed to be constantly increasing. The nests of the birds were high up on the shelves formed by the rocks, in funnel-like holes, and turned out to contain enormous numbers of young. The Indians often climbed up and caught them, putting them quickly in baskets which they had brought for this very purpose. I myself had brought my gun which I fired twice, killing some of the flying birds. The Indians however would not allow me to continue this, fearing lest the walls of the cave should burst in consequence

of the dreadful detonation and perhaps also believing that the mysterious spirits of this subterranean dwelling would get angry and punish us. Our stay in the cave lasted for about one hour. We did not go as far as was possible and as far as the Indians have sometimes penetrated the interior when going alone. Taking a considerable number of full-grown birds which had been killed, and a still greater number of young, partly dead, partly living, we again tried to find our way out into the daylight.

How far the cave extends into the interior of the mountain is unknown, since no one has dared to explore it thoroughly. Father Leon and I only penetrated about thirty or forty meters into it. The river Pastaza, which flows at a short distance from the mountain where the cave is situated and the waters of which still at times rise to its level, has of course had a share in its formation. The thorough exploration of the cave would be a most dangerous undertaking owing to its many ramifications. Besides the savage Indians, there is another creature which is in the habit of regularly visiting the tayu-cave, namely, the jaguar. Being a skilful climber, this beast can easily reach the nests of the guacharo birds, although they are situated high up on the rocky shelves, giving himself a nice feast on the young. The Indians who followed us on this trip told us that the last time they visited the cave they had heard the grunting of the jaguar from the interior and had hastily retired.

The guacharo bird was discovered by Alexander v. Humboldt more than a hundred

years ago in the Caripe cave in Venezuela, but is known to exist in a few other places, e.g. in the north-west of South America. In Ecuador, as far as I know, the tayu-caves on the Pastaza are the only [68] localities where it exists, so it is a comparatively rare bird. Its mode of life--the guacharo of course is a night-bird--and the gloomy places where it dwells make the Indians look upon it with superstition, which however does not prevent them from eating it. It is supposed to be an incarnation of the souls of the dead, a superstition which also accounts for the mysterious power which its fat and its bones are believed to contain.

Having returned to Arapicos, I stayed there a few more days for the purpose of making studies among the Indians, whereupon I continued my journey to the upper Pastaza, to the point where the small river Pindu empties its waters into it. Pastaza in this region is a broad and very powerful river, forming numerous cataracts and, as I have stated before, does not become navigable until it has received its northern affluent the Bobonaza. The savage Jibaro Indians, extremely skilled as they are in managing canoes, are the only ones who use the waterway when they visit one another or--as has happened very frequently--make hostile attacks on other tribes. Between the Pindu and the Bobonaza there is a third small affluent of the Pastaza from the north, the river Copataza. Here there lived a Jibaro tribe with whom the Chirapas

had been at war a couple of years before I arrived. The Chirapas had succeeded in bringing home a head--and it was this head that had given rise to the victory-feast at which I had just been present.

From Arapicos to the Pastaza it is a march of one day and a half through the virgin forest. This region is wholly uninhabited, and consequently unusually rich in game. Wild pigs, deer, monkeys, and all sorts of birds, especially the wild turkey and the curious trumpeter bird (Psophia crepitans) are frequently seen and can easily be shot. Even the jaguar is common, as one may judge from the numerous tracks encountered. The first night I had, as usual, to spend in the middle of the forest in a primitive shelter made of palm leaves. In the morning my Indians found that a big jaguar had during the night beaten about our camp, without however daring to attack us. The jaguar in fact avoids man and is therefore seldom seen, although quite common in Eastern Ecuador.

We arrived at the Pastaza at the spot where it receives the small affluent Pindu from the north. Then we crossed the former in a canoe which my Indians had ready for the purpose and started to ascend the Pindu. This river, although carrying comparatively little water, is very rapid and not navigable in the strict sense of the word. To take the canoe up the many cataracts, the Indians have continually to get into [69] the water and pull it over the stones; in fact, they work as much in the water as in the

canoe. When the river is running high, which is frequently the case owing to the heavy rains, it cannot be ascended at all. Twice during my journeys from Macas to Canelos I have been delayed on the bank of the Pindu, waiting for the water to go down. The worst place to pass is a cataract called Guineo Sass by the Canelos Indians. Here the canoe has to be pulled up a rock where the water is rushing out with extraordinary force between two other big stones. On the journey I am describing I had a narrow escape from shipwreck in this cataract. I myself had been carried to the shore from where I watched the attempts of the Indians to take the canoe up the violent cataract. Two of them placed themselves above the cataract pulling the canoe by a big liana tied to the front of it, while two more Indians were pushing it from the stern, standing in the rushing water up to the waist. With great difficulty they succeeded in pulling the canoe a few feet up the rock--when suddenly the liana burst and the canoe, which the two Indians at the stern were not able to hold, began to slide down the cataract owing to the pressure of the mass of water. In a moment it was half-filled and was in immediate danger of upsetting, in which case I should have lost all my luggage, among other things all my valuable notes and photographs. My Indians however saved the situation by throwing themselves immediately into the eddy, when they succceeded in keeping the canoe on an even keel until they had pulled it to the shore. Here it was emptied of its water and a new and more successful attempt was made to take it up the

cataract. The only thing I lost through this accident was a basket with living hens which I had brought from Arapicos. When the stern of the canoe where the basket had been placed filled with water the torrent carried it away, and it was not possible for the Indians to save the hens.

The Guineo Sass has a bad reputation among those Indians and mestizos who use this water route. Some months before I made this journey one of the Fathers from the mission of Canelos had tried to descend the Pindu on his way to Arapicos. The canoe had been upset in the cataract, and the Father had lost all his luggage, saving his life only by swimming to the shore.

Having ascended the Pindu for about one day and a half we arrived at a point where there is an Indian trail direct to the villages Puyu and Canelos. I thus had to continue my journey overland and expected to reach Canelos in two days. This time, however, it took me three days [70] to get there, owing to an unforeseen accident. During my stay in the Indian house at the Chiguaza sand-flies had bitten one of my toes which became inflamed and rendered walking very difficult, and at last almost impossible. These tiny insects, almost invisible to the naked eye, are very common in the houses of the Indians and are a great annoyance to a white visitor, indeed to the Indians also. Boring into the skin, preferably under the nail, they cause an infection in a few days which, unless the insect is at once cautiously removed with a needle, may become

dangerous, especially owing to the difficulty of keeping the little wound clean while marching. My swollen and aching toe caused me great suffering during this march, being, as I was, unable to attend to it and obliged to walk wet from morning till evening. Some distances my Indians tried to carry me on a sort of litter, but since they had to carry my luggage also, this way of marching proved impossible for any length of time. Besides this, during our march through the forest we were surprised by one of the heaviest downpours I have witnessed in Eastern Ecuador, which lasted for three hours. In an extremely miserable condition I arrived at Canelos, although, on the other hand, I had no reason to be discontented with the results of my long expedition. It was eight days before I had recovered sufficiently to be able to start on my final return journey to Ambato and civilization. I arrived there in the beginning of 1918."

1: Karsten--429-430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"Rites for magically influencing nature.

Under this category fall a great number of the rites and ceremonies which are performed at the great feasts and the aim of which seems to be to exert a mysterious influence upon nature itself, apparently without the intervention of any personal spiritual agents. The five great feasts of the Jibaros, as has appeared from my previous statements, are the 'feast of the children' (Uchiáuka), the 'feast of the young men (Kusúpani), the 'feast of the women' (Noa tsangu), the 'victory-feast' (Einsupani), and the 'feast of the dogs' (Yawápani). The particular idea which I wish to point out here appears very clearly in all these feasts, except the 'feast of the children', the principal object of which seems to be to impart strength to the young child. On the other hand, in the Kusúpani feast the object of the tobacco smoking ceremonies is not only to give the young man power of resisting evil spirits; besides this, there is the idea that the power of the tobacco--more strictly speaking, the power of the tobacco spirit--will be directly transferred to those departments of nature within which a full-grown man is active. This idea appears still more clearly with reference to the 'tobacco feast' and the great victory-feast: fertility of the fields and a rich harvest, the increase of the domestic animals, abundance of game, success in warfare, hunting, fishing and all domestic work will be the immediate consequence of these feasts if the rites prescribed by custom are performed in the right way. Similarly in the Yawápani feast the power inherent

in the [430] kungúna plant and other 'medicines' will, both through the dog and through his master, be automatically reflected upon the corresponding department of nature, giving as a result an abundance of game and luck in hunting.

It is difficult exactly to make out the primitive Indian view upon which all these rites are based. The only thing that can be said is that they assume an essential similarity or a mysterious connection between man and inanimate nature, which in its turn is based on the belief that in both, at bottom, the same spiritual life is active and therefore can be transferred from the human world to natural objects."

1: Karsten--430 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 796 (1928-29)

"From my previous statements it has appeared the Jibaros have a good many religious practices which have for their object to ward off the evil spirits, the iguánchi and wakani, to frighten them away and intimidate them. Thus they try to expel the demons which cause thunder and lightning, and who are regarded as the spirits of their dead enemies, by brandishing their lances aganst [sic] the sky and challenging them.(1) The great victory-feast is full of such rites. The spirit of the slain enemy who is trying to harm the victor in every way is kept at bay by the beating of shields (the ceremony Yáktinyu), by firing into the air, by shouting and yelling, by beating drums and playing on flutes and, last but not least, by dancing. The dance Hantsemáta especially is interesting on this point since it is a typical conjuration, its great aim being to mortify the soul of the killed enemy and to control it. But the other Jibaro dances too are all of a ceremonial character, although there are different ideas underlying them."

"1. See supra, p. 381."

3: Simson--388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 796, 276, 852

"Amongst the Gualaquiza Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festivities are held when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and mysteries of smoking.* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member then makes an oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to be witnessed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the number of enemies they have slain, and so forth. The hope is then expressed that the representative of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, and after the manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address delivered, the pipe is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few whiffs, all the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disporting themselves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event."

"*"This strange and interesting custom was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Pozzi, who resided as a missionary amongst these Indians for some years."

13: Rivet--241-242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 793, 796

The Jíbaro all have a series of ceremonies which are as yet little known, but the character of which is almost always clearly religious. They are all regulated by personages incorrectly called priests by the missionaries. To my knowledge there is no individual in Jíbaro society who corresponds to the role of priest in ours. I have already said that the savage communicates directly with the iguanchi. The so-called priest is an old man who, because of his great [242] experience, is very well acquainted with the traditions and customs of his ancestors, and whose role is limited to giving the concoction of tobacco to be drunk, to direct the singing, dancing and details of the ceremonies, and to distribute the food among the participants. This function is by no means the privilege of certain families, and does not give a special rank to those who exercise it. In exchange for his good services, the old man simply receives from the one who pays the expenses of the feast a triple ration of food, a dog, an itipi, a blowgun, and sometimes even an ax. An old woman called Ujaja plays an analogous role with regard to the women(1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 25.

13: Rivet--242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

The principal ceremonies are the marriage feast, which I have already described, and those of the women, of tobacco, and of the tsantsas.

13: Rivet--242[2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 585, 796

The women's feast takes place when the manioc or bananas planted by the newly-married couple are ripe. It is to make the new wife industrious and zealous. The old man opens the ceremony by preparing the chicha according to the accustomed manner before the young wife, while giving her many bits of advice: "It is thus that you should serve your husband; never permit him to be thirsty; you will give it to him to drink even if he does not ask you for it, etc." Then begins the drinking and the dance which lasts three days.

13: Rivet--242-243 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 796, 276

The tobacco feast, so called because of the great quantity of the tobacco concoction which is consumed, is to ensure the fertility of the fields, the fattening and fecundity of the hogs. It is more solemn than the preceding ceremony, is attended by more guests, and requires a greater quantity of food and drink. It usually lasts three days, but the guests may stay as long as the food and drink hold out. Under the pretext of helping in the preparations of the feast, certain less scrupulous friends even come to stay with the one who is paying the expenses ten days before the celebration.

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)" (1).

Simson, according to Father Pozzi, reports that in Gualaquiza a ceremony takes place when a child of three or four years of age is initiated into the art of smoking. All the family being gathered together, the oldest member present makes a long discourse in

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 52-53.

which he praises the courage of his ancestors and some members of the tribe, enumerates the number of enemies killed and expresses the hope that the representative of the new generation will imitate these noble examples. Finally, he puts a pipe into the hands of the young novice and after he has drawn on it a few times, all the assistants smoke gravely around him and begin to drink in order to celebrate the great event (2). This account is in complete opposition to my findings, according to which the Jíbaros are not aware of the use of the pipe, and even Simson himself reports that an Indian from Canelos wished to try his pipe and was made as uncomfortable as a high-school boy at his first attempts.

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2. Simson, op. cit., pages 388 and 393.

13: Rivet--243-244 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 247, 535

There is also in Gualaquiza a flower feast, in which the Indians dance around one of the house-posts (on the men's side) ornamented with foliage; and Father Pozzi mentioned a feast, also with dancing, on the day when an Indian puts on for the first time the girdle made of the hair of enemies killed by his own hand (1).

These celebrations are extraordinarily noisy; the assistants shout and sing at the top of their voices, the frightened dogs bark, the tunduli resounds continuously, the sound of the drums, the flutes and the trumpets mingle in a cacophony unbearable to the ear of a European. The dance does not stop an instant; fatigued dancers are immediately replaced by others. The dance, according to an Ecuadorian who has been present at the feast of the flowers in Gualaquiza, consists of the following: sometimes men and women holding hands form around the decorated post a big circle which increases or decreases according to the rhythm of the music; sometimes a couple detaches itself and dances, but without interweaving: the man takes three steps forward and three back, while the woman facing him jumps up and down [244] with her feet together, jingling? rattling the maco which she wears on the shin. These chorographic motions are completely devoid of grace. This description proves that among the tribes of Gualaquiza, contrary to the rule, the two sexes take part in dancing. At Macas, I have already said that this happens only in the marriage ceremony.

1. Luigi Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell'Equatore. Bolletino della Societa geografica italiana. Rome, 15 vol., 1878, p. 97-102.

All the feasts that I have just described are of very little importance compared to the one of which I am now going to speak: the feast of the tsantsas or tsantsa-tucui (1). After a warrior has killed one of his enemies, he knows that he ought to prepare to celebrate the killing: if he does not, a thousand misfortunes will come upon him, his seeds will not sprout, his animals will not prosper, his family and he himself will die, and the annoyed soul of the dead person will not allow him any rest until he has performed the traditional ceremonies. As soon as he returns from the war expedition, the Jíbaro celebrates first with neighbors and friends the feast called de entrada, in which the old man presiding at these performances gives him the concoction of tobacco to drink. This ceremony is naturally the occasion for a drinking feast of several days. After this, the possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (2), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the

1. Ordinaire. Les sauvages du Perou, op. cit., page 318.
2. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus.--De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.

upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (3). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (4).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seeing him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (5) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaros observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (6).

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 56.
4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, p. 215.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., p. 116.
6. ibid, p. 119.

13: Rivet--245-246 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

These preparations [KS: for the tsantsa feast] consist in planting two or more fields of manioc and bananas; the clearing, the preparation of the land, and the sowing demand at least a year; then it is necessary to wait for the harvesting, to make an enormous quantity of chicha (about 300 jars), to organize big hunting parties and big fishing trips in order to obtain [246] plenty of food for the numerous guests (1). I have already said that game is preserved wrapped up in certain leaves which keep it from spoiling, and that the fish is smoked. The expense of this feast is so great that often a number of Jíbaros arrange to celebrate it together.

The day of the ceremony finally having arrived, the relatives and friends invited in advance arrive from all sections, sometimes from places ten days distant. All bring their best costumes and ornaments.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 116.

13: Rivet--246-248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-I
116, 796, 727

At Gualaquiza, the ritual is as follows(1): The old man directing the ceremonies seats himself in the middle of the house, and the Jíbaro enters armed with his lance, carrying the tsantsa in his left hand. The old man stands up, takes the head and plunges it successively into a decoction of tobacco, into a jar of chicha, and then into pure water; then he makes the hero of the day sit down and in turn presents him with these different liquids (fig. 24). This ceremony is for the purpose of "breaking the fast" and thanks to it, the man believes himself free of all obligation. He gets up, takes his trophy and suspends it from the principal house post, which is decorated with flowers, stuffed birds and numerous other trinkets. The old man then begins to talk, improvising a violent panegyric of the victor, whom he calls "a brave Jíbaro, skillful in avenging an injury", heaping the victim's tribe with invective, insulting him and ridiculing him: "Why, "he says, "did you not watch? Why were you surprised? Why did you not rub your eyes with pimento in order to have keen sight?"(2) This harangue over, the men take each other by the hand and form a long chain in the interior of the house, and they dance, jumping and walking (fig. 25). In Macas, the women make a similar concentric

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1. Bulletin salesien, August 1896, page 175.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 216.

chain to that of the men; only the wife of the hero of the feast is admitted into the men's chain. Each time the latter dances, the old man detaches the tsantsa from the post and suspends it around his neck (3). Sometimes the dance takes place half [247] inside and half outside the house, the chain of dancers entering by one door and leaving by the other, always singing and shouting, and each individual making a kind of genuflection in passing before the trophy. (4).

Finally the old man distributes the bananas and the food among the merrymakers. The piningas of chicha are passed around. The dancing and drinking continue for six days in the midst of an infernal uproar. In fact, the Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing. During all the time that the feast lasts, the invited guests live at the expense of their host. Every morning, about 3 or four o'clock, each family receives a jar full of boiled chicha and a plate of fish.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 54.
4. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misioned dominicanas, op. cit., Fifth letter, page 49.

13: Rivet--246-248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-3
116, 796, 727

In the middle of the night on the sixth day, ten very fat hogs (sometimes more) are killed; an excellent bouillon is prepared, of which each one takes his share at daybreak, then each guest [248] receives a big piece of uncooked meat from the old man, the last gift, which is the signal for departure. Everyone leaves that morning. (5).

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5. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 55.

13: Rivet--248 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727

Certain details of this feast seem to vary according to the tribes: in Macas, the old man does not wash the tsantsa but paints it black, and "breaks the fast" by putting into the mouth of the owner a piece of hog and making him drink the decoction of tobacco (1).

Barriero (2) and Lubbock (3) report that, in the same tribe, the possessor of the trophy, after having suspended it from a post above the tsantsas brought by the merrymakers, insults it vehemently; the old man answers in the name of the victim. At a given moment, the victor carried away by anger hits the mummy with his lance, then sews up its lips in order to condemn it to silence. I have not been able to obtain confirmation of this account from my informants; all have told me that the sewing up of the lips has no other purpose than to prevent the mouth from opening during the desiccation.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 54 and 56.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.
3. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--248 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796

According to Barriero, the conqueror suspends the head from a stick in the open air; his favorite wife, holding him by the belt, accompanies him in this procedure. This is the greatest honor which can be conferred on a Jíbaro woman. Behind her, all the men, holding onto each other in the same manner, form a long chain.

According to Reiss (1), the house in which the ceremony has been celebrated, especially built for this purpose, is immediately abandoned, as after a death.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies, and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

13: Rivet--249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 727

Formerly the Jíbaros, after the celebration of the feast, suspend the trophies on posts along the roads, after having cut the hair, so that time will destroy them (1), or else preserve them in jars in order to decorate themselves in certain victory anniversary feasts (2), sometimes at the end of many years, they throw them into the rivers (3). They part with them with great reluctance, and Barriero tells how he had to use a ruse in order to obtain a specimen (4). At present, the tsantsas have become a real object of commerce for the tribes in contact with the whites.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre los misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 48.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 33.
4. Lettre published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 112.

The meaning of these trophies is thus rather complex. Among the Aguarunas, the possession of a tsantsa is indispensable to admission into the warrior class and the possession of wives (1). This requirement of initiation seems peculiar to this tribe. No where else does one find classes among the Jíbaros. However, according to Father Prieto, the Indians of Gualaquiza designate under the name Cocarama those among them who have distinguished themselves by the number of enemies killed (2). Perhaps there was then a true warrior class, as among the Aguarunas.

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1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 63.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.

28: Tessman--359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 796

Karsten has pointed out on several occasions that all the Chiwaro festivals have a religious connotation. However, religion enters only to the extent that the natives wish for great fertility, the acquisition of earthly goods, and a long life. Karsten has given us descriptions of the various festivals in a number of publications. The kusúpani festival takes place when the adolescents are promoted to the rank of manhood. They hope to make the young man strong and belligerent. The so called "little tobacco festival" is given for young girls after they had had their first menstruation. The "great tobacco festival" (noa tsangu) is prepared for women; its purpose is to make the women fit and strong for their duties and work. The greatest festival is the festival of the head-trophy (tsantsa). A detailed description of it may be found in Karsten's Blood Revenge. There are no secret rites or ceremonies in an ethico-religious sense. They simply want to obtain the help of spirits, which means, personal advantages especially in their dealings with enemies. During the Guilelma fruit festival, which takes place in March-April, they wish to increase the fertility of nature. Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XIX, p. 79) gives reproductions that show how the lips of the mummified heads are tied.

28: Tessman--359 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
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There are no other cultic rites. No masks. No secret cults. No sacred trumpets.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[121] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[784] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
[264] use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in semeless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Matter

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

/p. 138-F/

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776 Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanchi*, kills the murderer,
784 it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar
787 while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanchi* [752] fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

774 The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking
765 human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge
789 of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual
727 associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that
776 the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the
• 796 *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*. 765 789

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing: 727 776 796 [648] [539]

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose. 765 439 789 789

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As 774 778 765 727 796

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in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa* aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more 721
insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more 727
likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same 765
fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be
taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the
"hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are [774]
frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* [829]
souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation
in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a 774
tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature 825
thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree [776]
sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore
must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. [796]
At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow
manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam*
soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual [796]
precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human
tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of [784]
the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single aveng-
ing form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an 765
inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head
before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot 727
be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, 796
but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a 774
previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. 776
Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is
believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two
tsantsa celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwančī nam-*
per) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of
the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Oc- 796
casionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the 825

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• 796 same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsantsa* feasts,
[881] which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

774 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakanī*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every
[826] living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untā* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
• [796] the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a
[342] new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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532 sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight
765 aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent prep-
727 aration is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa*
778 until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The
• [796] last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kuinai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

727 When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from
624 which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s
796 house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young
[554] man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara.
[342] The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*nunpey*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party
[765] at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

[353] [301] [535] [439] [764]

796 571 554 765 The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

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[721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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578 765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is • 796 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by [774] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been [778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl- [554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al- [624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led [562] by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the 765 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to 796 the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* 727 feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill- [619] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, [571] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a [181] common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho- [533] ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered [535] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song: [539]

> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
> Čuwi[5] tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn playing.
> Čuwi tells me
> Čuwi tells me
> We are going to greet the dawn.
>
> And they taught me previously,
> I cannot sleep easily,
> And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
> And don't you sleep!
> And don't you sleep!
> For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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178 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose partici-
721 pants and their relatives have a vested interest in the mainte-
441 nance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jívaro.

178 Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced
411 palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons
726 both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with
[342] the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in
[712] attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the
[714] latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy
[796] against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare
[727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 Changes in house construction during the past few dec-
342 ades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of fire-
411 arms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was
712 sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such
726 towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jívaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

1: Karsten--35-36 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
668, 797 (1928-29)

"Although the Canelos Indians are nominally Christians, their relations to the leaders of the mission have not always been of a friendly nature. There have sometimes been conflicts between the Fathers and the Indians. The worst was the one which arose when the present wooden mission building was constructed, some forty years ago. The Indians were of opinion that a bamboo building of the kind commonly used by both Indians and settlers in Eastern Ecuador would be good enough for the Fathers, and consequently refused to construct a wooden house which would demand much time and work. The Indians engaged in a 'strike' of the kind that has not been uncommon among Christian Indians 'reduced' at missions. In Eastern Ecuador this strike is called miticushca which means 'to avoid', 'to keep away'; the Indians, in defiance of the orders of the Fathers, go off to their distant tambos, keeping away from the mission and the duties it imposes upon them. Palati, who had found an opportunity to exert his influence, was the leading person in organizing this strike, agitating and delivering speeches among the Indians and doing his best in exhorting them to avoid the mission. But the continuance of the boycott proved impossible; one family after the other [36] returned to the mission and submitted to the authority of the Fathers. Seeing that he would come off a loser Palati found it convenient to change his attitude in time. One day the Father had succeeded in calling together a number of Indians at the mission, and after the mass was finished he intended to speak to them to bring them to reason. Palati, who

was also present, asked to be allowed to say a few words to the Indians first. Then he started to deliver an exciting oration in which he expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of the striking Indians, reproaching them for their ingratitude towards the Father, and urging them to return to their duty. He himself, he said, had been against the miticushca from the beginning, but his advice had not been followed. This hypocritical declaration of the man who had been the real instigator of the strike, of course, astonished the Father, and some of the Indians too wished to raise protests against so obvious a distortion of the facts. However, satisfied at the final settlement of the conflict, the Father found it wiser to overlook minor matters. Palati had saved his prestige and even strengthened his influence.

Palati died in 1924, a few years after I left Canelos and South America. He was an interesting acquaintance to me, not only on account of his great age and his wide experience of life but also on account of his whole character, which seemed to me to be typical of an Indian chief and 'politician'."

"During the early part of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing some flourishing missions in the regions east of the Jivaro territory, from which source numerous expeditions penetrated the Jivaro country with the avowed intent of converting them to the evangelical faith regardless of consequences.

In 1656 Don Martín de la Riva Aguero, governor of Cajamarca, organized a company consisting of 100 soldiers and an equal number of Mainas Indians from the missions of the Jesuit father Raimundo Santa Cruz. (38) The expedition followed the left bank of the Marañon to the junction of that river with the Pastaza and here on July 25, 1656, they founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, however, had a brief career. The Jivaro Indians, who were promptly dressed by Father Raimundo in what he considered to be a modest and proper manner, took the first opportunity to flee from the expedition. When they were pursued they killed a considerable number of Spaniards from ambush.

In 1690 Father Lorenzo Lucero, with a small squadron of canoes, made a peaceful entrance into the Jivaro country, hoping to persuade the Indians to submit to kindness rather than to the use of force. The Jivaros, however, had not forgotten the cupidity of Martín de la Riva and their unhappy experiences with that expedition and Father Lucero was unable to succeed in his attempt."

"38. Chantre y Herrera, p. 176."

"In the year 1869 the Jesuits were again permitted to return to their old field in eastern Ecuador. Missions were established at Canelos and Macas which had been taken over from the Dominicans. Other establishments were begun at Gualaquiza and at Zamora. In 1869 the Jesuit fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán began their work at Canelos. The following year Fathers Andrés J. Perez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Of the old missions, only Zamora was abandoned. In 1873 militant uprisings of the Jivaros forced the abandonment of Gualaquiza and in 1885 Macas suffered the same fate. On October 4, 1886, the ecclesiastical authority again intervened, and the missions of Macas and Canelos were taken away from the Jesuits and given to the Dominicans, so that the Jesuit order was once more completely out of the Jivaro country.

In 1893 the Franciscans took charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group, who have operated their missions in this territory to the present time.

In the year 1902 the first Protestant mission was established in Jivaro territory when the Gospel Missionary Union of the United States established a mission on the Upano, where it was operated under the direction successively of Mr. Freeland, Mr. Olson, and Mr. Eamigh. At present this mission is located at Chupianza, on the Upano River between Mendez and Macas."

2: Stirling--115
116, 764, 797, 172

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"Since the advent of missionary influence, the Jivaros in some places have been persuaded to bury their dead, which is usually done in the floors of the houses. There is archeological evidence that urn burial was formerly practiced in the Jivaro territory, and Figueroa describes this custom among the Mainas in the seventeenth century."

"The Jivaros have been subjected to Christian missionary influences since shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century. Traces of this can be detected here and there throughout their stories. The story of a universal deluge occurs at such an early date, however, that it may be aboriginal in the region.

The myths of the Jivaros, in common with many other culture traits, appear to have formerly been widespread over a large area.

After stating categorically that the Jivaros do not have any religion, Prieto proceeds to disprove it by saying:

> They know that there is a supreme being, giving him the name of Cumbanama as God, and at other times the name of Neche; but they do not give him any worship or type of adoration. They know that there is a bad spirit, who is the devil, but they say that they like him; they have him always for a friend so that he will be favorable to them in their wars. They believe in the immortality of souls, forming the opinion of transmigration, like some bad philosophies, saying that if the Jivaro who dies has been a man of spirit and courage and one who killed many of his enemies, his soul changes into some brave animal, as a lion, tiger, bear or other of this class; but if the Jivaro who died has been a coward, of little spirit, and has not done any heroic deed, his soul changes into a snake, spider,

toad or some other repugnant [122] animal. Aside from this, they do not worship any deity or adore idols, not do they have any other kind of belief beside the aforementioned.

They are very exact in their traditions, communicating from fathers to sons all the wars, heroic deeds and glorious actions of their grandfathers and forefathers, as can be seen by the circumstantial stories about the lost city of Logroñoand of the city of old Zamora. For proof and in order to be sure their traditions are constant, let it be shown by their opinion of the universal flood. They say that a cloud fell from the sky and that it inundated the land with water; that all the animals were killed and that a Jivaro man and woman fled to a big high hill, where they found a cave in which they shut themselves up with all the animals, and the waters having subsided, they all left and began to reproduce and populate the world. They likewise have a tradition confused with the curse that Noah gave to his son Ham. They say that there was a rich man who had some good sons and one very bad one, who separated from the others, cursing the first. All the foreigners and white Christians descend from the good sons and for that reason have the things necessary for passing through life with much ease and an abundance of riches; but the Jivaros descend from the bad son, and for this reason do

not have axes and machetes, suffer innumerable hardships, and have an extremely miserable life. (32)"

"32. Prieto, in Compte, p. 64."

4: Up de Graff--201-202 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177, 797

"It is worth noting in passing, that whereas those Indians (of other tribes) who have lived for fifty years under the influence of the priests at the missions I have mentioned, remain to-day in every respect as ignorant and more superstitious than ever, having acquired merely [202] the doubtful benefit of a Christian catechism which they cannot understand (and could not have been expected to), those of their brothers whose domains have been invaded by the caucheros have in the short space of some two years jumped from stone axes to Singer sewing machines, and what is more important, from sheer barbarism to self-respect. The former, as I know from personal experience, shrink from contact with strangers, under the influence of the priests' teaching (as though they feared outside intervention, which might rob them of some of their influence). The latter are deliberately taught the advantages of steel axes and machetes over stone not, be it said, by reason of the philanthropic instinct of the cauchero, but nevertheless with gain to both sides. It remains to be seen whether together with the worldly goods and broader knowledge which they have acquired, there has been left among them the scourge of disease. But at any rate their intellectual progress, and, as far as I could make out, their moral outlook have made far more rapid strides than in the case of their brothers who have fallen under the influence of 'religion.' "

12: Rivet--344 (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

It was not until 1767 that Father Andrès Camacho made a new attempt; it appears that he was on the way to success, when the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies (Pragmatic Sanction against the Society of Jésus: April 2, 1767) (1). The missions were then successively handed over to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. Far from being marked by new conquests, this period was all decadence and disorganization.

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1. Cuantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 574.

12: Rivet--344-345 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 175, 797

While the society of Jésus attacked the savages from the southeast, other missionaries tried to take them in the rear from the west: I am speaking of the Dominicans. In 1581, four Fathers of this order, belonging to the convent of Quito, had penetrated into the basin of the Pastaza: Father Valentin de Amaya had explored the right bank of this river, Father Baltazar Quintana the left bank and its tributaries, Father Diego de Ochoa had ventured into the mountains of the Penday, and Sebastian Rosero into those of Poya (1). [345] A first village by the name of Canelos had been founded the same year with the baptized Indians at the mouth of the Pindo. But harassed by the attacks of the Jíbaros, the Fathers had to change the location twice and finally established it on the spot where it now is, on a little hill which dominates the left bank of the Bobonaza (2). This mission of Canelos, officially entrusted to the Dominicans in 1683 by Charles II, did not progress and in 1778, there were only 22 male individuals in a single village (3), the object of incessant assaults by neighboring tribes, and it would even have disappeared but for the

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1. Probably Puyo, the mountain massil in which the Pindo River has its source.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur. Paris, 1889, p. 134.
3. "Informe del misionero Fr. Manuel Bermeo", 1778, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 278.

arrival of Father Santiago Riofrío who brought it some prosperity. In 1798, thanks to him, it included the three annexed small villages of Nuestra Señora del Rosario or la Palma (173 inhabitants), San Jacinto (37 inhabitants) and San Carlos de los Achuales (36 inhabitants) (4). This mission remained in the hands of the Dominicans until 1803, at which time it was given over to the bishop of Mainas.

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4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

12: Rivet--345-346 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 797

In 1803, the immense diocese of Mainas was set up. It was bounded [346] on the east by the Portugese settlements on the banks of the Amazon, on the west by the base of the Cordillera of the Andes, on the north by the Putumayo, to the south by the Pongo de Manseriche of the Marañon (Papal Bull VII of May 28, 1803). All the Jíbaro territory came under this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which all the existing missions were put. But this attempt at centralization did not last very long, since in 1814 the Dominicans had taken possession of their old establishment of Canelos which then had only 145 inhabitants (1). At this time, the evangelical zeal had cooled singularly. The flame of the apostolate shone only with a feeble light, and if there was still interest in the mysterious eastern regions, it was more out of curiosity or cupidity than because of piety. So it was that more expeditions were organized into the regions of Cuenca and Loja in order to look for the former site of Logroño, in particular in 1788 and 1789, at the instigation of the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. The explorers discovered the ruins of good-sized buildings on the other side of the Cordillera, which ruins they took for the remains of the unhappy city and which were in reality, vestiges of aboriginal construction, perhaps some of those works of defense constructed by the Cañaris in order to protect themselves against the Jíbaros, of whom I have already spoken.

1. "Extracto de un informe del Ilmo Sr. Rangel," 1818, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 339.---Fr. Enrique Vacas Galindo, Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, 3 vol., Quito, 1902-1903, vol. I, p. 370.

The moral picture which I have just quickly outlined, after having studied the customs of the race in detail, shows what a thankless task the missionaries have undertaken and explains to a certain extent the failure of their attempts up to this time. He who understands only Christian doctrines runs head-on into the most deeply-rooted customs of the people. To advise the Jíbaro to forgive injuries, when all his life is dominated by the desire for vengeance, to point out to him the goodness of the Catholic God, when the only thing he respects is strength, to explain to him the idea of being good to one's neighbor, when he only thinks of lucrative pillage from his neighbor, to limit him to a single wife and to make her his equal when for years he has practiced authoritarian polygamy, to oblige this lover of liberty to accept the many subjections of communal life, the constraint of certain rules, to try to make his mind, accustomed only to concrete realities, understand the abstraction of the Christian mysteries and dogmas, that is to ask too much of the savage, too many sacrifices, that is to upset his entire life without giving him sufficient compensation, in a word, it is to undertake a hopeless work, destined to certain failure.

And in fact, the missionaries succeed in nothing or almost nothing. In order to make their neophytes understand them, they are obliged to use their own language, and they have tried to adapt to the Christian conception the words which are used to designate the native divinities. They have made the iguanchi the devil, and tungura hell; but these

words have taken on a new meaning only in the minds of the priests; for the baptized Jíbaro, they have kept their primitive significance. The teachers of the catechism and those being taught do not understand each other, and seem to understand only thanks to ambiguity. So it is that a missionary may rejoice over having heard an old Indian say on seeing a child baptized: "It is a good thing to wash the head in this manner, because it frightens the iguanchi" (1). In reality, Christian baptism is to the savage only an operation of beneficent magic which has been added to the things they already practiced, the priest is only a huishinu who has brought into the Amazonian forest the secret of new formulae for conciliating the divinities and spirits.

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1. Bulletin salesien, February 1898, page 50.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jíbaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jíbaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

"The tribe have no outwardly manifested religious beliefs, other than such as may be involved in the cult of the medicine man. Occasionally individuals would be met who had been baptized, as adults, at Gualaquiza, but they were not professing proselytes. The missions founded in various Amazon regions, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, have made little or no real impression upon the Jíbaro, where he has been reached at all by them; (38) but this is scarcely a matter for wonder, in view of the interruptions which they have constantly suffered through the stormy vicissitudes of South American history. 'The first blow to the missions,' says Mozans, (39) 'came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reasons ocultas y reservadas. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent and the crippled financial condition of

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"38. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 87.
39. H. J. Mozans, work cited in footnote 6, p. 451."

most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest. Thus, some twenty years ago the Franciscans established a mission, with schools and a medical dispensary, at Zamora, but after a brief existence its withdrawal was forced under the anti-clerical President Alfaro, during whose régime also the Jesuits were deprived of all authority in Oriente."

22: Hamy--387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

"Father Manuel Castrucci of Vernazza visited them in 1845 on the Pastaza river; Lieutenant Herndon, of the United States marines beginning his exploration of the Amazon in 1854, saw one of their tribes on the banks of the Huallaga river (2); the Bishop of Chachapoyas conducted a Peruvian expedition in the same locality in 1859. Mateo Paz Soldan.... Messieurs Osculati.... Villavicencio.... Bollaert.... Barriero.... Moreno Maiz.... Antonio Raimondy.... Cl.-R. Markham.... have contributed short accounts on the Jivaro. Finally Father Louis Pozzi who is evangelizing them at the present time, has just written several letters to the mission of Gualaquiza which contain interesting information...."

"(2) Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington, in-8°, 1854, p.174."

/326 cont./

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As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful [747] among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

/329 cont./

491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

000 Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paira and Suñag, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /330/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived 186 in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion. • 797

361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos. [487] Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [797] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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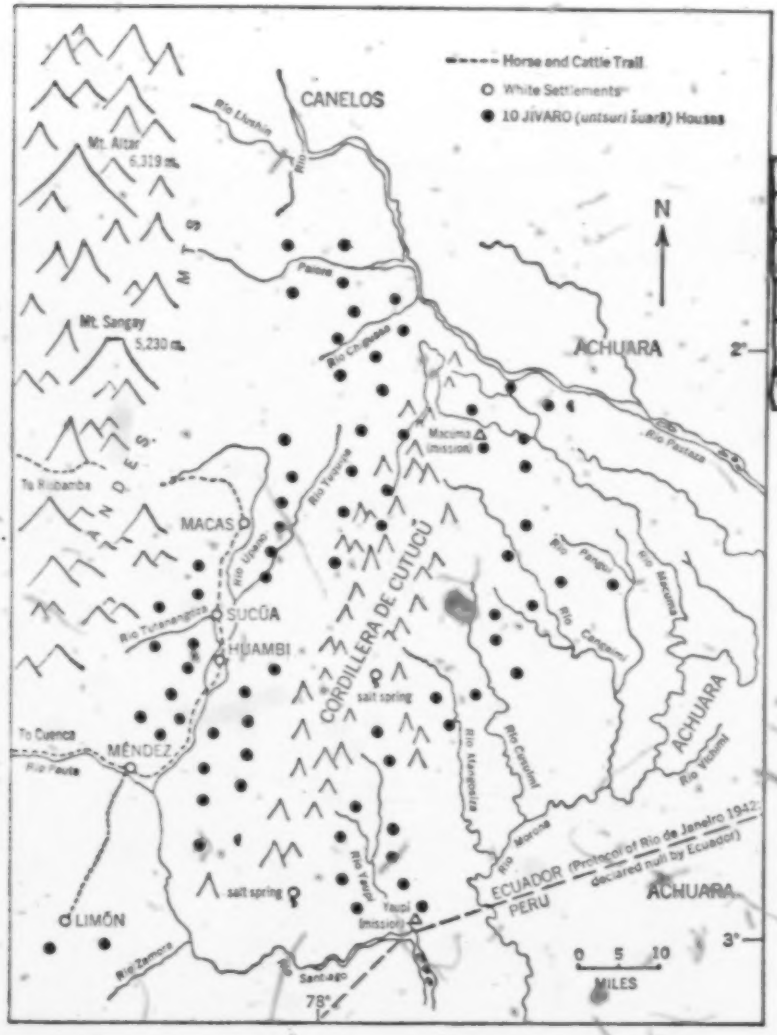

MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4,5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

scribed as "cities," in 1552: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Paute (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora; and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[16] 175 648

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldrete reported in 1582: [316]

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[17]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[18] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all else to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas; and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebrations of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presuppose several points:
>
> (1) That the Indian nations of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish; because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop something more than a parish of Indians. [797]
>
> (2) That the Jívaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without bridle or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 175 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [562] [797] 175 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food, and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was 175 648

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apačï* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *šuarä* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apačï* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *šuarä*.
439

[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries
[797] introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[231] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a
[436] plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to
[464] barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648

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new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1902, but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

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came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[33] probably contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
[731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
[101] lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled east-
[161] ward across the Cordillera de Cututú, or moved northward
to the Río Chiguasa region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from
Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting
bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
[619] planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by
797 missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
101 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier
648
797

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambinimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ous journey of two or more days on foot, still discourages white penetration into the eastern interior.

Cases of contact between the interior Jívaro and whites are all very recent and highly localized in their occurrence. The largest intrusion was made by the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation in the early 1940's as part of an ill-fated oil exploration project. The company constructed a small airstrip near the Río Pangui in the easternmost part of the Jívaro territory, but within a few years abandoned the site altogether when explorations failed to reveal economically exploitable oil deposits in the region. The project involved relatively limited interaction with the Jívaro.

In 1945, a North American evangelist missionary belonging to the Gospel Missionary Union established a small outpost on the middle Río Macuma. The mission has a small airstrip supplied by single-engine plane since 1946. A subsidiary airstrip was built on the upper Río Cangaimi at the end of 1954.[35] At the time of the investigator's first fieldwork, the Macuma mission was beginning to exert some significant influence on the Jívaro families residing at the mission, but such contacts were still limited to the immediate locality, without any noticeable effect on the culture of the other Jívaro inhabiting the vast interior region east of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The Salesians had also founded a mission on the lower Río Yaupi, with similar localized effects.

Localities within the interior Jívaro territory which had been least touched by white contact in 1956–57 are the ones from which the data are primarily drawn for the present study. These areas include: the upper Río Cangaimi; the upper Río Cusuimi; the upper Río Mangosiza; and the region between the Río Chiguasa and the headwaters of the Río Yuquipa and the Río Macuma (see Map 2). The last region is west of the northern end of the Cutucú mountain barrier

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanï*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri šuarā* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri šuarā* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969).973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
648 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will
563 undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from
the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept
through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as
the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
[123] staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the
Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently
determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed
five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most
slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us,
together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march
on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility
and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt
of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
648 ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[657] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano
[797] Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white
standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands
are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*šuarä*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jívaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

177 Still, the Jívaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jívaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

"The majority of the Jibaros are able to count to 'ten', but only for the five first numerals have they proper names. They always count with the fingers, beginning with those of the left hand, and then also with the toes.

The power of counting seems less developed among the Aguarunas; they have proper names only for the three first numerals: chikis, one, hima, two, and mayándi, three and also for five which, like other Jibaros, they denote by the word wéhe amúkei (literally: 'I have finished the hand').

Among the Upano tribes the numerals are as follows:

chikichi, one,
himera, two,
menéindu or kámbatamá, three,
einduk-einduk, four
wéhe amukei (=I have finished the hand'), five.

If the Jibaro Indian is obliged to count more than fine, [sic] he seizes the fingers of his right hand with those of the left; then, beginning with the thumb, he goes on counting, using the following expressions:

huini wéhe, six, (here I have a [finger from the other] hand)
himera wéhe, seven (two fingers [from the other hand])
menéindu wéhe, eight (three fingers)

einduk-einduk wéhe, nine (four fingers)
mai wéhe amúkahei, ten (='I have finished both hands').

If it is necessary to continue counting the Jibaro seizes the toes of one foot, one by one, and counts chikichi, himera, menéindu (one, two, three), etc. When he arrives at the fifth toe he says: huini náwi amúkahei, 'here I have finished one foot' (Huini = here, náwi = foot), it being understood that he has begun with the hands. The said phrase, therefore, is equal to 'fifteen'.

Thereupon he may continue counting with the toes of the other foot, and when he arrives at the last toe he says: mai náwi amúkahei, [549] 'I have finished both feet'; this means 'twenty'. Twenty is the absolute limit for the Jibaro counting, as far as it is expressed in words.

'Ten' may also be expressed by joining both hands closed, without using any particular expression, and if the Jibaro wants to indicate 'twenty', 'thirty', 'forty', etc., he does it by joining his closed hands two, three, four, etc. times.

It is characteristic of the Jibaro Indian that he cannot indicate a number in the abstract, but always does it by signs, even when he possesses a particular word for it, and nearly always he begins from 'one', counting on his fingers until he arrives at the number he wants to indicate. If, for instance, in regard to a feast which lasts for five days, a Jibaro is asked how many days the Indians celebrate it, he does not directly

answer 'five', but he starts to count on his finger beginning with 'one', mentioning what they do every day: 'The first day we do that and that, the second we do that and that, and so on, until he arrives at the fifth (little) finger, when he says: 'With this the feast is ended'. Similarly, if for instance six Jibaro Indians have left for a journey and one askes[sic]how many Indians went off, the answer will never be a direct 'six', but the Indian interrogated begins to enumerate the names of all those who went off, always counting on his fingers, until he arrives at the first finger on the right hand which means 'six'. This need of making numbers as concrete as possible in counting seems to me to illustrate that lack of power of abstraction which is characteristic of a primitive mind."

13: Rivet--252 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 802

The Jíbaros do not have extensive learning. Father Plaza (1) says that they can count only up to 4, Raimondi up to 5 (2). Reiss (3) reports that in Macas the savages make use of their fingers to indicate numbers. The Aguarunas only have special numbers up to five and for the higher figures use their fingers and toes (4). The dialects of Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora possess words for the first ten numbers; above 20, the Indians use the word irúnima which means "numerous". In places where they have come in contact with the Whites, they use the Quechua number systems above 10.

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1. Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 295.
2. Raimondi. On the Indian Tribes of the great District of Loreto, op. cit., page 39.
3. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
4. G. M. von Hassel. Vocabulario aguaruna (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima, 12 year, V. XII, 1902, first quarter, page 83.)

25: Vigna--45 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 802

The arithmetic of the Jíbaros is poor. They count up to ten, because there are ten fingers. The word used for the numbers changes up to five; from six on they repeat the ordinatives with a suffix: "mey." When they wish to indicate the number twenty, they place the fingers of both hands near the feet (which are always bare). After the number twenty, all quantity is indicated with the word "Untzurí" (many).

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
● 802 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
000 territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

1: Karsten--116 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
805 (1928-29)

"The only tree producing edible fruit cultivated by the Jibaros is the chontaruŕu palm (Guilielma), called ui by the Jibaros. Its extremely nourishing fruit ripens in February and March, and the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians appreciate it to such an extent that they reckon the beginning of the year from the ripening of the fruit of the chontaruru palm."

1: Karsten--503-504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
805 (1928-29)

"The stars, as far as I can see, have not particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros, and seem not to play any part [504] in their calendar."

1: Karsten--504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 805, 821 (1928-29)

"Time is reckoned mainly after the sun and the moon. Great attention is paid to the new moon which is supposed to have a mysterious influence in promoting both natural processes and human undertakings. Thus we have seen the [sic] the new moon is believed to cause the menstruation of the women and to influence the development of the foetus in the mother's womb. The 'dying' moon, on the other hand, has the effect of making everything decrease and die out.

As to longer periods, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians also speak of 'years', but this division of time is not founded on astronomic calculations but on other kinds of observation. A 'year' in the Quichua language is chunta. This is the name of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), the fruit of which begins to ripen in the month of February. This to the Indians is so important an incident that they reckon the beginning of the year from that time. Similarly the Jibaro Indians have adopted the same Quichua word (chunta) for denoting a year."

13: Rivet--252 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 805, 823

Time is counted by moons. The year is called chonta from the name of a plant which gives fruit regularly every year. The astronomical knowledge of the savages seems most rudimentary; however, the surety with which they find their way in their forests appears to demonstrate that they use the position of certain stars to orient themselves. They have no idea that the earth is round, and think that if they arrived at the horizon they would fall into a big abyss (1). The only civilized country that they know or that they have visited is Ecuador, which the Macas call Tunguini (2); the Zamoras call the city of Loja by the name of Tunguina.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 393.
2. Ansola Martinez, op. cit.

25. Vigna--45 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 805

They are not acquainted with the calendar. They are not accustomed to enumerate the years nor their age. They note the change of the year through the flowering of the chonta, and they indicate the years by the word "Uvi", which means chonta. The months and days of the week do not have individual names. They count the days by the nights: "so much sleeping"; that is: after so many nights. In order to know how many days they must wait before an event, they accumulate some pebbles or some grains of corn or peas. Months are counted by moons, and in the full moon they generally perform vengeances and killings which are always treacherous and perfidious.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

765
When this first *tsamtsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers 727
return to their separate homes and begin to make prepara- 796
tions for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will 244
host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food 574
are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally
has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to
plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these [231]
two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no
sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing
and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as
for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting.
Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a [342]
new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often
two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men 727
who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long 796
distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or 805
ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic
system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able 824
to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests 765
at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might 224
be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each 574
hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same
stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for
the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully
ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration.
The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk
to those invited guests living at some distance so that they,
too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a 574
month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of 796
all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. 765
He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the [727]

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *ardía* or *arutam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 574 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuŋuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

595 224 833 [82]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting. 595 224 833 [82]

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies. 224 833 842 595

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known. 842 842 756 789

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes 842 789

1: Karsten--218-219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 842, 821 (1928-29)

"Their ideas about conception and pregnancy are more definite. Conception according to their idea is brought about by the new moon in connection with the natural sexual intercourse. The new moon is also believed to effect the menstruation of the women, of which physiological process the Jibaros use the expression nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her.' The time most suited for cohabitation and conception is that falling between the 'dying' moon and the following new moon. During this time the Jibaro usually has intercourse with his wives with a view to begetting children. He is however of opinion that as a rule a woman cannot be made pregnant by one single act of sexual intercourse. Several are necessary; the new being has to be created as it were by degrees, the moon always playing the part of a promotor of the creating process. When the Jibaro has cohabited with his wife in the period between two moons, the following new moon will in some mysterious way bring about the first development of the foetus. Every following new moon, in connection with repeated cohabitation, adds a little to it until in the course of nine months the foetus is full-grown and the birth takes place.

This statement of the Jibaros must be understood to mean that the germ of the new human being comes from man, who at the sexual act simply puts it into the woman, just as a seed is sown in the earth, the new moon thereby effectively aiding in developing the foetus. This primitive view, which in South America is by no means limited to the

Jibaros (1), is of interest in so far as it explains a custom which among these Indians also occurs in a modified form, namely, the custom of couvade. If the child, at least physiologically, has its proper origin in the father, we can understand the close connection or 'sympathy' existing between the father and his newborn babe, manifesting itself in that for instance the food eaten by the former will affect the latter for good or for evil. These ideas we shall consider again in the chapter on the birth customs.

The present-day Indian is thus firmly convinced that a woman can-[219]not conceive without having intercourse with a man. But the mediator of the process of conception need not necessarily be a living man, he may also be a dead one, that is, a spirit or demon. From this point of view we may speak of a supernatural birth in regard to the Jibaros, namely, in so far as they believe that a spirit or demon can have sexual intercourse with a woman and generate a child. This belief is quite common among the Jibaros and the Indians of Canelos, as among various other tribes in Ecuador, and has influenced the customs they observe at the birth of a child and even their marriage customs, as we have seen in the case of the Canelos Indians."

"1. See my Civilization of the South American Indians, p. 445 sq."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
821, 776 (1928-29)

"After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
821 (1928-29)

"If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc."

1: Karsten--381-382 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover extend their animistic ideas to the heavenly bodies and phenomena, and to inanimate objects of nature. A Jibaro myth tells us that the sun, the moon, and the stars have once been men living on the earth, and certain magical ideas, current among most South American Indians, are held about the moon, but no traces of a real belief in a sun or moon spirit are to be found and still less of a cult of these heavenly bodies. The Indians seem to consider that they are too far off and have not enough influence upon human affairs to be worshipped. On the other hand, striking phenomena of nature which sometimes threaten their welfare, such as thunder and lightning, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, are always set down to supernatural causes. The thunder, the Jibaros say, is caused by a great number of shuara (enemies) --i.e. spirits of dead Jibaro warriors--who with such a noise are making their assaults upon the Indians. During heavy thunderstorms, therefore, the Jibaro men are seen brandishing their lances against the clouds, jumping, shouting, and challenging their invisible supernatural assailants with the same words that they shout against their natural enemies: winiti, winiti, páhei, 'may you come, I am ready!' The Jibaros therefore call the thunder shuara mányamai, or shuara ipyámwai, that is, 'the enemies are fighting'. The lightning (cháreimbi) is also an old Jibaro warrior, one of those ancestors of the Jibaro race who are called arútama and which appear to the Indian when

narcotized by tobacco, natéma, or maikoa. Among the same powerful demons figure some other striking heavenly phenomena, namely, the rainbow (tundyáka) and the meteors and comets or shooting stars, called by the common name payára ('a falling thing'). [382]

Earthquakes (urkai) are caused by powerful iguánchi in the earth, who are shaking their bodies.

Of stupendous phenomena of nature which have particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros one more must be mentioned: it is the violent hurricane(nássi), which frequently appears in the South American virgin forests, passing over a comparatively limited area and marking its way by terrible destruction among the trees and bushes. The Jibaros ascribe the hurricane to one of their worst iguánchi, who also figures among the arútama."

1: Karsten--392 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"Of phenomena in the sky the rainbow (cuichi) seems to have particularly attracted the attention of the Canelos Indians. The rainbow, they fancy, is nothing but a huge anaconda (amárun) in the air, or as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the anaconda'. One superstition about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are in their menstrual period ought not go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone in a hut in the forest, they are exposed to danger from the cuichi supai who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being a supai huahua, a 'demoniacal' child. This superstition in regard to the rainbow also prevails among the Indians of the Napo and is particularly held by the Quichua-speaking mountain Indians."

1; Karsten--503-504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 772, 821 (1928-29)

"Heaven is for them an immense solid vault which rests on the earth. A Jibaro myth tells us that formerly there was much communication between the heaven and the earth, people ascending to the sky along a long liana hanging from the vault and again descending to the earth. Even the heavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, and the stars, which are regarded as 'people' (eintsu) by the Jibaros, have originally lived on the earth, but at a certain epoch went up to the sky where they have remained ever since. The stars, as far as I can see, have not particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros, and seem not to play any part [504] in their calendar. Almost the only star which appears in their mythology is the planet Venus, called Yanguái. The general name for 'star' in the Jibaro language is ya."

1: Karsten--504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 805, 821 (1928-29)

"Time is reckoned mainly after the sun and the moon. Great attention is paid to the new moon which is supposed to have a mysterious influence in promoting both natural processes and human undertakings. Thus we have seen the [sic] the new moon is believed to cause the menstruation of the women and to influence the development of the foetus in the mother's womb. The 'dying' moon, on the other hand, has the effect of making everything decrease and die out.

As to longer periods, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians also speak of 'years', but this division of time is not founded on astronomic calculations but on other kinds of observation. A 'year' in the Quichua language is chunta. This is the name of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), the fruit of which begins to ripen in the month of February. This to the Indians is so important an incident that they reckon the beginning of the year from that time. Similarly the Jibaro Indians have adopted the same Quichua word (chunta) for denoting a year."

1: Karsten--504 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 821 (1928-29)

"The ideas that the Indians entertain about meteorological phenomena such as thunder and lightning, falling stars and comets, hurricanes, etc. have appeared from the account I have given of their religion. We have also seen that a supernatural origin is ascribed to certain minerals, for instance 'lightning-stones' which are believed to have been hurled down from the heavens by ancestral spirits, lava stones thrown out from volcanoes, and especially to mountain crystals which are looked upon as proceeding from the devil-souls of departed wizards living in the mountains. Crystals are consequently reckoned among the most potent magical 'arrows' used by living sorcerers."

13: Rivet--250 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

When the wind blows violently, the women and children leave the huts uttering loud shouts, trying to put the wind to flight in this manner, while the men also shout at the top of their voices, encircling the posts of the house so that the gale does not upset them (1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 64-65.

13: Rivet--250 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 821, 787

When a violent storm comes, the Jíbaros leave their dwellings with lances and shields, shouting. In the direction of the bright lightning and reverberating thunder, they threaten an invisible enemy whom they thus intend to frighten. In fact, they are sure that the tribes living in that direction are uniting in order to come and make war against them.

13: Rivet--250 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

Father Pancheri says that a Jíbaro who passed the night at Gualaquiza in his room went out into the corridor before lying down and began to blow hard and to murmur incomprehensible words. Interrogated, he answered that he thus kept away death and the iguanchi (1).

If one throws chicha into a river, big clouds will arise on the horizon (2).

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1. Pancheri, op. cit., El Republicano, Quito paper. No. 106, February 7, 1894.
2. Bulletin salesien, February 1902, page 50.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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726 774 821 generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

726 774 761 [978] The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home [787] and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

774 778 The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

[183] By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jívaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a [721] new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

[761] Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person 726 774 who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jívaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Iwar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife. 775 825

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them. 776 775 825

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however. [776]

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist. 775 821

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society. 774 182 181

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his 778
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wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[8] The [821]
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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of con-
761 tagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two
[763] is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation
[821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampaŋ* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampaŋ* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampaŋ* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampaŋ* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakanī*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
774 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam*
778 soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukra and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

1: Karsten--382 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
823 (1928-29)

"Earthquakes (urkai) are caused by powerful iguanchi in the earth, who are shaking their bodies."

1: Karsten--382-383 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 776, 823 (1928-29)

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain booms as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaros, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaros ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where iguánchi is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (sása or paccha) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks natéma or maikoa in the forest, always takes a bath in a sása in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especially the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

1: Karsten--391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 823 (1928-29)

"Certain places and localities are inhabited by supai. The most important and most feared of these are the urcu supai, the demons of the hills, and especially the razu urcu supai, the demons of the snow-clad mountains. All these are inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers who have transmigrated into the hills and mountains. They are supposed to send evil disease and are therefore often summoned by the medicine-men when curing patients.

When passing hills on their wanderings the Canelos Indians take care not to make a noise but keep silence; otherwise the demon of the hill will get angry and send heavy rain. The thunder-like booming sometimes heard from within the mountains is called by the same name as one of their principal bird demons, the big macaw, guacamayu. When hunting on hills that they have not visited before, they abstain from shooting with their guns and only use their blowguns. Otherwise they will not be able to kill any game.

There are also spirits in the rivers, and the cataracts are particularly haunted by them. Some of these appear in the shape of animals, as the amárun supai, others, again, in other shapes. In the small waterfalls or cascades, (paccha) in which the eastern cordilleras are so rich, there are paccha supai or sacha supai, 'demons of the woods'. In such paccha the Indians take ceremonial baths."

1: Karsten--504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
823 (1928-29)

"A supernatural origin is ascribed to certain minerals, for instance 'lightning-stones' which are believed to have been hurled down from the heavens by ancestral spirits, lava stones thrown out from volcanoes, and especially to mountain crystals which are looked upon as proceeding from the devil-souls of departed wizards living in the mountains. Crystals are consequently reckoned among the most potent magical 'arrows' used by living sorcerers."

1: Karsten--504-505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 823, 153 (1928-29)

"Whereas the astronomy, meteorology, and mineralogy of the Jibaros is thus to a great extent mixed up with superstition, their geographical knowledge is also very limited. They practically only know about the territory inhabited by the Jibaro tribes, and have most confused ideas about other parts of the South American continent, and still more of course about the world outside it. They know that there are other Indian tribes, in language and customs differing from the Jibaro people, but they interest them less even as enemies. They also distinguish the Indian race as a whole from the white race, but not even this distinction is a radical one. According to their idea even the whites have once been Jibaros; they are therefore called apachi, i.e. forefathers. There [505]is properly only one human race, namely, the Jibaro race. It is characteristic in this respect that the Jibaros asked me whether in my country also there are 'Indians' (shuara). They also asked me whether in my country there are equally big forests and rivers, and the same animals as in theirs. It was impossible for me to give the Indians a right conception about an ocean and the enormous distance which separates Europe from the New World."

1: Karsten--505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 173, 823 (1928-29)

"Although the Indians have a few traditions, these traditions seem not to reach far back in history. What they know about the past, bears a strongly mythical character. The present-day Jibaros of the Upano and Santiago know for instance nothing about the big towns or villages, Sevilla de Oro, Logroño, and Mendoza, which some three hundred years ago were situated in their own land and which they themselves destroyed. They know that in former times they have carried on many wars with the whites and that the latter are, as it were, their hereditary enemies, but their real historical traditions hardly go back more than three or four generations in time."

13: Rivet--252 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 805, 823

Time is counted by moons. The year is called chonta from the name of a plant which gives fruit regularly every year. The astronomical knowledge of the savages seems most rudimentary; however, the surety with which they find their way in their forests appears to demonstrate that they use the position of certain stars to orient themselves. They have no idea that the earth is round, and think that if they arrived at the horizon they would fall into a big abyss (1). The only civilized country that they know or that they have visited is Ecuador, which the Macas call Tunguini(2); the Zamoras call the city of Loja by the name of Tunguina.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 393.
2. Ansola Martinez, op. cit.

20: Dyott--150 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 133, 823

"While on the question of elevations, I should point out that such spectacular wonders of the Ecuadorean scenery as Sangai and Tungurahua, can never be credited with any permanent elevation above sea-level because they are constantly changing, either building up or breaking down. With the cessation of activity, lava welling up from below starts solidifying in the crater. Ice and snow piles up on top of this again, until a more or less permanent condition results. Then comes a violent convulsion within the heart of the earth. The accumulation of years is blown sky-high and distributed over the countryside. When the dust clears away, behold 200 feet or more of the summit has gone.

The Indians we came in contact with regarded Sangai with awe and superstition. Some expressed the belief than when dead, they would go down into its fiery throat, but this we found out was one of the many absurdities implanted in the simple minds of their forefathers by those jolly missionary fellows at the time of the Spanish conquest. The Indian's real ideas of death are nothing like so prosaic as this."

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

/336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
802 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *ŋuui* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 [824] The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[936] [949] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yaci*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yaci*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls, or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tsu, tsu, tsu,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [296]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 296
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemä*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice. 276 755 787 828

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemä* drink among the Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemä*. 756 276 [755] [787] [776] [778] [753] [776]

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*namurä*) which are 773 776 756 776 756 [825] [823] [778]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
756 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
778 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.
• 823

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken
776 *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
276 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.
754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

766 774 [778] against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

766 774 • 823 In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He [276] then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

34.Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
{276} become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
{824} uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
{756} have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
{755} Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanī*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
• 823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

I: Karsten--123-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 137, 824, 241 (1928-29)

"Of the numerous cultivated plants which play a part in the magical medicine and the religious customs of the Indians the following deserve to be mentioned:--

First of all we have the tobacco plant (Nicotiana undulata, Jib. tsańgu, Qu. tabacu) used partly as magical medicine, partly as a narcotic. [124]

The two other principal narcotic drinks of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are prepared from the vine Banisteria caapi (Jib. nateḿa, Qu. aya huaśca), and from the bush Datura arborea (Jib. maikoa, Qu. huańtuc). Both are cultivated by the Indians.

How the tobacco, the nateḿa, and the maikoa are used, will appear from descriptions given later on.

Varvasco is a common name for certain poisonous plants which play an important part in Indian fishing. They will again be dealt with in the chapter on the Indian fishing practices.

Tsinsímba is the name of a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, to which a magical power is attributed. The leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva (in the same way as the leaves of the tobacco), and given to the women and children at certain feasts to make them strong and active.

There is another similar plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is called chikí. The root of the plant is warmed up in a clay pot half-filled with water, together with some leaves of tobacco, and the drink is given to a woman at the 'feast of the women'. This

drink has the effect of a vomitory and is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman.

Among the magical plants cultivated by the Jibaros and Canelos Indians must also be reckoned the roucou shrub (Bixa orellana; Jib. ipyaku, Qu. manduru), the fruit of which affords the red dye which the Indians use for painting the face and the body.

Of the plants mentioned above, the following are regarded as 'women', that is, as being animated by a female wakani (aya): the manioc, the camote, the sanahoria, the bean, the earth-nut, the sweet potato, the mandi, the pumpkin, the gourd tree, the tsinsimba, the chiki, and the roucou shrub; whereas the following are regarded as 'men', that is, as animated by a male wakani or aya: the plantain, the maize, the chonta palm, and the narcotic plants tobacco, Banisteria caapi, and Datura arborea, as well as the varvasco.

Consistently with this idea we find, as a matter of fact, among the names of the Jibaro women such names as Mama (manioc), Inchi (camote), Nussi (earth-nut), Ipyaku (roucou) and Chiki; whereas among names of the Jibaro men we meet such as Paandama (plantain), Ui (chonta palm), and Maikoa.

As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the

plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--214-215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 832, 302, 824 (1928-29)

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

1: Karsten--225 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
824 (1928-29)

"There is a special kind of banana which the Indians call palanda noa, 'the female plantain'. Generally the banana belongs to those plants to which the Indians ascribe the male sex, but the palanda noa forms an exception owing to the tendency of its shell to burst open when the fruit is boiled. At Canelos the men avoid eating this banana, otherwise, they say, their wives will bear only female children. On the other hand, they readily let their wives eat it because it is believed to facilitate their delivery."

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

"The plant spirits have hardly less importance in the religion of the Jibaros than the animal spirits. It is indeed a belief in the animistic philosophy of the Indians, that all trees and plants are animated by spirits or souls just as men and animals are. Nor does the wakáni of a plant differ in essence from the wakáni of a man or an animal. According to the mythology of the Jibaros all animals have once been men, and similarly in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that ani-[379]mate them temporarily may, either for a long or short period, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thought and feelings, and when intoxicated by the narcotic drinks prepared from certain plants the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definitive human form, namely, as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with the same view. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be 'men', i.e. to have a man's soul, others --in fact the majority of them--are said to be 'women', i.e. have a woman's soul.

The growth of trees and plants and the ripening of their fruits is due to the wakáni or soul inhabiting them. But, of course, only such trees and plants have a place in the religion and superstition of the Indians as are particularly useful or distinguished by

some striking properties. Thus real worship is accorded to the garden plants, the manioc, the banana, the maize, the beans, the earth-nuts, etc. in connection with the cult of Nungüi mentioned before. Nungüi noa, the mythical Jibaro woman, created all fruits in the beginning and still reigns over them. In the different plant spirits--those which, like the manioc, the beans and the earth-nuts, are of the female sex--there is something of her own spirit; she alone, therefore, is able to give an abundant crop to the women cultivating them. On the other hand, for such garden plants as are supposed to be of the male sex--as for instance the banana and the maize--the Jibaro men who have to cultivate these plants appeal to the mythical husband of Nungüi, Shakaëma, who presides over them and influences their growth and fertility. What the religion of the Jibaros has to show of real worship or cult is mainly illustrated in the prayers and incantations addressed to Nungüi and Shakaëma in agriculture.

Of trees that have great value for the Jibaros from an alimental point of view the chontaruru palm (Guilielma) is the most important. Its excellent fruit is the food most appreciated by the Indians for a couple of months of the year, and perhaps still more appreciated is the fermented beer that they make from it. The chontaruru palm has a man's wakáni or soul and is therefore planted and tended by the men. At the time of the year when the fruit grows ripe great festivals are held in connection with the preparation of the beer and the beer-drinking, dances being performed and incantations sung in order

to [380] 'hurry on' the ripening and increase of the fruit and the fermentation of the beer.

On the other hand the chonta palm, both the one cultivated for the sake of its useful fruit and the wild species (shingi), are also regarded as 'demoniacal' trees on account of their large thorns, which play an important part in Indian witchcraft. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-men make frequent use of chonta thorns when they want to bewitch their enemies, as we shall see later on. From this point of view the spirit of the chonta palm is an evil demon or iguánchi, a belief which in part is also due to the iron hard wood of this tree. Not only the thorns but also other parts of the chonta palm are often used for magic purposes. Thus the lance made of chonta wood is supposed to possess magical power and to inspire not only living men but also spirits and demons with dread. Hence at the great victory-feast of the Jibaros the head trophy (tsantsa) is always tied to a chonta lance when it is not needed for the ceremonies. The spirit of the killed enemy is thus kept under restraint or control.

Other trees connected with the religion or superstition of the Jibaros are for instance the genipa tree (Genipa americana); and the guayusa tree (Ilex). From the genipa fruit the Indians get the black dye (sua), with which they paint the body and face for warfare and on certain ceremonial occasions, and to which a magical power is ascribed. The Jibaros say that they paint themselves black for warfare 'in order to resemble the

iguánchi'. The genipa is therefore a 'demoniacal' paint. Similar supernatural virtues are ascribed to the decoction made of the leaves of the guayusa tree (weisa), which has great importance as a tonic and a means of purification.

The most popular magical paint of the Indians is prepared from the red seeds of the bush Bixa orellana, which is one of the sacred trees of the Jibaros. With this red dye (called ipyáku) the Jibaros paint the face for many different ends, e.g. as protection against disease and witchcraft or in general to acquire strength and power of resistance, to gain the love of women, and so forth. The wonderful properties of the paint is due to the spirit which animates the tree.

Poisonous plants and plants with extraordinarily strong properties, for instance those used for the preparation of the arrow-poison and such as play a part in the medicine of the Indians, are believed to be animated by dangerous spirits or demons to whom these striking properties are due. Hence the precautions taken, for instance, at the preparation of the [381] arrow-poison, when the sorcerer who cooks the poison is supposed to be fighting an evil demon whom he subdues, and whose power he uses for his own ends. The idea is exactly the same as that held in regard to the fermented drinks prepared from manioc, chontaruru, etc., the strength of which is likewise due to the spirits inhabiting the plants.

Other plants which play an important part in the magical medicine and religion of the

1: Karsten--378-381 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-5
116, 774, 824 (1928-29)

Indians are, for instance, those comprehended under the general name of varvasco and used partly for fishing, partly for the preparation of the arrow-poison, as well as the narcotic plants tobacco, natéma, and maikoa. The former have been mentioned before in connection with the Indian fishing customs, and the latter will presently be treated in detail. All these plants illustrate, in a most characteristic way, the Indian belief in plant spirits."

"We have further to consider the plant demons which are much the same as those of the Jibaros. Of 'sacred' or demoniacal trees the palms are the most important. There are three kinds of demoniacal palms: the cucha chunta (Mauritia) which grows at the margin of lagoons or on marshy ground; the huiriria chunta (Bactris) another kind of wild chonta palm; and the tarpu chunta or cultivated chontaruru palm (Guilielma). To all these the appellation supai is given because of their [391] long thorns which play the main part in the magic art of the medicine-men and sorcerers at Canelos.

The animistic ideas in regard to the garden plants are much the same as among the Jibaros. The Canelos Indians, who are now Christians in name, however, do not believe in an Earth-mother, and although many curious practices are observed at sowing and planting, their agriculture is not nowadays connected with a cult of the plant spirits as among the Jibaros.

Poisonous plants are animated by supai and the efficacy of the arrow-poison, as we have seen, is due to the demons inhabiting the plant from which it is prepared.

The same holds good of the narcotic plants aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros), huántuc (= maikoa), and tobacco, which play the same important part in the divination of the Canelos Indians as in that of the Jibaros. The demon of the huántuc plant, huántuc supai, is said to appear to the Canelos medicine-men, narcotized by the drink,

as a little white man in black clothes, who arrives to cure the evils he has inflicted 'smoking a big cigar'."

1: Karsten--420 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
824 (1928-29)

"Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called piri-piri. Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called napi piripiri (snake's piripiri). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (Capsicum). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself."

1: Karsten--506-509 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 824 (1928-29)

"The pharmacological knowledge of the Indians is wonderful. I have had an opportunity to point out this with particular reference to their arrow-poison, but it is equally conspicuous in regard to their medical art in which plants play a dominant part. A whole book could be written about the Indian plant medicines, but unfortunately of this subject the same must be said as I have stated of the plants from which the arrow-poison is prepared: the material necessary for treating this subject can properly be collected only by a botanist. European medical science owes several useful plants to the Indians of South America, but those hitherto known only form a fractional part of those actually existing. I therefore wish to emphasize once more the importance of this particular subject being studied by experts in pharmacology and botany. Expeditions sent out for this purpose to the upper Amazonas regions are almost sure to achieve results of great value.

Of the numerous plant medicines of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians several have already been mentioned by me in previous chapters. I beg only to draw attention for instance to the various medicines which, in the latter tribe, both the father and mother of a newborn child have to take, partly to purify themselves, partly to fortify and strengthen the babe. To avoid repeating statements made before, I shall only mention a few other medicines which are commonly used and which throw some light upon the medical art of the Indians. I remark that these medicines, most of which are obtained

from the plant world, are a commune bonum to all Indians tribes on the upper Amazon river. The names of [507]the plants are given partly in the Jibaro language, partly in Quichua. For some plants or medicines the Canelos Indians use Spanish names.

Several plant medicines are used as remedies against fevers. One of these is the aya huasca (natéma), which we already know as an important narcotic producing visions and hallucinations. Beside this, the Canelos Indians assert that the medicine is an efficacious remedy for malarial fever, especially when mixed with a little tobacco water, and this assertion is confirmed by the white settlers in Eastern Ecuador who frequently use it in such cases.

Another remedy for fever is prepared from a Verbena species, called yapáu by the Jibaros. The leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction taken as a medicine. Exactly in the same way the Indians use another plant, a Cyathula species of the family Amaranthaceae.(1) Sometimes decoctions of both plants are mixed, by which the efficacy of the medicine is enhanced. It is also said to be a remedy against tape-worm. The Cyathula species is by the Canelos Indians called iskantsēli, by the

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"1. I am obliged to Dr. H. Lindberg in Helsingfors for the botanical determination of the Verbena and the Cyanthula species."

Jibaros kántsea. The latter Indians, when using the kántsea-leaves, are also in the habit of mixing the decoction with the white of one or two eggs beaten up as well as with some mountain salt (catchi).

Quinine bark, cascarilla, which is to be obtained in the forests of Eastern Ecuador, is used by the Canelos Indians as another remedy for malaria. An extract is made of some pieces of bark, which is mixed with brandy. Both the Indians and the settlers assert that taken together with brandy the cascarilla extract is much more efficacious.

The cinnamon bark and the cinnamon flower (ishpingu) is at Canelos used as a remedy for diarrhoea and pains in the stomach. A decoction is made of some pieces of the bark or some flowers and the medicine is drunk.

The shrub called tzigta in Quichua has been mentioned as a plant which yields one of the poisonous ingredients by which an old and useless arrow-poison is made efficacious again (p. 155). Of this plant, which I have not been able to identify botanically, there seems however to exist various species of which some are only slightly poisonous and used as ordinary medicines. A quantity of the rind is scraped off and boiled in water, and the decoction is taken by the Canelos Indians as a remedy, especially for catarrh and head-ache. It is in fact one of the medicines most commonly used by them.

Another medical plant of the same Indians is the one called pata-[508] cunyúyu. The

leaves of the plant are boiled in water and the decoction, mixed with some salt, is taken as a vomitory.

The small plant called yerba Luisa is used both by the white settlers and the Canelos Indians as a remedy for chills. A decoction is made of the leaves for the purpose and taken by the patient as hot as possible. The medicine is also good for pains in the stomach, especially mixed with some soda.

Ambára is the name of a small plant which is used by the Jibaros for the cure of dysentery. The roots are boiled for the purpose for a long while and the decoction taken as a medicine which has purging effects. It also acts as a vomitory.

Jaundice is cured by the Jibaros by a medicine prepared from the bark of the cedar (Cedrela herrerae). One part of the bark in two parts of water is boiled for one hour. A quantity of this decoction, about one drinking glass, is taken every morning on an empty stomach and will in a few days cure the patient.

Emetics in general play an important role in the medical art of the Indians, as appeared from descriptions of ceremonies performed at feasts, etc. Thus the aya huasca, the guayusa solution, and the medicine prepared from the root chiki at the feasts of the women, all have the effect of vomitories by which the organism is purified from harmful substances. An important emetic of the Jibaros is their own native salt (whui), which is never used as a spice but appreciated all the more as a medicine. These

Indians make a distinction between the salt which they prepare themselves by boiling, and the salt which they obtain in the way of barter from the Canelos Indians and which is called by its Quichua name catchi. This salt too is used exclusively for certain medical purposes, but not as an emetic.

Just as the Indians appreciate emetics, they appreciate medicines with purging effects. Such a medicine is for instance the ambára, mentioned above, by which the Indians cure dysentery. Other strong medicines of this kind are used as a cure for tape-worms.

The stomach and intestinal canal of small children is purified by means of a decoction of ferns, which is taken as an ordinary medicine. In other cases the Indians prepare a clyster for the same purpose. A clyster which came under my notice among the Jibaros consisted of a decoction of four different plants all of which are cultivated by the Indians: the first was the plant kántsea, mentioned before; the second the leaves of a plant called mapash; the third a kind of grass called chiri-[509]chiri; and the fourth a small plant called púyu. This strong medicine was injected into the rectum of the child by means of an enema-syringe consisting of a hen's bladder attached to a piece of the stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus) which is hollow. Syringes of this kind are commonly used by the Indians. Dysentery and diarrhoea in children are generally cured in this way.

Grown-up people are in some cases cured by another kind of clyster consisting simply

of a solution of Indian pepper (Capsicum). By such a clyster the Indians for instance try to cure patients from the consequences of snake's bite (p.420). The Indians of the Pastaza have recourse to this remedy especially against the scurvy (escorbuto) which at times makes it [sic] appearance in that unhealthy region, assuming an epidemical character. The Indians of Canelos do not use a clyster in the proper sense of the word, but mix certain strong ingredients, gun powder, Indian pepper, mashed pieces of the ginger root, and the root of a third strong plant called botoncillo in Spanish. A piece of cotton-wool is soaked in these strong medicines and introduced into the anus of the patient for a short while; he could not stand it for long. According to the idea of the Indians, this disease is due to the anus of the patient being attacked by certain worms which will rise higher and higher along the intestinal canal and rapidly cause the patient to rot away. If the remedy is applied at once, the worms will be killed by the strong medicines and the patient may be saved. I heard of several cases on the Pastaza when Indians and white settlers had been cured in this way from the [sic] terrible malady, which generally leads to death in two or three days.--That a clyster consisting of a solution of Indian pepper really has disinfecting and purifying effects, is beyond doubt.

There are also, of course, plant medicines which are believed to have the effect of healing wounds. Of this kind is for instance the resin or balsam called copaiba and obtained from the Copaifera tree. The wound is washed clean and the balsam is

dropped on it. The copaiba is also used as a remedy for the gonorrhea."

24: Wright--237 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
302, 824

"A persistent custom among most of the individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] is the chewing of the 'nashumbi' berry, identified botanically as Manettia coccinia, which produces a brownish lacquer-like coating over the teeth. It is not known if this inhibits tooth decay or not."

26: Brüning--69-70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 757, 824

To cure their sicknesses the Indians use various herbs. I have made a collection of these herbs in Huavico. But when our boat was wrecked on our voyage up the Marañón and when we were forced to cross the forest from Nazaret to Bagua Chica on foot, the collection had to be abandoned in Nazaret since we did not have enough porters. Here is a list of my collection:

pihipí - the bulb of a sort of reed; used against insect bites by rubbing the wound caused by the sting.
sapáta - nut of a tree, called avila by the whites; used against toothache.
asángo - seeds used against diarrhea.
otuntú - the decoction of a plant used internally and externally against snake bite.
angpángban - leaves against snake bite.
kunakip - leaves against snake bite and diarrhea. [70]
maikuá - given to children from time to time to purgate them even if they are not sick.
zángu - tobacco plant.

Unfortunately, I am not able to give more detailed information. The notes that went with each plant were lost with the collection. These brief annotations come out of my glossary.

[774] [775] future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[10]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[11] If one simply dies of contagious disease [761] or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to [682] the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men [589] who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the [727] corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsaintsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-[776] human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous [761] snake (*mašawčI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) [825] which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause [829] him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of [177] firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items [412] to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted [752] wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always [761] believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes ap-[776] pears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper [787] tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at [811] night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

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from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1950:196) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful tsarutama." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jivaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Pirihri, the Rain God," and "Pungi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jivaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Pirihri." Actually, *pirihri* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jivaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pungi" (*pugi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jivaro deity named "Umhanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jivaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jivaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nugui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:170).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:480) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the *ótkás wakanl* and thus, since he uses the term wakanl alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanl.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jivaro fieldwork in

/330 cont. / Each house
361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
542 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
524 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
576 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[721] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house one marches in absolute silence. This is done in order to demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Jívaro steals quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambos, are real forest palaces, ex-
824 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beautifully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms; the rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a first attack is assured. Each house exhibits two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 25 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm trunks supporting the roof; special contrivances permit the secure placement of the lances and blowguns, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved out of wood take the place of chairs; low benches made out of split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several frames of the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar in that there is space on them for the body only about to the knee, but the foot rests on a slender crosspiece supported by
354 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously,

/331 cont./

291 extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jívaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

294 248 386 236 302 531 302 531 413 [386] [237] 302 [531] [824] [386] [412] [422] 301 304

preferably used.

332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[834] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[144] tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

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225 sized fish are also caught in deeper waters with a special thin, long palm wood thrusting spear.

225 278 Fish poisoning is undertaken perhaps every few weeks to secure a large catch. Men, women, and children from several neighboring houses usually participate. They select a section of river where it is bisected by an island or sandbar, to which the men and boys construct a low dam of river boulders from one bank. This stone dam is constructed to form a lagoon where the poison can sufficiently take effect in the slowed current. Other men meanwhile build split bamboo grating-like fish traps at several low points on the dam and prepare the fish poison.

[824] Three types of plant piscicides are used: *tinnu* (in Spanish, *barbasco*), *masu*, and *payaš*. *Tinnu* is considered the best of these, but is used in combination with *masu* for maximum success. Large quantities are required, and the fishermen often prepare six to eight bushel-sized baskets. They pound the plants to a pulp between river boulders and dump them into the water upstream. If all goes well, within twenty to thirty minutes stunned fish begin rising to the surface and float toward the dam. The men who constructed the traps seize the fish as they are washed onto the bamboo gratings. Everyone else, regardless of age or sex, wades into the lagoon and grabs for fish. Each person owns whatever he catches, although he often may give some of his catch to a less fortunate participant. Fish poisoning is sometimes pursued at night because the fish tend to be nearer the surface and therefore more susceptible to the poison. Both poisoning and netting are most effectively conducted during dry periods, when the rivers and streams are low and the current slow.

622 [146] Gathering activities contribute quantitatively relatively little to the diet, approximately 5 per cent annually, but do provide a variety of delicacies to supplement it. Various species

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stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously. 415 [235] [241]

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apácaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north. 323 415 [462] [824] 415 531 [439]

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves. 415 [273] [276] [278] [271]

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and [273] [515]

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jívaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 411 [439] [714]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [283] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jívaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less fre- 291
quently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special 292
wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained ma- 574
chine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from 291
bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and 287
is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a 776
system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named 241
Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies 824
or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based [782]
upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, [787]
very fat, and dressed in a black *taračï*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of
[787] course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while
[782] they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and
[782] to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

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for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusī* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

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773 they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro
231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[224] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

782 Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

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members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824 •

Don't suck the blood of my husband [533]
And also don't suck the blood of my daughter. [539]
When you want to suck blood,
Suck the blood of my enemies.
When my husband comes,
He will look very beautiful and very clear.
But when our enemies come,
They will come very pale
And in the form of demons.[4]
And you will know
Who will die,
Who will die.
And when they enter this garden,
They will have their blood sucked.
All, all I can call,
Even the plantain itself.
I am a woman of Nuŋuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors 824 to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc [789] in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in [861] telling children why they should not play in the garden. [869]

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842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 [824] The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] [848] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

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crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 844
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 846
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tsentsemä* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucin- [774]
ogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival.
If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
276 The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 276
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsaŋu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*iči*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [276]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam.*

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 276
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemä* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jívaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587] of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *iwanči*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makančī*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*payi*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824] which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411] the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752] accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*uwisin*) are of two types: bewitchers
and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
276 Jívaro name is *natemā*, in order to enter the supernatural
787 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemā* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemā* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsanŋam*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid
778 being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery
[776] cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiŋ*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
[787] firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
[276] become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
• [824] uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
[756] have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
[755] Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
823 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro,
797 Tunurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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178 been made possible by the development of trade with the
184 Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns
278 and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be
411 obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after
438 a successful head-hunting raid.
[727]

In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred
178 except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line
227 technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by
438 means of the inter-tribal trade network.

Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the
178 collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This
222 decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to
137 the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except
24 for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar
178 cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of
278 firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any
411
• 824

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

1: Karsten--159-161 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 825, 754 (1928-29)

"In studying the Indian blowgun in detail and the ideas connected with the arrow-poison, one is necessarily led to the question of how the Indians of tropical South America originally came to invent such a thing as the poisoned arrow and to use it in the way they do. An answer pre-[160]sents itself to any one able to enter into their theory of witch-craft and magic in general. In this respect there are three phenomena especially which greatly influence the imagination of the Indians: the first is the bite of the venomous snake, the second the mysterious magical arrow which the wizard lets off against his victim, causing his death, the third the poison he himself uses to bring down animals and birds. That to the Indian mind there is an intimate connection between these three phenomena becomes clear to everybody who is acquainted with the magical ideas or 'superstitions' of the Indians. Moreover, there can be no doubt as to which of the three was the primary link in the association series: it is the bite of the venomous snake. In all parts of tropical South America the venomous reptiles occupy the same important place in the native's world of demons; few others of the surrounding natural phenomena have stirred the imagination of the Indians in the same way as these. The venomous snake attacks its victim noiselessly, the wound inflicted by it is quite insignificant and yet causes death. In the whole action there is something mysterious or, to the mind of the Indian, supernatural. As a matter of fact, all Indian tribes in different parts of South America seem to have the same idea about poisonous snakes: with the venom of

the reptile an evil demon enters the body of the person bitten and causes his death. This demon is called súpai by the Quichua-speaking Indians, wakáni or iguánchi by the Jibaros. But they go still further in their theory: the súpai or wakáni in question is in reality nothing else than the soul of an evil wizard, perhaps still living, who temporarily takes the shape of the reptile in order to kill or harm an enemy. The bite of the snake was only the magical arrow of the sorcerer, the súpai or wakáni which killed the patient was really his demoniacal soul, identical with the poison permeating--according to the Indians--his whole organism. I found this belief among all the Indian tribes I studied, and I have no doubt that it is common to all tribes of tropical South America. These primitive ideas will be further elucidated in the part dealing with the religion of the Indians. In this connection I only wish to point out that there is also an interesting parallelism between the operation of the sorcerer and that of the Indian hunter who, with his 'natural' poisoned arrow, brings down the creatures of the wood. The Jibaros, for instance, call the poisoned arrow tsinsáka, and they give the same name to the mysterious invisible magical arrow used by the wizards, although there is also another name for it: tunchi. The magical arrow (tsinsáka) of the sorcerer, it is true, may assume different forms, but mostly it is sup-[161] posed to be like a small arrow. The wizard shoots his arrow from his mouth by blowing and a movement with his finger, just as the Indian, shooting with his blowgun, lets off his poisoned arrow by blowing it out.

In short, the venomous snake inflicting a deadly bite on his victim is nothing but an evil wizard operating through that snake, and vice versa, the Indian wizard, in his mysterious manipulations with the invisible magical arrow, is imitating a snake. On the other hand, the Indian hunter, who noiselessly lets off his poisoned arrow against an animal and kills it without inflicting any visible wound on it, is also a kind of wizard, since the poison with which he operates is believed to possess supernatural demoniacal effects.

The Indians, like primitive folk in general, are keen observers. It seems highly probable that precisely the mysterious way in which the venomous snakes operate, when by an insignificant bite they bring death to their victim, has suggested to their mind the idea that they may imitate them and invent a weapon which will act in the same way as the snake's poison. The thorough knowledge they possessed of the poisonous properties of certain plants helped them in their endeavours to construct that weapon, and it is evident that the arrow-poison is meant as an imitation of the venom of the snake. It is significant that according to the statement of the English traveller Waterton --the first, I believe, who studied the ourali poison of the Guiana Indians--the Macusis in preparing their arrow-poison not only used vegetable ingredients like the Strychnos toxifera, but also certain animal ingredients, namely, the fangs of the counacouchi and

labarri snakes, two of the most venomous snakes of tropical South America, which were pounded and mixed into the poison. When the Macusi Indian killed one of these snakes, he always extracted the fangs for use in the preparation of the arrow-poison. (1) This of course was pure superstition, but the association of ideas is interesting and shows what part superstitious ideas in general, and especially those prevailing in regard to venomous snakes, has played in the invention of the Indian arrow-poison."

"1. Cf. Waterton, Wanderings in South America, London, 1828, pp. 55 sqq."

1: Karsten--215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 832, 302, 825 (1928-29)

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

1: Karsten--298-299 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 825 (1928-29)

"But the Jibaro Indian does not make trophies solely of the heads of his human enemies but also of the heads of certain animals. There is one animal especially which in this respect plays a curious part in the superstition of the Jibaros, namely, the sloth, called uyúshi by them. Feasts with trophies made of the head of the sloth are among the Jibaros as common as feasts with human tsantsas. This fact derives its explanation from the mythology of these Indians. In primitive times, the Jibaros say, all animals--quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and so on--were men, i.e. Jibaros. They had human shape, human habits, human thoughts and passions, and human language. They also waged wars against each other, and made trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, just as the Jibaros still do. Later on this kind of folk were changed into animals, the animals which still exist. The Jibaros still have a very vivid consciousness of their supposed relationship with the animal world, a feature which especially appears in their religion and their poetry. But they especially claim to trace the ancient human qualities in the sloth. This helpless animal, according to their idea, is a direct survival from the remote period mentioned. It is still a Jibaro in the shape of an animal, but a Jibaro of a foreign tribe and consequently an enemy. He is a very old man, as

one may judge from his slow movements and from the fact that his hair is partly gray. (1) The Jibaros even profess to know what his name was in ancient times, while a man. He was then called Unúpi, his wife's name was Unúchi, and brother's Uyúngra. When, therefore, the Jibaros meet a sloth, they kill it with a lance, just as they kill their human enemies, and make a trophy of its head. This trophy is prepared in the same way as a human tsantsa, but is only reduced a little, since the head of the sloth is comparatively small. It is no doubt in part the wonderful similarity of the sloth's head to a human tsantsa that has given rise to the superstition the Indians entertain about it. In the trophy made of the sloth the fell of the neck corresponds to the hair of a tsantsa. The fell of that part is therefore preserved and prepared with care. The Indian who has killed the animal has thereafter to pass through exactly the same purificatory ceremonies as one who has killed a human enemy, and even the final great victory feast is celebrated [299] in due time with exactly the same grand preparations and with the same carefully performed ceremonies.

"1. The superstition held of the sloth is partly due to the fact that the animal is extremely tenacious of life. This the Jibaros suppose to be the case with old people in general. When a Jibaro warrior has succeeded in killing an enemy who was an old man and whom it was very difficult to deprive of life, he regards the victory as a special triumph."

There are also instances of trophies having been made by the Jibaros of the head of the jaguar. Many years ago an Indian woman was killed by a jaguar in the neighbourhood of Rio Zamora. The Jibaros regard a jaguar, which in this way attacks and kills people, as the incarnation of the soul of an evil sorcerer which has entered that wild beast with a view to harming or killing his enemies. The Indians consequently resolved to take revenge, arranged a hunt of the animal, and succeeded in killing it. They thereafter made a trophy of its head, and a victory feast was celebrated in the ordinary way.(1)"

"1. It deserves to be emphasized in this connection that the trophies mentioned above are the only ones customary among the Jibaros. It has been alleged that these Indians not only are in the habit of shrinking the heads of their enemies, but sometimes prepare their whole body as a mummy-like trophy, and I have myself seen photographs of such trophies which are even said to exist in ethnographic museums in America. I beg to point out that all trophies of this kind are pure falsifications, wholly devoid of ethnographical value."

1: Karsten--313 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 825, 727 (1928-29)

"....the rules in regard to the diet of the Jibaro warrior are founded on the idea that by eating the flesh of certain other animals he will acquire qualities characteristic of these animals, which make it easier for him to escape his invisible supernatural enemy as well as his living relatives. From this point of view we have to explain, for instance, the recommendation for the slayer to eat the flesh of the agouti. This small rodent is very shy and runs fast, being rather difficult to catch. By eating the animal the slayer will acquire the same quality, at the time very useful to him. Similarly the fish wámbi is known as very shy and quick, great skill being required for catching it. The large sheat-fish also cunningly hides in the depths of the great rivers and lagoons, thus easily escaping his pursuers. Even this fish, therefore, possesses qualities which are useful for the Jibaro warrior who is trying to evade his enemies."

"Theoretically all animals, as also the plants, have a soul just as men have. But the role which the animals play in the religion of the Indians depends wholly on the importance they have in their practical life. Animals which distinguish themselves by their strength and ferocity, their peculiar appearance or habits of life, or their harmful effects, of course first become the objects of superstitious beliefs. Below I shall account for the most important spirits and demons of the Jibaros, beginning with those appearing in animal shape.

Some of the most formidable iguánchi appear in the shape of certain hairy animals of the wood, chiefly the black monkey (washi), the bear (cheiva), and the deer (hápa). The ordinary black monkey (Ateles niger) is much appreciated by the Indians both because of its flesh which is eaten, its fur, and its teeth, and is therefore much hunted. The animal which they fear as a demon, however is not exactly identical with the 'natural' black monkey. The washi iguánchi is in fact a purely mythical being; it is much bigger than the real black monkey, it does not climb the trees but walks on the ground on two legs like a human being, and is said to move about on the paths of the forest especially at night. [374] To meet this demon means for the Indian almost certain death. The iguánchi seizes him and kills him or takes him away to his mysterious dwellings. Dead men and the souls of enemies killed in battle mostly appear in this shape.

Exactly the same may be said of the bear demon (cheiva iguánchi). The south

American bear (Ursus albifrons) is comparatively small and is not particularly feared by the natives. Like the demoniacal black monkey, the bear demon is a mythical being which is much bigger and far more formidable than the 'natural' animal. The Indians therefore fear extremely to meet it in the darkness, believing that then they will die. Only when met in the dream produced by the narcotic drinks is it, like other iguánchi, supposed to be harmless and even friendly to man.

On the other hand, the timid and innocent deer is feared and always looked upon as a most formidable iguanchi. We here meet with a curious superstition which the Jibaros seem to share with nearly all primitive Indian tribes in south America. The Jibaros never eat the flesh of the deer, believing that if they do they will certainly die, and if they kill the animal, it is only to sell its flesh to the whites. The souls of people particularly feared in life take the shape of the deer after death, but there seems to be the belief that the souls of women also prefer to reincarnate themselves in this animal. The latter idea is naturally due to the timidity of the deer, just as its soundless movements and the mysterious rapidity with which it disappears in the forest easily suggest to the primitive Indian mind the idea of a ghost.

Much the same belief is held of the tapir (pamá), which is likewise looked upon as an iguanchi although it is not feared to the same extent as the deer. The Jibaros therefore avoid the flesh of the tapir nearly as carefully as that of the deer. With its pointed

snout and the whistling sound which it produces the animal is supposed to be able to bewitch people: the soul of a sorcerer may have temporarily taken up his abode in it. A similar superstition relating to the tapir is known to prevail among some other South American tribes.

Naturally among the iguánchi or demons the largest and most dangerous carnivorous animals of South America also figure, i.e. the jaguar and the smaller species of the feline family. Among this class of demoniacal animals the following are mentioned: the soacha or great black jaguar, the largest of all felidae in South America; further, the shia-shia, yambinga, yawára, different kinds of the spotted jaguar; the hapayawára, i.e. the puma or South American lion; and lastly the amicha, yantána, [375] and unduchama, different kinds of small tiger cats. All these beasts are particularly feared because it is believed that the souls of the medicine-men reincarnate themselves in them in order to kill their enemies. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer is supposed to be able occasionally to transform himself into a jaguar in order to bewitch people. If a jaguar attacks and kills an Indian, or if he only takes one of his swine or dogs, it is inmediately [sic] clear to the rest that an enemy sorcerer has been operating, who took the form of the wild beast in order to carry out his evil designs. Likewise, medicine-men in the form of jaguars or tiger cats are believed to send disease. Hence, when a medicine-man is curing a patient, among different demoniacal animals who may be supposed to have sent the evil, he also mentions the jaguar and the tiger cats. On the other

hand, these beasts also figure among the animal demons who appear to the Indians in the dreams induced by maikoa or natéma and who are called arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The jaguar demons who appear to the Indian in the narcotic sleep are considered by them as dead ancestors. I shall have occasion to mention these again as well as other arútama in connection with the narcotic drinks.

Other animals which at least occasionally appear as iguánchi or demons are the great otter (wangánimi), the nose-bear (Nasua rufa, called kúshi by the Jibaros), the ant-bear (wishvishi), and the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai). The first mentioned, the great otter, even figures among the arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The nose-bear and the ant-bear are supposed to be able to bewitch people with their long and pointed snout. The former is also regarded with superstition because of its disagreable smell, and its flesh is therefore not eaten. The otter and the paca again bewitch people with their long whiskers. The whiskers of these animals are used by the sorcerers for the same purpose.

Among water demons there is also the dolphin, called bufeo in Spanish and apúpa in the Jibaro language, an animal quite common in the Amazonian rivers. This animal is in the habit of following the canoes passing on the rivers, frequently emerging from the surface of the water to take breath. The Indians believe that it may bewitch people, since it produces the same sound as the sorcerers when, blowing and whistling, they

send off their magic arrow against their enemies. The apúpa, which in reality is a perfectly harmless animal, is therefore feared by the Jibaros as a dangerous wishinyu or sorcerer.

Much more feared, however, is another water monster living in the Amazonian rivers and lagoons, namely, the great water boa or anaconda [376] (Eunectes murinus). The Jibaros call it pangi, sometimes also in their magical incantations using the Quichua name amárun. The anaconda is in fact the worst of all the demons that people the spiritual world of the Indians. The Jibaros only share a belief in regard to this monster which seems to be common to all Indians in tropical South America. The great boa is the father of witchcraft, it is from his body that the medicine-men get the poison with which they themselves are impregnated and the magical arrow (tunchi) which they let off against people whom they want to harm. Both after death and in their lifetime the souls of the medicine-men are supposed to be able to transmigrate into the anaconda, and when the Indians kill such a monster they say that it is an evil wizard that they have killed. The largest specimens of the anaconda the Jibaros do not even touch with their hands after having killed them, for fear of the evil effects arising from coming in contact with the demon, but the skin of the smaller boas is often made into broad cinctures to which great magical power is ascribed. Since the anaconda is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, it is natural that it should also be regarded as the author of all

diseases attributed to sorcery. Hence the pangi together with his 'brother', the tsungi, is regularly mentioned in the magical conjurations by which the medicine-men try to cure disease.

As to the latter demon, the tsungi, I have not been able to ascertain whether it is only a mythical water monster or a real living animal. The tsungi is described as a woman-like being with long hair and large breasts, living in caves in water-pools and lagoons just as does his 'brother' the pangi. As authors of witchcraft both demons have the same importance, and the tsungi figures side by side with the pangi in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Not only the great boa serpent but also other kinds of reptiles play an important part in the religion of the Jibaros. Thus the great caiman or crocodile (kanyátsa), which attacks people swimming in the rivers, is an iguánchi and even is reckoned among the arútama. Far more feared, however, are the demons which appear in the shape of venomous snakes. About such reptiles all Ecuadorian Indians seem to have the same idea: with the sting of the poisonous snake an evil spirit enters the body of the patient. But the Jibaros go still further in their theory: the wakáni or iguánchi which entered the person stung and caused his death was in fact nothing but the demoniacal soul of a sorcerer who had taken the shape of the reptile in order to kill his enemy.

The Indians make a distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' [377] or

demoniacal snakes, the latter being snakes in which the soul of a sorcerer has temporarily taken up its abode. The Jibaros call such a snake tunchima, i.e. 'bewitched'. If a non-poisonous snake bites, or if the bite of a venomous snake did not cause the person bitten any particular harm, this was only a 'natural' snake-bite. If, on the other hand, the person died in consequence of it, the snake was tunchima. Persons bitten by 'bewitched' snakes, therefore, generally die or can only be cured by the magic art of other sorcerers. How the medicine-men proceed when curing such patients we shall see later on.

Few phenomena of the animal world have impressed the primitive Indian mind so strongly as the venomous snakes. By their peculiar appearance, their soundless movements, and especially by their mysterious death-bringing sting they are, in fact, most likely to give rise to superstitious beliefs. Thus the venomous reptiles seem to have suggested to the Indian sorcerers the ideas upon which their magic art is based. Moreover, as pointed out before, the arrow-poison is probably originally nothing but an imitation of the snakes' poison, the same superstitious ideas being connected with the one as with the other.

The spirits and demons also frequently appear in the shape of birds. The ideas held of certain birds are exactly the same as those held of certain animals and reptiles. Generally the demoniacal birds are associated with the medicine-men and sorcerers

who use them as their agents in order to carry out their evil designs against other people. Like a jaguar or a snake, a bird may be tunchima or 'bewitched'. This means that a sorcerer has hidden his own soul or his death-bringing magic arrow (tunchi) into the bird with a view to shooting it off at the person he wants to harm. The spirits or souls of dead persons, both men and women, may also reincarnate themselves in birds, which are then looked upon as 'magical'.

In regard to the birds of which such superstitious beliefs are held, it is to be noted that all of them are distinguished by some peculiarity in their appearance or habits of life, or by their sounds. All individuals of a species are not necessarily iguánchi but they may occasionally appear as such. There are 'natural' and 'supernatural' birds, just as there are 'natural' and 'supernatural' snakes and jaguars. Thus the largest birds of prey of South America, the condor (yápu), the great eagle or harpy (unta pinchu), the hawk (pinchu), and the owl (ambúsha), are often looked upon as evil demons, especially if they attack men or domestic animals or appear under unusual circumstances. The owl, [378] being a nocturnal bird, is regarded by all Indians as a messenger from the spirit world. The Jibaros believe that the souls of dead women are particularly incarnated in the owl. Other demoniacal birds are the black vulture (chuánga), the tucan (tsukánga), the great macaw or arara parrot, both the red one (takúmbi) and the

yellow one (yambúna), with a common name called yusa, as well as the ordinary green parrot (kávashu). All these birds, together with the pelican (kauá) and the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea, called sumga by the Jibaros) are also mentioned among the arútama and appear to the Indians in narcotic sleep. Feared as bearers of the magic arrow are also the mango (chui), the umbrella-bird (Cephalopterus ornatus, called ungúmi in the Jibaro language) and most nocturnal birds. Among the latter, in addition to the owl, two deserve to be especially mentioned: the kuikui, a small bird which moves about whistling at night, bewitching people, and the uichúchu, another small bird with a long tail and almost green in colour, which leaves its resting-place upon the rocks at night and approaches the habitations of men, producing the cry from which it takes its name. The Indians say that the uichúchu, when sent by a sorcerer, carries the magic arrow far away to other places, bringing disease and death to the people there. The small nocturnal bird is therefore greatly feared and is often mentioned in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Various smaller animals, fish, and insects play a part in the superstition of the Jibaros because of the spines, prickles, or stings with which their body is provided by nature. The medicine-men and sorcerers, in their magic art, often make use of similar spines or stings. Such animals are for instance the hedgehog (kúru) and a sort of armadillo which the Jibaros call tuicha. I shall mention some instances illustrating the

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

Indian belief as to fish and insects when dealing with the medicine-men. Here I shall only add that the butterfly (wambishku) is looked upon by the Jibaros as a wakáni or soul, a belief which is also found among other South American tribes."

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

"The animistic ideas of the Canelos Indians do not differ essentially from those of the Jibaros. Thus the animal and plant demons and other nature spirits are in the main the same in both tribes. For spirit and demon, the Canelos Indians use the names aya and supai, corresponding to the wakáni and the iguánchi of the Jibaros. Aya thus means 'soul' or 'ghost', and supai 'demon' in the proper sense of the word. But there is no essential difference between the two kinds of spirits. As far as I can see, the animism of the Canelos Indians is also based on the principle of the deification of the dead; all supai are really the spirits of dead persons, especially spirits of departed medicine-men or sorcerers.

The spirits or demons appear to the Canelos Indians partly in human forms, partly in the shape of different animal beings, and are also believed to inhabit plants and inanimate natural objects. They reveal their existence especially by unexpected incidents and by accidents befalling people. The following are the most important supai or demons of these Indians.

One of the most formidable demons is the jaguar demon, puma supai, which may appear in the shape of any beast of the feline family known to the Indians. There are 'natural' jaguars and the demoniacal jaguars, the latter being such as attack man or otherwise harm him. The general idea prevailing among the Canelos Indians is that the souls of the sorcerers have temporarily reincarnated themselves in such beasts--

a belief that seems to be common to all South American Indians. There are different kinds of cat demons corresponding to the different kinds of felidae: Yana huagra puma supai is the cat demon appearing in the shape of the great black jaguar, the largest of the felidae in South America, which was formerly common in the regions round Canelos and greatly feared by natives. Inchic puma supai is the smaller spotted [387] jaguar, still common in the forests of Eastern Ecuador; huituc puma supai (huituc = Genipa americana, which affords the black dye used for body painting), a small tiger-cat with black spots on the fell 'as if painted with huituc'. It causes the Indians considerable loss by killing and eating their fowls.

Since the spirits incarnated in all these beasts are generally souls of medicine-men or sorcerers, they are also believed to inflict evils in a supernatural way and especially to send disease. Hence the different kinds of puma are, among other demons, summoned by the medicine-men when curing bewitched persons.

Not only professional medicine-men but aged persons in general, who are mostly credited with the art of sorcery, are often believed to transform themselves into jaguars both after death and even in their lifetime. Thus at Sarayacu on the Bobonaza I was told about a very old man who was said to change himself occasionally into a jaguar, afterwards again taking human shape. He went into the wood as a man and reappeared as a tiger. His footprints were first seen like those of a man, but farther in the forest they

were changed into the tracks of the beast. Appearing in this shape, he threatened even his nearest relatives and was therefore greatly feared. This story is characteristic of the Indian belief in man-tigers, as it is found in different parts of South America.

The deer (taruga) and the tapir (sacha huagra) were formerly looked upon as demoniacal animals by the Canelos Indians also, and their flesh was not eaten. Nowadays, however, the Indians have given up this superstition and eat the flesh of both these animals. They even have a special liking for the flesh of the deer, because, they say, by eating it they will become swift-footed like that animal.

Huaira supai, 'the wind demon' is a supernatural being resembling a monkey, which is seen flying through the air. He is regarded as the particular demon of disease-bringing winds and is much feared by the Indians.

Yana rumi supai, 'the demon of the black stones', appears to people intoxicated by the narcotic aya huasca as an Indian sitting upon great black stones in the lagoons. A purely mythical being.

Huas runa supai, a white woman-like form which is seen to rise from the water of the lagoons into the air and is believed to send disease. This demon, which is also known under the name yacu supai, ('the water demon'), is therefore summoned by the medicine-men. [388]

Cucha pillan supai, a human-like being which is said to resemble a monk, with

plumes on the head. He is seen near lagoons, but is said to be a harmless being.

Uri-uri supai, a being described as half Indian, half monkey. He is seen near the lagoons in the forest, where he goes about shooting with a blowgun. He sends disease and is therefore invoked by the sorcerers.

Amasánga supai, a demon appearing in the shape of an Indian, who moves about in the wood at night bewitching people; also known under the name sacha runa, 'the man of the wood'. He is said to be a very malicious being and is likewise summoned by the sorcerers.

Huangána supai, the ant-bear. He is said to go about 'blowing a cornet' and bewitching people. An evil demon who is summoned by the sorcerers.

Atacápi or curaga supai, a demon resembling a buck which is seen in the neighbourhood of lagoons and rivers. He is evil and summoned in the conjurations of the sorcerers.

Cahun supai is an animal demon of the size of a dog, entirely black and with a long tail. I am not certain whether it is a real animal or a purely mythical one. Generally two are seen together, 'one leading the other by a liana'. The animal is a supai. When an Indian goes alone in the woods, it attacks him, seizes his leg with its long tail, and takes away his soul. The demon is believed to say to the Indian 'Now I take your soul because of your sins'. The Indian thus caught will die. The Indians therefore never

kill this animal and run away as soon as they see it in the wood.

Among the demons who appear in the shape of reptiles the great water boa or anaconda, amárum supai, is the most important. The Canelos Indians hold exactly the same ideas with regard to this monster as the Jibaros. He is the father of witchcraft and the chief of the demons, and has them all assembled in the river. The amárun supai is especially said to haunt the cataracts and other dangerous places in the rivers where accidents easily occur to the Indians when travelling in canoes. He is also called yacu supai, 'the water demon'. A boa serpent, seen in the neighbourhood of a house, is regarded as the incarnation of a malicious wizard who is trying to carry out his evil designs against the inhabitants. Old men and sorcerers are also believed to reincarnate themselves in boas after death, just as they may transform themselves into tigers. The Indians never touch a dead boa with their hands, lest their body [389] should become scaly like that of the serpent. If they shoot it with a gun, the barrel, according to their idea, will burst, or some other accident will occur. If they shoot it with a poisoned arrow, the arrow-poison will thereafter entirely loose its efficacy. Generally the Indians attack the anaconda with long harpoons of chonta.

Any venomous snake is believed to appear occasionally--that is, when it attacks and does harm to man or domestic animals--as a supai or as the agent of an evil sorcerer. Among these demons there are for instance the rattle snake, mutúlu supai, and the ekis

(Lachesis) called pitalála, the most dangerous venomous snakes in the Ecuadorian forests.

As to bird demons, the same ideas are held as among the Jibaros. Various birds may appear as the agents of the sorcerers, carrying their bewitching arrows (chunta). Such a bird is for instance the tucan, of which family two species are mentioned: sicuánga supai, the ordinary great tucan (called predicador or diostedé in Spanish), the predominant colour of which is white; and yautiri supai, the predominant colour of which is brown. Both these tucans are regarded as evil demons which bewitch people with their large beaks.

When a Jibaro or a Canelos man has to fast on account of the birth of a son, he abstains among other things from eating the tucan, believing that otherwise his newborn babe will be bewitched. Normally the tucan is eaten by the Indians, and its brilliant feathers, to which a magical power is ascribed, are particularly appreciated.

Mucutúlu, a kind of the common bird which in Spanish is called mango, brown in colour, is looked upon with the same superstition as the tucan. It is believed to be sent by the sorcerers and to bring disease and is therefore invoked in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Yahi mangu supai is another kind of mango, black in colour. This bird demon is also invoked by the medicine-men.

Shili-shili supai is a small bird which lives in the neighbourhood of the waterfalls in the forest and is believed to send disease, producing the sound from which it takes its name.

Bullu-cúcu is the onomatopoeic name of another bird, as large as a chicken, which moves about at night bewitching people.

Supai pishcu, 'the devil's bird', is another nocturnal bird living near small lagoons and producing a whistling sound which fills the Indians with superstitious fear. When it moves round the houses at night whistling, it is believed to bewitch the people living there. The Indians, [390]hearing the cry of the supai pishcu, are therefore in the habit of firing shots into the air in order to frighten it away.

Chunta pishcu is a beautiful green bird which is likewise regarded with superstition because of its nocturnal cry. Like other demoniacal birds it is believed to send disease.

The hawk (anga) may be the incarnation of a supai. This demon is especially said to have intercourse with women at night, during sleep. A woman visited by the anga supai is likely to give birth to a supai huahua, a demoniacal child, which is of a grey colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk, and the legs deformed. Such a monster is generally buried alive.

A black nocturnal bird called tutúlu is also said to make women supernaturally pregnant, to enter the house where it assumes human shape and has intercourse with a woman.

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-8
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

Titipúru supai is a black nocturnal bird resembling a heron and living on the flat banks of the rivers. It is believed to bewitch people with the whistling sound which it produces, and to make them ill.

Acángau supai, the bird which is in Spanish called cacavero, is also occasionally said to send disease.

Even such insignificant birds as the humming-birds may act as the agents of evil-working sorcerers. There are two beautiful humming-birds that are especially mentioned as supai, namely, the rayu kinde supai and the curi kinde supai, which are believed to bewitch people with their long beaks and therefore likewise figure among the demons invoked by the medicine-men.

Poisonous insects are also regarded as demons. Among these the Canelos Indians pay particular attention to the black wasp, the scorpion or uputindi supai, and the black ant (tucandera), called yutúri supai. The poisonous stings of these insects resemble the invisible magic arrows of the sorcerers who also, as we shall see, avail themselves of such creatures when bewitching people."

1; Karsten--419-421 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Besides the ordinary cases of witchcraft, which can only be cured by a medicine-man, there is one more evil the treatment of which is of particular interest, namely, snake-bite. As mentioned before, venomous snakes which attack and harm people are generally looked upon as tunchima, that is, as temporary reincarnations of the souls of evil sorcerers. With the snake's poison the 'arrow' penetrates the body of the Indian bitten by it. Where such an idea prevails, it is clear that only a man initiated in the magic art can properly treat the person bitten. However, among the Jibaros the person most competent to cure a snake's bite is not the ordinary medicine-man, but a man who has himself once been bitten by a venomous snake and survived. Such an Indian is consedered to be 'hardened' against snakes and therefore to possess special qualifications for curing other men attacked by the demoniacal reptiles.

As soon as an Indian has been bitten by a snake, therefore, a man [420] is summoned, if possible, who has himself once been cured of the consequences of a snake-bite. Special precautions are taken on such occasions. No strange person, not even any of the nearest relatives of the patient, is allowed to see the little wound. A secret foe may look upon it with an evil eye and send his 'arrow' into it, with the consequence that all sorts of dangerous complications ensue. The Jibaros generally have recourse to this explanation when a snake-bite which, perhaps, in the beginning seemed slight suddenly gives rise to a serious illness and causes the patient's death. Hence no one

but the curer is allowed to treat the sufferer, and the cure takes place, not in the house, but outside in the forest, whither the 'doctor' cautiously leads the person bitten by the snake. In the forest he has been attacked by the evil demon, in the forest, therefore, the same demon must be conjured and the effects of his attack neutralized. A small provisional shelter is made, and the curer stays there alone with the patient during the whole time that he is treating him. The treatment consists in conjurations and operations of much the same kind as those practised by the ordinary medicine-men. The medicine mostly employed is juice of tobacco. The doctor repeatedly takes the medicine into his mouth and thereupon vigorously sucks the wound caused by the snake. He sings certain incantations, summoning the demon operating in the venomous snake.

Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called piri-piri. Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called napi piripiri (snake's piripiri). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (Capsicum). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through

the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself.

Although all these medicines may in themselves have beneficial [421] effects, they are used by the Indians chiefly because of the magical or supernatural properties they are supposed to possess. The Indians believe that by using them they are able to drive out the evil demon from the patient's body.

The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

Karsten--421-422 (1916-18) 1935
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a person is cured of the consequences of a snake-bite much in the same way. The medicine-man takes tobacco juice into his mouth and sucks the wound with it, singing conjurations. From time to time he interrupts these operations to fan the patient with the branch of a tree called chini papaya or ahuirintsúma. This tree is much like the ordinary Carica papaya, but its branches are provided with large soft spines to which the Indians ascribe magical properties. When the patient is fanned or lightly beaten with this magic branch, the treatment is supposed to disperse the evil and to expel it from his body.

On the fifth day, independent of whether the patient has recovered or is about to die, the following ceremony takes place. Five round or somewhat oblate stones are looked for on the bank of the river, and arranged in a row from the house outwards, with a distance of about one foot between each stone. Now the medicine-man, either alone or with the assistance of another man, makes the patient slowly walk along these stones, passing from the house outwards and back. By this procedure, it is believed, he will be relieved of the consequences of the snake-bite. The cure is due to the magic virtues ascribed to the stones.

When a Canelos Indian has been bitten by a snake and the reptile escaped before the Indians were able to kill it, the following ceremony is performed. They take a stick of palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria) and paint it with red rings and spots all round so as

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

1: Karsten--491-492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 825 (1928-29)

"The giant serpent, especially the water boa or anaconda (Eunectes murinus), is one of the animal beings most frequently represented in the ornamental art of the Jibaros, and it is natural to connect this fact with the other fact that it is one of the most dreaded animal demons known to the Indians. Thus the designs painted on the beautiful big clay vessel from Canelos depicted on Pl. XX, 1, represent the giant snake, not however the water boa or anaconda, but the boa constrictor, a comparatively rare reptile in Western Amazonas and much more rarely represented in the Indian art than the water boa. The Canelos Indians call this reptile amárun and use the same name for the orna- [492] ment. Another snake demon, almost equally often represented, is the Lachesis, one of the most common and most venomous snakes in the whole of South America. It occurs as an ornament for instance on the clay dishes on Pls. XVIII, 6., XIX, 1., and XX, 2. and is also applied to the face (Fig. 18, d, p. 493)."

1: Karsten--501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151, 775, 825 (1928-29)

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

2: Stirling--72 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

"When during a raid an individual is killed who happens to be related to a member of the opposite party, Jivaro custom does not permit that a tsantsa be made of the victim's head. It also happens that a Jivaro will sometimes succeed in killing an enemy but will be compelled to retreat before he has had the opportunity of taking his victim's head. Sometimes during the heat of a battle the friends of slain Jivaros have an opportunity of concealing the bodies or taking them away before the enemy can secure them. In such instances the Jivaro victor later prepares a tsantsa from the head of a sloth, which serves as a substitute (pl. 33). There is a reference by Barriero which seems to refer to this practice:

> If pressed by the enemy so that the Jivaro does not have time to cut off the head of his dead enemy, the traditional ceremony takes place anyway and the tsantsa is replaced by the head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy. (3)

This must have referred to the sloth and Barriero probably misunderstood his informant."

"3. Barriero, in Bollaert, 1863a, p.113."

'There are evidently other occasions when animal heads other than those of the sloth are prepared in the manner of tsantsas. Karsten refers to an instance when a woman on the Zamora was killed by a jaguar. Her relations killed a jaguar in retaliation and shrunk its head. (5)

Homer Eamigh told the writer of having witnessed the ceremonial preparation of a condor's head in a jivaría, on the Upano, but unfortunately did not inquire as to the circumstances.

When we were on the lower Santiago we had with us a number of Jivaros from the Yaupe River who killed a Matasapi, one of the large monkeys of this region. We requested one of these Indians, who was said to be the most expert in the art, to make a tsantsa of [74] its head. He complied with our request and we were able to watch the process in detail.

"5. Often deaths in the jungle are attributed to the supernatural action of the jaguar. The writer was told on the Chinganasa of a boy who had recently been killed by a jaguar. Further inquiry developed the fact that he had fallen from a tree while retrieving a monkey shot with a poisoned dart. The 'jaguar' had caused a limb to break, thus killing the boy. In the same manner a Jivaro will say that a person or persons were 'eaten by an anaconda' when actually they had drowned in the river after the canoe was upset by 'Pangi.'"

First he cut the two muscles which run down from the base of the neck along the top of the shoulder. These were both cut through at about the center of the shoulders. Then he selected a point at the top of the sternum, making an incision and bringing the cut in wide curves on either side from this point until it joined the cuts which he had made on top of the shoulders. A similar cut was then made in the back. When the skin had been cut completely around he lifted it up and severed the neck at a point just below the chin.

Then, making a small vertical incision in the back of the neck and part way up the rear of the head, he extracted the skull by literally peeling off the skin, taking great pains that none of the face should be torn and easing the process along by using a small knife. When the skull had been removed the skin of the head and face resembled an empty sack with holes where the eyes and mouth had been and a wrinkled portion where the nose bones had been removed. The ears were left attached.

The skin was then put into a pot partially filled with water which was brought almost to a boil. From time to time he lifted out the skin by the hair to see how it was progressing. After being immersed in the hot water for about 10 minutes he removed it, as he did not desire to shrink it too much. By this time its size had decreased approximately one-fourth.

With his fingers he then picked the loose flesh from the lips and face, much in the manner that one would pick off the dead skin from a mild case of sunburn. Then, putting his

hand inside the head, he carefully cleaned it of any clinging flesh that still remained inside. This being done, he placed it back in the pot for about a minute in order to wash off the loose sections of skin.

Again removing the head, he skewered the lips together with three splinters of palm wood placed completely through the lips in a vertical position. He next took a length of chambira fiber and laced around the splinters, thus binding the lips firmly together. Then he inserted a hot stone just large enough to enter the neck orifice, rolling the head about in his hands in such a manner as to thoroughly sear the inside of the skin. After the rock had cooled off somewhat he removed it and inserted another one which had been freshly heated, repeating the process. With his fingers and a smooth pebble he molded and smoothed over the face.

Next he pierced the crown of the head with a heavy splinter of palm wood and ran a cord of chambira fiber through the opening thus formed. With this he hung the head from a stick so that it was about 2 feet above the fire, which by this time was blazing very little, so that the smoke from the fire curled up around the head. He [75] also placed a number of green leaves on the fire in order to produce a smudge. After allowing it to smoke in this manner for about an hour he removed it, carefully wiped it off, and, using a small bone awl, very carefully and neatly selvaged the rim of the neck with chambira fiber. The head was then considered complete.

While this was no doubt an abbreviated method of making a tsantsa, particularly since

he did not desire to make the head extremely small, it probably represents approximately the technique employed in preparing a human head."

2: Stirling--103 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 825

"Both men and women occasionally wear about the wrists and ankles narrow circlets made from the skin of a small variety of green snake which are supposed to protect the wearer against evil influences in the forest. There are numerous variations to be found among the ornaments worn by both sexes, but as a rule they conform rather closely to the types enumerated above."

2: Stirling--119 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"The second of the disease spirits is called Amaron. This is the spirit controlled by napi, the snake. He is called out in cases of snake bite or other poisonous bites of similar nature. The method of treatment is exactly the same as in the case of Minura, excepting that this spirit responds more easily and the wishinu does not have to work so hard nor so long. The songs which are used in calling are, of course, special songs to Amaron. In addition to the magical treatment, the patient who has been made sick by Amaron is also given an enema of crushed red pepper. The wishinu fills his mouth with the fiery liquid and by means of a bamboo tube blows it forcibly into the rectum of the patient. In order to send Amaron into the body of anyone he deisres the wishinu goes into the forest and calls the spirit in the same manner as described for Minura, using, of course, the appropriate songs."

2: Stirling--119-120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 825

"All localized aches and pains in various parts of the body other than in the stomach are caused by a fifth disease spirit known as [120] Morovi. This spirit is possessed by the night bird which the Jivaros call by the same name. The treatment of these sicknesses is as before described. When the wishinu wishes to send the spirits of Chingi or Morovi to someone else he goes into the forest and calls them by blowing tobacco. Such parts of the forest are selected as are known to be occupied by the birds which represent the spirit.

The sixth disease spirit is Tunchi, the spirit of the biting insects, such as ants. This spirit produces all rashes, itches, and skin eruptions. Tunchi is controlled by the wishinu in a similar manner to the other spirits."

4: Up de Graff--227-228 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 825

"The Jívaros tell how it came about that the coto has an enormously oversized larynx. One day the maquisapa and he met each other in the woods. The coto was showing the other how to break cocoanuts by pounding them together, but his long-legged cousin, when he tried to imitate him, caught his thumbs between the nuts and lopped them off. Determined to revenge their loss, when next he met his bearded friend, he persuaded him by means of slight-of-hand that it was unnecessary to crack them at all, and that they tasted much better when swallowed whole. The credulous coto followed his [228] advice, but the cocoanut stuck in his throat, and left its mark on all his progeny to this day, while the children of the maquisapa must go for all time without their thumbs, although they still retain their ten toes."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

10: Anthony--150-152. (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 153, 825

"The Jivaros have a specific name for practically every bird and mammal to be seen about them and, when our skinning table was piled up with specimens for the day's work, one of them would unhesitatingly name each animal. If a test was made on a later date with a bird or mammal of the same species, the designation previously used was invariably applied, proving that these names were not made up on the spot. [152]

On one occasion, Mr. Cherrie had shot an olive-backed thrush, a sober-colored species that nests in North America and migrates southward in the winter, and consequently not one of the birds strictly belonging to the region. A Jivaro who was going over the birds and naming them promptly singled out the thrush and said in substance: 'This bird is a foreigner. He visits us only in the winter and does not nest here.' An instance of this sort implies the keenest sort of observation, because the Jivaro must meet with from two to three hundred distinct varieties of birds, most of the smaller species of which have at best little value to him as food and consequently are of but minor importance. The birds of brighter color are often killed so that they may be attached as ornaments to the ceremonial necklaces, headbands, etc. that are worn in the dances."

10: Anthony--158 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 825, 752

"These people have a very wholesome respect for the snakes of their jungles and with good reason, for there are several venomous varieties among them. It is said they have an antidote for snake bite, using some plant which counteracts the venom. Because they go about barefooted, they are often bitten but, thanks to this plant, seldom killed by a snake. Among the material collected during a day's work I had a small coral snake (genus Micrurus) which was alive although somewhat incapacitated through rough handling in capture. At the time I judged it to be a non-venomous species, but nevertheless retained enough caution to handle it by the back of the neck so it could not strike me. A Jivaro who was standing over our table, very much interested in everything that was transpiring, displayed some apprehension when I showed him the snake coiled up in a small can, and beat a very hasty retreat when I took it out in my hand, acting in much the same manner as might a timid girl in the presence of a mouse."

13: Rivet--86-87 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 727, 825

In order to complete this monograph on the tsantsas, I must mention one curious specimen that I procured. It is a sloth head (probably Choloepus didactylus, Lin.) shrunk and treated in the manner of a human head, which a Jívaro wore suspended by its hair (Plate I, fig. 2). The only author who, to my knowledge, has pointed out that the Indians sometimes practice mummification on the remains of animals is Barriero (1). "If the Jíbaro is pressed by the enemy, says he, so that he does not have time to cut off the head of his slain adversary, the traditional celebration takes place nevertheless and the tsantsa is replaced by a head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy". It is possible that the object that I am about to describe was made for the same purpose.

The head of the animal is appreciably shrunk, if one compares it with the stuffed examples in the mammology hall of the Natural History Museum. The neck was cut by a slanting stroke, [87] high in back and low in front: the distance between the lips and the neck cut is 63 mm. on the ventral surface and 121 mm. on the dorsal surface. Two little sticks penetrate the interior of the head through the cervical opening and seem to have been for the purpose of giving rigidity to the strip of dorsal skin. The long, perfectly preserved hair of the animal completely hides this opening. A hole made at the top of the cranium allows the passage of a double suspension cord. The huge lips, projecting in front, are pierced with the three openings characteristic of tsantsas. From

1. Letter published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

the snout to the end of the hair, the object measures 22 cm.

Lubbock (2) reports that women made prisoners are generally killed at the end of a certain time, in order to make tsantsas with their heads. Might not these feminine mummies have a representative value like the sow head of which Barriero spoke, and doubtless like this sloth head that I have just described?

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2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 825

The study of all these religious manifestations shows us to what extent the Jíbaro is the slave of his beliefs. Like all simple beings, he also believes in omens. Dreams have for him a significance; if he dreams that he has been able to catch a wild hog, as soon as he gets up, he takes his lance, sets forth into the forest and does not return until he has killed one of these animals; if in his dreams he is bitten by a serpent, he does not leave his house on the following day for any reason.

20: Dyott--164 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 825, 262, 177

"The deer is regarded by the Jivaros as the incarnation of a particularly evil demon, and therefore its meat is not eaten or even touched; but in the case of Kuashu and other families who come in contact with traders, the superstitious dread in which the animal has been held in the past has given way to more rational ideas. No time was lost, therefore, in slinging the carcass on to a pole and carrying it back to the house in triumph."

20: Dyott--171-172 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 825, 868

"The Jivaros don't consider men to be glorified animals, but rather the reverse. All the animals, in their eyes, are degenerate human beings. Years ago, they say, all the inhabitants of the world were Shuaros, and gradually certain ones developed characteristics which we now associate with birds, animals, or fish. This consciousness of their relationship to the animal world is still very strong amongst them, so much so in the case of the sloth that he is not only attacked with the same ferocity they would summon against a human enemy, but they likewise preserve his head in a [172] shrunken state, as if it were that of some hostile tribesman.

Katani listened enthralled to every word of this Indian wisdom. In a few year's time he would be considered a man, for he would have taken part in the feast of Kusupani and drunk Miqua prepared from the bark of the beautiful flowering shrub (Datura arborea) which is administered with much ceremony whenever a boy reaches man's estate. It is a narcotic drink that is supposed to make men out of them, but in reality turns them into raving lunatics for a day or two. During this time, they see visions and talk with the great spirits who will aid them in their fight against future enemies."

25: Vigna--40 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 752, 825

When a Jíbaro is bitten by a snake, special, empiric, and superstitious cures are utilized. The patient is not allowed in the common house (He must make for himself a little hut of branches and leaves outside of the house), or, in the house they keep him apart by means of leaves and branches. They fear that the "evil eye" is acting on the patient and making the poison more efficacious. Snake bite is cured with infusions of the leaves of the "Huaco" and enemas of water and very strong pepper.

When someone knows that a Jíbaro has been bitten by a snake, he hurries to bite a machete or some iron as preservative. As soon as the sick person recovers, a great fiesta is organized in the house. All who participate, including the patient, paint their bodies a black color and in the form of a snake. This will serve to prevent bites in the future.

25: Vigna--41 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

Superstitions referring to food deprive them of excellent hunting. For example, they will not grow horns; nor the flesh of deer, for they believe that in ancient times, the Yhuanchi incarnated in the deer; the flesh of tapir causes loss of strength, etc.

28: Tessman--353 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 262, 825

The one-year old buck is killed because it damages the manihot fields; but its meat is eaten only by a few old men. This is the reason for its unpopularity: since it has only two horns, this is taken as an indication that a sorcerer (túntši) is hidden inside. Only rarely do they eat tapir, since they assume that it is related to the one-year old buck.

28: Tessman--359 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 727, 825

Aside from human tsantsa there are also the mummified heads of sloths. See Plate 63. Karsten (Blood Revenge, p. 33) explains this custom by assuming that at a time when all humans were animals, the sloths had been the enemies of the Chiwaros. Rivet, however, points out (loc. cit., p. 86) that the mummified heads of the sloths are substitutes for human heads if the latter are unobtainable. Farabee, finally, assumes that the sloth-head gives the children a chance to practice. Karsten received his explanation from the Chiwaros, and it must be taken with a grain of salt, since the sloth is a very innocent creature that does not harm other animals. I incline to the belief that, while certain practical considerations may play a part, the sloth must have a certain significance in the Chiwaro religion.

large creature. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.*

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his home, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to be an common other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or variety. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is post puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."* The departing arutam souls reportedly

12:Harner E-1 (0956-0957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[9]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Exclusively, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of tsunki or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*uwishin*?). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) which can launch near the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but graver or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or tsunki kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this tsunki fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nékás wakanl, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[8]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites." The Jivaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (Iser iwanri). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jivaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jivaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jivaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jivaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called wampag. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampag are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampag flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jivaro believe that since the wampag might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jivaro are uncertain, the wampag finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of rain.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jivaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nekás wakanl, which does little to help the individual survive in his concrete society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jivaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal suspicion, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

12:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

225
235
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[a] Possibly due to fear on the part that the old shamans provide healing grounds for these animals.

[b] Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Linton and David Bagley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Huambisa beliefs, respectively. I hardly mentioned several Shuaraina and Aguaruna men on these problems the Institute's base in Yurimaguas, visited Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara Indian on the same subject in 1962 near the Rio Corgapiano, visitors Ecuador.

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/331 cont./

359 almost scratching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of
[125] the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes,
342 which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the
[353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in
which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in
the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night,
are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual
bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and
open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells,
[355] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each
person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of
which is hung his private property, in the case of women cos-
342 metic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
358 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is
maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily
and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a
way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and
tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean.
When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women
came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the
houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and
cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in
all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well
seem as enviable stopping place to the traveler who has
languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for
years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury
in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than
among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes
in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two
and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is
usually held fast by a broad belt (ocachuha) plaited out of human
hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

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[222]

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jivaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jivaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jivaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jivaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon. [222] [411]

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Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 130). [825]

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262 feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not
574 be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally,
765 however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essen-
[231] tially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.
[146]

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households.
231 These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned
[224] earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc
[241] tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally im-
[726] portant service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attack-
[825] ing party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *niawá*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they re-
[789] ceive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden
[276] dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet be-
[439] sides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jivaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587]
of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *tsumi'i*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mahanti*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*pani*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411]
the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752]
accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more 721
insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more 727
likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same 765
fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jivaro are [774]
frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* [829]
souls and *musiak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a 774
tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature 825
thought to be capable of forming a *musiak*. Because the tree [796]
sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore [796]
must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual [796]
precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *musiak* of [784]
the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an 765
inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head 727
before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot 796
be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, 774
but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a 776
previous raid, in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *musiak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*tsawã nampar*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the 796 825

796 same function. Normally, however, the tree cloth employed is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their few nameu fears,
[881] which are only two in number and bound by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

794 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *middle wakani*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in
[826] the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

795 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

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engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be 775
food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity 775
of abandoned garden and house sites.[12] The Jívaro interpret 776
the presence of such creatures at these old living places as 825
evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*luar iwanchi*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of [262]
deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history 776
of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human 775
demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When a Jívaro child wanders into the forest and is not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was

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776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
• 825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampay*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampay* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampay* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampay* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampay* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
774 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam*
778 soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemá*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemá* drink among the 756
Jivaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jivaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemá*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsuṇi, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*namurá*) which are [778]

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775 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*.
276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
[776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
[925] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
628 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
721 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly ap-
276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pawé*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *nunmak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pawé*. 754 776 925 • [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *tsakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *tsakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [923]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *tsakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *tsakani* bird more *nunmak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually re-supplying the *tsakani* bird with new *nunmak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *tsakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pawé*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pawé*. The *pawé*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, sees the
776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vulnerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 dolls, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
[787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding
721 and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political
765 structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one
[727] another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only
[825] launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is
701 a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or
727 four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *uwa* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly
554 man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *uwa*,
624 or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the
[796] raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of
[342] the expected participants in the expedition build the *uwa* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the
702 planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

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000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguaza region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 197 765 532 727 778 4. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the manica. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1969, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 10–61; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, foreword, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers protest they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

[825]

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER 13

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower.

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
751, 826 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
826 (1928-29)

".... I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, [JKM: the case being a Jibaro Indian who had eloped with his father's sister] and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 826 (1928-29)

"Levirate prevails among the Jibaros, custom prescribing that a man shall marry the widow of his brother. Only if the husband has left no brother is the woman allowed to marry a man of another family. If the widow unlawfully marries or has sexual intercourse with another, the consequence, according to the belief of the Indians, may be the birth of a deaf and dumb or monstrous child (nētsi, pasúna), and the man who married the woman is likely to die soon afterwards. This is due to the belief that the spirit of the dead husband, who is jealous of the wife he left behind, will not cede her to any other man than his brother, who forms with himself as it were one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. The custom of levirate among the Jibaros is thus due partly to superstitious reasons and partly to the close relationship which is supposed to exist between two brothers.

A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

1: Karsten--219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
845, 826 (1928-29)

"The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive."

1: Karsten 221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

"It is, however, not only monstrous and defective children that are thus regarded as the direct result of demoniacal action. The same superstition is held about twins, even when there is nothing abnormal in their outward appearance. The primitive Indian is unable to grasp the idea that one man can be the father of two children born at once. Hence when twins are born in a family only the child arriving first can be the offspring of the husband of the woman; the other one must have been begotten either by another man or, more generally, by a demon, and is therefore killed. This belief is found among Indians in different parts of the South American continent and affords the true explanation of the common practice of infanticide in the case of twins. In Ecuador it seems to prevail among all tribes except among the Jibaros.(1) As to the Canelos Indians, it has among them inter alia given rise to that interesting marriage custom which has been related above. In regard to the fear of twins I may add that at Canelos the married men never eat two bananas which are grown together, believing that if they do eat them their wives will give birth to twins.

"1. The superstition in question exists for instance among the Napo Indians and the Záparos. The latter not only kill the second child, but are in the habit of chanting and beating drums every night during a whole month after the birth of twins, in order to counteract the evil consequences arising from the house having been polluted by a demon."

On the other hand, the savage JIBAROS do not seem to share this superstition. On the contrary, they say that they are pleased when twins are born, because they want to have as many children as possible. But [222] even the Jibaros are firmly convinced that children who are born deformed or defective in any way have been begotten by demoniacal operation. Such a child is called nētsi, pasúna, 'deformed', 'monstrous', or iguánchi uchi, 'the son of a demon'. Nētsi properly speaking means 'deaf and dumb', but also 'deformed' in general, and is thus particularly used in the same sense as iguánchi uchi. The Jibaros always kill a deformed 'demoniacal' child by crushing it under the feet, and bury it in the forest.

How the conception through a demon (iguánchi) takes place, the Jibaros cannot explain with the same realistic details as the Canelos Indians, but as to the fact itself they have no doubt. Most generally the birth of a nētsi, pasúna, or iguánchi uchi follows as the consequence of unlawful marriage, especially a marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship, when brother and sister, or cousins on the male side marry, or when a man marries his niece or a woman her nephew. Such marriages are therefore looked upon with horror and strictly prohibited by Jibaro custom. The birth of a demon (a monstrous child) is regarded as a disgrace and an unfortunate incident not only for the parents but for the whole family and tribe."

1: Karsten--296 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302, 826 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas [JKM: head trophies] with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power."

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

2: Stirling--99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 826, 152

"The Jivaros are as a rule vain of their personal appearance. In this respect the men rather outdo the women. The Jivaro idea of what constitutes good looks does not differ radically from our own. An athletic physique for men and well-rounded contours for women are admired, as are regular features for both sexes.

Long dark hair is desired and this is a feature which almost all possess."

12: Rivet--361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291, 826

To conclude the physical description of the Jíbaro, I should mention the curious habit observed among the natives of Macas and perhaps general to all the tribes, of raising up the penis, by attaching it to a cotton thread which is fastened around the waist, for the purpose, they say, of keeping it out of the way in walking. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez points out this same fact among the old Indians of the province of Quijos. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 56. This strange custom exists still among certain savage tribes of the Napo basin.

20: Dyott--190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 826

"So strong is the faith of the Jivaros, like that of many primitive races, in the supernatural properties of the hair of the head, that they make cinctures of that material; but hair on the face is regarded in quite a different light. It is a sure indication that you are related to the animals of the jungle. My flowing whiskers were not admired, and if the truth were known, speculations were rife as to what particular animal I was related to. The wholesale removal of hair from the human body is practised by the Indians, and with the exception of the scalp, its growth is never encouraged."

25: Vigna--47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 847, 826

From trustworthy evidence that we possess, we are tempted to say that deformed children (very rare among them) and those unable to face life, disappear among them by custom. The midwives are generally the poorest advisers for the women, in regard to maternity. They know herbs, and serve infusions to check menstruation or to cause abortion.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[16]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only 462
duty. 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only 868
the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her [323]
by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form [532]
and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with [826]
clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to [831]
touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blow- 224
gun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less 462
than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at 857
that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to 868
shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them [262]
himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

796 same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsantsa* feasts,
[881] which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

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One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

1: Karsten--267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701, 827 (1928-29)

"The dignity of a chieftain is hereditary in a relative sense, in so far that the son of a chief is generally elected chief in time of war after his father has died or grown decrepit. This, however, can only take place if he has proved a valiant and skilled warrior and has killed enemies. No Jibaro is selected as a chief if he has not killed at least one enemy. The Jibaros have absolute faith in the heritability of prominent qualities, and ascribe extraordinary importance to education and the power of example. The son of a great chief, they say, must necessarily also become an able warrior because he is, as it were, a direct continuation of his father, has received a careful education for the deeds of war, and has always had the good example of his great father before his eyes."

1: Karsten--453 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 789, 827, 484 (1928-29)

"When the Indians are travelling they always take with them some bundles of fermented manioc substance wrapped up in banana leaves, so that they can prepare the beer on the way whenever they find water. When they dilute a certain quantity of the manioc substance in the water, they never afterwards throw away the waste of manioc substance left, but they wrap it up again in the empty banana leaf and put a stone on the bundle, leaving it in this way at the resting-place. Then the manioc-beer which they have drunk will remain 'steady' in the stomach, and they will not soon get hungry again. This is the idea of both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--453-454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 481, 789, 827 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros, when they are about to cross a broad river swimming, are in the habit of swallowing a fish-sound before they enter the water. In this way, they believe, they will be able to float on the water and swim as easily as a fish.

Similarly they take care, before entering the water to swim, to tie up the prepuce of their penis and to fix it to the stomach by means of a [454] cord which they always carry with them for the purpose. (1) If the water comes in contact with the glans, it is believed, it will impede erection at the right time and render coitus difficult."

"1. See the naked Indian on Plate XXIII, 1."

1: Karsten--454 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 514, 827 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros, as also the Canelos Indians, do not think it proper to defecate in the immediate neighbourhood of the house and never leave their excrements in the open air, but every time make a small hole in the earth for the purpose which is afterwards carefully filled up. An evil wizard, they say, may throw his 'arrow' (tunchi) into the excrement by looking at it with an evil eye, with the consequence that the person who has left his excrements exposed will fall ill and die. Another way of making away with them is to defecate directly into the river and allow them to be carried away by the current. When I travelled with the Indians in canoe they always proceeded in this latter way.

Breaking wind is by the Canelos Indians looked upon with superstition and thought to endanger the person in question is some way; 'the soul (aya) thereby goes out'. When, therefore, among a party of Indians anybody suddenly breaks wind, it is customary that someone of the rest--the one who is the quickest to do so--draws his attention to it by clapping him with his hand three times on the back saying uianza, uianza! The meaning of this word is unknown, but the ceremony in question is regarded as an act of kindness and implies that the person who was the object of it has to prepare a feast. This feast is called Uianza. The both Indians, the one who broke wind and the other who clapped him on the shoulders, grasp each other's hands and a third again separates them, as in making a bet. This means that the first mentioned has pledged himself to make a

feast for the rest of the party. He has at once to arrange a hunting expedition and to make the usual preparations, and the feast is held after the lapse of eight days.

Another way of arranging the matter is that the person who broke wind is obliged to offer to the person who clapped him on the shoulders three big mucahuas (clay vessels) with manioc-beer as a reward for his 'kindness'. Frequently, I was told, of the two persons in question the one is a man, the other a woman."

3: Simson--388-389 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 827, 751, 262

"The Jívaros of the Pintuc, and most others, have the habit of vomiting nearly every morning, by the aid of a feather--a practice similar to that of the Piojés of the Putumayo--arguing that all food remaining in the stomach overnight is unwholesome and undigested, and should therefore be ejected. It has been asserted that their remarkable health and prowess is partly attributable to this habit; certain it is that it obviates some of the bad effects of the not unfrequent 'gorging' in which Indians after long fasts are so prone to indulge. However, the Piojés, who treat themselves in the same manner, are certainly not more healthy--and less brave--than most other similarly placed [389] tribes. If it is a fact that the Jívaros are generally healthier and more robust than the rest of their race near the Equator--more astute and fearless they certainly are--it would seem reasonable to attribute this to the simple fact that their habits of work and rest are more regular, and they are much more provident than other tribes in keeping themselves supplied with food of good quality."

26: Brüning--68-69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 753, 827

In general, the Aguaruna Indians seem to be healthy. In the case of sickness, a small hut is erected far from the settlement at a solitary site in the forest, and here the sick person remains until he recovers or dies. This is the information obtained from the rubber collectors. I have not been able to get any information as to nursing practices.

The Indians are most afraid of coughing and bloody diarrhea. The rubber collectors have constantly warned us of coughing, as the Indians would withdraw if they heard us cough. We had one experience with this on our downstream voyage on the Marañón. We had been told that in the Indian settlement Chipe we would be able to barter some chickens, bananas, and yucca. As we were just about to land, [69] we heard shouting; the women took up their children and fled with them into their houses; the man talked with unfriendly gesticulations, and we were forced to continue our voyage, without knowing the cause for the Chipe reception. None of our three crewmen knew one word of Spanish. When we met some Indians later, Indians who knew a little Spanish, we were told that the chief of the rubber collectors had spread the rumor that we were sick and had the coughing. This rubber collector was very jealous and wanted to preserve his autocracy in that territory; thus he did everything to keep outsiders away. This was perhaps one reason why he did not teach any Spanish to the Indians.

1: Karsten--142 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 771, 828 (1928-29)

"All the rules in regard to fasting mentioned above originate in a special idea, deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians with whom we are dealing. Not only do they believe that a man, by eating a certain animal or a certain vegetable, may acquire the characteristic qualities of that animal or vegetable even in minute details. They are firmly convinced that there exists such an intimate relation between a man and the work he is doing or has just done that his own qualities, both the essential and usual ones and those temporarily acquired--through eating a certain food or in other ways--may literally be transferred to the object or result of his work. A man in the most real sense of the word puts something of his soul into the work he is doing, the effects of this transference making themselves felt even for some time after it has been finished. Numerous other instances referring to different departments of the domestic industry of the Indians have already been mentioned which illustrate this view, and others will presently be mentioned. A custom like the couvade, for instance, which occurs among the Jibaros in an interesting form, will be found to rest upon similar ideas."

1: Karsten--226-227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 828, 852 (1928-29)

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jibaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black. The genipa fruit yields the black dye with which the Indians paint their body on certain ceremonial occasions and, mixed with the solution prepared of the piripiri root, it is [227] supposed to strengthen the hair. In the case of a newborn child it is believed, in general, to strengthen its constitution and to protect it against evil influences."

1: Karsten--229-230 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 828 (1928-29)

"According to the idea of these Indians the parents, and especially the father, form with the newborn son, as it were, one single personality. [230] The soul of the latter is intimately associated with the father's own, and everything that happens to the father during the critical days is supposed directly to affect his tender son.

This view is much easier to understand when we take into consideration that the Indian not only assumes an intimate connection or sympathy between himself and his newborn child, but that the same mysterious 'sympathy' is believed to unite him more or less closely with almost any object which is the result of his work. Thus we have seen that when an Indian has bought a little dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast and submit themselves to certain other rules in their mode of life of much the same nature as those observed when a child is born. Similarly he fasts after he has sown maize and certain other plants, while he is making a drum, a blowgun, and so forth."

1: Karsten--272-274 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 672, 627, 828 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros blood-revenge is not strictly individualized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the slayer. The Jibaro certainly first of all wants to take revenge on the person who committed the crime, but if he cannot be caught it may instead be directed against some one of his relatives--his brother, his father, even his mother or sister. To understand this we have to consider that the conception of individual personality, and consequently of individual responsibility, does not exist among the primitive Indians in the same sense as among civilized peoples. The individual forms an inseparable part of a whole, namely, of the family or tribe to which he belongs. Especially the members of the same family are regarded as, so to speak, organically coherent with each other, so that one part stands for all and all [273] for one. What happens to one member of that social unit happens to all, and for the deed of one member the rest are held equally responsible. How the Jibaros conceive this connection appears from certain of their social customs. For instance, custom requires that after a child is born the parents shall fast and observe other rules of abstinence for a couple of years, or until the child is weaned. This is due to the idea that something of the souls or essence of the parents inheres in the child, so that all three in one way form a single organism, a single personality. But this mystic connection between the parents and the child also subsists after the child has grown up, although perhaps less intimately. Similarly the tie which unites brothers and sisters

in a family is so intimate that they may be said together to form one organic whole. Among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, when one member of the family is sick the rest have to diet in the same way as the patient himself, for if they eat unsuitable food it would be the same as if the patient ate that food, and his condition would grow worse. From the same point of view we have to explain the custom prevailing among the Jibaros that when a man dies his brother must marry the widow. The departed husband, who is still jealous of the wife he left behind, does not cede her to any other man than his brother, who with himself forms one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. When a younger Jibaro is murdered by his enemies the duty of revenging his death is also first of all incumbent on his brothers.

The Jibaro cannot even distinguish his own personality from his material belongings, at least not from things he has made himself. When he makes a shield, a drum, a blowgun, or some other delicate object, he has to diet and observe abstinence in other ways; for, according to his belief, he actually puts something of his own personality, his own soul, into the object he is making. His own properties, both the essential and habitual ones and those occasionally acquired through eating a certain food, etc., will therefore be transferred to that object. The division of labour existing among the Indians depends on the same peculiar view. Thus, for instance, the Indian woman has

to make the clay vessels and manage these utensils, because the clay of which they are made, like the earth itself, is female--that is, has a woman's soul. She is connected with the fire and has to cook the food, because the fire has a female soul, etc.

Such a view prevailing among the Indians, it is easy to understand that a Jibaro, in regard to the murder of one of his relatives, asks not [274] so much which individual has committed the deed, but rather reasons in the following way: 'A member of that family has murdered my relative; consequently, in revenge, some member of that family must die'."

20: Dyott--166 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 195, 521, 828

"Direct questions and answers are not understood by the Jivaros. To ask a deliberate question does not seem to conform to his idea of propriety. Every subject has to be approached by a round-about route and with infinite repetition. This is probably due to the inherent difficulty primitive man has in expressing shades of thought and his round-about course is equivalent to our guarded phraseology noticeable amongst politicians when delicate matters are being discussed. To an Indian, the most trivial incident is of as much importance as it would be to a child, so everything has to be taken seriously. It is also well not to look too intently at the person you are talking to. You may be accused of casting a spell on him if you do. A man looking in can see the world: hence the world looking in can see the man. Such is their line of reasoning, and consequent aversion from the vulgar stare of some white men."

20: Dyott--167-168 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 152, 828, 224

"Whether it was the success of our hunt, or the chance meeting with Napi, we could not say, but Kuashu was obviously pleased with the morning's work. The stranger remained with us, and on returning home, he was treated with unusual consideration. There was quite a change in the general atmosphere of the house when we got back, and we noted that Mihanda was a different mortal to what he had been earlier in the day. He acted as if a weight had been removed from his chest. His spear was finished and his friends regarded its well-shaped lines with approval.

There was a real reason for this change of manner on Mihanda's part which needs explanation. The Jivaro finds it difficult to distinguish between himself and his [168] personal belongings. Everything he uses or makes, particularly weapons, are regarded as part of himself, and in the making of them, he instils much of his own personality. So strongly ingrained is this feeling that the making of an ordinary spear (nanki) is accompanied by a certain amount of ritual. He must eat only certain foods, his thoughts must not be disturbed by conversation with others, he must not live with his wife. If he does these things, then the spear will be worthless and he himself may die. Even the chonta wood from which spears are made is regarded with superstition. They believe that this palm, with its formidable spikes, is the abode of a very potent spirit, so that a spear made from it inspires both man and beast with fear. This intimate tie between man and his material belongings is very strong, but between members of a

20: Dyott--167-168 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 152, 828, 224

family the bond is infinitely stronger. If Mihanda had been sick, then his wife and brothers would abstain from eating certain foods, for if they partook of them, it would harm the patient just as much as if he himself had done so."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
774 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-
778 confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called
[828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts.
[751] [761] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
778 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
721 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing ex-
774 pedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father.
[562] [278] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jívaro shamans (*uwišin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose Jívaro name is *natemā*, in order to enter the supernatural
787 world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemā* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[12] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemā* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
828

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long 276
time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he 755
lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak 787
with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to 828
use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemā*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemā* drink among the 756
Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the 276
trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given [755]
the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the [787]
"real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a [776]
practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing [778]
shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, [753]
or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to [776]
cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemā*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is 773
attributed to Tsuṇi, the mythological first shaman who is 776
believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house 756
whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is de- 776
scribed as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also 756
seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. [825]
From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans [823]
with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nanuri*) which are [778]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754 776 825 [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [828]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, 175
but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in 648
permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures [797]
reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when [431]
they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which [965]
included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been [727]
killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no mem- 173
ory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

A very long time ago there were the *ai apačī* ["*ai*" white men]. 173
They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to 829
their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *huarā* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the 174
knees and elbows of the *ai apačī* was something like the [173]
shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nampe*r) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untā*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 831 (1928-29)

"From what I have stated about the love charms we gather that free love, seduction of women, etc., are not unknown in the Jibaro society. But from this it must by no means be inferred that sexual licentiousness in general is characteristic of our Indians. The very reverse is true. The Jibaros especially are very decent in sexual matters. They do not consider it proper to discuss such questions publicly, and obscene gestures or language, which are no rare thing for instance among the Chaco Indians, one does not witness among the Jibaros. At any rate this is the impression I have received myself during the years I have lived in close contact with the Indians in their own houses."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty. 462 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay. 868 [323] [532] [826] [831]

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts. 224 462 857 868 [262]

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

1: Karsten--214-215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 832, 302, 824 (1928-29)

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

1: Karsten--215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 832, 302, 825 (1928-29)

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

2: Stirling--103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 778, 832

"The women frequently wear on the breast an amulet which they call 'napue.' This consists of a collection of objects which are supposed to be beneficial in producing sexual attraction and in holding the affection of the woman's mate. These objects consist of certain perfumed herbs, manatee teeth, bird bones, and similar miscellaneous objects. While collecting and attaching each object to the napue the woman sings and prays for assistance from each spirit represented in the amulet."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 met, they fought. Finally, Ašaŋã gave his sister to Tukupī.
605 Thereafter, when Ašaŋã beat Tukupī's sister, Tukupī beat Ašaŋã's sister.

Tukupī said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupī and Ašaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other
602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest
606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her.
576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even
• [832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for
[578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 837
by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 831
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs 832
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [534]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The
533 content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an
[535] ironic humor. The following are two examples of these
533 *hamemata* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a
539 man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

533 While such *hamemata* songs have a courtship function
832 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in-
527 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities
527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre-
839 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly
273 a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

1: Karsten--216 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 833, 152 (1928-29)

"It has generally been assumed that among the majority of savage races the sexual instinct is very strongly developed and 'sexual life carried on very intensely' (1) and this generalizing statement is naturally meant to apply to the savages of the New World also. My own impression is that this assertion at any rate does not hold true of the Indians of South America, and particularly not of the tribes with which I am concerned here. When a Jibaro Indian has caught a woman whom he particularly likes, it is natural that at first he gives vent to his passion for her, and he may then have intercourse with her even several times during a night. But excesses of this kind are by no means the general rule among the Jibaros, who on the whole do not indulge in sexual relations more than most white people do, rather less. There is in fact on this point a notable difference between the whites and the mestizos on the one hand and the Indians on the other. The Jibaro Indian's capability of exercising control over himself in the sexual domain is shown by his readiness to submit himself to the prohibition of sexual intercourse during more or less protracted periods. We have already seen the Indians observing

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"1. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, I.495 (quoting Malinowsky). Dr. Malinowsky calls his own book, where one single Melanesian tribe is treated of, 'The Sexual Life of Savages.'"

sexual abstinence on many occasions, and other similar instances will presently be mentioned. To the Ecuadorian white or mestizo such control over himself would certainly be impossible."

12: Rivet--608 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562, 833

Even in the interior arrangement of the house, there is a real separation of the sexes among the Jíbaros, not as clear as among certain peoples, but nonetheless evident. In consequence, the Indians never have intercourse in the dwelling, but always outside, in the cultivated field which surrounds the house.

28: Tessman--361-362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 833, 595

Women are married off while they are still children, sometimes at the age of four, often before they are born, sometimes, however, at a later date. If the wife is still a child, then she will be brought up by her [362] husband, who will widen her vulva with the finger until at the age of twelve she is ready for coitus.

A Chiwaro has from one to four wives.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 574 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 595 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

595 224 833 [82]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

595
on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it 224
being believed that after intercourse he is particularly sus- 833
ceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, [82]
men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to 224
engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of 833
pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their 842
wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually 595
state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situ- 842
ation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic 842
magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the 756
male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken 789
egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes 842
789

1: Karsten--216-217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 834, 784 (1928-29)

"A married Jibaro man not only abstains from cohabiting with his [217] wife for instance when he is preparing his arrow-poison or making a shield or blowgun, after he has planted the narcotics natéma or maikoa, and when he is preparing for a great feast, but also on several other occasions. Thus at an advanced stage of pregnancy he generally abstains from cohabiting with his wife, lest the still unborn child may thereby be harmed. When the child is born he likewise abstains from sleeping with the mother for some time--in most cases, I believe, as long as the child is suckled--nor can he have sexual relations with any other woman. This would have harmful effects upon the newborn child so that it might die. The father's continence in this case is closely connected with the rules of diet he has to observe for some time after his child is born, and which will be described in the next chapter. Similarly, as we shall soon see, a Jibaro has strictly to observe sexual abstinence for a long time after he has killed an enemy, and for some days after a death has occurred. A Canelos Indian likewise has to observe sexual abstinence on many occasions, among other things during the wedding-night itself, as we have just seen."

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
(237) shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
157 men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
[834] and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
[144] Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
756 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
778 defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.
823

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman
778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken
776 *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
276 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

• [834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.
754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" 754
shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaučī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, 756
the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first 778
tsentsak, he will become a curing shaman (*peyer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual [834] intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunčī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different [755] kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural 778
and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is 276
that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking 787
the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

1: Karsten--185-186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 835, 684 (1928-29)

"Incest and any illicit sexual intercourse is regarded with the greatest horror and severely punished by cruel ill-treatment, sometimes even by both parties being put to death. One case of this kind came under my notice when a young Jibaro Indian eloped with his father's sister. All the male relatives of the family were pursuing the couple, and they assured me that if they got hold of them they would kill them. The Indians declared to me that such a marriage was a 'very bad thing'. [186] On further inquiry I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
586 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close
837 relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
•835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*waibe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *waibe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *waibe* (male cross-cousin
[605] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists.
[586] Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male
[605] cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

28: Tessman--361 [7] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 836

There are unrestrained sexual relations prior to marriage.

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 836, 582 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros premature sexual intercourse is prohibited to a youth until he has passed through the initiation for manhood and become what is called a tsémbrama. If a boy has intercourse with a woman before that time, it is believed, he will soon die. Generally a Jibaro youth marries when he [sic] 18 to 20 years old."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-
[789] sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemina-
[824] tion and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a
[848] child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, aboveground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(*wahe*) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl becomes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tampunči* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tampunči*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband [435]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

765 554 571 796

an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

796 765 619 [721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsinchi*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

[273] [535] [836] [837]

765 778 774 578 796 [619] [273]

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

1: Karsten--217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 164, 177 (1928-29)

"Unnatural vices are rare or wholly unknown both among the savage Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. Thus I have never heard either of homosexual customs or sodomy. As to venereal diseases, they are, as far as I know, as yet unknown to the majority of the Jibaro tribes. Among the half-civilized Canelos Indians, who have been more in contact with the whites, they seem to be more prevalent, but even among them they are at present rare."

1: Karsten--222-223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 595 (1928-29)

"If the Jibaro man treats his wife well and does not neglect his duties towards her, she is as a rule faithful and a model housewife. It is otherwise when she finds herself neglected by her husband, as not seldom happens. The Jibaros not only live in polygyny, but it may happen that an elderly man, especially an old chief, procures several young wives, even quite young girls captured from enemy tribes, towards whom he cannot duly perform his marital duties. It is no uncommon thing that such young, neglected wives engage in sexual relations with other men, [223] in spite of the risk that they incur thereby. Intelligent as the Jibaro woman is, she may display extraordinary acuteness in deceiving her husband."

1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 562 (1928-29)

"The cruelty with which the deceived Jibaro husband treats his unfaithful wife is all the more noteworthy as otherwise the social position of the Jibaro woman is by no means that of an oppressed slave, as we shall presently see. She has much to say even in matters which do not directly concern her own domain within the household. But in a case of adultery only brute force and the law of the desert is valid. The Jibaro Indian treats his unfaithful wife simply in the same way as he treats his enemy to whom no mercy is shown."

1: Karsten--233 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847, 837 (1928-29)

"That abortion is not unknown to the Indians has appeared from my previous statements, but it is naturally most commonly practised by unmarried women. A Jibaro would not normally allow his wife to practise abortion. It only takes place in exceptional cases, for instance when a woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to an enemy tribe, or when marriage has been in some way unlawful so that there is the danger of the future child being a monster (pasúna, nētsi).

Abortion is among the JIBAROS effected by mechanical treatment at a comparatively advanced stage (probably in the third or fourth month of pregnancy). An older woman grasps the pregnant woman from behind round the waist and gradually presses out the foetus. The operation is said to be very painful and I was told that sometimes it happens that the woman dies from this radical treatment. Besides this, the Jibaros in such cases have recourse to the same harmless operation with the hen's egg by which they try to facilitate delivery: a medicine-man makes the woman swallow the contents of the raw egg which are poured directly into her mouth. Poisonous drugs are not used for the purpose by the Jibaros, but this, on the other hand, seems to be the case among the CANELOS INDIANS. They prepare a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called petun cara, and give this decoction to drink to a woman who wishes to rid herself of the consequences of sexual relations outside marriage."

I: Karsten--271 (1916-18) 1935 . Jivaro
116, 627, 837, 593, 684 (1928-29)

"Not seldom bloody feuds arise among the Jibaros for the sake of the women. The Jibaros hold their wives in high esteem; but as we have seen they are extremely jealous and adultery is severely punished, the husband maltreating his unfaithful wife with the lance or a knife so as to sometimes cause her death. In such cases, however, the relatives of the woman frequently take her part, alleging that she is innocent. If in their opinion she has been punished wrongfully or with undue severity, they try to take a corresponding revenge upon her husband. Under such circumstances more than one Jibaro has been killed by his father-in-law or his brothers-in-law. Thus on the Rio Upáro a young Jibaro had once taken the life of his wife on account of unfaithfulness, real or supposed, on her part. Some time afterwards the cruelly mutilated dead body of the Indian was found in the forest. He had been murdered by the relatives of his former wife. Ordinary captures of women, which frequently take place among the Jibaros, also give rise to blood feuds. A Jibaro carries off the wife of another Indian or takes her with her own consent. The offended husband summons his friends and starts to pursue the seducer to kill him. If under such circumstances a murder is committed, this usually causes a new murder by the party offended, and so on, until either all grown-up members of one family have been exterminated, or, what happens more generally, each party gets tired of the feud and they decide to leave one another in peace. Sometimes the affair is settled by a formal agreement."

3: Simson--386-387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 595, 152, 837

"Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe--and, I am authoritatively informed, also the [387] other hordes observe the same practice--is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy. "

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 844
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 846
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tsentsemi* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucin- [774]
ogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival.
If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(*wahe*) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during 836
which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl becomes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to 836 584
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While young single men are the chief philanderers, young 837
married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so [719]
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Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed 937
by the Jivaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving 684
to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the [586]
husband as "wife-stealing," one of the more serious Jivaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis 931
of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jivaro. Young men frequently play love songs 932
softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically [594]
to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less [302]
effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527
533 each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The
[535] content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these
533 *hansemata* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a
539 man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

533 While such *hansemata* songs have a courtship function
832 between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, in-
527 cluding married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities
527 in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require fre-
837 quent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly
273 a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him. 273 527 [837] [578] [837]

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity. 279 527 571

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *unta*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often. 554 527 571 577 [578]

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the [836] case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the • [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and refuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [301] [435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

837 435 684 301

of the *tawanpa* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

684 593 837

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

684 837

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

839 684 [837]

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

684 837 593 586

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

586 If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
• 837 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
582 cousin (*waiwe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *waiwe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse with his daughter, one of the girl's *waiwe* (male cross-cousin
[605] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists.
[586] Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

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[721]

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsunki*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

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[535]
[836]
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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal be- 682 witchings. 754

178 The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young 181 men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to 461 spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look [837] for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through [571] making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting [556] and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

178 The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied 628 against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional 721 Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of [754] inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recog- [682] nize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

178 Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have 721 declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the [726] last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

[441] The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

28: Tessman--361 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 838

Onanism is said to occur, but there are no homosexual activities between male adolecents. One settler assumed that this was due to the strong laxatives (purgas) which the youngsters have to take when they are only twelve or thirteen years old, and which make them actually sick for a number of months. While there are no homosexuals with masculine tendencies there are some cases of extreme effeminacy. My informant knew of two such instances. One of them wears woman's clothing and is said to live along the Cahuapanas, another along the Nieva. The latter wears man's clothing, to be sure, but he likes to do all the work (making of pottery, preparing of Massato, etc.) that is generally done by the women. He asked one member of our expedition to address him with a woman's name and not with his masculine name. He lives with a settler and prostitutes himself as the passive partner to the settler's workers. He pays his lovers. He does not practise any active sexual intercourse.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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1: Karsten--219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
841 (1928-29)

"When among the CANELOS INDIANS a woman is menstruating she is obliged to diet and does not leave the house except for the most urgent needs."

1: Karsten--236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 841, 276 (1928-29)

"When the first signs of puberty appear, an important epoch in the life of the Jibaro girl begins. As among all Indians, menstruation is looked upon by the Jibaros as a mysterious process, and when it appears for the first time in a girl various precautions are considered necessary. I have mentioned before that the Indians ascribe menstruation to the moon (nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her'), which is also believed to have a mysterious influence upon conception. The first menstruation is called numbuén (from número, 'blood') and generally appears when the girl is about 8 to 10 years old. When the mother realises what is the matter with the girl she at once takes her down to the river, where she washes her with a big leaf called yambáki. She has now to submit to certain taboos for four days. She is not allowed to pass the nights in the house, but sleeps in a small shelter specially made for her in the plantation in the neighbourhood, whither she is accompanied in the evening by the other women. While in the shelter, she can eat or drink nothing except tobacco water, which is given her in repeated doses by an old woman. The girl, however, is not obliged to stay there during the day. As soon as the sun rises she can leave the shelter and return to the house where she spends the day, but she is obliged to diet strictly. At the same time a small drinking-feast is arranged. Several piningas with manioc-beer are placed in a row; among these there is a small one containing only the 'cream' of the beer and a piece of manioc. This pininga is for the tsángrama, as the girl is called. She is allowed to eat nothing during the four

days except this small quantity of manioc, and she is considered so taboo that she can touch no objects in the house with her hands. In the evening, as usual, she has to go to the shelter where she again receives tobacco water from the hands of the old woman, and so on. The tobacco medicine is supposed to fill her with power and to protect her against evil spirits who are attacking her, but it is also calculated to produce dreams for her, since the Numbuén, feast has reference at the same time to the girl's future obligations as a housewife."

1: Karsten--237 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 841 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the first menstruation of girls, we must add that at the following menses too a Jibaro woman is always taboo to a certain extent. She has to diet, abstaining from eating meat, and contenting herself during the days of menstruation chiefly with mashed manioc and plantain (nauma). She is likewise sexually taboo, her husband avoiding her during these critical days. Much the same rules are observed among the Canelos Indians."

28: Tessman--360 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 841

The Chiwaros have no menstruation customs.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large 595
floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for 574
neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a 535
combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs [921]
are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsamsa* feast is [765]
given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jivaro divide the house conceptually and functionally 595
into two halves: the men's end (*tsamsalé*), and the women's 562
(*ekemsa*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place 574
for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two 513
serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host 352
and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_1). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for 595
his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when 513
his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he [841]
sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed [574]
on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or [591]
for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such [855]
beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are sus- 353
pended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure [352]
1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

I: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
842 (1928-29)

".... the Jibaro Indian generally wants a large progeny, and when he marries many and young women he has of course hopes of getting many children."

1: Karsten--217-218 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 842, 775 (1928-29)

"The ideas which the Indians entertain about the physiological significance of the sexual act are of particular interest and it may be proper to mention them here. The Indians certainly realize, in a general way the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy, but about generation and conception they have their own peculiar theory which among other things appears in their belief in a 'supernatural' birth. Their ideas of animal and plant spirits who partake of the nature of human souls and are even regarded as the souls of ancestors, as well as their custom of naming newborn children after animals and plants and at the same time after ancestors, seems to point to a general belief, now perhaps half forgotten, in the return of departed souls through a new birth. In fact, traces of the existence of a belief in such a rebirth are still to be found. 'After a long time the souls of the dead are again reborn in some of their descendants; this is the reason why we give to a newborn child the [218] name of one of its forefathers.' Such was the explanation which was given me by an old medicine-man with whom I discussed these questions. Other Jibaros again assured that they did not know anything about the rebirth of the departed. Evidently these are questions to which common people in the Jibaro society, and especially younger persons, devote but little thought."

"Their ideas about conception and pregnancy are more definite. Conception according to their idea is brought about by the new moon in connection with the natural sexual intercourse. The new moon is also believed to effect the menstruation of the women, of which physiological process the Jibaros use the expression nanta weinikama, 'the moon has seen her.' The time most suited for cohabitation and conception is that falling between the 'dying' moon and the following new moon. During this time the Jibaro usually has intercourse with his wives with a view to begetting children. He is however of opinion that as a rule a woman cannot be made pregnant by one single act of sexual intercourse. Several are necessary; the new being has to be created as it were by degrees, the moon always playing the part of a promotor of the creating process. When the Jibaro has cohabited with his wife in the period between two moons, the following new moon will in some mysterious way bring about the first development of the foetus. Every following new moon, in connection with repeated cohabitation, adds a little to it until in the course of nine months the foetus is full-grown and the birth takes place.

This statement of the Jibaros must be understood to mean that the germ of the new human being comes from man, who at the sexual act simply puts it into the woman, just as a seed is sown in the earth, the new moon thereby effectively aiding in developing the foetus. This primitive view, which in South America is by no means limited to the

Jibaros (1), is of interest in so far as it explains a custom which among these Indians also occurs in a modified form, namely, the custom of couvade. If the child, at least physiologically, has its proper origin in the father, we can understand the close connection or 'sympathy' existing between the father and his newborn babe, manifesting itself in that for instance the food eaten by the former will affect the latter for good or for evil. These ideas we shall consider again in the chapter on the birth customs.

The present-day Indian is thus firmly convinced that a woman can-[219] not conceive without having intercourse with a man. But the mediator of the process of conception need not necessarily be a living man, he may also be a dead one, that is, a spirit or demon. From this point of view we may speak of a supernatural birth in regard to the Jibaros, namely, in so far as they believe that a spirit or demon can have sexual intercourse with a woman and generate a child. This belief is quite common among the Jibaros and the Indians of Canelos, as among various other tribes in Ecuador, and has influenced the customs they observe at the birth of a child and even their marriage customs, as we have seen in the case of the Canelos Indians."

"1. See my Civilization of the South American Indians, p. 445 sq."

1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

"Conception through a demon, resulting in an evil birth and a monstrous child, may take place under different circumstances.

When among the CANELOS INDIANS a woman is menstruating she is obliged to diet and does not leave the house except for the most urgent needs. If she goes alone into the forest she may meet the demon, supai, in the shape of a white man dressed in black clothes, who grasps her by the hand, leads her away, and seduces her. The women themselves are said to have a special liking for the supai meeting them in this shape and to yield readily to the temptation. They are, therefore, guarded by their husbands while menstruating.

The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive.

Generally, however, the demon appears to a woman in the shape of a beautiful Indian, painted red with roucou in the face and wearing a feather crown (tawasámba) on the head.

He mostly meets the woman in a dream, while she is sleeping, and tries to seduce her. If he has had intercourse with her two nights in succession, she will soon feel pains in the womb, and some time afterwards she will either die or give birth to a supai huahua.

The Canelos Indians told me about a young Indian woman who had lived alone with the supai in an uninhabited region on the Rio Rutúnu, [220] a small tributary to the Bobonaza. The supai had the shape of a beautiful Indian, well dressed and painted red in the face. He stayed with the woman one week as her husband, and every day brought her all sorts of game from the forest as well as fish. The woman had previously been beautiful and fat, but after that time she began to get thin and pine away and finally died. This was due to her having had intercourse with the supai.

One of the most formidable demons known to the Indians is the huge water boa, called amárum by the Quichua-speaking Indians. It is the original source of witchcraft and the souls of sorcerers especially are believed to take up their abode, temporaily [sic] or permanently, in this monster. Now, in the imagination of the Indians the rainbow (cuichi) is nothing but a huge boa in the air or, as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the boa'. One superstition held about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant! When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are menstruating ought not to go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone at night in some shelter of palm leaves in the forest they are

liable to be visited by the cuichi supai (the rainbow demon) who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being as usual, a supai huahua.(1)

The Canelos Indians moreover believe that the demon, when he wants to visit a woman, may take the shape of a black, nocturnal bird which they call tulúlu. The tulúlu supai at night enters into the house where he assumes human shape and has intercourse with the woman while she is sleeping. Soon afterwards the woman falls ill, and some time later she will give birth to something evil.

"1. This superstition prevails both among the Napo and the Canelos Indians, but is particularly held by the mountain Indians from whom it has, perhaps, been propagated to the primitive tribes in the virgin forests of the east. At Pelileo, a village situated in the mountain regions of Central Ecuador, I was told about an Indian woman who had given birth to a dreadful monster, half a hairy pig, half a human being. The Indians explained the phenomenon by the woman having exposed herself to the embraces of the demon of the rainbow.

The Quichua-speaking women of the mountain regions also believe that they may be made pregnant by lizards and other similar animal beings entering into them. When an Indian woman sees a lizard therefore she jumps far away for fear of coming in contact with it."

1; Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-4
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

Sometimes the demon takes the shape of a hawk (anga) and then has intercourse with a woman at night, during sleep. Afterwards she [221] gives birth to a supai huahua which is grey in colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk and deformed legs. Such a monster, as already mentioned, is buried alive or at any rate killed."

1: Karsten--224 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 842, 163 (1928-29)

"After the 'tobacco feast' the conjugal life of the Jibaro couple generally begins, in some cases--that is to say, when the girl is not very young--even immediately after betrothal. As a rule, however, the Jibaro woman does not become a mother until she is 16 or 17 years old; at any rate I have not among these Indians seen younger mothers. --The Canelos woman generally marries at a more mature age."

1: Karsten--232 [2]
116, 163, 842, 177

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The number of children in a Jibaro family is generally great, partly of course owing to the existence of polygamy. The Jibaro man wants to have as many children as possible and it may happen--although of course only in exceptional cases--that he has ten children from the same woman. He is rightly of opinion that richness in wives and in children means richness in general, and that it adds to the power of the family and the tribe. He appreciates female children just as much as male children; both are in their way equally useful, and for the same reason he has, as we have seen, no objection to the birth of twins, against whom the Jibaros have not the same prejudice as most other Indians of Western Amazonas. If nevertheless the Jibaro tribes have constantly diminished, this is due to particular reasons, partly to the great mortality of Indian children in general in the first years of life, partly to the wars of extermination carried on between the different Jibaro tribes. The contact with the white race not only indirectly promotes a diminution of the Indians, but seems to have a direct, unfavourable influence upon nativity. This we may infer from the fact that in the families of the Canelos Indians the children are as a rule far fewer than among their savage neighbours, a state of things that can be observed almost everywhere in South America."

2: Stirling--119[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 753, 842

"The third disease spirit is Yabi. This spirit is described as appearing but rarely. It is said to have no face and is 'like a door.' The wishinu in calling it addresses it as a door, calling upon it to open. Yabi causes barrenness in women. The method of procedure in controlling this spirit is the same in general as the others.

A fourth spirit is Chingi. This spirit is controlled by the toucan (Tsucanga) and by the woodpecker (Tatash). All stomach troubles are caused by Chingi. The beak of the bird pecks at the entrails, thus producing the illness."

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting. 595 224 833 [82]

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies. 224 833 842 595

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known. 842 842 756 789

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes 842 789

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 [824] The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] [848] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

1: Karsten--224 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 843, 784 (1928-29)

"When a new member is expected in a family this is an important incident which is connected with many interesting ceremonies and many taboos. They deserve particular attention as illustrating in a typical way the general Indian idea of a close and mysterious relationship existing between the parents, especially the father, and the newborn child. Just as the Jibaro or Canelos Indian fasts and observes other rules of abstinence after he has planted and sown his fields or while he is breeding his dog, so he submits himself to similar restrictions in regard to his mode of life after a child is born to him, and naturally, with still greater rigour.

These restrictions have special reference to the diet. Among the JIBAROS the woman starts dieting even before the child is born, and at any rate in some tribes her husband joins her therein. As soon as the woman feels herself to be pregnant she abstains from eating salt and sweet things like the papaya fruit (Carica papaya), sugar cane, and a kind of wild grape called shuya. The reason which the Indians give for this abstinence is that if the woman eats salt or sweet things 'the foetus will grow very big' and delivery become difficult. The woman also has to abstain from eating palm cabbage and the intestines of animals, especially of the paca and the wild hog, because, if she eats, the child will get diarrhoea. These rules are, at least among the Jibaros of the Santiago, observed by the father of the future child also."

2: Stirling--111 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 843

"When a woman becomes pregnant, the husband is much more attentive than usual and performs numerous little services that he would not do ordinarily. If it is her first child she is likely to be nervous, in which case the others in the house attempt to keep her mind off the coming event and distract her interest in various ways. Children are very much desired by both men and women and a barren woman is almost invariably discarded as a wife."

20: Dyott--168 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 262, 843

"...When it came to eating the sinewy carcass of the monkey we had brought back with us from the hunt. Inza, Kuashu's youngest wife would not touch it. Most meats are usually taboo for women, but Inza was expecting a baby, and if she had eaten of the monkey, her offspring would have been hairy like the animal. The men devoured the meat greedily, believing that in so doing they would assimilate all the agility and nimbleness characteristic of this forest animal. One of the peculiarities of the poison which had been used to kill the monkey is that it is injurious only when it enters directly into the blood, for it can be eaten with impunity."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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1: Karsten--224-226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 844 (1928-29)

"When the mother begins to feel the pangs of childbirth she is at [225] once taken out from the house, to a special shelter of palm leaves constructed in the neighbourhood of it, in the plantain or manioc plantation, whither she is accompanied by an elderly woman who acts as a midwife. The house must not be polluted by the childbirth, nor are other persons of the family, and still less outsiders, allowed to be present. The bewitching arrows of sorcerers and the 'evil eye', which may seriously complicate matters, are especially feared on such occasions. Generally the Indian woman bears children with ease, and should the birth be difficult this would be a sure sign that evil spirits or mysterious influences have been at work.

In order to facilitate delivery, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are in the habit of scraping off with a knife a little of the poisonous sting of the ray and mixing this powder with the drink or food of the woman. This will have the effect of promoting the exit of the foetus.

The Jibaros moreover practise the following custom for the same purpose. A medicine-man is called in; he takes a hen's egg, blows upon it and mutters a special conjuration over it, holding it close to his mouth; thereupon he breaks the egg allowing its contents to pour directly into the mouth of the pregnant woman who, sitting on a bench, has to swallow it raw without touching it with her hands. The idea is that the woman will now be delivered of her foetus as easily as the hen is delivered of its egg.

There is a special kind of banana which the Indians call palanda noa, 'the female plantain'. Generally the banana belongs to those plants to which the Indians ascribe the male sex, but the palanda noa forms an exception owing to the tendency of its shell to burst open when the fruit is boiled. At Canelos the men avoid eating this banana, otherwise, they say, their wives will bear only female children. On the other hand, they readily let their wives eat it because it is believed to facilitate their delivery.

When the child has arrived, the woman is washed with hot water and the flow of blood is stopped by heated lava stones. The umbilical cord is cut off, not with a knife, but with a sharp split of wild bamboo (shingyána). The iron of the whites is to the Indians in a way taboo and therefore not used at certain important ceremonies. 'With the knife we cut flesh into pieces', a Jibaro explained to me, 'we do not therefore touch our delicate children with it'. If a knife or some other iron instrument were used to cut the cord with, this would be the same as cutting off the life of the child: the little one would die. The bit of cord remain-[226]ing with the babe is attended to with great care, and when it falls off after some days it is, like the after-birth, placenta, buried 'in order that the dogs or other animals shall not be able to eat them', an eventuality which likewise would imply danger for the life of the child.

Before the newborn child is laid to the breast of the mother to suck, a medicine is given it, prepared from a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is

called tsinsimba. The leaves of this plant are carefully chewed and mixed with saliva, and a little of this medicine is put into the mouth of the child by the oldest person in the family, who must be a man if the child is of male sex, and a woman if it is of the female sex. The tsinsimba to which the Jibaros ascribe wonderful properties is believed to strengthen the newborn child. The same medicine is also later given to children of different ages at the 'feast of the children'."

2: Stirling--111[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 844

"When the time for childbirth arrives the woman drinks water with which has been mixed scrapings from the spine of the cashparay. This is supposed to deaden the pain of childbirth. The mother is usually attended by one or two old women. Delivery is from a sitting position, or, if difficulty is experienced, from a half-standing position. As a rule, Jivaro women are very little discommoded by childbirth. At delivery, the umbilical cord is tied in a knot and then cut. Immediately after the delivery the mother goes to the water and washes herself while the old women wash the child. One month after the birth of a child a fiesta is held."

12: Rivet--608 [3] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 844

Certain authors have noted the couvade among the Jívaro (1). Gonzalez Suarez describes this strange custom as follows: "When the moment of birth arrives, the Indian woman goes into the woods to a place where the husband has prepared in advance a sort of portico of three sticks. The cross bar is placed at a height calculated so that the woman hanging from it by her hands finds herself on tiptoe, and in this position she bears her child. As soon as she is delivered she goes to the nearby river, washes the newborn child, bathes herself, and goes back to take care of her domestic duties.

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1. H. W. Bates. Central America, the West Indies and South America. 2nd edition, London, 1882, page 331 - 342.
Elisee Reclus. Nouvelle Geographie Universal, 18.
Amerique du Sud, Les Region andines, Paris, 1893, page 443 - 444.

28: Tessman--362 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 844

As a rule, childbirth takes place in the bush, where two uprights with a crosspiece are erected, to which the woman clings with her hands. Other women support her. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife of reed-bark and formally buried with the placenta in a ditch covered with sticks, etc. The men, especially the child's father, are waiting in the proximity of the houses, and after the birth is completed, they rush into the bush to see the child and to give it a name. Now the mother goes home with the child to lie down on her bed, which is shielded by a wall of leaves. She turns her back against the fire, since this is supposed to speed up her recovery.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rat- [413] tles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em- [844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [244] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taračī*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging 844 •
over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can 846
go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is [854]
also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital [837]
sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, [761]
vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hal- [276]
lucinogenic drug, *tsentsemä* (botanically unidentified). The [824]
uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of [854]
all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or
female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucin- [774]
ogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival.
If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

1: Karsten--209-211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 754, 845 (1928-29)

"The ceremonies practised on the wedding-night itself are of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians custom forbids the bridegroom to spend the first night with his bride. That night is spent by him not only in another room but even in another house. The practice is due to fear of evil, supernatural powers. If the bridegroom spends the first night with his young wife, it is believed he will soon die, and his wife too is exposed to supernatural dangers. The Indians of Canelos know a sort [210] of jus primae noctis, but the 'right' in question is not claimed by the medicine-man or chief but by the evil demon, called supai, and the bridegroom, fearing the revenge of the demon, voluntarily cedes the right to him. However, the following night is also critical, since it is believed that the demon wants to continue having the woman and is jealous of her husband. The first nuptial embrace, which takes place in the presence of the whole assembly invited to the feast, is therefore, at any rate in some cases, arranged in the following way. The bride is placed in the bed which is made of split bamboo. On her bosom two bananas are placed in such a way that they easily fall down at her movements. These bananas represent the first children to which the woman will give birth and which, it is feared, may possibly be twins owing to the interest taken in the woman by the supai. The bananas are therefore called palánda huahua, i.e. 'the banana babes'. Under the bed a little boy is placed. When the young couple embrace each other the bananas fall to the ground, one after the other, and the boy hidden under

the bed at once catches them crying out, 'Now the babe arrived '! Then he comes forth and presents the first banana to the assembly, the other one being thrown away. A man steps forward and offers himself as comparu (god-father) of the newborn child. He receives the banana which is carefully wrapped in a cloth, and gives it a name. The 'banana babe' is afterwards placed above on the roof of the house, where it is kept until the real firstborn child arrives. Then the same Indian presents himself to be the godfather of the child, and the same name is given to it as was before given to the banana.

In order to understand this curious custom we have first of all to take into consideration that the Canelos Indians have a superstitious dread of twins, owing to reasons which will presently be explained more fully. By thus dramatically representing the very thing they fear may happen, namely, that the bride shall first bring forth twins, where the supai or demon is the father of the second child, the Indians hope to prevent that ominous eventuality. The incident has in mimicry been anticipated in the arrangement with the two bananas and will not therefore take place in reality. The fact that the first nuptial embrace is public in the way we have seen, is due to the idea that thus the evil spirit may be prevented from harming the couple.

The ceremony at the wedding-night is not always the one just described, when two bananas are used to represent twins. In some cases the Canelos Indians by the

ceremony in question only aim at neutra-[211]lizing in general, the possible harmful effects proceeding from the demon, and to secure a happy first delivery. Instead of using two bananas, they only use a manioc root which is wrapped in a piece of linen and placed on the bride's bosom, just as is in [sic] done other cases with the bananas. The rest of the ceremony is the same, a boy being hidden under the bed, who has to catch the manioc and present is [sic] as the 'first-born babe', and so forth.

It is not only the first nights that are believed to be critical for the newly-married pair. Generally the demon is supposed to continue molesting the young woman for some time, visiting her at night in dreams and trying to have intercourse with her even though she sleeps with her husband. In the morning the woman tells her husband that the supai has molested her in a dream. The husband summons a medicine-man, who first drinks the narcotic aya huasca to ascertain the true nature and origin of the importunate demon. Thereupon he prepares a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called pétun cara, and gives the decoction to the woman to drink. This medicine is supposed to kill the demon and thus to rid the woman of his nightly visits.

The decoction of the vine shigshi huasca or the rind pétun cara is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have

been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition.

For the husband himself there is, owing to the jealousy of the demon, the constant danger that he may die on the spot on having intercourse with his wife, and this is particularly supposed to be the case if the woman is young and pretty. Sometimes the danger is not believed to be wholly over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.

As I have stated before the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

1: Karsten--219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
845, 826 (1928-29)

"The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive."

1: Karsten--221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

"It is, however, not only monstrous and defective children that are thus regarded as the direct result of demoniacal action. The same superstition is held about twins, even when there is nothing abnormal in their outward appearance. The primitive Indian is unable to grasp the idea that one man can be the father of two children born at once. Hence when twins are born in a family only the child arriving first can be the offspring of the husband of the woman; the other one must have been begotten either by another man or, more generally, by a demon, and is therefore killed. This belief is found among Indians in different parts of the South American continent and affords the true explanation of the common practice of infanticide in the case of twins. In Ecuador it seems to prevail among all tribes except among the Jibaros.(1) As to the Canelos Indians, it has among them inter alia given rise to that interesting marriage custom which has been related above. In regard to the fear of twins I may add that at Canelos the married men never eat two bananas which are grown together, believing that if they do eat them their wives will give birth to twins.

"1. The superstition in question exists for instance among the Napo Indians and the Záparos. The latter not only kill the second child, but are in the habit of chanting and beating drums every night during a whole month after the birth of twins, in order to counteract the evil consequences arising from the house having been polluted by a demon."

1: Karsten--221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

On the other hand, the savage JIBAROS do not seem to share this superstition. On the contrary, they say that they are pleased when twins are born, because they want to have as many children as possible. But [222] even the Jibaros are firmly convinced that children who are born deformed or defective in any way have been begotten by demoniacal operation. Such a child is called nētsi, pasúna, 'deformed', 'monstrous', or iguánchi uchi, 'the son of a demon'. Nētsi properly speaking means 'deaf and dumb', but also 'deformed' in general, and is thus particularly used in the same sense as iguánchi uchi. The Jibaros always kill a deformed 'demoniacal' child by crushing it under the feet, and bury it in the forest.

How the conception through a demon (iguánchi) takes place, the Jibaros cannot explain with the same realistic details as the Canelos Indians, but as to the fact itself they have no doubt. Most generally the birth of a nētsi, pasúna, or iguánchi uchi follows as the consequence of unlawful marriage, especially a marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship, when brother and sister, or cousins on the male side marry, or when a man marries his niece or a woman her nephew. Such marriages are therefore looked upon with horror and strictly prohibited by Jibaro custom. The birth of a demon (a monstrous child) is regarded as a disgrace and an unfortunate incident not only for the parents but for the whole family and tribe."

1: Karsten--225 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
845 (1928-29)

"Generally the Indian woman bears children with ease, and should the birth be difficult this would be a sure sign that evil spirits or mysterious influences have been at work."

28: Tessman--363 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 845

Deformed babies are regarded as children by demons: they are buried alive.

Twins occur, and they are desirable since they help to increase the population more rapidly. There do not seem to be any special names for twins. Triplets are unknown.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father, or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 593 539

1: Karsten--226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"When the delivery has taken place without complications and the woman is recovering, she is taken into the house where she remains in complete inactivity without going out. On the third day after the birth the oldest man or woman in the family gives the child a name which has before been borne by some member of the same family and which generally is the name of an animal, bird, or plant, animal and bird names being most common for men, plant names most common for women. Animals and plants are believed to be animated by human souls (wakáni) some of which are of the male, some of the female sex, and male and female human children are named accordingly."

1: Karsten--227 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro tribes of the Pastaza (the Achuares) have the following custom at the birth of the first son, called iweri. The woman, as usual, is taken out from the house to be delivered in the manioc plantation, where she remains for three days. On the fourth day she returns to the house and the newborn child is also taken there, not through the door, however, but through a hole made especially for this purpose above in the roof of the house. The father himself hands his firstborn son through this hole, the child being received inside the house by the grandfather, or the oldest member of the family. The old man, holding the little one in his arms, puts himself at the head of the male members of the family assembled there, and all start to walk round in the house chanting, beating drums, and playing on flutes. Then the old man gives the child a name borne before by some important member of the family. When the mother goes for the first time to the manioc plantation to fetch the manioc, carrying her babe on her back, she is followed there by all the men, who carry lances and other weapons. This is done with a view to protecting the newborn child and the mother against the demons (iguánchi) and evil sorcerers who might harm them on the way. This only takes place the first

time they leave the house, which is regarded as a critical moment, especially for the child. (1)"

"1. Among the Kandoashis, a tribe on the nether Pastaza closely related to the Jibaros, the woman, after having been delivered in the plantain or manioc plantation, is immediately taken back to the house. Here three large clay pots, containing warm water, are held ready at the fire. The woman sits down and washes her whole body with the water in these clay pots. She remains sitting at the fireplace without doing work for three days. After the lapse of the three days she can go to the plantations and she also begins to look after her husband who is passing his time under the mosquito-net in complete inactivity, only chanting a special incantation on behalf of his newborn child and fasting strictly. This mode of life is continued by him for a whole month. A real 'couvade' thus exists among the Kandoashis."

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"The other Jibaro tribes of Eastern Ecuador and Peru, although they do not practise the couvade in the sense that the father must lie in bed after the birth of his child, still deem it absolutely necessary that both parents should observe certain rules in regard to their diet and their mode of life. In regard to the diet, the rules are the following: --as to birds, the father and mother of the child must abstain from eating the tucan (tsukánga), the mango (chui), the wood-pecker (tatáshama), the umbrella-bird (umgúmi), the cock-of-the-rock (sumga), the wild turkey (kuyu, áwacha), and the pigeon (yámbitsa); nor must they eat the intestines of any animal, hen's eggs, or fish roes; as to fish, two common fishes are especially mentioned as prohibited food, namely, the large wambi and the sheat-fish (napi or tungá).

The dietary prescriptions just mentioned are due to the following ideas. The tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the umbrella-bird, and the cock-of-the-rock belong to those birds which, although they are normally eaten, are yet regarded with superstition, because it is believed that they may serve as abodes or vehicles for the magical arrow (túnchi) which the sorcerers let fly against persons whom they want to harm. By the parents eating these birds, therefore, the child may be bewitched, pine away, and die. The Jibaros use for this the expression tapiktinyu. Again, the wild turkey and the pigeon produce very loose feces and constantly excrete as if they were suffering from diarrhoea. If the parents eat these birds, therefore, their offspring will likewise have

diarrhoea--an illness to which small children are particularly exposed--and perhaps die. Similarly the child would be likely to contract diarrhoea if the parents ate the intestines of animals, or hen's eggs. As to the latter the Jibaros have the same superstition as the Canelos Indians: the feces of the child would become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, which would be the sign of some disease of the stomach. Again, if they eat fish roes, the child will get scrofula (káncha) of the head, a disease fairly common with Indian children.

The reason why the parents [JKM: after the birth of a child] must not eat the fish wámbi is connected with the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. In ancient times, when all animals had human shape, the wámbi was attacked and wounded by some of his enemies while trying to escape from the lagoon where he lived. He was badly hit by a lance, but contrived to draw it out from his body and escaped. However, he lost much blood and, owing to the wound received, has still a red tail and red fins, though the rest of him is quite white. Now if the parents eat the fish wámbi, their delicate [229] child will likewise lose blood, become anaemic, and die. Again, that they abstain from eating the sheat-fish, tungá, is due to the same considerations as make the Jibaro avoid that food after he has sown his maize fields. Since this large fish is extremely restless and violent, the consequence would be, if the parents ate it, that their babe would be 'tired out' and not get the rest necessary for a newborn child.

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

The sort of food just mentioned is particularly regarded as dangerous, but in their general diet the parents are extremely careful during the whole time that the child is suckled. Meat, for instance, of whatever kind it may be, they generally refuse to eat, and particularly food prepared in a strange house is always looked upon with suspicion. Frequently, when I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians, I noticed their reluctance to eat certain kinds of animal or bird, certain kinds of fruit, etc., and when I inquired about the reasons for this I often received the answer, 'I cannot eat it, for I have a sucking babe at home.'"

1: Karsten--229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro father has also to observe several other [JKM: besides dietary restrictions] precautionary rules in his mode of life. Although it is not necessary that he should lie in bed, he must keep quiet, not go out hunting in the forest, not handle poison, nor touch a knife or any other iron instrument to do work. He must not kill a venomous snake or a jaguar, or even risk meeting such an animal, for otherwise his delicate son in the house will be frightened and die."

1: Karsten--229 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The latter precautions [JKM: no hunting or working] are observed for a shorter period, but those relating to fasting must be observed by the father not only for a few days, as among most other Indians, but for two, sometimes three years, or more strictly speaking, during the time that the child is suckled."

1: Karsten--230-231 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846 (1928-29)

"The same peculiar view appears perhaps still more clearly in some of the birth customs of the CANELOS INDIANS. On the evening of the day of delivery as well as on the following morning various medicines are taken both by the mother herself and her husband, the object of which is partly to cure the former of her weakness, partly to strengthen and promote the development of the child. Thus the woman herself, on the day of delivery, has to take a drink prepared of the rind of a shrub called tzigta. Of this shrub there are various kinds, some of which are poisonous and used by the Indians for the preparation of the arrow-poison. The one given to a woman in childbirth is commonly used as a remedy for headache and other illnesses. The rind of the shrub is scraped off with a knife and boiled in water, and the woman has to drink a mucahua (clay dish containing nearly a litre) of this decoction. The remedy is supposed to have fortifying effects both upon the woman herself and the newborn child.

Early in the following morning another similar medicine is given to her. The rind of a shrub called petun cara is crushed with a club and soaked in water and a quantity of this solution is given the woman to drink. Immediately after that she has to take a similar quantity of another remedy prepared of the rind of the tree called pacai cara, boiled in water. Usually the solution of petun cara and the decoction of pacai cara are mingled and the woman has to drink a mucahua of this medicine. The medicine has the effect of a vomitory which will remove the evil from the stomach of the woman.

1: Karsten--230-231 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 846 (1928-29)

Again, the father of the newborn child has to take certain other [231] magical drinks, which are believed to exert a favourable influence upon the latter. The rind of a tree called tsinsála is scraped off with a knife and soaked in water, and the drink is taken by the father in the afternoon after the child is born. This medicine will have the effect of strengthening the child.

On the same evening the father takes some leaves of a tree or bush called sinchi cáspi ('the tree of strength'), which he chews and swallows raw. Lastly, on the following morning the root of the same bush is taken, crushed, and boiled in water, and the decoction is drunk by the father. The sinchi caspi is supposed to have the effect of giving much strength to the newborn babe."

1: Karsten--231-232 (1916-18) 1935 . Jivaro-1
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"During the following eight days, or until the navel of the child is perfectly healed, the parents [JKM: of a newborn child] have to diet, and the father is obliged to observe certain other rules of abstinence. Thus they abstain from eating the tucan (sicuanga), normally so much appreciated by the Indians, because this bird may sometimes serve as the abode of a demon or as the seat of the chonta thorn (chúnta), which the sorcerers use to bewitch people with; therefore, if the parents eat the tucan, this may have the effect that the newborn child will be bewitched, pine away, and die. For the same reason they do not eat the mango, another beautiful bird of the forest used for food. They also abstain from eating the wild turkey, as well as a special kind of duck emitting a disagreeable odour, because otherwise the babe will have diarrhoea and die. Of quadrupeds they do not eat the tapir or the lumucha (Coelogenys paca), animals that are also regarded with superstition by the Indians, although they are generally eaten. Of other things forbidden to them hen's eggs are especially mentioned. If they eat eggs, the feces of the child will become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, that is, the child will have diarrhoea and die. Similarly, the parents must not drink the brandy of the whites, for this strong drink would do harm to their delicate offspring. As to the native manioc-beer (asua), they can drink it, but it must not be too strong. After the woman has been delivered, warm asua is given her.

As to fish, the parents are allowed to eat the bocachico (challua) as well as certain

sardine-like fish (called umbúni, chúti, túgshi, and shigli in the Quichua language). Small birds of the forest of the kind the Jibaros are in the habit of shooting with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows are also regarded as harmless food. A worm or larva living in the top of certain palms, called túku, the parents are even recommended to eat. The larva [232] is very fat, and therefore the parents' eating it will have the effect of making the child fat."

1: Karsten--232 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846 (1928-29)

"During the three first days after delivery the woman does not leave the house and does not work. After that she is generally able to go to the plantation, carrying the babe on her back. The father, again, must restrict his mode of life for eight days. He does not go out hunting in the forest, for if he shoots an animal or a bird with a shotgun or blowgun, he may at the same time shoot his little child so that it dies. Nor does he undertake any work in the forest with his machete, for if he did he might kill his own son with the knife. He must not on any account kill a poisonous snake or the demoniacal animal paca (lumucha), for then his little child, although kept safe in the house, would be frightened and die.

When after the lapse of the eight days the father goes out in the forest to work for the first time and seizes his machete, he makes cutting movements with it in the air over his son before leaving the house. The little one is thus 'hardened' against the knife, so that he will not be harmed by his father using it."

2: Stirling--111 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 846

"From the time a child is born until it has begun to walk the father observes a moderate sort of couvade. During this period he abstains from eating the foods from animals or plants containing tsarutama. Such foods have power over the spirit of the child and may wreak harm upon it."

3: Simson--388 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 846

"The 'couvade' is rife among the Jívaros; and at the birth of a child, the mother has to undergo all her parturient troubles outside the house, exposed to the elements, whilst the husband quietly reclines in the house, coddling and dieting himself for some days, until he has recovered from the shock produced upon his system by the increased weight of his responsibilities as a father. This custom is still also in some measure extant in many of the civilized villages on the Solimoens, where amongst the Tapuyos, and even degrees more approached to white, the father, on the birth of a son or daughter, lays himself in the hammock, from which he will not move on any consideration to do any kind of work, nor especially to touch any cutting instrument, fearing thereby to exercise evil influences upon the healthy development of the child."

12: Rivet--608-609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

At the house her [KS: post parturient mother] husband is in bed, groaning and simulating real illness (1)." Simson (2), who made a very short stay in the Jívaro village of Pintuc, also reports that the mother has to go through all the agonies of childbirth exposed to the open air, while the father [609] rests in the house, is careful of his diet and takes care of himself for several days. Colini also gave these details.(3) It is astonishing that neither Velasco, Villavicencio, Cevallos, Raimondi, Cordero, Wolfe, Reiss, nor the Dominican missionaries, nor the Jesuits, Franciscans or Salesians, speak of such a remarkable custom which would surely have attracted their attention. From my own personal information obtained from diverse sources, I feel able to affirm that among the tribes in the vicinity of Canelos, Macas Gualaquiza and Zamora, this custom has disappeared, if it ever were really practiced. It is probable that a custom existing among neighboring peoples, the Piojes in particular, has been wrongly attributed to the Jívaros.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio historico sobre los Canaris. op. cit., page 32. The learned Ecuadorien historian does not say where he got these curious details, which, however, he did not repeat in his Historia del Ecuador.
2. Simson. op. cit., page 338.
3. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 18.

12: Rivet--609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

The Jivaro woman takes no care of herself after the birth, and does not interrupt her daily work. An Ecuadorian traveller told me of having seen an Indian woman working in her house the day after having given birth. A little more pale than ordinary, she seemed weak and tired in her movements. But her husband, on being questioned on the subject of her getting up so prematurely, answered that his wife was all right, adding "and who would do the cooking if she stayed in bed?" All the egotistical authority of the male appears in this typical response. It sums up perfectly the feelings of the savage about women; it is the brutal formula which regulates the contacts of the sexes in the forests of the eastern Ecuador.

28: Tessman--362 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

Immediately after the birth the father cuts a Euterpe palm in order to take out the palm cabbage, which is given to the mother in the form of soup "so that her milk may flow plentifully." Both parents, but especially the mother, must avoid certain food stuffs that might be harmful to the baby. Neither father nor mother are allowed to step upon the tracks of jaguars or tapirs; no snakes should be killed; and more such precautions must be taken. There is no lying-in for men. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., pp. 64 ff.) the father is not allowed to go hunting or to cut down a bush; he is not permitted to kill a snake, and there are other things he is not allowed to do--for a period of from two to three years.

28: Tessman--363 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

In his Contributions Karsten reports on the various customs connected with birth, for instance, and this is interesting, that newly-born babies are brought into the house through the roof; inside they are received by an elderly man. Then follows a dance. This is chiefly the case with the Atschual Indians.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed." 844

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting. 846 [854] [837] [761]

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemá* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [276] [824] [854] [774] [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [579] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

• 846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [859] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jivaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 533 539

1: Karsten--211
847

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The decoction of the vine shigshi huasca or the rind pétun cara is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition."

1: Karsten--221 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847 (1928-29)

"In order to be able to cohabit with a man without getting pregnant the Canelos women are in the habit of taking a medicine prepared from the small piripiri plant. The root knots of the plant are crushed and soaked in water, and the woman takes a quantity of this drink. Afterwards she has to eat only roasted plantain without salt and small birds of the forest. If she infringes these rules of diet, she is believed to be particularly exposed to the very danger against which the piripiri drink was to protect her. When she goes to the river to bathe--which the Canelos Indians as a rule do every day--the supai [JKM: demon] may enter her in the water in the form of a small fish or a water insect, the consequence being that she will sicken and die, or get pregnant and give birth to a monster."

1: Karsten--233 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 847, 837 (1928-29)

"That abortion is not unknown to the Indians has appeared from my previous statements, but it is naturally most commonly practised by unmarried women. A Jibaro would not normally allow his wife to practise abortion. It only takes place in exceptional cases, for instance when a woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to an enemy tribe, or when marriage has been in some way unlawful so that there is the danger of the future child being a monster (pasúna, nētsi).

Abortion is among the JIBAROS effected by mechanical treatment at a comparatively advanced stage (probably in the third or fourth month of pregnancy). An older woman grasps the pregnant woman from behind round the waist and gradually presses out the foetus. The operation is said to be very painful and I was told that sometimes it happens that the woman dies from this radical treatment. Besides this, the Jibaros in such cases have recourse to the same harmless operation with the hen's egg by which they try to facilitate delivery: a medicine-man makes the woman swallow the contents of the raw egg which are poured directly into her mouth. Poisonous drugs are not used for the purpose by the Jibaros, but this, on the other hand, seems to be the case among the CANELOS INDIANS. They prepare a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called petun cara, and give this decoction to drink to a woman who wishes to rid herself of the consequences of sexual relations outside marriage."

1: Karsten--251-252 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 847, 851 (1928-29)

"According to the primitive view prevailing among most South Ameri-[252] can tribes newborn infants are the exclusive property of their parents, who therefore have the right to kill them if they choose. Thus infanticide exists both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, although it is restricted to the more or less exceptional cases I have mentioned before. The former frequently put the child to death when the woman has become pregnant by a man belonging to a strange tribe; but above all monsters and deformed children are made away with directly after birth, i. e. children which among the Jibaros pass under the name of pasúna. We have seen that such children are often believed to be born as the result of unlawful marriages and that they are ascribed to mysterious demoniacal influence. In these cases consequently infanticide is due, not to the lack of parental feeling, but to pure superstition. Such a child, according to their opinion, is in fact not a human being at all, but a demon whose appearance in the tribe is regarded as extremely unlucky. The birth of a pasúna is one of the cases where not only the individual family but the whole sub-tribe is concerned; epidemics and general misfortune may be the consequence of it. Among the Canelos Indians it is the same with twins, of which, as I have stated, the second is always killed as being a supai huahua, 'the son of a demon'.

That infanticide is not due to the lack of parental feeling is evident. Even the savage Jibaro father is very fond of his children and takes care of them in every possible way,

1: Karsten--251-252 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 847, 851 (1928-29)

subjecting himself even to considerable privations for a long time for the sake of a new-born son. The customs practiced in connection with the birth of a child at Canelos show that these Indians also constantly have the welfare of their young children in view."

25: Vigna--47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 847, 826

From trustworthy evidence that we possess, we are tempted to say that deformed children (very rare among them) and those unable to face life, disappear among them by custom. The midwives are generally the poorest advisers for the women, in regard to maternity. They know herbs, and serve infusions to check menstruation or to cause abortion.

28: Tessman--363 [3] . (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 847

There is abortion in cases where the parents are too lazy to bring up a child. No abortion is prompted by the fact that the child stems from a father whom the mother does not love. As abortifacient they use the fruit of the Lecythidacee Grias grandifolia Pilger (sacha-mangue L.), called apei. The fruit is cut and thrown into water, the whole is drunk. They also use the leaves of the Verbena (yapáo) for the same purpose.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

• 847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick 854 it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 533 among the Jivaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

943 [824] The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] [848] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and
[589] three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household,
[591] also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter,
851 the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*ayuc*),
[606] who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first
[591] child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

583 Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when
591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-
[411] in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service.
[595] This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

593 The man is formally head of the household and also in-
462 formally seems generally to dominate his family. He is re-
[592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for curing and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending
[606] the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident
606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

178 461 517 439 [592] [512] [412] [286] [291] [281] [224]

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

178 591 [851] [578] [583] [411]

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

178 411 [721] [499]

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

1: Karsten--226-227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 828, 852 (1928-29)

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jibaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black. The genipa fruit yields the black dye with which the Indians paint their body on certain ceremonial occasions and, mixed with the solution prepared of the piripiri root, it is [227] supposed to strengthen the hair. In the case of a newborn child it is believed, in general, to strengthen its constitution and to protect it against evil influences."

1: Karsten--227 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 553, 304, 852 (1928-29)

"On the same occasion [JKM: when the child is named] the old man or woman pierces the ear-lobes of the child with a thorn and a small stick is inserted into the hole so as to prevent the wound from closing. Later the holes are more and more extended for the insertion of the ear-tubes when the boy or girl is received among the full-grown persons. Female children have also the nether lip perforated, but this operation is not done until the girl is 6 to 8 years old."

1: Karsten--229 [3] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 862, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

1: Karsten--234 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The first period in the education of the child, ... is that between birth and the 'feast of the children', which is held when the little one is two or three years old. Until that feast has taken place both parents have to submit themselves to the most rigorous diet according to the rules mentioned in the last chapter. Dieting, it should be understood, forms part of the actual preparations for the feast. The rest of the preparations are similar to those for other feasts: as usual, new plantations have to be made, and domestic animals, swine and hens, have to be bred before the feast can be held, which of course takes a long time. The child itself has to diet; above all it is not allowed to eat pork and hen's flesh, nor can it eat ripe plantain or chew sugar cane as Indian children usually do."

1: Karsten--234-235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 862 (1928-29)

"The 'feast of the children' is called Uchiáuratai or Uchiáuka. Uchiauratai (áuratahei) is literally: 'I will give (the child) drops of tsinsimba'. The very name indicates that the medicine prepared from the plant tsinsimba, which was given to the child immediately after it was born, also plays the most important part at the 'feast of the children'. As we have already seen, the leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva by the old man or woman who acts as a priest or priestess; this medicine has a particular name: ambára. It is ceremonially dropped into the child's mouth twice during the two days that the feast proper [235] lasts, early in the morning and at noon. Drinking manioc-beer and eating also form part of the 'feast of the children'. Its general significance is the same as that of other great feasts: mysterious powers above all power to resist evil spirits--are believed to be imparted to the young child, not only for the time being but especially for the future. This power is chiefly due to the magical properties ascribed to the tsinsimba plant itself, but naturally also to the saliva of the old man or woman, the incantations, etc. After it is over the father is no longer obliged to diet, at least not so rigorously as hitherto, and the child is allowed to eat any kind of food. It definitely ceases to be a sucking-child and is henceforward reckoned among the bigger children."

I: Karsten--235[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 754 (1928-29)

"When the first teeth of the child get loose, they are not thrown away but carefully kept on the roof of the house 'in order that the rats or other animals may not eat them'. This custom is due to the belief in a mysterious connection between the child and the detached teeth."

3: Simson--388 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 796, 276, 852

"Amongst the Gualaquiza Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festivities are held when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and mysteries of smoking* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member then makes an oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to be witnessed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the number of enemies they have slain, and so forth. The hope is then expressed that the representative of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, and after the manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address delivered, the pipe is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few whiffs, all the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disporting themselves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event."

"*"This strange and interesting custom was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Pozzi, who resided as a missionary amongst these Indians for some years."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[illegible] can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nuqui, wakan, or kan-kip.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the arutam wakani. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jívaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the nuankit, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the achi wakani, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[1]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient spirit" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[2] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered as essential for them. One reason is that inter-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a five days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of those souls which wander about at leisure, enjoying the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[3] and await the appearance of an arutam in the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind killing the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the olddime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible boons for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemi* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemi* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
• 852 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
778 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the
787 house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day
the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsen-tsemā* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer
[854] in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to 854
come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 533
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Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and 853
the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the 862
weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued [231]
and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

1: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
287, 854 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with the kamaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles."

1: Karsten--235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 854, 751 (1928-29)

"Since children are always delicate and liable to fall ill the Indians try to protect their sucking babies by, among other things, different amulets consisting of animals' teeth and claws, 'medical' collars of fragrant seeds, shells etc. Still more common is prophylactic body-painting with roucou mixed with certain other ingredients, and accordingly called karawira, áratinyu, etc. Since small children are very liable to fall ill through witchery, the parents generally take care not to show their babes to strangers visiting the house, lest they should be harmed by the 'evil eye' or in some other mysterious way. As a rule the Indian woman never leaves her sucking babe alone in the house when she goes out, but takes it with her wherever she goes, carrying it at the breast if it is quite small, on the back when it is a little bigger. Thus when she goes to the manioc plantation to fetch manioc she nearly always has her babe with her, carrying home both the heavy basket with manioc roots and her child."

4: Up de Graff--219-220 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
854, 862

"One or two of the women are carrying babies slung in a small cloth hammock on the back. One of them is nursing a baby which cannot be less than three years old. (This is a common custom, which appears to us both strange and undesirable. The Antipa women do not wean their infants until they are grown to the kindergarten stage as we know it. They even pack them long after they can walk, run and swim. Thus the step from babyhood to marriage is only a matter of seven or eight years. [220]

Another woman is nursing her baby when she remembers the young monkey curled up on her head. It too she treats as her own offspring, and suckles it with the same care as she does her son. (This is common among the Indians of the Amazon, be they semi-civilized or savage.)"

34 Marner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutanú*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*ĉimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed." 844

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting. 846 [854] [837] [761]

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemi* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [276] [824] [854] [774] [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the • 854 infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jivaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 533 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 854 533 539

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying.
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

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The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with 862 [231]

862 her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take
[231] place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a better variety.

• 854 The infant is wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, which is taken off and used, with water, to wipe the child clean of excrement. The cloth is then washed and dried over a fire for reuse. A baby's excessive crying may be interpreted as evidence that it is "very hot," i.e., has a fever, and the mother may bathe it in lukewarm water to cool the child sufficiently so that it will fall asleep. Sometimes a mother, on being awakened by a baby's crying, will scold and strike it in anger.

868 To teach the child to walk, the father lashes a stave railing around the three open sides of the mother's bed to create a simple "crib" which the child can grasp for support.

863 The attitude toward toilet training is quite relaxed. When a toddler starts to defecate or urinate in the house, it is taken outside; but it is not castigated verbally or otherwise. The mother simply digs up the soiled portion of the dirt floor and throws it out. The simplicity of this solution, together with the fact that adults themselves may urinate on the floor at night to avoid exposing themselves to possible attackers outside the house, helps one understand their attitude. Later, the
[861] child is simply told to go outside, but if it fails to do so, there is no condemnatory admonition. Finally, however, if the child is still failing to go out of the house by the time it is about five years old, then the mother will speak her disap-
[861] proval. As a last resort, she may spank the child lightly with a vine.

Children are encouraged to wash their hands and to bathe.
[861] They are told that if they do not wash their hands before eating, their growth will be delayed and stunted. Girls are

34 Harner E-4, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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10. Men (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cunsimi, 1956-57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cunsimi, 1956-57).

/p. 90-8/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uki ank* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the
house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemá* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

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774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
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787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
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while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer
[854] in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and [701]
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaṇā*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*tapamaśā*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*). 273

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons; of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party. [146] [855]

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exlusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden. 462 24

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine. 273 462 512 574

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

186 small households over a large area results in a very poor
203 communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

867 Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that
262 meat is not always abundant in the household, depending
855 on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

865 While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking
[867] with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may
861 be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of
[867] their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking,
[867] continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

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776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampaŋ* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampaŋ* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampaŋ* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampaŋ* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakanī*, which does little to help the individual sur-
774 vive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
778 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gain-
771 ing a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

2: Stirling--111-112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 857, 867

"Young children are very seldom disciplined, in spite of which, like most primitive children, they are very wellbehaved. The children, especially young boys, have almost complete liberty to do as they please. As they grow up the girls stay with the women and learn the various household duties which it is necessary for them to practice in earnest after they are married. Inasmuch as many girls[112] marry at 8 or 10 years of age they have very few years of childhood. Small boys play at hunting and fishing and accompany the men on their hunts at an early age. They are even brought on war expeditions by their fathers when as young as 7 and 8 years of age, for the purpose of becoming accustomed to fighting as soon as possible. The daily instructions a boy receives in warfare and in inculcating the idea of blood revenge in his mind has been described under the section dealing with warfare.(27)"

"27. See p. 41."

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553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 533 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

273 7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and
415 pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup
291 is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).
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• 857
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/p. 90-E/

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276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči ąuk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the
house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemā* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
• 857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

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refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only 462
duty. 857 •

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only 868
the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her [323]
by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form [532]
and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with [826]
clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to [831]
touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blow- 224
gun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less 462
than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at 857
that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to 868
shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them [262]
himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
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[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

1: Karsten--234 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861 (1928-29)

"It is evident from what has been stated in previous chapters, that in regard to the Jibaros we can speak of a real education of children. From the very moment of the child's birth--nay, even before it is born--its physical well-being and normal development is constantly kept in view by the parents, and later systematic instruction is begun, the general aim of which is to make the young man or girl capable of properly performing the various duties incumbent on a full-grown man or woman in society."

1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236] cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

1: Karsten--237[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562 (1928-29)

"We now have to say a few words respecting the education of the boys, to which the Jibaros attach even more importance than to that of the girls. If one asks a Jibaro father what the education of his boy aims at, he will in most cases answer: 'That he may become a real man and a brave and skilful warrior'. Of this the young boys are constantly reminded in the speeches which the father at certain periods addresses to them every day, and which have special reference to the revenge they must take on the enemies of the family.

The art of warfare and all manly exercises in general, the ability to throw the lance, to bring down the animals and birds of the forest with blowgun and poisoned arrows, etc., the Jibaro boy acquires by associating with his father and other older men, his constant endeavour being to imitate the full-grown men and to do what he sees they do. When the boy is six or seven years old his father makes or buys for him a small blowgun with which he assiduously practises shooting, using unpoisoned arrows. With such arrows the boy easily shoots small birds which he immediately prepares and eats. Only after he has passed through the initiation and is received among the full-grown men is he allowed to use the arrow-poison."

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

"It has frequently been said that savage peoples, bringing up their children in complete liberty, never punish them for disobedience or faults committed. This may be true of many Indian tribes in South America also, but it would certainly be a mistake to hold such an opinion of the Jibaros. It is true that as a rule the boys seem to understand remarkably [238] well what tribal custom demands of them and easily accommodate themselves to the moral views of their people, but there may be exceptions to this rule. The treatment of mischievous boys who openly defy their parents, tease their younger brothers and sisters, break clay vessels, climb up on the roof of the house damaging the thatch, wring the necks of fowls, etc., is sometimes very severe. It is quite a common thing for a father to seize his disobedient boy by the neck and pour tobacco water into his nose or his eyes. Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects. In more serious cases the following form of punishment is resorted to. A small shelter of palm leaves is constructed for the young offender at the bank of the river. Here he is obliged to stay for two days and nights quite alone, eating nothing; he is allowed to drink only water from the river. The strict fasting having in this way made him more tractable, he must finally take a dose of maikoa, the strong narcotic of the Jibaro Indians. The intention behind this radical cure of course is that the youth shall have the usual dreams and visions, see

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

the arútama, the spirits of the forefathers, who will admonish him and instruct him as to what the custom of the forefathers requires of him as a member of the tribe."

1: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusúpani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house,' etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824

Don't suck the blood of my husband [533]
And also don't suck the blood of my daughter. [539]
When you want to suck blood,
Suck the blood of my enemies.
When my husband comes,
He will look very beautiful and very clear.
But when our enemies come,
They will come very pale
And in the form of demons.[4]
And you will know
Who will die,
Who will die.
And when they enter this garden,
They will have their blood sucked.
All, all I can call,
Even the plantain itself.
I am a woman of Nuŋuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors 824
to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc [789]
in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of
the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in [861]
telling children why they should not play in the garden. [869]

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

862 her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take
[231] place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a hotter variety.

854 The infant is wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, which is taken off and used, with water, to wipe the child clean of excrement. The cloth is then washed and dried over a fire for reuse. A baby's excessive crying may be interpreted as evidence that it is "very hot," i.e., has a fever, and the mother may bathe it in lukewarm water to cool the child sufficiently so that it will fall asleep. Sometimes a mother, on being awakened by a baby's crying, will scold and strike it in anger.

868 To teach the child to walk, the father lashes a stave railing around the three open sides of the mother's bed to create a simple "crib" which the child can grasp for support.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. 861 276 787 [593] [774]

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the 276 774 778 787 852 [855]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found [761]
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [854]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal- [861]
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231]
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

1: Karsten--229 [3] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 862, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

1: Karsten--234-235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 852, 862 (1928-29)

"The 'feast of the children' is called Uchiáuratai or Uchiáuka. Uchiauratai (áuratahei) is literally: 'I will give (the child) drops of tsinsimba'. The very name indicates that the medicine prepared from the plant tsinsimba, which was given to the child immediately after it was born, also plays the most important part at the 'feast of the children'. As we have already seen, the leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva by the old man or woman who acts as a priest or priestess; this medicine has a particular name: ambára. It is ceremonially dropped into the child's mouth twice during the two days that the feast proper [235] lasts, early in the morning and at noon. Drinking manioc-beer and eating also form part of the 'feast of the children'. Its general significance is the same as that of other great feasts: mysterious powers above all power to resist evil spirits--are believed to be imparted to the young child, not only for the time being but especially for the future. This power is chiefly due to the magical properties ascribed to the tsinsimba plant itself, but naturally also to the saliva of the old man or woman, the incantations, etc. After it is over the father is no longer obliged to diet, at least not so rigorously as hitherto, and the child is allowed to eat any kind of food. It definitely ceases to be a sucking-child and is henceforward reckoned among the bigger children."

4: Up de Graff--219-220 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
854, 862

"One or two of the women are carrying babies slung in a small cloth hammock on the back. One of them is nursing a baby which cannot be less than three years old. (This is a common custom, which appears to us both strange and undesirable. The Antipa women do not wean their infants until they are grown to the kindergarten stage as we know it. They even pack them long after they can walk, run and swim. Thus the step from babyhood to marriage is only a matter of seven or eight years. [220]

Another woman is nursing her baby when she remembers the young monkey curled up on her head. It too she treats as her own offspring, and suckles it with the same care as she does her son. (This is common among the Indians of the Amazon, be they semi-civilized or savage.)"

26: Brüning--70 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 862, 163, 156

I gained the impressions that there were not many children around. This would explain why mothers suckle their children--as I was told--up to the age of four. I saw it with my own eyes that the children ran to the mother and asked for the breast. The little girls whom I have seen were very timid and clung to their mother as soon as one of us approached; they even refused to accept gifts. The boys, however, were different, and I made friends with them easily.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to 854
come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 533
539

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and 853
the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the 862 •
weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued [231]
and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

862 her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take
[231] place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a hotter variety.

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
• 865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 [825] When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 292 301 [237] [721] With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a 884 [721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en- [582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 884 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and [824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days. [276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration [787]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 628 721 [778] [823] [605] When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 461 [261] Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well." [515]

867 273 578 606 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 [605] Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and ag-
554 gressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his
[865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it,
[562] with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such
[581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his
554 neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset,
626 a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untä* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst
721 personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

2: Stirling--51 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 866

"The art of warfare is drilled into young boys from earliest childhood. When about the age of 6 a son is instructed by his father every morning at dawn concerning the necessity of being a warrior. He endeavors to implant in the son's mind the idea of revenge by reciting the feuds in which his particular family is involved. For example, he says:

> So-and-so killed your uncle; some one else killed your grandfather; we must have our revenge, otherwise bad luck will fall upon us. Our crops will be poor and we will not have success in the hunt.

This is repeated every morning regularly for more than 5 years, until the parent sees that the son has been thoroughly inoculated with the warlike spirit and the idea of blood revenge.

When a man goes to war he usually takes with him his sons of more than 7 years of age. These small boys do not take an active part in the actual combat, due principally to their lack of strength, but they often enter the fight and here accustom themselves to the methods of warfare. Most particularly they learn to defend themselves and learn not to be afraid. They also harden themselves in this manner to the bloody realism of the actual killings. The first time a young boy goes to a fight a special feast is held in his honor in which chicken blood is put on his legs."

2: Stirling--51 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 866

"The first time a boy or young man kills an enemy in actual combat he is ordered by the others to cut off the head of his victim. During this process some experienced warrior stays by his side to instruct him in the proper technique. This adviser also stays by him later to instruct him in the preparation of the tsantsa. After this has been done and the boy has gone through the subsequent ceremony on the return of the successful raiding party he is considered a full-fledged warrior and now enough confidence is placed in him that he may be sent out to act as a spy."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

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1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236] cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

2: Stirling--111-112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 857, 867

"Young children are very seldom disciplined, in spite of which, like most primitive children, they are very wellbehaved. The children, especially young boys, have almost complete liberty to do as they please. As they grow up the girls stay with the women and learn the various household duties which it is necessary for them to practice in earnest after they are married. Inasmuch as many girls[112] marry at 8 or 10 years of age they have very few years of childhood. Small boys play at hunting and fishing and accompany the men on their hunts at an early age. They are even brought on war expeditions by their fathers when as young as 7 and 8 years of age, for the purpose of becoming accustomed to fighting as soon as possible. The daily instructions a boy receives in warfare and in inculcating the idea of blood revenge in his mind has been described under the section dealing with warfare.(27)"

"27. See p. 41."

12: Rivet--605-606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 867

From a very early age the young Jíbaro boy is conscious of the superiority attached to his sex and, barely grown, he treats her [606] who gave him life with the same scorn that his father does; besides, at the death of his father, he inherits all of his father's authority regarding his mother. He never marries before he is 17 or 18 years old; all during his childhood and adolescence he has an absolutelyindependent existence and receives a purely physical education; he learns from his father the hate for enemies, the taste for vengeance, and the desire for special glory that pleases his people. Missionaries relate that when a warrior has captured children during an expedition, he brings them back alive to have them killed by his own sons, thus to take away their fear of spilled blood and pain. (1)

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1. Collecion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., 5th map, page 48.

20: Dyott--157-158 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 627, 867, 181

"It was no longer plans for the morning that were being discussed: Kuashu was relating a rather long-winded story about a brother of his who had been foully murdered some years previously. He was telling his sons that the day would come when they would have to avenge the outrage.

It seemed that this uncle had beaten one of his wives to death because she was unfaithful to him, and the woman's family, considering the treatment unnecessarily harsh, had murdered the husband in retaliation. Custom said that Kuashu's family must also take a life in order to satisfy the Jivaro sense of justice. With this end in view, the spirit of revenge was being kept alive, and almost every day the young men of the household were reminded of the duty which they inherited, and how they would eventually have to kill some member of the family who were responsible for their uncle's murder. The boys listened to the tale, which had already been told them hundreds of times, with as much interest as if they had never heard it before, and I wondered how long it would be ere their hands were stained with blood. They saw nothing wrong in this lust for vengeance, for their creed taught them that the spirit [158] of their uncle could not rest till justice had been meted out. Furthermore, if they failed to take reprisals they and their families would be the ones to suffer."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

186 small households over a large area results in a very poor
203 communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

• 867 Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that
262 meat is not always abundant in the household, depending
855 on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

865 While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of
[867] and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may
861 be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of
[867] their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking,
[867] continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

601
602 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kaná*
578 *yači*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

578 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this
601 manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to
609 save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may
574 subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his
628 relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being
• 867 ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not
578 surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or
628 more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

601

FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue: 867 578 628

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill. 867 578 628 602 [582] [605]

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it. [606]

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad." [593]

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad." [574]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 865 867 When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if 628 someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First 721 of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, [778] and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you [823] must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone [605] in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

867 Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of 461 beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how [261] to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, [515] enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

867 When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when 273 another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You 578 must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then 606 you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

836 Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting [605] other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

12: Rivet--601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 868, 555

The Jíbaro hardly works at home two hours per day at the most. A skilled hunter and fisher, he passes his life outside. All his pride consists of being renowned for his dexterity and agility. All his efforts tend to maintain these precious qualities. From the age of seven on, the child practices handling the blowgun; to teach him the use of the throwing instrument, his parents make him little javelins from the stalk of the paja toquilla (Carludovica palmata). The little boys are lined up in two rows, a hoop of tree bark is thrown between them and each one tries to put his weapon through the center of the hoop. Thanks to this education, the Jíbaros can accomplish astonishing feats. A missionary saw them hit a target the size of a 5-franc piece with a lance at a distance of 20 meters (1)

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1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain, etc...., op. cit., page 143.

20: Dyott--169-170 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 151, 224, 868

"As the weather kept fine, another excursion to the forest was planned. Kuashu, Himbikti and the small boy Katani, made up the party. Mihanda and We-suma left on some secret mission, the import of which we were to learn later, while Napi went off by himself to pay a few calls on his friends.

Our ramble through the jungle proved particularly interesting as it threw considerable light on the way children are brought up and the kind of rough education they are put through by their elders. Katani seemed quite a favourite with his grandfather, and the old man never lost an opportunity of instructing him in the use of his eyes or help develop his powers of simple deduction. [170]

We are all aware how easily some people get dizzy and lose their sense of the horizontal, but we do not realize how civilization has blurred our sense of direction. You will, however, soon find out if ever you happen to be dropped down in some virgin forest in the heart of nowhere. You will walk in circles, regardless of all nature's sign-posts which she displays for your benefit. An Indian teaches his sons to note the direction of streams, the inclination of the ground, the length of the shadows--anything, in fact, which makes him use his eyes and put two and two together so that they make four and not sixes or sevens."

"Barely fifteen minutes after our start, some tapir's tracks excited Kuashu's curiosity. They were almost invisible to me, except when we followed them out into the open across a small sand-bar near the river. After what seemed like a cursory examination, Kuashu had an interesting story to tell. He pointed out to Katani how the tracks started wandering hither and thither till at a certain spot they took a straight line for the river's margin, at which point their character changed. From this it was deduced that the animal had been disturbed while feeding , and in all probability, frightened to such a degree that he had charged through the underbrush in a hurry. Himbikti's observant eye noticed a few bloodstains on the bushes, and where small branches had been broken off he pointed out a few hairs adhering to their jagged extremities.

The whole story in English was plain enough. The tapir had been walking quietly through the woods when a jaguar had pounced upon his back. Unable to rid himself of his assailant, the tapir had wisely bolted for the river, charging through the thicket hoping to scrape his adversary off his back by so doing. The jaguar was not going to forsake his prey so easily and held on tenaciously until the wily tapir had plunged into the river and then, of course, he had to let go, or drown, because his victim could remain [171] under water much longer than he could. Farther down the stream, we encountered the tracks of the disappointed jaguar, where he had swum ashore and taken himself off to the forest.

20: Dyott--170-171 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-2
116, 151, 224, 868

All the points of the lesson having been duly expounded, we sat down on the bank of the Upano in the shade to stretch our limbs. Some years previously, Kuashu must have had an encounter with a three-toed sloth near this very spot, for he began telling Katani of the event, pointing aloft to the sprawling limbs of a tall tree, and telling how he had ascended into the topmost branches and there slain the animal with his spear. This curious denizen of the forest called U-yushi by the Indians, will hang upside-down for hours at a time from the roof of the jungle, looking like a huge parasitic plant rooted to the spot. Kuashu told Katani that many years ago this animal was a man, a very old man called U-nupi, who belonged to an enemy tribe. He was married, of course, and his wife's name was U-nuchi, and he had a brother called Yungra. U-nupi. was such a lazy fellow that he would not even take the trouble to build a house, but lived up in the trees instead. In this secure position, he slept so much and hunted so seldom that in the end his children turned into animals."

20: Dyott--171-172 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 825, 868.

"The Jivaros don't consider men to be glorified animals, but rather the reverse. All the animals, in their eyes, are degenerate human beings. Years ago, they say, all the inhabitants of the world were Shuaros, and gradually certain ones developed characteristics which we now associate with birds, animals, or fish. This consciousness of their relationship to the animal world is still very strong amongst them, so much so in the case of the sloth that he is not only attacked with the same ferocity they would summon against a human enemy, but they likewise preserve his head in a [172] shrunken state, as if it were that of some hostile tribesman.

Katani listened enthralled to every word of this Indian wisdom. In a few year's time he would be considered a man, for he would have taken part in the feast of Kusupani and drunk Miqua prepared from the bark of the beautiful flowering shrub (Datura arborea) which is administered with much ceremony whenever a boy reaches man's estate. It is a narcotic drink that is supposed to make men out of them, but in reality turns them into raving lunatics for a day or two. During this time, they see visions and talk with the great spirits who will aid them in their fight against future enemies."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

862 her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take
[231] place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a hotter variety.

854 The infant is wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, which is taken off and used, with water, to wipe the child clean of excrement. The cloth is then washed and dried over a fire for reuse. A baby's excessive crying may be interpreted as evidence that it is "very hot," i.e., has a fever, and the mother may bathe it in lukewarm water to cool the child sufficiently so that it will fall asleep. Sometimes a mother, on being awakened by a baby's crying, will scold and strike it in anger.

• 868 To teach the child to walk, the father lashes a stave railing around the three open sides of the mother's bed to create a simple "crib" which the child can grasp for support.

863 The attitude toward toilet training is quite relaxed. When a toddler starts to defecate or urinate in the house, it is taken outside; but it is not castigated verbally or otherwise. The mother simply digs up the soiled portion of the dirt floor and throws it out. The simplicity of this solution, together with the fact that adults themselves may urinate on the floor at night to avoid exposing themselves to possible attackers outside the house, helps one understand their attitude. Later, the
[861] child is simply told to go outside, but if it fails to do so, there is no condemnatory admonition. Finally, however, if the child is still failing to go out of the house by the time it is about five years old, then the mother will speak her disap-
[861] proval. As a last resort, she may spank the child lightly with a vine.

Children are encouraged to wash their hands and to bathe.
[861] They are told that if they do not wash their hands before eating, their growth will be delayed and stunted. Girls are

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swal-
774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemä* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
774 from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
• 868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty. 462 857

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay. 868 [323] [532] [826] [831]

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts. 224 462 857 868 [262]

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their 000

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows: 782 824

Don't suck the blood of my husband [533]
And also don't suck the blood of my daughter. [539]
When you want to suck blood,
Suck the blood of my enemies.
When my husband comes,
He will look very beautiful and very clear.
But when our enemies come,
They will come very pale
And in the form of demons.[4]
And you will know
Who will die,
Who will die.
And when they enter this garden,
They will have their blood sucked.
All, all I can call,
Even the plantain itself.
I am a woman of Nunuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors 824
to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc [789]
in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of
the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in [861]
telling children why they should not play in the garden. [869]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huarä* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huarä* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

1: Karsten--236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 841, 276 (1928-29)

"When the first signs of puberty appear, an important epoch in the life of the Jibaro girl begins. As among all Indians, menstruation is looked upon by the Jibaros as a mysterious process, and when it appears for the first time in a girl various precautions are considered necessary. I have mentioned before that the Indians ascribe menstruation to the moon (nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her'), which is also believed to have a mysterious influence upon conception. The first menstruation is called numbuen (from número, 'blood') and generally appears when the girl is about 8 to 10 years old. When the mother realises what is the matter with the girl she at once takes her down to the river, where she washes her with a big leaf called yambáki. She has now to submit to certain taboos for four days. She is not allowed to pass the nights in the house, but sleeps in a small shelter specially made for her in the plantation in the neighbourhood, whither she is accompanied in the evening by the other women. While in the shelter, she can eat or drink nothing except tobacco water, which is given her in repeated doses by an old woman. The girl, however, is not obliged to stay there during the day. As soon as the sun rises she can leave the shelter and return to the house where she spends the day, but she is obliged to diet strictly. At the same time a small drinking-feast is arranged. Several piningas with manioc-beer are placed in a row; among these there is a small one containing only the 'cream' of the beer and a piece of manioc. This pininga is for the tsángrama, as the girl is called. She is allowed to eat nothing during the four

days except this small quantity of manioc, and she is considered so taboo that she can touch no objects in the house with her hands. In the evening, as usual, she has to go to the shelter where she again receives tobacco water from the hands of the old woman, and so on. The tobacco medicine is supposed to fill her with power and to protect her against evil spirits who are attacking her, but it is also calculated to produce dreams for her, since the Numbuén, feast has reference at the same time to the girl's future obligations as a housewife."

1: Karsten--236-237 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881 (1928-29)

"If the girl is not betrothed, no further feast is arranged for her. On the other hand, if she has a fiancé, the appearance of the first menses is, for the latter and for the girl's parents, a sign to start preparing the great feast Noa tsangu which has already been described. As I have stated, it is at this epoch that her education properly begins, being supervised by her future husband and carried on very methodically. The [237] girl accompanies her mother and other older women everywhere, especially to the plantations, and is constantly receiving instructions from them as to how the manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, earth-nuts, and other roots and plants shall be planted and tended. At home she takes part in all those occupations which are incumbent on a married woman, and when guests arrive and the women of the house step forward to serve them nihamánchi, the young girl is always one of them."

1: Karsten--238-241 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881 (1928-29)

"Both maikoa and another narcotic medicine, tobacco, is however chiefly taken on another occasion in the life of the Jibaro youth, namely, when he is initiated into manhood at puberty, at an age of about 15 or 16 years. On this occasion one of the great feasts of the Jibaros is arranged, the one known under the name of Kusúpani and corresponding to the Noa tsangu of the women. The preparations for this feast are the usual ones: new plantations must be made, new domestic animals, swine and hens, must be bred, etc. It is natural therefore that these preparations should require a long time, and in fact, the feast does not take place until after the lapse of two or three years. During these years the young boy has to diet strictly, the rules as to what kind of food is forbidden to him being much the same as in other similar cases. Thus the flesh of the principal domestic animals, the swine and the hens, is forbidden to him, precisely because the object of the feast is in part to augment the numbers of these animals. Other animals which are taboo as food to him are the wild hog, the paca, concerning which certain superstitious ideas are held, the armadillo, and most birds of the forest. Nor is he allowed to eat big fish like the sheat-fish and the one called wambi; [239] he has to content himself with small sardine-like fish of the kind the Indians eat when they are dieting. If one asks the Indians what will happen if he infringes these rules, the answer is invariably that the object of the feast will not be attained, the crops will not grow well, the swine and the hens will not increase, the

young boy himself will not become a man but will soon die, etc. Such being the consequences of ignoring the rules of diet, it is natural that the boy in whose honour the feast is arranged should conscientiously submit to them and do everything that custom demands of him. When we further consider that during some months previous to the feast he has to behave like a penitent, that he cannot even keep his long hair untied or wear the clothes and ornaments of full-grown men, that he is forbidden to go out hunting and to use lance and blowgun and poisoned arrows, we can understand that the very preparation for the feast is for the young Indian a remarkable exercise in privation and self-control.

The first day of the Kusúpani has the same name as the first day of all feasts: Utsándowai, 'the opening of the feast'. Early in the morning the invited guests enter the house in solemn procession, whereupon a drinking-bout takes place, which is followed by an ordinary meal. The principal ceremonies are performed on the second and third days, and they mainly consist in giving the novice tobacco in different forms and in repeated doses; the old man who acts as a priest (whuéa) makes him take tobacco juice, and he must inhale tobacco smoke. The priest has made a number of big cigars and attached them to a string at regular intervals from one another, the string hanging from one of the central poles of the house. Every time that he wishes to give the novice tobacco he takes one of the cigars from the string, puts it into a long tube of bamboo,

and lights it, using the tube as a mouth-piece. He first draws the smoke into his own mouth and then blows it directly into the mouth of the novice, who has to swallow the smoke and is nearly suffocated. This is repeated several times until the whole cigar is consumed. Immediately after this the priest gives the novice tobacco in liquid form. For this purpose he chews the leaves carefully, spits them out, together with much saliva, into a maize leaf, blows some more tobacco smoke on it, and stirs the whole mass carefully with his finger, whereupon he gives it to the novice to drink. This ceremony is repeated six to eight times on each of the two days of the feast proper, and the strong tobacco medicine cannot of course fail to produce very powerful effects on the youth who receives them on an empty stomach. In the narcotic sleep which [240] will follows, [sic] and in the visions provoked by the drinking of maikoa, with which the feast will end, the novice will see both the arútama and other spirits, who give him advice and information concerning his future.

Among some Jibaro tribes the old man, when blowing smoke, does not use any bamboo tube; he places the burning end of the cigar in his own mouth and the opposite end in the mouth of the novice, blowing vigorously, and the novice has to swallow the smoke.

The Kusúpani ends, like all feasts, with the slaughter of the swine; the novice is ceremonially dressed and painted with genipa, and lastly comes the solemn drinking of

the manioc-wine, whereupon the guests leave. After the feast is thus ended, the novice still has to undergo a concluding ceremony which is rather of a private nature: the drinking of maikoa. This at any rate is the custom among the Upano and Santiago tribes, who celebrate the Kusúpani feast. The drinking of the narcotic generally takes place in the house, but if the youth wishes, he may go to the forest. In the first case all weapons, knives, and dangerous objects are removed so that the youth, in his narcotic condition, may not do any harm. The oldest man in the family prepares the drink in a pininga and gives it to the boy to drink, having muttered an incantation over it. The old man also takes care of him after he has become intoxicated. The effects are soon visible: the old man seizes the narcotized boy from behind with both arms and holds him in this way until he falls asleep. The boy incessantly shouts: tuh, tuh, tuh, tiga, tiga, tiga, as if he were summoning the demons. The old man, again, tries to hasten the coming of the favourable visions by frequently repeating the following words: Tu puhústa, kanárta, wuimekta, aha ista, mama ísta, pa'ándama ísta, kuchi ísta, atáshi ísta, muitsa ísta, nihamánchi ísta, and so on, that is: 'lie down, fall asleep, behold (in visions), behold fields, behold manioc, behold plantains, behold swine, behold hens, behold manioc pots, behold manioc-beer!', etc. Thus both of them, the old man holding the boy with his arms from behind, stagger to and fro in the house, until at last the narcotized boy completely loses consciousness. But even during sleep he has to be

watched attentively because the supposed visions often make him start up out of his sleep and he frequently even becomes violent.

If the novice goes out in the forest the old man accompanies him, gives him tobacco water, makes him take a bath in a waterfall, and then prepares the maikoa in the shelter, looking after him when the effects [241] of it begin to appear. They remain in the forest for three days and nights.

Great attention is, of course, paid to the dreams of the Jibaro youth because in a way they decide his whole future. It is the business of the oldest men of the family to interpret them and to state whether they have been good or bad. The question as to what kinds of dream are regarded as 'good' or 'bad' and the kinds of vision seen will be discussed in the chapter on divination."

1: Karsten--241-242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 881, 276 (1928-29)

"Among the Achuares of the Pastaza the initiation into manhood consists only in drinking maikoa. When the boys attain the age of puberty, which means that they are received among the men and warriors, are allowed to marry, and so on, the following drinking-ceremony takes place. The oldest men of the family or tribe arrange themselves in two parallel rows facing each other. Each man holds a pininga containing a small quantity of maikoa. The novice must now go from the one to the other in due order and take a sip from each pininga, starting with the oldest member of the family. Generally it is easy for him to do this with the first ones, but frequently it is impossible for him to drink from the clay vessels of the last men in the rows. Their contents are then given him in the form of a clyster, the maikoa quantity being injected into his rectum by means of a tube (nángu) consisting of the hollow stem of the sanahoria plant (Daucus). It is considered absolutely necessary, it should be understood, that the novice should receive something from the clay vessel of each man.

When the young man has finished drinking the oldest man says to him: 'Do you know now why you have drunk maikoa? 'Yes', the youth answers, 'it is in order that I may become a real man and a brave warrior and that I may be able to marry.'

When the effects of the narcotic manifest themselves in the Jibaro youth and he begins to behave in a foolish way or threatens to become violent, the old man seizes him by the arm, restrains him, and says to him: 'Don't you remember that you have taken

maikoa, what do you intend to do, where are you going?' Then the youth tries to control himself and sits down.

After the lapse of some weeks or months the novice must again drink maikoa in the same way as before, some time later for the third time, and after the lapse of the same period for the fourth time. It is not until then that his noviciate ends and he is allowed to marry.

I have related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaros, and I have [242] now to add a few words as to the significance of the Kusúpani feast, especially as far as the tobacco rites are concerned. The significance of these rites is essentially the same as that of the tobacco ceremonies performed at the feast Noa tsangu. The spirit of tobacco is conjured and its wonderful power is transferred to the boy, who will be filled with it not only for the moment but for many years to come, nay, for his whole life. This power will automatically show itself in all the work and occupations incumbent on him as a male member of society. He will be a brave and successful warrior and be able to kill many enemies; he will be skilled in managing the lance and the blowgun and bring down much game in hunting; he will be dexterous in spearing the big fish and in catching small fish with varvasco poison. But this is not all. The spirits who appear to him in narcotic sleep are believed to teach him such matters also as normally concern directly

only the women, above all as regards the breeding of domestic animals and the cultivation of the fields. This also explains the fact that the newly-initiated Jibaro youth is for some time the adviser of the women in the work and occupations which properly belong entirely to the female domain. Just as the feast Noa tsangu and--as we shall presently see-- the great victory-feast, so the Kusúpani among other things is believed to have the effect of 'increasing the swine and the hens' (kuchi, atáshi pamboártinyu) and of favourably influencing the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemar*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-
[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

• 891 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[791]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed 881
green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world 884
while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that 824
will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated 216
animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) 787
or *kasakii*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters 595
are reputed to get along better with one another. A man [601]
normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ichi*) eventually will [606]
give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the [593]
son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually
performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so
that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels.
Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an [587]
unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

796 same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsantsa* feasts,
[881] which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

774 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakani*, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every
[826] living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief system.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

12: Rivet--606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 883, 152, 583

A young man can stay under the paternal roof as long as he wishes, his mother serving him in the same way as she does his father. This period is for him a time of unrestraint and sometimes of crime. He dares all, making love without scruple to all the women that he meets, and his lack of conscience goes so far, according to certain travellers, as to kill his sister's husband so as to be able to give the young widow to a friend of his own choice. In other words, in certain tribes, particularly at Gualaquiza, it is not the father but the brother who gives his sister in marriage and with no other formality than his acquiesence, the fiance takes away the one he has chosen.

20: Dyott--172 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
884

"Katani listened enthralled to every word of this Indian wisdom. In a few years' time he would be considered a man, for he would have taken part in the feast of Kusupani and drunk Miqua prepared from the bark of the beautiful flowering shrub (Datura arborea) which is administered with much ceremony whenever a boy reaches man's estate. It is a narcotic drink that is supposed to make men out of them, but in reality turns them into raving lunatics for a day or two. During this time, they see visions and talk with the great spirits who will aid them in their fight against future enemies."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

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884 292 301 [237] [721] With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemar*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 11–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a 884 [721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en- [582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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1: Karsten--270 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 887 (1928-29)

".... among the Jibaros the professional medicine-men are not the only persons who know about sorcery and witchcraft. Most old men, and especially the chiefs, are more or less initiated in the art."

"The position of old people, and more particularly of old men, is of special interest. How the power of a man increases with age appears nowhere more clearly than in the Jibaro society. We have frequently noticed that at the great feasts the ceremonies are always conducted by some old man or woman (generally called whuéa and ohâha) who, for instance, have to administer the juice of tobacco and other medicines taken on these occasions. The great victory feast, described in the next part of this work, will give us further instances of it. It is difficult to define more closely the true nature of the 'power' which, according to Indian belief, is increased in man with increasing age, and which explains the respect paid to old people and especially to old men. It is natural that, owing to their experience of life, they represent the wisdom of the tribe, just as they are the sole authorities on religion as well as on [253] custom. But 'experience' to the Indian means something more than to civilized man; it means mysterious magical or supernatural power. Every action of an old person, experienced in a particular sphere of activity, has therefore special emphasis, and every important rite or ceremony at a feast must consequently be performed by such aged persons, specially elected for the purpose. Even if an old man is not a professional medicine-man he is, according to Indian views, always more or less versed in magic. This to him means social influence and authority, or at any rate secures for him respectful treatment, although he may be physically decrepit and unable to work. Thus both the Jibaros and the Canelos

1: Karsten--252-253 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 888 (1928-29)

Indians believe that old men may, after death or even in their lifetime, appear in the shape of jaguars, anacondas, or other formidable or dangerous animals and in this disguise punish their relatives for neglect of duty. --The peculiar view that the Jibaros have about old men will be referred to again in connection with their war chiefs."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

554 While the concept of the *uwsi* ideally encompasses all of
• 888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement re-
ceives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *uwsi* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *uwsi*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jivaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two *uwsi* killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.